

The Complete  
**Libertarian  
Forum**  
1969–1984

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Volume 2: 1976–1984

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Edited by Murray N. Rothbard



Ludwig  
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AUBURN, ALABAMA

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THE

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Joseph R. Peden, Publisher

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## U. S. Out Of Angola!

Vietnam, apparently, was not enough. The Ford Administration, driven by the need to save face for Henry Kissinger and perhaps by the looming threat of Ronald Reagan, is playing with fire and with the possibility of another Vietnam horror. This year's candidate for counter-revolutionary bloodletting is Angola, an even more irrational area than Vietnam for the U. S. to intervene on behalf of the "free world." To make a show of force for Ford-Kissinger, to prove their "decisiveness", Kissinger is even willing to jeopardize his own tentative steps toward detente with the Soviets. In the course of heating up Angola, the egregious and monstrous Pat Moynihan, the thinking man's Scoop Jackson, even trotted out the old Franklin Roosevelt canard about German (now Russian) "plans" to use Angola as a jumping-off point to invade Brazil, a hop-skip-and-jump across the Atlantic, and then, presumably, it's on to Miami. (It is instructive that National Review has just endorsed Moynihan for the Democratic nomination for President — thus showing how high a value NR places on the free market when the trumpet sounds for international war.)

To understand the Angolan Caper, we must grasp the central political fact of the African Continent: namely, that none of the African countries are genuine "countries" at all. They were simply geographical districts carved out for the convenience of Western imperialism (British, French, Belgians, and Portuguese). Before the advent of Western imperialism in the late nineteenth century, there were no such "countries" in Africa, or, rather, the national units coincided with the numerous and disparate African tribes, separate entities with nothing, certainly not nationality, in common. Western imperialism carved up Africa for its own convenience, and the colonies thus created paid no regard to tribal divisions or realities. Hence, a given "colony" would forcibly include a myriad of separate tribes, and also place artificial frontier barriers athwart the territory of a given tribe, thus artificially sundering tribal entities. Throughout the twentieth century, such areas as "Angola" were administered as one unit by the imperial power, but this scarcely sufficed to make them one genuine nation.

A complicating factor in this equation was the fact that the imperial power generally trained a small minority of African natives as a comprador elite to administer the country under the aegis of the imperial masters. Often, this native elite was trained in universities of the home country, and, Western universities being what they are, they there imbibed Fabian and Marxian socialist ideology. Superficially, one might think that this socialism would run counter to the interests of the imperial power, but that was only the case "externally", i.e. as the native elite began to agitate for ouster of imperial rule. For internally, the socialist ideology coexisted very cozily with the imperialists' desire to centralize the country, and to exploit the native population for the benefit of the administrative State authorities. Generally, this also meant the development in each country of the administrative center as a capital city, a "parasite city" in Lewis Mumford's sense, devoted to coercing and exploiting the native rural peasantry for its own benefit. Such parasite cities, centers of administration and military rule such as Accra (or Washington, D. C.), contrast starkly with productive cities which rest

on commerce, industry, and market exchange. In Africa, the parasite urban center lived off taxation and control of the powerless, uneducated but productive, native peasantry.

When the weakened Western empires began to withdraw from Africa after World War II, they naturally retained the artificial central government structure, and simply turned it over to the existing, educated, socialist native elite. Thus, imperialism's parting legacy to Africa was to insure generations of exploitation of the native tribes by the new power elite in charge of the parasitic urban centers. Hence, the "smoothness" of the typical transition to native rule.

Thus, it is no wonder that the United States, neo-imperialist heir to Western imperialisms, and possessed of an abiding counter-revolutionary horror at any "instability" or "disintegration" in countries abroad, should place its overt and covert might behind any existing central state in Africa. In the Congo struggles, for example, the U.S., wielding the covert might of the CIA, fiercely combated the tribally-based Katanga secession movement of Moise Tshombe, and assured the coming to power in an artificially centralized Congo (now Zaire) of the military dictator, General Mobutu. Neither could the U.S., in its zeal to abet the suppression of the Katanga secession movement, use the old alibi of "fighting Communism", for the Katangese were undoubtedly the most devoted to free enterprise of any group in black Africa.

Before the departure of the Western empires, of course, the United States was wholeheartedly behind the maintenance of imperial rule. Such was the case in Portuguese Angola, where the U.S. aided Portugal in its vain attempt to suppress the various guerrilla struggles to oust Portuguese rule. Ironically, the earliest guerrilla war in Angola was conducted by Holden Roberto and his National Front (FNLA). Ironically, because while Roberto and the FNLA are now held up by American warhawks as "guardians of the free world", it was not very long ago that the pages of National Review, Human Events, and other rightist organs were filled with indignant charges against Roberto and his legions as Commies and as rapists of fair white Portuguese women. The FNLA are just as "Communist" now as they ever were (not very much, except that they remain statist and militarists), and the rape presumably still continues, if there are any Portuguese left in Northern Angola. *Autre temps, autre mœurs*, for presumably all other considerations must go by the board in reviving up a confrontation with the Russians.

This time, in Angola, the imperial power was a Portugal whose new leftist government wanted out of its empire fast, and so the transition was not the usual smooth one, and three armed guerrilla movements are contending for power. It is no accident that FNLA power is exclusively in the North, for it is basically a tribal movement of the Bakongo tribe, the same ethnic group that populates western Zaire, and which now dominates and runs that country. In fact, Bakongo chief Roberto is the brother-in-law of the U.S.-CIA-allied dictator Mobutu, and Roberto himself, as well as his kinsman, has long been on the regular CIA payroll.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Angola! — (Continued from Page 1)

Hence, Roberto's sudden rise to "pro-American" and "free world" status in American eyes.

The FNLA, indeed, began as a strictly Bakongo tribal association in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa, Zaire), the UPNA (Union of Northern Angolan People) in the mid-1950's. Trying hard for Angolan national status, it added a few neighboring tribes several years later, dropping the "Northern" from its name, and added a few more in 1962 to achieve its present title.

The following year, the FNLA, feeling its oats as the leading guerrilla movement in Angola, formed an exile government, the GRAE (the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile), which was recognized as the legitimate Angolan government by the other African countries. However, this idyll collapsed the next year, when Dr. Jonas Savimbi broke off from GRAE, perceptively accusing it of American connections. Savimbi, a colorful character whose trans-ideological guerrilla heroes are Che Guevara and General George Grivas (the late rightist head of the Cypriote guerrilla movement EOKA), soon formed another guerrilla movement, UNITA (the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). Savimbi's movement was also tribal, based on the Ovimbundu tribe of southern Angola. It is again no accident that, in the post-Portuguese period, Savimbi and UNITA now control the southern portion of the country.

In the meanwhile, a third grouping had formed, based on urban-educated Africans (often in Marxist Portuguese universities) in the capital city of Luanda in north-central Angola. This was the MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.) With its base only in Luanda, the MPLA launched an absurd urban uprising in 1961, which was quickly suppressed. Reorganized in the late 1960's by Dr. Agostinho Neto, the MPLA became the dominant guerrilla group in 1974, as a result of the newly independent country of Zambia offering its territory as a base, and of the short-lived Tshombe regime in Zaire that same year taking revenge on the FNLA by depriving it temporarily of its traditional Zaire base.

According to the American press, the south is now controlled by a coalition of FNLA-UNITA forces, which seems to give the FNLA national rather than merely tribal status. But FNLA strength in the south is superficial, being the outgrowth of a breakaway from the MPLA in 1974 by a southern-based faction headed by Daniel Chipenda, whose forces now constitute a merely technical "FNLA" in the south.

Thus, if the U.S. had kept its hands off Angola, the country would probably have dissolved into its constituent tribal groupings, roughly consonant with the military position of the three forces now in the field. The north would be an FNLA-Bakongo territory, perhaps eventually uniting with its Zaire patrons; the south would be a territory under the control of the Savimbi-Chipenda forces based on the Ovimbundu; and probably the MPLA would be in control of Luanda and a narrow central strip stretching to the eastern border. And the three groups could have coexisted in relative peace.

Who, then, was responsible for the tragic heating up of a minor Angolan civil war into a global theatre for massive warfare and a possible general war? The U.S. has been aiding its preferred factions in Congo and Angola ever since the Congo crisis broke out in 1960, and it has recently been disclosed that Holden Roberto has been on a \$10,000 annual retainer from the CIA since 1961 (New York Times, December 19, 1975). In response, the Soviets had supplied minimal aid to the MPLA. But who is primarily responsible for the massive 1975 buildup in Angola, launched after the Portuguese decision to withdraw come November 11? The Portuguese, riven between Communist and Socialist groups at home, declared neutrality between the Angolan factions. The United States has of course laid the blame on the Soviets for beginning massive aid to the MPLA in March and April of 1975. But it now turns out that it was the United States, in a secret meeting in January, 1975 of its supreme intelligence organ, the 40 Committee (headed by Kissinger), which first decided on massive aid to the FNLA and UNITA. In January, the 40 Committee decided to allow the CIA to give \$300,000 secretly to Roberto. It was this decision that launched the present dangerous phase of international warfare inside Angola. As one high U.S. official admitted: "I think it's very important. That money gave him (Roberto) a lot of extra muscle. He'd been sitting in Kinshasa for nearly ten years and all of a sudden he's

got a lot of bread — he's beginning to do things." (New York Times, Dec. 19).

As in most other things, the CIA is only "secret" from the American people, not from the Soviets, who have their own excellent intelligence network. Besides, the sudden accession of funds to Roberto was a clear enough signal. Hence, the Soviet airlift of arms to the MPLA in the spring, a response which in turn led to a massive American escalation of aid to the other factions, decided upon in a secret 40 Committee meeting on July 17. As a result, there occurred, in the latter half of 1975: a shipment of \$14 million in cash to the U.S.-supported Angolan factions; additional cash payments by the CIA directly to Savimbi and Robert of \$200,000 each per month; and a direct shipment by the CIA of arms to Angola worth \$10 million — partially disguised by the CIA by being listed on the books as worth \$5.4 million, and shipped indirectly through Zaire and Zambia (which had changed to support the American position.)

The massive American arms aid had an immediate impact on the Angolan fighting, and the FNLA-UNITA troops won significant gains after August. It was because of this intervention that the Soviets launched their massive airlift, and the Cubans sent thousands of troops, beginning at the end of October. A grubby and unimportant Angolan civil conflict had been escalated, thanks to U.S. intervention, into a massive international conflict with a potential for global war.

And that is by no means all. For the Ford administration has sworn that at least no American fighting men are or will be participating in the Angolan war, come what may. And yet, the respected and knowledgeable Christian Science Monitor (Jan. 2, 1976) has reported that the CIA is "recruiting American ex-servicemen, training them, dispatching them to southern Africa, contributing toward their pay (via funds for Zaire and Angola's two pro-West factions), and providing them and the indigenous forces with light and heavy weaponry." The Monitor added that "some 300 Americans are already operating within Angola", largely with the UNITA forces in the south and that an equal number are ready to go as soon as the CIA provides the money, the latter troops including "American officers and men either or 'indefinite leave' from their special forces units in this country and the Panama Canal Zone or recently discharged under the 'RIF' (reduction in force) program . . ." Furthermore, over 150 of these men spent Christmas week "undergoing a refresher course at Ft. Benning, Georgia."

On January 5, the Monitor reported that the U.S. training in this country of American veterans for mercenary operations in Angola had abruptly ceased, but that U.S. training had shifted to a European site, clearly less accessible to prying American reporters. To weaselly and guarded U.S. government denials, President Ford added his usual dum-dum note: denying on January 3 that the U.S. was training any mercenaries in Angola; but of course no one had claimed that Angola was the site for training.

Finally, Senator Tunney (D., Cal.) charged on January 6 that American pilots, flying four or five missions a day, have been airlifting arms from Zaire into Angola in U.S.-built cargo planes.

Indeed, the most hopeful note in the Angolan mess is the determination of the Senate, led by Tunney, to cut off funds for American intervention. In particular, the notable Senate action of December 18 voted by 54-22 to cut off any new covert U.S. funds for military operations in Angola. The Senate action was galvanized by a decision of President Ford in December to authorize the CIA to ship a further \$25 million of arms to Angola. Typically, Ford's response to the vote was the usual interventionist blather about the "deep tragedy" this vote entailed for "all countries whose security depends on the United States" — as if the butchery of Angolans had not been greatly accelerated by U. S. intervention and escalation. Ford also added the further interventionist blather that the vote would "seriously damage the national interest of the United States." (Just what is our "national interest" — if such a concept exists at all — in Angola?) Disturbed by indications that the Ford administration may try to evade the Senate resolution, even if passed by the House, Senators Dick Clark (D., Iowa) — who has matured greatly as an anti-interventionist leader on both Angola and the Middle East — and Clifford Case (R., N.J.) plan to introduce a resolution to cut off all money whatever from the U.S. government for any use in Angola.

The Senate resolve to oppose U.S. war machinations in Angola was stiffened greatly by the determined opposition within the State

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# FDR And The Isolationists

By Bruce Bartlett\*

Recent revelations about the FBI's misconduct over the long reign of J. Edgar Hoover, while clearly of interest to libertarians in general, have also cast much light on the pre-Pearl Harbor controversy over isolationism and interventionism. It seems that President Roosevelt used to have investigations run regularly on those who expressed opposition to entering World War II. This at last confirms the belief held all along by those who were the objects of interventionist smears, that the White House was involved.

We had already known, for example, that the President did not confine himself to public censure of isolationism, but brought his weight to bear in private as well. In 1939, Roosevelt wrote the following letter to Wilbur Cross, editor of the *Yale Review*:

Dear Wilbur:

Here is a personal protest against one of the most useful publications of our period — the *Yale Review*. It is based on the publication of articles by one John T. Flynn.

I love controversy — whether it be in literature, in economics, in sociology or in education. To us controversy is grand. You and I have reveled in it for many decades.

But it is your concept and mine, I think, that controversy is not merely a question of pro and con in any field of human endeavor.

Controversy, as I take it, concerns itself primarily with problems that call for answers. It is not controversy for one side to say in such a case, "I propose the following solution of the problem" and to have the other side say merely, "I am opposed to that solution." I have watched John T. Flynn during these many years and the net answer in my mind is that he has always, with practically no exception, been destructive rather than a constructive force.

Therefore, Q.E.D., John T. Flynn should be barred hereafter from the columns of any presentable daily paper, monthly magazine or national quarterly, such as the *Yale Review*.

Yours for construction, as ever yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is not known what other measures Roosevelt took against Flynn. Perhaps he also had a hand in getting the *New Republic's* not-so-liberal editors to unceremoniously end Flynn's regular column, "Other People's Money."

What is known, and recently revealed in Wayne Cole's heroic biography of Charles Lindbergh, is that Roosevelt went far beyond merely investigating isolationists or discouraging them from being published. He unleashed the whole apparatus of government up on them; with Lindbergh the prime target.

The nature of Roosevelt's feeling was such that on May 20, 1940, he told Treasury Secretary Morgenthau, "If I should die tomorrow, I want you to know this. I am absolutely convinced Lindbergh is a Nazi." The next day he wrote to Henry L. Stimson: "When I read Lindbergh's speech I felt that it could not have been better put if it had been written by Geobells himself. What a pity that this youngster has completely abandoned his belief in our form of government and has accepted Nazi methods because apparently they are efficient." It must be an irony of history that Roosevelt, of all people, should accuse someone else of favoring a fascist economy when he himself had done so much to implement one here.

By 1941, with the organization of America First, the administration's slanders against noninterventionists became the official line. Roosevelt appointed Harold Ickes to head a special cabinet committee to combat isolationism. He kept a complete file, fully indexed, on all Lindbergh's noninterventionist speeches. Ickes publicly spoke out as well; time and again calling Lindbergh and other isolationists Nazis and fellow-travellers. On April 13, 1941, for example, he said that Lindbergh was "the first American to raise aloft the standard of pro-Nazism;" that the America First Committee be renamed the "America Next" Committee; and that the committee was made up of "antidemocrats, appeasers, labor baiters, and anti-Semites."

To their credit, the isolationists were able to maintain their integrity

and even gain strength. By November, 1941, with the big fight over repeal of the Neutrality Acts in full swing and a probable isolationist victory in sight, Roosevelt asked the Attorney General "about the possibility of a Grand Jury investigation of the money sources behind the America First Committee."

To his great relief, however, and perhaps even due to his scheming, Roosevelt welcomed the attack on Pearl Harbor. It solved all his problems for him and smashed the noninterventionists. But Roosevelt could be petty and did not soon forget his enemies. When Lindbergh volunteered his services for the war Roosevelt personally made sure that they would not be accepted; in spite of the fact that Lindbergh was one of the world's greatest aviators and experts on all aspects of aviation, a precious commodity in a war that was to be decided in the air. Roosevelt also made his petty vindictiveness felt against those of far less importance than Lindbergh in the infamous mass sedition trial. This was obviously intended as a warning to everyone that criticism of the administration's interventionism would not be tolerated after the war either.

The isolationists made a brief revival when the truth about Pearl Harbor began to leak out and Congress launched a full investigation of the subject. However, President Truman had no desire or intention of allowing this to become a vehicle for the noninterventionists and made sure that numerous roadblocks were placed in the path of the committee. As he put it in a letter to Senator Harley Kilgore: "The objective of the isolationists still is to smear the Roosevelt Administration and, if possible, I am not going to let it happen."

His fears were not really justified. With the defeat of such isolationist stalwarts as Senators Burton Wheeler and Gerald Nye, the death of Hiram Johnson, and the reversal of Senator Vandenberg, the core of the isolationist movement in Congress was gone. Only Senator Taft was left with enough stature to effectively oppose intervention, and he proved to be a lone voice.

The pettiness continued long after complete victory by the interventionists had been won. Revisionist historians like Charles A. Beard were denied access to government archives while administration hacks like Herbert Feis were given full access. This policy continued for a quarter century and was only broken by the successive shocks of Vietnam, Watergate, and now, the CIA and FBI scandals. We should simply beware of thinking that these are unique or recent indiscretions. They are in the nature of big government and will never stop so long as it exists.

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## Angola! — (Continued from Page 2)

Department of its African experts — so much so that Nathaniel Davis resigned last August as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in protest against the July 17 decision. Davis and the other Africanists had urged the U.S. to avoid playing any active role in the Angolan civil war (New York Times, December 14, December 20, 1975).

One welcome feature of the Senate vote was that a few conservative Republicans broke ranks to vote in favor of the Tunney proposal: these were Garn (Utah), Helms (N.C.), Roth (Del.), and Scott (Va.)

Stung by the opposition to its covert machinations for war, the Ford administration has come up with a diplomatic fallback line: the imposition of a coalition government of all three factions on all of Angola. Since coalition attempts have failed in the past, there is no reason to think that the U.S. will be any more successful than in the U.S. coalition attempts in Vietnam or, for that matter, in Laos — especially now that the war has escalated so gravely. The moral of this tangled tale is clear: for the U.S. to get out of Angola pronto, lock, stock, and barrel, and to abandon its secret decisions by an elite few that commit the entire country to war and intervention. To accomplish this, and for many other good and sufficient reasons, we should also abolish the CIA, root and branch. □

# Right-Wing Libertarians And The Cold War

By Joseph R. Stromberg\*

America's foreign policy of perpetual counterrevolutionary intervention began officially with the announcement of the Truman Doctrine on March 12, 1947. In a paradoxical reversal of common stereotypes initial opposition to that policy came from an amorphous coalition of Left and Right embracing Senators Claude Pepper (D., Fla.) and Robert Taft (R., Ohio). The left-wing critics are generally discounted as naive or Russophile Wallaceites, while the rightists are written off as nostalgic "isolationists" unable to come to terms with new realities. Only recently, with the rise of Cold War revisionism and the failure of "containment" in Indo-China, has there been much interest in what opponents of Cold War Liberal "realism" had to say.

The arguments of right-wing non-interventionists are in fact quite striking. At a time when prominent Liberals in government and the press were calling for universal military training and massive expenditures for unlimited foreign commitments, a number of right-wing Congressmen and writers vigorously opposed the Truman policies. Unimpressed with America's new-found imperial "responsibilities," they attacked intervention and executive supremacy, predicting perpetual war, centralization, inflation and a permanent war economy.

But this was not the only tendency on the Right. From the outset, the China Lobby supported the Cold War, only insisting that Chiang Kai-shek be given his due. Gradually, bellicose anticommunism triumphed over "isolationism," and elements William G. Carleton has aptly termed "crypto-imperialist" came into their own. Accepting the Cold War Liberal premise of a monolithic communist menace, often quite eagerly, the Right ultimately exceeded the militancy of its mentors and demanded "total victory" over communism. By the mid-fifties "isolationism" was the position of an inconsequential minority, but reappeared in the sixties when the New Left raised the issue of US imperialism.

Nonetheless, the right-wing non-interventionists had much to say. Congressman Howard Buffett (R., Nebr.), for example, characterized a proposal for a government-sponsored Arabian oil pipeline as a "gigantic long-distance venture into imperialism" likely to cause American conscripts "to die in far-away places in defense of the trade of Standard Oil or the international dreams of our one-world planners." When the Administration requested funds for intervention in Greece and Turkey under the Truman Doctrine, now that Britain was abandoning an imperial role there, Buffett warned against American overextension: "we would soon be answering alarms like an international fireman, maintaining garrisons, and pouring out our resources." Soon every program would be justified as anti-communist, and when the people protested against "continued militarism and inflation," wartime controls could be reestablished "in the name of stopping communism at home." Economic exhaustion, conscription, price control, a labor draft and the end of political opposition might follow imperial intervention. "Even if it were desirable," Buffett said, "America is not strong enough to police the world by military force. If that attempt is made, the blessings of liberty will be replaced by coercion and tyranny at home. Our Christian ideals cannot be exported to other lands by dollars and guns . . ."

Frank Chodorov, the most anarchistic of the right-wing non-interventionists, declared in the April, 1947 issue of his newsletter, *Analysis*, that "hopeless poverty" had made communism "the religion of Europe." The solution was to allow "the people of Europe to produce and exchange," not American intervention. If, unaided, they fell to the Soviets, they would still avoid another brutal war and the annihilation of European civilization. Chodorov feared the domestic consequences of the Cold War. A witchhunt for Reds was afoot and concentration camps were on the horizon. "Red" might come to "include every person who raises his voice against the going order." When intervention at last brought war, liberty would be sacrificed to the exigencies of total warfare and "the vary thing we are presumably fighting to preserve will go by the board." Our system would be identical to "all other forms of statism, from pharaism to nazism."

Felix Morley, college president, author and journalist, was another noteworthy right-wing Cold War critic. A week before the proclamation

of the Truman Doctrine he wrote in *Human Events* (which he co-edited) that America was about to make her most critical political decision since 1776: To remain a republic or to "become an empire by assuming responsibility for dependencies which Great Britain can no longer control." Inflation, centralization, high taxes and conscription lay ahead if America chose empire. A year later, Morley assessed the policies adopted. The Administration had only managed to "throw our weight around," and was preparing "for another war in which there is much to indicate that we would be the aggressor." Assailing conscription, he wrote that "The lives of our youth are not the property of the State, to throw on a rubbish heap in Korea or Yugoslavia as some brass hat may ordain." The struggle with communism should take place "in the realm of mind and spirit, saving conscripted bodies as a last and forlorn hope." Morley went on to indict Truman for "two cold-blooded atrocities": Nagasaki and victors' justice at Nuremberg.<sup>1</sup>

Congressman Frederick C. Smith (R., Ohio), arguing during the Greek-Turkish aid debate that we were being maneuvered into war, asserted: "It is wrong to say that the United States is not launching upon a program of imperialism . . . we have already done so." Lawrence Smith (R., Wisc.), another rightist, considered the Truman Doctrine "the certain course to imperialism and the imposition of permanent conscription upon our people." It threatened the very nature of our society, and would lead to "an unbridled race for armaments," making war "certain." He called the Doctrine "an immoral proposition, advanced chiefly on the assumption that we can get away with," and equated it with the views of James Burnham, who favored American "world empire." Congressman George Bender (R., Ohio) termed the Greek government a "corrupt and venal monarchy" legitimized by a phony election. He asked if our government intended "to hire every dictator or king . . . who will scream 'Stop communism?'" The new policy was "interventionism in Europe" based on "power politics." Bender, suspicious that the Greek-Turkish bill was connected with American oil investments, favored making it clear that it was "not an international charter for unlimited oil imperialism."

Like other Congressional "isolationists", Senator Taft was critical of the Greek-Turkish proposal (writing later of the Greek regime's "strong reactionary tendencies"); but he voted for it, hoping the program would be of short duration. He likewise criticized but voted for the Marshall Plan. He was at his most non-interventionist in the fight over NATO. Speaking to the Senate on July 11, 1949, Taft stated that the treaty "will promote war in the world rather than peace." It violated the spirit of the UN Charter, and put us "at the mercy of the foreign policies of 11 other nations," by committing us to defend any NATO ally attacked by any power. Further, America would be obligated by Article III to arm western Europe. Taft preferred a simple warning that if Russia attacked western Europe we would go to war. Arming Europe would be both costly and provocative to Russia, and arms given to our allies might be used for "action which may be considered aggression in their colonies."

Two days after ratification, the Administration requested \$1,450,000,000 for military aid to our new allies, substantiating Taft's contention that NATO meant arming "half the world against the other half." The request, he said, "demands that Congress . . . authorize the State and Defense Departments to make alliances throughout the world and involve us in any and all wars, civil or internal, going on anywhere in the world."

Fear that America would constantly risk unnecessary wars by embarking upon a "futile crusade" was a major "isolationist" theme. Ex-Congressman Hamilton Fish (R., N.Y.) testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in March, 1947, and characterized the Truman Doctrine as "a policy of global intervention and imperialism." He added: "I doubt if the establishment of a cordon sanitaire by dollar imperialism can halt world communism short of war." Congressman Buffett felt that "instead of restraining communism abroad"

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intervention would "shore up ruling politicians everywhere and actually promote the spread of communism." A scramble for US aid would ensue, since every ruler "will claim . . . communism is most dangerous in his land."

In a major speech on January 5, 1951, Senator Taft expressed the "isolationist" view: "we must avoid war like poison, except when it is absolutely essential to protect our liberty." Modern war, he asserted, injured victor nearly as much as vanquished and promoted totalitarianism. In February, 1953, the Senator warned an audience that "the very independence we are trying to protect may be destroyed by perpetual war, which has established many dictatorships in this century." The garrison state was a real danger to Taft.<sup>11</sup>

To the novelist Louis Bromfield, writing in 1954, America's "attempt to dominate and direct the whole course, not only of Asia but of the world, is a policy of insanity which can only cause war after war and the eventual ruin of this nation." If in throwing off colonialism Asians chose "the disastrous experiment of Communism," that was "Asia's problem and none of our own." By supporting Western colonialism in the name of anticommunism we were "stupidly attempting to surround and contain what cannot be contained . . ."

Frank Chodorov also raised his voice against useless wars. Writing in the *Freeman* in 1954, he urged that America "remove the tinder" of another war by withdrawing "our troops to the Western Hemisphere and (abandoning) our global military commitments." We should let Europeans "go communist if they want to." Soviet domination could not be worse than "a war in which their homes became the battlefield."<sup>12</sup>

The desire to avoid war logically led the "isolationists" to protest executive supremacy and bipartisanship. Condemning the latter in 1951 as "a very dangerous fallacy," Senator Taft averred that such "unity" would allow the adoption of disastrous policies by default. In debate over presidential power to deploy troops, Taft declared, "If the President has unlimited power to involve us in war, war is more likely." He assailed as elitists those who "blithely dismiss all interest in the maintenance of popular government under the Constitution" because of their fear that the people "might oppose policies which seem to them to lead to war." Felix Morley, too, later observed that bipartisanship implied that Americans should not be concerned with how they were governed, in which case they were "ripe for dictatorship."<sup>13</sup>

"Isolationists" were as alarmed by the domestic consequences of imperial policy as by the risk of war. They regarded the draft as especially evil: Taft called it "essentially totalitarian." Buffett asserted that Selective Service "would declare to the world that Hitler was right — that the threat of communism externally justified militarism and regimentation at home." The bill was the product of "carefully created hysteria." Conscription rested on "the totalitarian concept that the state owns the individual." To Lawrence Smith, there would be "no escape" from "economic controls, manpower controls, and the regimentation that goes with dictatorial power" if Selective Service passed.<sup>14</sup>

But conscription was only the most direct inroad of imperialism upon liberty. Writing in *Human Events* in January, 1951, Frank Chodorov foresaw "a new way of thinking and a new social order" with an economy "geared to military preparations for years to come." Spending on education would "be with an eye to its contribution to war . . ." The tendency would be "more and more toward totalitarianism." Like Randolph Bourne, Chodorov considered war the health of the state.<sup>15</sup>

In a similar vein, Gareth Garrett wrote in his 1952 pamphlet, "Rise of Empire," that we were living in a "garrison state for perpetual war" characterized by "ascendancy of the military mind" and the intimidation of the civilian mind. Already, Congress could not get vital information — now "classified."<sup>16</sup>

Louis Bromfield complained that nowhere did the military "have such an elaborate propaganda machinery . . . paid for by the taxpayers' money" as in America. Cold War propaganda had nearly reduced Americans "to utter bovine subjection to a combination of big government, bureaucracy and militarism."<sup>17</sup>

In *A Foreign Policy for Americans* Senator Taft cautioned his readers that "an indefinite surrender of liberty" to "an all-out war program in time of peace might mean the final and complete destruction of those liberties" supposedly saved by it. Inflation and a lower living standard would flow from such overpreparedness. In 1953, Taft warned of economic collapse from sky-rocketing defense costs.<sup>18</sup>

According to Felix Morley, centralization must accompany an imperial foreign policy. Our institutions, he observed in 1954, "rather than our imperial policy . . . will be modified." Congress was becoming a mere rubber stamp for agencies operating in impenetrable secrecy like the CIA and AEC. In the summer of 1957, well after the Right had embraced the Cold War, Morley — sounding for all the world like C. Wright Mills — wrote in *Modern Age* that we were at a point where "we have a vested interest in preparation for war." Defense spending on capital goods was a major prop of full employment, and we were dangerously addicted to it. Hence, US representatives did not talk seriously about disarmament. Given the contradiction between an imperial role and a republican system, our leaders had to deceive public opinion continually. Imperial centralization in a formally federal structure meant that we were "losing the substance of self-government" to a rising "self-perpetuating managerial elite." A New Left participatory democrat could not have put it better.<sup>19</sup>

The Korean War was at once a paradigm of the imperial policies right-wing libertarians opposed and an important circumstance in the decline of their views. The war found rightists in various postures of opposition. Senator Taft condemned President Truman's commitment of American troops to combat as unconstitutional, saying, "it seems clear to me that the sending of troops without authorization by Congress, . . . as was done in Korea, is clearly prohibited." The intervention was not even authorized by the United Nations as claimed by the executive, Taft stated, since the Security Council's resolution was "only a recommendation."<sup>20</sup>

Congressman Buffett wondered why no one knew how we entered the conflict. Actually, on June 25, 1950, when fighting began in Korea, the Security Council had called upon UN members to help effect a cease-fire. "Nothing," Buffett observed, "was said about entering the conflict." But at noon on June 27, President Truman ordered US air and sea forces into action in support of the South Koreans. Eleven hours later, the Security Council asked for assistance for the South. Hence, Buffett said, "Truman entered that war by his own act . . ." This is the verdict, incidentally, of a recent student of executive warmaking, Merlo J. Pusey, who writes that "the President plunged the United States into the war without a shred of authority from the Constitution or the laws or treaties and without so much as a request for military help from the United Nations."<sup>21</sup>

Cold War Liberals argued that the war-making power of Congress was "obsolete." But as Gareth Garrett commented later, their reasoning was "puerile": Congress could have reacted within hours, and had we been under attack, the President could have taken defensive measures before a formal declaration of war. Coming to the heart of the matter, Garrett asked, "If constitutional doctrine is moulded by necessity, what is a written Constitution for?" Usurpation had its inner logic, however. As former Senator R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota wrote in 1922, "If there is to be an empire, there must be a dictator, so that he can move with rapidity; so that decisions can be made in a day and armies marched and ships moved where danger is seen."<sup>22</sup>

Like the nation as a whole, the Right was divided by the war. One wing, whose spokesmen were Herbert Hoover and Joseph P. Kennedy, advocated immediate withdrawal from Korea and contraction of US defense perimeters to manageable dimensions (roughly, the Americas, Britain, Japan and Formosa). Speeches by Kennedy and Hoover in December, 1950, after Chinese forces had driven the US-UN army from North Korea, touched off a "Great Debate" in which "isolationism" went down to defeat at the hands of anguished Cold War Liberals. Hoover stated that a land war in Asia "would be a war without victory . . ." Another wing adopted the crypto-imperialist position of General Douglas MacArthur. It included China Lobbyists, McCarthyites and sundry patriots confused by the official claim that the war was bound up with American survival — a claim contradicted by the actual limited character of the conflict. Believing the official rationale and seduced by the myth of American Omnipotence, this faction called for air strikes against Mainland China and the "unleashing" of Chiang's Nationalist forces. Finally, a large portion of the Right, including Taft himself, alternated confusedly or opportunistically between the "isolationist" and crypto-imperialist positions. The latter viewpoint came to be typical of the American Right — hence Goldwaterism.<sup>23</sup>

Thus it came about that right-wing "isolationism," increasingly marginal anyway, was superseded by the anticommunist crusading of Senators Knowland and Goldwater and the editors of *National Review*. The gulf between Old Right and New Right is symbolized by the incredible statement of Senator Goldwater that "the President, as

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# MacBRIDE VS. REAGAN

Any libertarian candidate is faced with the difficult choice of deciding which of the cornucopia of libertarian issues to stress in the course of his campaign. Priorities of importance must be established: obviously, for example, no candidate will give top priority to such a worthy cause as denationalization of lighthouses, lovable and correct though that issue may be. We at the Lib. Forum have long believed that an anti-war, anti-interventionist foreign policy is the most vital single issue for libertarian politics and for the country as a whole. Hence, our sounding the tocsin of warning against the candidacy of Ronald Reagan ("Stop Reagan!" Lib. Forum, December 1975).

We are therefore delighted to report that Roger MacBride, the L.P. Presidential candidate, has been laying heaviest stress in his campaign on the importance of a non-interventionist foreign policy and on the menace of Ronald Reagan. On January 12, at a news conference at the San Francisco Press Club launching a Western campaign swing, MacBride denounced Reagan's notorious "eyeball" remarks on Angola: "the most irresponsible that any candidate for President has made to date." MacBride stated that he was "astounded that a serious candidate for President should talk in terms of 'eyeballing' the Russians over the Angolan situation." MacBride added that "The real world is not a class B movie, but Mr. Reagan talks about confronting the Russians — which inherently entails the risk of a nuclear holocaust — as if he were doing nothing more than suggesting a shoot-out at the OK Corral." MacBride's reference was to Reagan's January 5 statement that the United States should "eyeball" the Russians on Angola, and tell them "Out — we'll let them fight it out ourselves, or you're going to have us to deal with."

MacBride pointed out at the news conference that, at the very time when Americans were becoming more "isolationist" and rejecting U.S. intervention abroad, that the Presidential candidates were repeating the old and failed interventionist slogans. "I am the only candidate running for President," MacBride noted, "who is in tune with the people of this

nation in the area of foreign policy." Reagan offers no alternative to the American people from the interventionist foreign policies of recent decades. MacBride pointed out that "It is obvious that Ronald Reagan would only continue the interventionist policies of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Rockefeller and Kissinger. I was worried that President Ford will turn the Mid-East situation into another Vietnam. Now it appears that Reagan would do the same over warring tribal factions in Angola."

MacBride followed this hard-hitting position at a news conference in Los Angeles on January 14, in which he called for immediate U.S. withdrawal from the Middle East and from Angola. In fact, over the first weeks of his campaign, MacBride has particularly emphasized the need for "complete neutrality" in American relations with other nations. "Neutrality", he reminded his listeners, is in the tradition of Washington and Jefferson and it is appropriate that we return to that tradition in this bicentennial year." He has also pointed out that "non-intervention" is a better term than "isolationism" because Libertarians favor free international trade rather than nationalistic barriers to trade.

(See MacBride for President Committee News Releases, January 12, and January 14, 1976. From MacBride for President Committee, 1516 P St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.)

Meanwhile, the November-December issue of the L.P. News, official organ of the national party, contains an excellent and devastating research piece on Ronald Reagan and his claim to be "libertarian." (Bill Evers, "Reagan: Hubert Humphrey of the Right?") The article is indispensable for anyone who still thinks of Reagan as a libertarian or who needs ammunition to rebut that claim. (Obtainable from Libertarian Party News, 1516 P St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 for \$3 for six issues, or \$5 for 12 issues.)

The MacBride campaign is off to a rip-roaring start. □

## Cold War — (Continued from Page 5)

Commander-in-Chief and the primary author of foreign policy, has both a duty and right to take military action at any time he feels danger for the country or its freedoms."<sup>1</sup> Imagine Robert Taft saying that! The Senate vote on the "war powers" act on April 13, 1972, also throws light on the matter. Senators Buckley (C.-R., N. Y.), Fannin (R., Ariz.), Gurney (R., Fla.), Tower (R., Tex.), Thurmond (R., S.C.) and Dominick (R., Colo.), hard-core rightists all, voted against restraining presidential military adventures. These same men have been among the most stubborn supporters of the brutal war in Indo-China. Taft, by contrast, declared a month before his death that "I have never felt that we should send American soldiers to the Continent of Asia" — including Indo-China.<sup>2</sup>

The overlapping of old Right and New Left positions is equally remarkable. We can perceive in American politics a non-interventionist tradition sometimes articulated by the Left or the Right, sometimes by elements of both. "Sooner or later," Senator J. William Fulbright maintains, "war will lead to dictatorship." It could as easily be Taft speaking. No wonder Carl Oglesby could state in 1967 that "In a strong sense, the Old Right and the New Left are morally and politically coordinate."<sup>3</sup>

When US foreign policy after World War II took the form of imperial intervention, right-wing libertarians protested. Empire implied what C. Wright Mills called a "military definition of reality," and led logically to peacetime conscription, massive rearmament and a ring of bases around the world. This extension into peace time of the authoritarian fixtures of war time was the essence of the garrison state; and the Cold War, by blurring the distinction between war and peace, provided a fertile environment for such a cancerous growth. The "isolationists," who were classical liberals in most respects, foresaw that imperialism, the highest stage of statism, would be utterly destructive of liberal values. Individualism, the free market, free speech and constitutional government could not exist in a garrison state — except in attenuated forms.

Regarding modern war with its senseless brutality and enormous destructiveness as almost the greatest evil conceivable, these critics were eager to restrain the executive and decried uncritical unity. To stay

Caesar's fallible hand, they sought to assert the rights of Congress and some of them supported measures like the Bricker Amendment. None of them wanted to isolate America, but all of them desired minimal or no military entanglements abroad.

The domestic consequences of empire were anathema to the libertarian Right. The draft they denounced as slavery — a European importation foreign to the American tradition. Buffett indirectly warned that conscription would destroy the patriotism of the young.<sup>4</sup> Buffett and Chodorov predicted witchhunts. Bromfield foresaw endless war in Asia, ending in ruin. Taft and Garrett feared the garrison state. Morley saw centralization and a permanent war economy.

Now that we have seen the results of interventionist policies — undeclared war in Indo-China, bipartisan irresponsibility in Congress, a crippled and shackled economy, Army spying on civilians, thousands of our countrymen in Canadian exile — we can forgive the "isolationists" if they sometimes exaggerated. In 1947, Buffett predicted a labor draft; instead, we got "channeling": "the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted." Taft and Buffett foretold of economic disaster; instead, we got Seymour Melman's "depleted society": not much comfort in that. We have the inflation and controls they foresaw, and a surfeit of war. The "new social order" prophesied by Frank Chodorov did indeed emerge — though we know it as the Military-Industrial-University Complex — founded on the permanent war economy described by Garrett, Morley and John T. Flynn. Instead of the outright fascism Chodorov feared, we are living under something more like the "genteel fascism" Flynn saw coming in 1944. But whatever mistakes they may have made as to detail, the libertarian rightists were far more conscious of the main drift of imperial America than their Cold War corporate-liberal opponents or the gun-boat diplomats who took over the Right. The non-interventionists of Left and Right are indeed morally and politically coordinate.<sup>5</sup>

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Congressional Record, March 2, 1944, A1036.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., March 18, 1947, 2215-7.

(Continued on Page 7)

## Cold War — (Continued from Page 6)

<sup>1</sup>Frank Chodorov, "A Byzantine Empire of the West?" *Analysis*, April, 1947; Congressman Buffett placed this article in the *Congressional Record*, April 29, 1947, A2015-6.

<sup>2</sup>Felix Morley, "The Twilight of An Empire," *Human Events*, IV, 10 (March 5, 1947), 1.

<sup>3</sup>Felix Morley, "Here Let Us Stop," *Ibid.*, V, 12 (March 24, 1948), 1-2.

<sup>4</sup>Cong. Rec., May 7, 1947, 4732; May 9, 1947, 4945; March 28, 1947, 2831-4; May 9, 1947, 4974.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, July 11, 1949, 9205-8.

<sup>6</sup>Quoted in Henry W. Berger, "Senator Taft Dissents from Military Escalation," Thomas G. Paterson (ed.), *Cold War Critics* (Chicago, 1971), 186.

<sup>7</sup>Cong. Rec., March 31, 1947, A1365-6; May 7, 1947, 4721-2.

<sup>8</sup>Robert A. Taft, "The Basis of American Foreign Policy" in Jay A. Sigler (ed.), *The Conservative Tradition in American Thought* (New York, 1969), 343-4; "Taft Calls Arming Threat To Liberty," *The New York Times*, February 22, 1953, 29.

<sup>9</sup>Louis Bromfield, *A New Pattern for a Tired World* (New York, 1954), 235, 54-5.

<sup>10</sup>Frank Chodorov, "A War to Communize America," *The Freeman*, V, 5 (November, 1954), 173-4.

<sup>11</sup>Taft, "Basis of American Foreign Policy," 341; Cong. Rec., March 29, 1951, 2988-9; Felix Morley, "Conservatism and Foreign Policy," *Vital Speeches*, XXI, 7 (January 15, 1955), 978.

<sup>12</sup>Robert A. Taft, "Compulsory Military Training in Peace Time Against Fundamental Policy of America," *Vital Speeches*, XI, 18 (July 1, 1945), 557; Cong. Rec., June 15, 1948, 8363; *Ibid.*, June 17, 1948, 8707.

<sup>13</sup>Frank Chodorov, "Warfare versus Welfare," *Human Events*, VIII, 2 (January 10, 1951), 1-4.

<sup>14</sup>Garet Garrett, "Rise of Empire," Part III of *The People's Pottage* (Boston, 1965), 112-3. "Rise of Empire" was published first as a pamphlet in 1952.

<sup>15</sup>Bromfield, *New Pattern*, 11, 283-4.

<sup>16</sup>Robert A. Taft, *A Foreign Policy for Americans* (Garden City, N. Y., 1951), 69; "Taft Calls Arming Threat," 29.

<sup>17</sup>Felix Morley, "Conservatism and Foreign Policy," 978; *Idem*, "American Republic or American Empire," *Modern Age*, I, 1 (Summer, 1957), 20, 25, 29, 30.

<sup>18</sup>Taft, *A Foreign Policy for Americans*, 33-4.

<sup>19</sup>Cong. Rec., May 21, 1951, A3760-1; Merlo J. Pusey, *The Way We Go To War* (Boston, 1969), 89.

<sup>20</sup>Garet Garrett, "Rise of Empire," 124; R. F. Pettigrew, *Imperial Washington* (Chicago, 1922), 359.

<sup>21</sup>Herbert Hoover, "Our National Policies in this Crisis," *Vital Speeches*, XVII, 6 (January 1, 1951), 165. On the divisions over the war within the Right, see especially Selig Adler, *The Isolationist Impulse* (New York, 1957), 448.

<sup>22</sup>Quoted in "War Power," *Commonweal*, XCVI, 4 (March 31, 1972), 76.

<sup>23</sup>Quoted in Leonard P. Liggio, "Why the Futile Crusade?" *Left and Right* I (Spring, 1965), 60.

<sup>24</sup>On this non-interventionist coalition, see Robert J. Bresler, "The War-Making Machinery," *The Nation*, CCXI, 17 (August 17, 1970), 109; John W. Finney, "Fulbright Warns of U. S. Decline Unless Foreign Policy Changes," *The New York Times*, April 4, 1971; Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaull, *Containment and Change* (New York, 1967), 167.

<sup>25</sup>Cong. Rec., April 7, 1952, 3649-50.

<sup>26</sup>On "channeling," see the infamous Selective Service memo reprinted in Karl Hess and Thomas Reeves, *An End to the Draft* (New York, 1970), 193-200; on "genteel fascism," see John T. Flynn, *As We Go Marching* (Garden City, N. Y., 1944).

## The ABM Slips Away

Six years ago the ABM (anti-ballistic missile) system was one of the hot political topics of the day. The conservatives made a big fuss over this measure, which they held to be vital to America's "national security", while the pro-peace forces warned that the ABM could not work, that no missiles could be built that would infallibly shoot down all incoming missiles, especially with multiple warheads, that the ABM would not only foster illusions but also prove to be an expensive boondoggle. The ABM was saved in the Senate by one vote, and the right-wing cheered. But the prophets of boondoggle proved correct, and until now only one ABM site has been built, near Grand Forks, N.D. Now, to cap this ignominious failure, the one ABM site will soon be quietly shut down, after an investment of nearly \$6 billion.

And so, after considerable militarist hysteria and \$6 billion waste of taxpayers' money, the ABM will quietly be allowed to disappear. Are there any mea culpas coming forth from the hawk ultras at *National Review* or *Human Events*? Wanna bet? (See *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1975).

## Libertarian Bicentennial

The American Revolution was a largely libertarian revolution, and it therefore behooves libertarians to make use of the Bicentennial Year to spread the message, and to counteract both the banalities of the official Bicentennial and the outrageous distortions of the People's Bicentennial, which takes quotes out of context to try to make the American revolutionaries into prototypes of Karl Marx and Eugene Debs. Hence, it is welcome news that a Libertarian Bicentennial Center has been formed, to act as a contact and coordination center for libertarian Bicentennial activities. Those interested should contact: Phil Fellows, Libertarian Bicentennial Center, 2216 40th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

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## Arts And Movies

By Mr. First Nighter

**The Man Who Would Be King.** dir. by John Huston. With Sean Connery and Michael Caine. This is the great Huston's best movie in years, a real "movie movie", a joyous romp artfully combining humor and melodrama, marred only by the unhappy ending. It is not in the same league as Huston's *Maltese Falcon*, but, then, again, what is?

The setting is Kipling's India, and, indeed, the movie is based on a short story by Kipling. Connery and Caine, two lovable rascals, decide to travel into the mountains to a land which no white men had ever seen. The purpose: to make their fortune. Introducing British Army methods into one of the warring tribes in the new land, Connery is mistaken for a god, the son of Alexander the Great, and enthroned as God-King by the priestly keepers of the Alexandrine flame. In charge of treasures untold, Caine sensibly wants to fulfill their purpose by getting out with the treasures while the getting is good. But Connery begins to "grow into his kingly role", beginning himself to believe in his mystic destiny and maybe even that he is the "son of Alexander." Connery finally gets his comeuppance when he decides to marry a native girl, not something a god is supposed to do. The priests get the girl to expose him as a mere mortal by biting his neck and demonstrating that he is only flesh and blood, and Connery is doomed.

There are many fascinating and understated elements to the film. Thus, the priests only accept Connery as god when they find that he possesses the Masonic emblem, which to them is the divine sign of Alexander. Masonry revealed! It is also hinted, though not elaborated, that the priests begin to turn against Connery when he builds a rope bridge across a ravine which had made the capital town barely accessible before. For when they kill Connery, the priests do so by slashing the rope bridge. Presumably, the priests hate the bridge because this technological advance was creating greater mobility of trade in the land, as well as the rise of a nascent bourgeoisie which would eventually have threatened the perpetuity of their priestly rule over the country.

Many critics have complained that the movie is "sexist", since Connery's downfall is brought about by a female. Apart from the fact that this view ignores the role of the priests, it really misses the major point of the film: namely, that Connery is ruined by acquiring the hubris of power. If he had not been seduced by the mystique of power, and Caine would have cut out with the treasure, and lived happily ever after. And so the film has a libertarian rather than a sexist moral.

The acting is splendid, clearly reflecting Huston's master hand. Michael Caine has been happily induced to shed his usual smart-alec and sophisticated Cockney image, and Connery makes the graceful transition from romantic lead to character actor. Christopher Plummer is excellent in the catalytic role of Kipling himself. □

## Free Doug Kennell!

Libertarians have all favored amnesty for draft resisters, but the argument has lately been carried on in abstract terms: the draft, after all, is moribund (though not dead); no one has been drafted for a long time; and draft resisters, holed up in Canada and Sweden, have been largely drifting back and have been, in effect, freed by the authorities. If the draft is ended, and amnesty here in practical terms, why worry about draft prosecutions? But amnesty is not here for everyone, and this truth has just been dramatically driven home to all of us.

For on Wednesday, October 22, a young but long-time libertarian activist from California, Doug Kennell, was arrested by the FBI and charged with violation of the Selective Service Act, on the basis of an indictment for non-adherence to the draft issued in June, 1971. A fugitive from "justice" for over four years, Mr. Kennell now faces the possibility of five years in prison and a \$5000 fine on each of three counts.

Doug Kennell must be free. He has retained counsel, and is basing his defense on the 14th and particularly the 13th Amendment, which presumably abolished involuntary servitude in America. Anyone who wishes to contribute to Doug Kennell's legal defense fund, should send contributions to: The 13th Amendment Defense Fund; P.O. Box 1202; Free Venice, California 90291. Please make out checks to Mr. Shawn Steel. □

## Libertarian Environmentalists

A new nationwide association of libertarian environmentalists has just been formed: the Association for Rational Environmental Alternatives (AREA). Consisting of professionals interested in the environmental area, including planners, architects, engineers, attorneys, and officials, the aim of AREA is to "objectively investigate, develop, and advance alternatives stressing private and non-governmental solutions to urban and environmental problems." AREA will particularly oppose growing government regulations and restrictions on private property rights in the field of urban affairs.

AREA has been in the process of organizing for the past year, and already includes professionals in two dozen states. President of AREA is Dick Bjornseth, and urban planner from Houston, Texas; other officers are: Vice President, Paul Bilzi, a geotechnical engineer from State College, Pa.; Secretary, Lawrence Dwyer, Jr., an architect from New Orleans; and Treasurer, Lynn Kinsky, social scientist and an editor of Reason magazine from Santa Barbara, Calif. We wish AREA well, and are happy to see it join ALL as another professional group in important fields of libertarianism. For further information on AREA, write to: Dick Bjornseth, 5915 Fondren No. 235; Houston, Texas 77036. □

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THE

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## THE PRESIDENCY '76 THE MORNING LINE

We are writing this article after the early caucuses but before the first primaries — a good time for an interim assessment of the Presidential sweepstakes. First, probably the most important issue that has arisen for libertarians is the sudden and rising counter-revolution the abortion question. Well-financed and raucous, using all the available propaganda techniques, the "Pro-Lifers" are clearly making this Presidential year the focal point of their counter-revolution: to overthrow the Supreme Court decision and to criminalize abortion once more. Cleverly, while the Catholic Church is of course the major force in this nationwide effort, the Catholics have managed to draw in fundamentalist Protestants and some Orthodox Jews in an effort to cast off the theological odor of their campaign.

Let us make no mistake: Every woman has the absolute right to her own body. Outlawing abortion is a coercive invasion of that right; it is enslavement of women and compulsory baby-making. While the Supreme Court decision was not perfect, it must be rallied around to defend that vital natural human right. Yet where are the feminists now when they are needed for that defense? Here was one issue that the feminists were perfectly sound on; and yet now where are their voices? The feminists I have spoken to have declared themselves bored with the entire issue; wasn't it won several years ago? Perhaps so, but that victory is now in grave doubt, unless the feminists begin a vigorous counter-agitation against the Pro-Lifers. Surely here is an issue more important than the ERA or "chairman" vs. "chairperson."

Here, too, is an issue that the newly-formed Association of Libertarian Feminists can really take the lead on, and in the process advance the cause of abortion-freedom and of libertarianism in general. Here is a chance for libertarians to take the lead in a broad ideological alliance for human rights.

The Pro-Lifers have been using every bit of available demagogy: including showing repulsive movies of bloody fetuses. OK, we can show movies, too, if it comes to that: of women being butchered by illegal abortionists in back alleys, of the discrimination against the poor that the old law entailed, of the imposed poverty and misery of the families that the State forced upon the world. Let us resolve: They shall not bring back the days of illegal abortions!

Meanwhile, however, the criminalizers proceed without opposition. Ronald Reagan has adopted the full pro-Lifer creed, and the other candidates hedge and fuzz the issue, but move cravenly into the anti-abortionist camp, including Ford's absurd call for a states-rights abortion amendment, and Jimmy Carter's typical fuzzy ambiguities. And, as the cutting edge of the criminalizing campaign, Ellen McCormack, young Catholic housewife from Long Island, is reaping a great deal of publicity from her race in the New Hampshire Democratic primary.

The big surprise of the Democratic race is the emergence of Georgia peanut merchant Jimmy Carter as the leader after the early caucuses.

Carter is a menace; for he is a hoked-up, phony-"good ole boy" version of the statist monster, Scoop Jackson. But Scoop, fortunately for American liberty and world peace, has all the charisma of a dead mackerel, and so he has to depend on the bosses in the large states; Scoop cannot survive a campaign where he has to "press the flesh." But "corn pone" Carter is the perfect flesh-presser, his ever-present smile masking the icy-blue eyes, his charisma remaining intact because of his constant and egregious waffling and evading of the issues. Until now, furthermore, Carter has been able to sucker the liberals, anxious to find a "good Southerner" to offset George Wallace. The liberal counter-attack against Carter has now begun, with a blistering critique by Steven Brill in the March Harper's: "The Pathetic Lies of Jimmy Carter." But will the counter-attack be in time?

I myself didn't take Carter seriously until the end of December, when the New York Times (Dec. 28) published a list of the economists advising each of the Presidential contenders. Many were predictable: Reagan had Friedman and the Friedmanites, Scoop had the No. 1 Corporate State businessman Felix Rohatyn of the international banking firm of Lazard Freres, Fred Harris has the socialists and semi-socialists: Michael Harrington, Bob Lekachman, Nat Goldfinger of the AFL-CIO. But, lo and behold! it was Jimmy Carter that the all-star cast of top Establishment liberals: Lester Thurow of MIT, Lawrence Klein of the University of Pennsylvania, Joseph Pechman of Brookings, Richard Cooper of Yale. Ho ho, said I to myself, is the "fix" in for Jimmy Carter? Is it indeed? The Carter boom, in fact, was launched by Time magazine, the quintessence of the Establishment. And now we find that Carter's top foreign policy adviser is none other than Columbia University's Zbigniew Brzezinski, Hubert Humphrey's top foreign policy strategist in the 1968 campaign. The centrist Brzezinski has long yearned to be Secretary of State, and now it looks as if he might get his wish.

As for Scoop, he is relying on the bosses: Mayor Daley of Chicago, and particularly the hack regulars of the New York Democracy. In New York, the up-state regulars, plus Brooklyn boss Meade Esposito (boss, also, of Mayor Abe Beame) and Queens Democrat leader Donald Manes, have declared openly for Scoop; in the meanwhile, Governor Hugh Carey and his minions (headed by state chairman and Bronx Democrat boss Pat Cunningham — now under a corruption cloud) are pushing their own "uncommitted" slate, which may well end up in the Jackson camp when the dust settles. The Democrat liberals in New York are at sixes and sevens — Bella Abzug and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel have their own liberal-uncommitted slate. In the meanwhile, in a particularly amusing note, the left-liberal reformers, headed by the "West-Side kids" who got their start in the Gene McCarthy movement of 1968, decided to push for Birch Bayh instead of the expected Fred Harris. The reason: "Bayh can win". Except that Bayh hasn't won much yet

The most amusing note of the Democratic sweepstakes so far,  
(Continued On Page 2)

## Pres. '76 —

(Continued From Page 1)

however, is former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford — once the favorite “good Southern” of the liberals. Getting no support anywhere for President, Sanford dropped out; but, when asked if he will return the federal matching funds, he said no, because he might decide to re-enter later on! That's it, Terry, whatever else happens, hang on to the money.

Meanwhile, the colorless, carefully comprising-liberal Mo Udall is hanging in there, hoping for lightning to strike in New Hampshire. Pennsylvania's Governor Milton Shapp, though getting virtually no support so far, and himself under a corruption cloud, is not dropping out either. He has fallen back on his last line of defense: a deal for a bloc of convention delegates from the Wallaceite law-and-order cop and mayor of Philadelphia, Frank Rizzo, a former Nixon Democrat. Plus a hope of undercutting Scoop Jackson for Miami Beach's Jewish votes in the Florida primary, on the frank appeal: “Isn't it time that we had a President?”

The Democratic race, so far, is a dismal swamp of strong conservative statists (Jackson and Carter), and weak liberals. In the wings, there is the “unannounced” candidate, the gasbag centrist and Old New Dealer Hubert Humphrey, whose personal style alone would be an affliction on the American public. Most interesting are two dark horses so dark as to be really “unannounced”, from the new quasi-libertarian, anti-Big Government wing of the party, a wing growing in strength as a result of the increasing public revulsion against Big Government, the same revulsion which is misguidedly leading people into the camp of the warmonger Reagan. One, of course, is Governor Jerry Brown of California, who, in contrast to Reagan, is pro-peace and pro-civil liberties (especially the latter) as well as against Big Government domestically. His only hope rests with the California primary, the last one in the nation. The other is the original proto-Brown politico, Governor Dan Walker of Illinois. However, Walker the original Democratic budget-cutter, faces a formidable foe not troubling Jerry Brown: the Mayor Daley machine, the eternal enemy of Walker. Daley's candidate, the formidable Illinois Secretary of State Howlett, looked like a good bet to overthrow Walker in the Democratic primary for Governor, which of course would have ended any Presidential chances Walker might have had. But now, happily, Howlett has suddenly come under his own corruption cloud, so Walker might possibly pull through.

Meanwhile, in the Republican camp, Reagan remains the Number One menace, to American liberty and to the libertarian movement. It is vital to expose Reagan as the Pied Piper of the nationwide revulsion against Big Government, the piper who would lead the increasingly libertarian masses into a statist world of militarism and nuclear war. When challenged in New Hampshire about why he is opposed to amnesty to Vietnam War resisters, especially in view of the fact that Vietnam was not a war declared by Congress, Reagan answered: “I still think it ought to have been a declared war, and I still think we ought to have won it.” (See A. Cockburn and J. Ridgeway, *The Village Voice*, Feb. 23, p. 15.) “We ought to have won it”: there stands the true thinking and instinct of Ronald Reagan and of the conservative movement. How many tons of bombs, how many American lives, how many Vietnamese lives, would such a “victory” have cost? Reagan is the leading political conservative, and conservatism thirsts for mass murder. The fact that Reagan wants increased tax credits for investment pales in importance besides this stark fact.

Furthermore, as could have been predicted, Reagan's much vaunted and much-criticized “\$90 Billion plan” turns out to be a phoney. It took very little for Reagan to retreat; he now claims that the federal government should keep collecting the \$90 billion and then quickly turn the money over to the respective states on the spot. So much for the hope for drastic reductions in the federal income tax. Reagan has also expressly abandoned the idea of making Social Security voluntary. And when we realize, further, that Reagan wants massive increases in the military budget, we can full see the tinsel of Reagan's and conservative promises of leading the assault on Big Government at home.

And what indeed of abortion? What kind of “hostility” to Big Government is it that envisions the resumption of police enforcement against millions of women and against physicians?

In short, Ronald Reagan and conservatism are not opposed to Big Government at all. All that they want is shift in the priorities for government activity and expenditure: a bit less welfare, a lot more militarism, coerced “morality”, and war overseas. Reagan must be stopped, and the sooner the better.

Meanwhile, the expected erosion of “libertarians” into the Reagan camp has begun, Dana Rohrabacher, the “troubadour” of the movement, and for many years an “anti-political” LeFevrian, has suddenly emerged as a top Reagan aide in New Hampshire. And several other leading LeFevrians are joining the Reagan camp as well. These defections are a fascinating example of how the two major, and seemingly diametrically, opposed “deviations” from the proper, plumb-line libertarian strategy — “left sectarianism” and “right opportunism”, often complement and feed upon each other. For after several years of political inaction and hugging one's libertarian “purity” to one's bosom, despair tends to set in, and it becomes all too easy to yearn for some short-run gains — and hence the leap into right opportunism and to the evil of Reaganism. (The phenomenon works the other way too; many libertarians, disgusted with years of their own political opportunism on the right-wing, leap into the seemingly immaculate purity of left-sectarianism.)

Meanwhile, President Ford has been predictably waffling in the direction of Reaganism — notably in his clever device to “oversee” the monstrous, secret, and despotic CIA while proposing the crack down on the “leakers” who are at least trying to inform the American taxpayers on what these rascals are doing in our name; and in the Angolan fiasco, in which Kissinger obviously tried to prove that, at least in marginal areas, he can be as warlike as Schlesinger and the ultra-hawks. But — and this is no mean feat — the Ford Administration did have the guts to toss out the thuggish Pat Moynihan, who delighted the right-center Establishment by playing to the Zionist gallery. Moynihan now joins Schlesinger in leading the pro-war forces pressuring Ford-and-Kissinger from the right. It must be realized that, for all its numerous defects, the Kissinger balance-of-power imperial politics is far better than the war crusade of the right-wing; detente at least preserves a real if uneasy peace with the Soviet Union and preserves American lives and freedom from the holocaust of nuclear war. Meanwhile, Moynihan, returning to Harvard to help raise the next generation of the power elite, cranks up his unannounced campaign to gain the Democratic nomination for the Senate from New York — a campaign that has great attraction for the Old New Deal hack regulars who run the party in that state. For Moynihan is indeed a perfect reflection of the old FDR-Truman-Scoop Jackson mentality. A man who has had the intellectual — shall we call it, “flexibility” — to serve in top policy-making posts every President since Jack Kennedy, Moynihan is the Perfect Model of the Modern Social-Democrat: pro-statist at home, pro-Empire and pro-war abroad. Harvard is the perfect spot for him; given the alternatives, let us hope he remains there forever. ■

## We Make The Media!

The Libertarian Forum has just been recognized by the media — a libertarian first! The lively liberal bi-weekly, *The New Times* (Feb. 20, 1976), devotes a paragraph to our December, 1975 editorial, “Stop Reagan!” Having evidently read our editorial carefully, editor Tony Schwartz quotes from our stressing the menace of Reagan's pro-war foreign policy. Clearly, *New Times* believes this to be news because, as Schwartz puts it, “Ronald Reagan is facing strong opposition to his candidacy from a group in sympathy with many of his announced views.” I.e., libertarians.

This event holds several lessons for libertarians. In the first place, in a repeat of the first media publicity for libertarians in the winter of 1970-71, liberals tend to be delighted to find groups of “rightists” who are opposed to Conservatives. Fine, because, while liberals are happy to underscore splits in the “right wing”, the news of libertarianism itself gets disseminated to the public. And, finally, there is a happy coincidence here: for stopping Reagan is a vital task, and also happens to be a particularly newsworthy one. The more that we differentiate ourselves from conservatism and Reaganism the better — for we will be helping to save the country from war while disseminating libertarianism at the same time. ■

## Revisionism And Libertarianism

### Introductory Note

What's happening at Reason? The long-awaited Revisionist issue of Reason finally appeared in February, 1976. There is good material there, particularly the excellent articles by William Marina ("U. S. Interventions: Aberrations or Empire?") and Alan Fairgate ("Non-Marxist Theories of Imperialism"). And yet — some references to Vietnam were cut out of the Marina article, mentions of the "ruling class" were excised from the Fairgate article, other commissioned articles on Cold War Revisionism were rejected, and my own eagerly commissioned overview for the Reason issue (which follows verbatim) was rejected by Messrs. Poole and Machan for three reasons: space, because they themselves disagreed that the U. S. is the major imperialist power, and because the article would be a shock to their readers. The latter is certainly true; judging from Reason readers' reactions to my own columns on foreign policy, their readers in almost desperate need of education to steer them away from their National Review-Birchite knee-jerk responses on foreign affairs. A "shock treatment" may well do them a world of good.

As a toperoo, Tibor Machan moved his own Viewpoint column out of order so as to be able to attack Revisionism in the issue itself. Tibor's argument is characteristic of a large number of right-wing libertarian views on foreign policy: the Argument from Ignorance. Tibor launches his article by conceding that "I am not an historian", that he knows nothing about foreign affairs, and that even his opinions are "not often well founded", after which he proceeds to give his opinions, including the "impressionistic viewpoint" that the "United States comes off better" than other countries in foreign affairs. Now come on, Tibor; would you ever say things like that in the area of philosophy?

As one might expect from that opening, the rest of Machan's column needs no detailed critique. Except to offer two definitions of imperialism in response to his query: a short one — "The use of coercion by the State of one country against the citizens of another country"; and a more expanded definition to apply to current Western imperialism in the Third World, from Leonard Liggio's brilliant article "Why the Futile Crusade?", and quoted in the Fairgate article in Reason's own Revisionist issue: "The imperialist power of the Western countries . . . imposed on the world's peoples a double or reinforced system of exploitative imperialism — by which the power of the Western governments maintains the local ruling class in exchange for the opportunity to superimpose Western exploitation upon existing exploitation by the local ruling states." After which, I call upon Messrs. Machan and Poole, plus the Reason readership, to read or reread the Fairgate article and all of the books and articles referred to therein. Perhaps then the ignorance of these and other right-wing libertarians will prove not to be "invincible" after all.

I do not mean to imply by all this that Reason is hopeless. On the contrary, as the libertarian movement's largest magazine, it commands the interest and concern of us all. But with foreign policy, with questions of war and peace, being the single most important topic for libertarians and for all Americans, it is particularly important that right-wing libertarians heed the vitally important dictum of Brand Blanshard in his Reason and Belief: that it is profoundly immoral to let one's opinions go beyond the range of one's knowledge.

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What has revisionism to do with libertarianism? Many libertarians see no connection. Steeped in the theory of the non-aggression axiom, and that the State has always been the major aggressor, these libertarians see no need to concern themselves with the grubby details of the misdeeds and interrelations between Germany, Russia, Britain, the United States, and other particular states. If all States are evil, why worry about the details?

The first answer is that theory is not enough in dealing with the concrete world of reality. If all States are evil, some are more evil than others, some particular States have engaged in enormously more aggression, both internally against their subjects, and externally against the

citizens of other States. The State of Monaco has committed far less aggression than the State of Great Britain. If we libertarians are to understand the real world, and to try to bring about the victory of liberty in that world, we must understand the actual history of concrete, existent States. History provides the indispensable data by which we can understand and deal with our world, and by which we can assess the relative guilt, the relative degrees of aggression committed by the various states. Monaco, for example, is not one of our major problems in this world, but we can only learn this from knowledge of history, and not from a priori axioms. But of course to learn about concrete reality takes work, not only a substantial amount of reading, but also reading with the basic elements of revisionism in mind. Work that investigates the complexities of history, and that is not easily reducible to catch phrases and sloganeering.

Revisionism is an historical discipline made necessary by the fact that all States are governed by a ruling class that is a minority of the population, and which subsists as a parasitic and exploitative burden upon the rest of society. Since its rule is exploitative and parasitic, the State must purchase the alliance of a group of "Court Intellectuals", whose task is to bamboozle the public into accepting and celebrating the rule of its particular State. The Court Intellectuals have their work cut out for them. In exchange for their continuing work of apologetics and bamboozlement, the Court Intellectuals win their place as junior partners in the power, prestige, and loot extracted by the State apparatus from the deluded public.

The noble task of Revisionism is to de-bamboozle: to penetrate the fog of lies and deception of the State and its Court Intellectuals, and to present to the public the true history of the motivation, the nature, and the consequences of State activity. By working past the fog of State deception to penetrate the truth, to the reality behind the false appearances, the Revisionist works to delegitimize, to desanctify, the State in the eyes of the previously deceived public. By doing so, the Revisionist, even if he is not a libertarian personally, performs a vitally important libertarian service. Hence, the Revisionist historian performs crucial libertarian tasks regardless of his own personal ideology. Since the State cannot function, cannot command majority support vital to its existence without imposing a network of deception, Revisionist history becomes a crucial part of the tasks of the libertarian movement. Crucial especially because Revisionism goes beyond pure theory to expose and reveal the specific lies and crimes of the State as it exists in concrete reality.

Revisionism can be "domestic"; thus, revisionist historians in recent years have shown that the growth of the American State in the twentieth century has come about, not in a "democratic" attempt to curb Big Business "monopoly", but in the course of a conscious desire by certain elements of Big Business to use the State to fasten a cartelized and monopolized economy upon American society. Revisionist historians have further shown that the "welfare" State injures, rather than benefits, the very groups that such a State allegedly helps and succors. In short, that the Welfare State is designed to aid the ruling coalition of certain Big Business groups and technocratic, statist intellectuals, at the expense of the remainder of society. If the knowledge of such historical truth became widespread, it would be difficult indeed for modern Big Government to sustain itself in operation.

While historical Revisionism has performed important services on the domestic front, its major thrust has dealt with war and foreign policy. For over a century, war has been the major method by which the State has fastened its rule upon a deluded public. There has been much discussion over the years among libertarians and classical liberals on why classical liberalism, so dominant in the early and mid-nineteenth century in Western Europe and America, failed ignominiously by the time of the advent of the twentieth century. The major reason is now clear: the ability of the State to wield patriotism as a weapon, to mobilize the masses of the public behind the interventionist and war policies of the various powerful States. War and foreign intervention are crucial methods by which a State expands its power and exploitation, and also provide elements of danger for one State at the hands of another. Yet the

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## Center For Libertarian Studies Formed!

The heart and soul of libertarianism is its ideas, and the success of liberty will be still-born if that body of ideas is not discussed, advanced, and disseminated to scholars and interested students of liberty. For libertarianism is itself a growing discipline, one that cuts across and integrates material from a host of other disciplines in the sciences of human action: including philosophy, law, economics, history, sociology, biology, and education. But in order for this libertarian discipline to grow and prosper, there must be communication between and encouragement for the increasing number of younger scholars in the separate "official" disciplines. Modern higher education fosters isolated specialization, with little or no communication between the various scholarly fields. And yet, the spirit of liberty within these highly promising younger discipline, is bound to fizzle out unless there is increasing communication between these scholars, fruitful interchange and advance of ideas, and ways to encourage their research (including an outlet for publishing their findings.) No task is more important for the permanent nurturing and advance of liberty, and no course of action will have such a high "payoff" per unit dollar "invested." There are plenty of funds for other tasks with immediate returns; but this seemingly abstract and long-run development of the basic ideas and scholarship of liberty is a task of enormous importance that has so far been widely neglected.

Realizing the vital importance of building communication between libertarian scholars, especially the growing number of young thinkers and researchers, Professors Walter Grinder and Walter Block have held three annual fall Libertarian Scholars Conferences in the New York area. Operating with virtually no funds and under Spartan conditions, these conferences have nevertheless been outstanding successes: providing highly important papers and discussions in such areas as philosophy, history, sociology, economics, and law. Though with little hope of publication, the scholars nonetheless did outstanding work on papers that have still not seen the light of day.

Based on that experience, several of us in New York realized that the need for a center of libertarian scholarship is there, the people are there, and that now what we must do is to organize and appeal to a broad base of funding among the legion of those who would dearly like to see the discipline of libertarianism advance, and to foster and publish scholarly research in this vitally important area. And so, we have formed the Center for Libertarian Studies, and we hereby announce our existence and appeal for whatever funds you can spare.

Among the activities we are planning are the following: a periodical *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, filling at long last the need for a continuing libertarian journal on the highest scholarly level; *Occasional Papers*, pamphlets to be published by the Center; a *Newsletter* informing friends and donors of our activities; annual *Libertarian Scholars Conferences*, which will have enough support to bring in scholars from around the country; *Special Conferences* on particular scholarly themes; *Fellowships* to enable junior scholars across the country to come to New York to study with the resident scholars there; *Lectures or Lecture Series* by Center scholars.

Officers of the Center for Libertarian Studies are John Hagel III, President; Walter E. Grinder, Secretary and Executive Director; Walter Block, Treasurer; and Murray N. Rothbard, Editor, *Journal of Libertarian Studies*. Other members of the Executive Committee of the Center are: Williamson Evers, Dale Grinder, Chuck Hamilton, Robert D. Kephart, Leonard P. Liggio, Joseph R. Reden, Ralph Raico, and Joseph R. Stromberg. For our Board of Advisors for the Center and *Journal* we have been fortunate to obtain the following distinguished scholars: Friedrich A. Hayek, Nobel laureate in Economics; Yale Brozen, professor of economics, University of Chicago; Arthur A. Ekirch, professor of history, State University of New York, Albany; Jean-Pierre Hamilius, professor of economics, Luxembourg; Henry Hazlitt; John Hospers, professor of philosophy, University of Southern California; James J. Martin; Felix Morley; James A. Sadowsky, S. J., professor of philosophy, Fordham University; Louis M. Spadaro, professor of economics, Fordham University; Dr. Thomas S. Szasz, professor of psychiatry, Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, N. Y. And in view of our

desire to carry forward the ideals of their late husbands, we are particularly honored to have on our Board of Advisors, Mrs. F. A. Haper and Mrs. Ludwig von Mises.

Donations to the Center are tax-deductible; checks should be made out to the Fund for New Educational Projects. Donors of \$100 or over, who will constitute the "Friends of the Center", will receive all of the Center's publications gratis, as well as invitations to the Center's by-invitation-only conferences. Inquiries or donations should be sent to the Center for Libertarian Studies, 200 West 58th St., Suite 5D, New York, N. Y. 10019.

## Revisionism And Libertarianism — (Continued From Page 3)

State — every State — has been particularly successful in deluding its citizens that it fights wars and intervenes in other countries for their protection and benefit; when the reality is that war provides a golden opportunity for the State to bamboozle its citizens into gathering together to defend it and to advance its interests and its power. Since war and foreign policy provide the State with its easiest means of delusion and deception, Revisionist exposure on the foreign affairs front is the most important avenue of desanctification and delegitimation of the State apparatus and of State aggression.

In the Revisionist exposure of the truths about foreign affairs, one particular myth, strongly held by most Americans and even by most libertarians, has been of supreme importance: namely, the myth propagated by the arch-statist and interventionist Woodrow Wilson that domestic dictatorships are always hellbent on foreign war and aggression, while domestic democracies invariably conduct a peaceful and non-aggressive foreign policy. While this correlation between domestic dictatorship and foreign aggression has a superficial plausibility, it is simply not true on the factual, historical record. There have been many domestic dictatorships that have turned inward upon themselves and have therefore been pacific in foreign relations (e.g. Japan before its compulsory "opening up" in the mid-nineteenth century by the U. S.'s Commodore Perry); and all too many domestic "democracies" that have conducted a warlike and aggressive foreign policy (e.g., Britain and the United States.) The existence of democratic voting, far from being a barrier against foreign aggression, simply means that the State must conduct its propaganda more intensively and more cleverly, in order to bamboozle the voters. Unfortunately, the State and its Court Intellectuals have been all too equal to this task.

In the history of foreign affairs, then, a priori history simply does not work; there is nothing to be done but engage in a detailed and concrete historical inquiry into the detailed wars and aggressions of particular States, keeping in mind that the record of the foreign policy of "democracies" needs even more debamboozlement than the foreign conduct of dictatorships. There is no way to deduce relative degrees of guilt for war and imperialism from libertarian axioms or from the simple degree of internal dictatorship in any particular country. The degree of guilt for war or imperialism is a purely evidentiary question, and there is no escape from the task of looking hard at the evidence.

The result of such a cool-eyed empirical look at the evidence, at the history of particular States in the modern world, is bound to be a shock for Americans raised on the foreign affairs mythology propounded by the Court Intellectuals of the media and of our educational system. Namely, that the major aggressor, the major imperialist and war-monger, in the nineteenth and down through the first half of the twentieth century, was Great Britain; and, further, that the United States signed on, during World War I, as a junior partner of the British Empire, only to replace it as the major imperial and war-mongering power after World War II. The Wilsonian ideology is simply a pernicious myth, especially as applied to Britain and the United States in the twentieth century, and libertarians

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## Fuller, Law, And Anarchism

By Randy E. Barnett\*

(Editor's Note: Mr. Barnett's article is of great importance for libertarian and anarchist legal philosophy. For what he shows is, that by taking the great natural law legal philosophy Lon Fuller's concept of proper law, and applying it to substantive content of the law, one arrives at the remarkable conclusion that the State itself is illegal, by any intelligible formulation of legal forms. And so, not only are archbishops wrong in thinking that the State is necessary for the development of law, but the State is in basic and inherent contradiction to law itself!)

### I

The Harvard Law School lecture hall was deafeningly still as Lon Fuller rose from his chair and slowly walked to the blackboard. Almost gracefully the old man drew a vertical line with an arrow at the bottom end. "This is how most people view the law," he said. "They see it as a command from above." Then he drew a horizontal line with arrows at both ends. "But this," he continued, "is the way most law actually is. A way for people to order their lives by knowing what to expect of others." As he continued his talk, focusing for a good deal of time on which side of the road we drive on and which side we pass on, one could almost feel the disappointment in the air. So that was all the great man had to say. Ah, it's too bad that age has to dim the mind so. This at any rate was the look in people's eyes.

I must confess to a similar feeling — that is, at first, I had been thinking along much the same lines, but I was hoping for much more in the way of an elaboration. Well, maybe I should re-read his book, I told myself. When I did I discovered to my surprise that what I was searching for was there and in brilliant form. I had read *The Morality of Law* several years earlier and, while I liked it at the time, I had either completely missed the crucial points or completely forgotten them (probably the former). Now I seized upon every argument with the passion.

Professor Fuller (Carter Professor of Jurisprudence, Emeritus, Har-

vard Law School) lays out a view of law as a purposive enterprise. The purpose which animates the law also determines in a general way the form a law should take. This internal dynamic Fuller calls the morality of law. It is a guideline to how one should make law if one wishes to make good law. Like Fuller's talk, this approach sounds simple, deceptively so. The implications of *The Morality of Law* are far reaching, perhaps, one might argue, even revolutionary. The purpose of this paper is to examine a few of these implications.

### II

Before embarking on an analysis of Fuller's views, it might be prudent to first spell them out in a bit more detail. Fuller argues that there are two sorts of morality: the morality of aspiration and the morality of duty. The morality of aspiration "is the morality of the Good Life, of excellence, of the fullest realization of human powers . . . (A) man might fail to realize his fullest capabilities . . . But in such a case he was condemned for failure, not for being recreant to duty; for shortcoming, not for wrongdoing." (5) The morality of duty, on the other hand,

"lays down the basic rules without which an ordered society directed toward certain specific goals must fall short of its mark . . . It does not condemn men for failing to embrace opportunities for the fullest realization of their powers. Instead, it condemns them for failing to respect the basic requirements of social living." (5, 6)

The substance of the law, argues Fuller, deals only with duty. It must act to enforce certain reciprocal understandings in order to avoid harm to the innocent. It cannot and should not "compel a man to live the life of reason . . . We can only create the conditions essential for rational human existence. These are the necessary, but not the sufficient conditions for the achievement of that end." (9) Fuller sees three conditions for the op-

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must simply gird themselves to unlearn that myth, and to bring themselves into tune with historical truth. Since libertarians have managed to unlearn many of the domestic myths promulgated by the American State, one hopes that they can find it in their hearts to unlearn the pervasive foreign policy myth as well. Only then will classical liberalism, let alone full libertarianism, be able to achieve a full Renaissance in the Western world, and especially within America.

The Greatest deception of the American (and the British) State, then, is its allegedly defensive and pacifistic foreign policy. When Revisionists maintain, therefore, that the major guilt for war and imperialism in the twentieth century belongs to the United States and to Great Britain, they are not necessarily maintaining that the various enemies of the United States have been domestically and internally less dictatorial or aggressive than the United States government. Certainly, libertarian revisionists do not maintain this thesis. No libertarian would claim that the internal polity of the Soviet Union, Communist China, Nazi Germany, or even Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany was less despotic than that of Britain or the United States. Quite the contrary. But what libertarian, as well as other, Revisionists, do maintain is that the U. S. and Great Britain were, as a matter of empirical fact, the major aggressors and war-mongers in each of these particular wars and conflicts. Such truths may be unpalatable to a priori "historians", but they are facts of reality nevertheless.

Furthermore, as indicated above, it is precisely the use of war and war mythology that has led to the acceleration of domestic statism in the U. S. and in Great Britain in this century. In fact, every significant advance of American statism has come about in the course of one of its allegedly "defensive" wars. The Civil War crushed states' rights and brought about an inflationary and statist banking system, a regime of high tariffs and subsidies to railroads, and income and federal excise taxation; World War I ushered in the modern planning and "New Deal" Welfare-Warfare

State in America; and World War II and the Cold War completed that task and led to the current Big Government Leviathan that we suffer under today. It is highly relevant and vital to the understanding of the burgeoning American State that each of these consequences were not unfortunate accidents brought about by foreign "aggressors", but the result of a conscious and deliberate aggressive and war-mongering policy indulged in by the American State.

Revisionism therefore reveals to us in all its starkness that the State Enemy in the United States is purely at home and not abroad. Foreign States have served merely as scapegoats for the aggrandizement of American State power at home and abroad, over domestic citizens and foreign peoples. The Enemy is not a foreign bogey, but here in our midst. Only full understanding of this truth by libertarians and other Americans can enable us to identify the problems we face and to proceed to insure the victory of liberty. Before we can overcome our enemies, we must know who they are.

To defend its depredations, the American State has been able, with the help of its Court Intellectuals, to employ a powerful propaganda weapon to silence its opponents and to further delude its public. Namely, to label the critics of its imperialist and war policies conscious or unconscious agents or sympathizers with the domestic policies of its various State enemies. And so, throughout this century, Revisionists, even libertarian Revisionists, have been continually accused of being tools or sympathizers of the Kaiser, of the Nazis, or of the Communists — sometimes all at once or seriatim. In this post-Wilsonian age, even a priori libertarians have been duped into tarring Revisionist libertarians with the same smear brush. Even the imbecility of thinking for one moment that a libertarian can really be a Nazi or a Communist has not deterred the bamboozled libertarians from smearing and denigrating their more clear-sighted colleagues. What is needed above all is to cast off the post-Wilsonian mythology and a priori history of twentieth century American propaganda, and to realize that the (American) Emperor really has no clothes. The penetrating truths of Revisionism are needed to de-bamboozle libertarians along with other Americans; hopefully, this issue of Reason will contribute to this vital task. ■

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timum efficacy of the notion of duty." (23) First, the duty must be created by the parties themselves. "The reciprocity out of which the duty arises must result from a voluntary agreement between the parties immediately affected." (23)

Second the performances required must be in some sense equal in value. Here I must disagree. Fuller searches for some measure of value to apply to things which are different in kind. Such a search will prove as fruitless as the medieval search for a "just price" and for the same reason. The subjective valuations of the parties (the only standard of relevance in a voluntary exchange) are incommensurable by virtue of their subjectivity. What Fuller may be searching for (as his later reliance on the concept of marginal utility reveals) is a notion of an *ex ante* desire of each party for that thing held by the other. Only if such a condition exists is a free exchange possible, else why exchange? Fuller points out that "we cannot speak of an exact identity, for it makes no sense at all to exchange, say a book or idea in return for exactly the same book or idea." (23) We leave to the parties the determination of the "fairness" of the exchange. Surely this satisfies Fuller's second condition of a situation which makes "a strong appeal to the sense of justice." (23)

The third condition is that "the relationships within the society must be sufficiently fluid so that the same duty you owe me today I may owe you tomorrow — in other words, the relationship of duty must in theory and in practice be reversible." (23)

Fuller feels that without this condition, as a practical matter, people will have no reason to honor their obligations and further, citing F. A. Hayek, that a society of free traders, capitalism, is the most conducive to the development of moral and legal duty.

The purpose of law, then, is to protect this requisite reciprocity thereby giving rise to duties. It operates "at the lower levels of human achievement where a defective performance can be recognized if care is taken, with comparative certainty and formal standards for judging it can be established." (31) It does not reward virtuous acts. This is left to more subjective, intuitive, and largely informal procedures. The prime purpose of law is the discernment and enforcement of legal duties and nothing more. This is entirely consistent with the natural rights tradition. On this view, these requisite legal duties are what rights are and their very formulation depends on their objective necessity as a condition of rational human existence. The law, then, must enforce human rights and nothing more.

To confine the purpose of law to the enforcement of duties is not, however, to minimize either its importance or the difficulties involved. Fuller argues that it is this purpose, however difficult, that determines the nature of the legal enterprise. And he sees the law as exactly that: an enterprise. Those who see the law as essentially a command (such as H. L. A. Hart) are wrong. Law is no mere one-way street. It is as much a co-operative project as medicine or carpentry and as such it is governed by certain common sense rules. These rules are not arbitrary. They are and must be consistent with the goal of law: the determination of general rules of behavior to allow rational (or irrational for that matter) men to plan and act.

If these rules of lawmaking are not arbitrary, nor are they precise or absolute. The process of reaching the best possible law is, like all endeavors toward perfection, governed by the morality of aspiration, that is, they are more an art than a science. Fuller gives eight ways to fail to make a law, but he cannot, nor can anyone, say exactly when one factor should be given precedence over another. This decision must be made by the skillful practitioner based on the facts of each instance of lawmaking, just as a diagnosis of disease and a prescription for its cure can only be made well on an individual basis by a skilled physician.

Fuller lists eight roads to disaster:

"The first and most obvious lies in a failure to achieve rules at all, so that every issue must be decided on an ad hoc basis. The other routes are: (2) a failure to publicize, or at least to make available to the affected party, the rules he is expected to observe; (3) the abuse of retroactive legislation, which not only cannot itself guide action, but

undercuts the integrity of rules prospective in effect, since it puts them under the threat of retrospective change; (4) a failure to make rules understandable; (5) the enactment of contradictory rules or (6) rules that require conduct beyond powers of the affected party; (7) introducing such frequent changes in the rules that the subject cannot orient his action by them; and, finally, (8) a failure of congruence between the rules as announced and their actual administration." (39)

The thrust of Fuller's anti-positivism is his contention that to the degree that a lawmaker fails to follow any one of these eight directions, he does not simply make "bad law": he makes something that is not properly called law at all. (39) And while these eight routes to failure point to the indispensable conditions for law on its lowest level, they also serve as "eight kinds of legal excellence toward which a system of rules may strive." (41) The law, then, "embraces a morality of duty and a morality of aspiration. It . . . confronts us with the problem of knowing where to draw the boundary below which men will be and above which they will be admired for success and at worst pitied for the lack of it." (42)

### III

This then is Fuller's scheme. He sees in current legal thinking a persistent error. "This is the assumption that law should be viewed not as the product of an interplay of purposive orientations between the citizen and his government (or lawmaker) but as a one-way projection of authority, originating with government and imposing itself upon the citizen." (204) He feels that theorists are wrong in identifying law with the nation-state. Law, he points out, is everywhere around us in forms not imposed from above. International law, tribal law, the rules of private organizations are all "horizontal" forms of law. It is only the vertical conception of law which prevents the identification of these systems as legal systems.

With examples of "reciprocal" or "horizontal" law abundant in history and the world, Fuller is at a loss to figure why contemporary thinkers refuse to see the law in this light. I shall attempt to put forward an explanation for this phenomena. This explanation rests on Fuller's internal morality of law, or, more precisely, on principle of legal excellence: that a lawmaker should itself obey the rules it sets up to govern its citizenry. We must, then, examine this, Fuller's eighth principle, in more detail.

The question which gives the positivists the more trouble is, "How can a person, a family, a tribe, or a nation impose law on itself that will control its relations with other persons, families, tribes, or nations?" (233) The positivists view law as a thing which cannot be self-imposed; it must proceed from a higher authority. Fuller's answer emphasizes his eighth principle: "Now I suggest that all these questions would require radical redefinition if we were to recognize one simple, basic reality, namely, that enacted law itself presupposes a commitment by the governing authority to abide by its own rules in dealing with its subjects." (233)

What Fuller means by this is that the rule-maker must first make rules by which laws are to be passed. It must then abide by these rules because of the expectations of the subjects that it will do so. The failure of the positivists to distinguish between the power of the State and the law is their failure to see that the law-maker is constrained by his own rules imposed from below by the expectations of the citizenry. Thus even a State legal system is a two-way system.

I maintain, however, that this does not adequately explain the positivists' erroneous concept of law. Fuller fails in his attempt because he has not followed his own principle far enough. If he did, he would see that the state legal system does not conform to the principle of official congruence with its own rules. It is because the positivists see that the State inherently violates its own rules that they conclude, in a sense correctly that State-made law is *sui generis*. An elaboration is obviously called for.

First of all, what do we mean when we speak of the "State"?

I have no quarrel with Weber's definition as put forth in his book, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*:

(Continued On Page 7)

## Fuller, Law, And Anarchism —

(Continued From Page 6)

"A compulsory political association with a continuous organization (politischer Anstaltsbetrieb) will be called a "state" if and insofar as its administrative staff successfully upholds a claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order." (p. 154)

Furthermore, it is a central characteristic, if not an essential one of the State that it claims the power to tax.\*

Fuller's eighth requirement is that "the governing authority (must) abide by its own rules in dealing with its subjects." (23) I accept this principle as stated by Fuller but would disagree with his interpretation of it. I take this principle to mean that "what's good for the goose is good for the gander" or, more formally, the lawmaker must obey the substance of his own laws. Fuller errs in limiting the commitment of the lawmaker, not to follow all his own rules, but only those rules which govern how to make a law. Clearly our formulation of this principle is a far more reciprocal one. And actually Fuller gives no reason why he limits the principle in the way he does.

If we accept what Fuller says but not his narrow interpretation, it becomes obvious that the State by its nature must violate this commitment. For example, the State says that citizens may not take from another by force and against his will that which belongs to another. And yet the State through its power to tax "legitimately" does just that. (Any reason why the State taxes is irrelevant to this discussion since we are only dealing here with the fact that this action is incongruent with its own rules for its citizens) More essentially, the State says that the person may use force upon another only in self-defense, i.e. only as a defense against another who initiated the use of force. To go beyond one's right of self-defense would be to aggress on the rights of others, a violation of one's legal duty. And yet the State by its claimed monopoly forcibly imposes its jurisdiction on persons who may have done nothing wrong. By doing so it aggresses against the rights of its citizens, something which it rules say citizens may not do.

The State, in short, may steal where its subjects may not and it may aggress (initiate the use of force) against its subjects while prohibiting them from exercising the same right. It is to this that the positivists look when they say that the law (meaning State-made law) is a one-way, vertical process. It is this that belies any claim of true reciprocity.

Fuller's principle is correct, but he is wrong in applying it only to the lawmaker's obligation to follow his own procedure (which indeed it must). A lawmaker fails to act in congruence with its rules and, as a result, fails to achieve the aspiration of a legal system to the extent that it fails to follow all of its rules, procedural and substantive alike. To the degree that it does not and cannot do this it is not and cannot be a legal system and its acts are outside the law. The State qua state, therefore is an illegal system.

While Professor Fuller cannot be expected to agree with this analysis, it is quite plain that he would not be shocked by its conclusion. First, we do not contend that all State-made law is not law. It is a question of degree. Only when and to the degree that the State does not follow its own rules (as well as Fuller's seven other requirements) is it acting illegally. True, a State must by its nature act illegally, but Fuller has no trouble envisioning a Stateless, non-monopolistic system of law.

The objectionable aspect inherent to the State is its coercively monopolistic element. The alternative would be a non-monopolistic or multiple system of law. That such a system is perfectly consistent with Fuller's concept of law as a purposive enterprise says much for his concept. As he himself states, "A possible . . . objection to the view (of law) taken here is that it permits the existence of more than one legal system governing the same population. The answer is, of course, that such multiple systems do exist and have in history been more common than unitary systems." (123)

Anarchists have long had trouble with the concept of law. Because they too have identified law with the institution that makes it, the State, many have rejected law altogether. Many critics of anarchism insist that without a state there can be no law. But Fuller has no such trouble. He argues that such theoretical difficulties "can arise only if theory has committed itself to the view that the concept of law requires a neatly defined hierarchy of authority with a supreme legislative power at the top that is free from legal restraints (emphasis added)" (124) Fuller's whole purpose is, of course, to reject this vertical view of law.

As to the practical difficulties of such a system, Fuller points out that they "can arise when there is a real rub between systems because their boundaries of competence have not been and perhaps cannot be clearly defined." (124) He points out that one possible solution, a constitutional arrangement, "is useful, but not in all cases indispensable. Historically dual and triple systems have functioned without serious friction, and when conflict has arisen it has been solved by some kind of voluntary accommodation." (124)

#### IV

The *Morality of Law*, then, is truly a revolutionary document. Its view of law as an enterprise whose purpose it is to establish general rules of behavior distinguishes the rule of law from the rule of the State. And if one places on Fuller's eighth principle what I contend is its proper construction, the State is shown to be as essentially illegal form of legal system. Then, almost as icing on the cake, Fuller tells us that not only is the alternative of a multiple legal system consistent with a proper view of law, it is practical and possible as well.

All this Lon Fuller simply and elegantly told his audience. However great their expectations may have been that night, it can now be seen that they were more than fulfilled. That his listeners came to hear something great, heard something great and yet were disappointed by what they heard must be termed ironic; more than that, it is also pathetic. ■

\*Mr. Barnett is a student at Harvard Law School.

"I refuse, however, to become embroiled in a debate over the definition of the State. The inevitable result of such semantic disputes is either that one is urged to broaden the definition so that we see "states" everywhere or narrow it to show that there's really no such thing as a State. Such entreaties are illegitimate. The State (unfortunately) exists so let's define it so as to distinguish it from organizations which are not states by picking out its essential features and get on with our analysis.

"The considerations and objectives that have guided the colonial policy of the European powers since the age of the great discoveries stand in the sharpest contrast to all the principles of liberalism. The basic idea of colonial policy was to take advantage of the military superiority of the white race over the members of other races. The Europeans set out, equipped with all the weapons and contrivances that their civilization placed at their disposal, to subjugate weaker peoples, to rob them of their property, and to enslave them . . . . If, as we believe, European civilization really is superior to that of the primitive tribes of Africa or to the civilizations of Asia—estimable though the latter may be in their own way—it should be able to prove its superiority by inspiring these peoples to adopt it of their own accord. Could there be a more doleful proof of the sterility of European civilization than that it can be spread by no other means than fire and sword?"

—Ludwig von Mises, *The Free and Prosperous Commonwealth*.

"The one bright moment in the Taft Administration, in fact, came when Dr. Taft was given his drubbing in November, 1912. Turning out such gross incompetents, to be sure, does very little practical good, for they are commonly followed by successors almost as bad, but it at least gives the voters a chance to register their disgust, and so it keeps them reasonably contented, and turns their thoughts away from the barricade and the bomb. Democracy, of course, does not work, but it is a capital anaesthetic."

— H. L. Mencken

## Von Hoffman Versus Schlesinger

By this time, it is no news to libertarians that Nicholas von Hoffman is our outstanding sympathizer in the mass media. While not a consistent libertarian, von Hoffman has had the intellectual independence and breadth of vision to cast off left-liberal shackles to espouse libertarian positions on almost all the issues that count. He has endorsed every major Libertarian Party ticket in the last few years; and he is a living proof that libertarianism can attract converts and sympathizers from the New Left as well as the Old Right. In his syndicated column of February 19, von Hoffman has a brilliant and withering critique of that idol of all too many right-wing libertarians: the ultrahawk "martyr" James Schlesinger.

Von Hoffman notes that *Fortune* magazine for February is virtually given over to the apotheosis of Schlesinger: not only a lead article espousing his pro-war stance, but even a cover portrait of the brutal bureaucathawk as Hero, done, as von Hoffman says, "in the brush strokes of capitalist realism." Posing as a hard-nosed realist, the article reveals that Schlesinger, along with his colleagues and disciples is rather what C. Wright Mills once called a "crackpot realist". For, writes von Hoffman, "what we have here, rather, is a sermon, a religious statement. The theme is dark and predestinarian." God, working in history, has thrust upon America the role of policer and ruler of the world, "a painful role of sacrifice unending", in von Hoffman's words. Or, in Schlesinger's own words, "the weight of responsibility placed on the United States will not disappear . . ." Placed by whom? As von Hoffman notes, "the essence of predestinarian Calvinist virtue was to understand the inevitable fate God has prepared and to cooperate with it." And so, with a sober heart, we take up the painful but necessary weight of God's burden to maintain and expand the American Empire in waging the fight against the Communist Devil.

But, says Schlesinger, there is a problem; for the United States has sinned, sinned in having a "faltering purpose." In short, we have begun to chafe under the burden of God's commandments. For the United States is "a nation apparently withdrawing from the burdens of leadership and power". Why have we withdrawn from these burdens? Because we have not realized that interventionism and imperialism are not ours to choose but ordained commands. Again in Schlesinger's words: "America's involvement in the external world . . . has appeared to be a matter of simple choice reflecting nothing more fundamental than our tastes or moral preferences."

And so, to quote von Hoffman: "Hence the practice of morality becomes the sin of sloth and gluttony, but there is a sacrament which revivifies, forgives, and puts us again as one with a gloomy destiny God has preordained for us. That sacrament is power. Power will overcome the loss of vision, or moral stamina, of national purpose . . . !"

The Devil, of course, makes no such mistake. As always in the theology

of the anti-Communist crusaders, the Communist Devil is all-wise, all-seeing, free from error or fallibility, though of course totally evil. For, says Schlesinger, "By contrast, Soviet leaders have consistently valued power in general, aside from specific uses . . ." The Soviets, as von Hoffman notes, "appreciate the power of power, the sacrament for its own sake."

And so we must take on the trappings and the majesty of Power; to fight the Communist Power, we must imitate it. Schlesinger even hacks away at the great Lord Acton's dictum that "power corrupts", for, says our apologist for Power, this "neglects an equally important truth. Weakness also corrupts . . ."

James Schlesinger is, indeed, as von Hoffman calls him, "Dr. Death." In Schlesinger's world-outlook we hear the echoes of the insane and infamous war-cry of Spanish fascism: "Long Live Death!" Schlesinger and his supporters have thrown down the gauntlet to all lovers of liberty; for they have consciously cast their lot with Power. The American revolutionaries knew the alternatives; for they knew that the basic and fateful choice for mankind was and always will be: "Liberty or Power", and they knew that the two stand in fatal and unending confrontation. Power is always the enemy of liberty. In America, the Communist Party consists of a few aging hacks running Gus Hall for President; but James Schlesinger and his numerous and powerful followers stand very close to the levers of Power, including the nuclear button. For American liberty, for the peace of the world, for the lives and properties of all of us, James Schlesinger and all his cohorts: the Moynihans, the Reagans, the Buckleys, etc. are The Enemy. We believe that man does have the free will to choose, to choose liberty and reject Power now and forever.

And to those libertarians who are falling for the siren song of Schlesingerism, we beseech you to consider this: Why is it that you have not been taken in by the massive propaganda for domestic statism, for Social Security, for the minimum wage, for OSHA, or whatever; and yet you allow yourselves to swallow whole the massive propaganda for the essence of the brutal State: for war for militarism, and for Empire? For here is the very essence of the State, and yet here you parrot the Establishment line without question or cavil; here you fall for every foreign bogey that the State has devised. Don't you know why classical liberalism, our forebears fell apart at the end of the nineteenth century? It is because so many of the Liberals, here and in Europe, fell for the siren song of war and empire. As England, the home of the great *laissez-faire* and anti-war and anti-imperialist liberals, Cobden and Bright, fell for the war calls of Palmerston and then of "Liberal Imperialism" and marched into disaster. We beseech you, in the bowels of Liberty, to stop your unthinking support of the war crusaders before it is too late, too late for liberty and even for the human race itself. **□**

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# Libertarian Forum

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## The Early Primaries

This editorial is being written after the last "early" primary: the North Carolina primary of March 23. Both Republican and Democratic races are becoming increasingly clear. On the Republican side, the Ford forces lost a golden opportunity, and an opportunity for world peace, by failing to put the kibash on Reagan in North Carolina. The collapsing Ford campaign had been saved and turned around by the shrewd public relations team of Stuart Spencer and William Roberts; before New Hampshire, Spencer and Roberts took the offensive to slam at Reagan, and expose his contradictions on the famous \$90 billion scheme, and at unclear statements about Social Security. Reagan was forced on the defensive, his Social Security statements scared the bejabbers out of the elderly masses of the St. Petersburg area in Florida, and resulted in a smashing defeat of Reagan and the overthrow of Reagan's quick-victory strategy. Another factor in the Ford victories was his slamming into Reagan personally, including his magnificent riposte to Reagan's warhawk speeches that "a confrontation in our nuclear age is the path to disaster." Unfortunately, after Florida, the Ford camp became overconfident, effectively pulled Spencer and Roberts out of the campaign, and stopped all attacks on Reagan's personality or policies. As a result, Reagan was able to take the offensive, engage in a TV blitz, and win in North Carolina, keeping his hopes alive and — more important — since it is unlikely that Reagan will win the nomination, keeping up his demagogic war-mongering pressure on the weak-kneed Ford administration. That pressure will now continue until Kansas City this summer, and has already (see the article on Africa within) led to dangerous saber-rattling by Kissinger on the Cuban troops in Africa.

Reagan, for his part, has finally tossed away the quasi-libertarian smokescreen of his early campaign. Gone are all quotations from Bastiat, or any obeisances to libertarianism; gone are his phony \$90 billion scheme, and gone too are any hints at "tampering" with Social Security. Reagan has ripped away the veil, and his sole issue now is the only one that is really dear to the hearts of the conservative movement: a crusade for global war against Soviet Russia and against Communist rebellions. So fanatical has Reagan been in his anti-Soviet campaign that he actually accused Ford at one point of not being sufficiently friendly to Communist China! The old Chiang kai-Shek China Lobby must be spinning in its grave! But so hysterically anti-Soviet is the Conservative Movement that they are willing to cozy up to a social system (Red China) that makes Soviet Russia seem a haven of anarcho-capitalism by comparison. But the mask is now off; and there is no longer any excuse for libertarians to look benignly upon the Reagan campaign. Stopping Reagan is still a prime political priority for libertarians.

On the Democratic side, the peace liberals are in a grave quandary. They cannot continue their early post-New Hampshire campaign of all-out opposition to the slippery centrist Jimmy Carter, because to do so would throw the election to the all-out warhawk Scoop Jackson, who triumphed in Massachusetts on the backs of a union-Zionist coalition. A

general shakeout has of course occurred, as Shriver, Bayh, et al. have bitten the dust, and Harris has gone nowhere. Birch Bayh, however, provided some of the laughs of the campaign by (1) getting hardly any more votes than "no preference" despite a sizable lineup and funds on his behalf; and (2) following the lead of Terry Sanford by "suspending" rather than withdrawing his candidacy, so that he can grab some more of those good old Federal matching funds. The only peace liberal with a chance is now Mo Udall, who suffers from a lack of charisma, and from an inability to appeal to any social groups except suburban liberals worried about preserving the coyotes and the caribou. It's beginning to look like Carter, for the liberals will pick him over Jackson, and there has not really been a "brokered" convention for fifty years.

A Ford-Carter fight would have several advantages, both for the country and for the MacBride-Bergland LP ticket, which has been gathering steam, support, and publicity across the country. In the first place, the really dangerous warhawks — Reagan and Jackson — would be out of the picture, and we could all breathe a sigh of relief. Secondly, the differences between Ford and Carter would be minimal, so that many people could easily abandon the two major tickets to "vote their conscience" for MacBride; and this could include those with libertarian inclinations, disappointed conservatives, and disappointed liberals. □

## Libertarian Feminists Organize

The Association of Libertarian Feminists has recently been formed, with the important objective of countering the statist and socialists who have until now been monopolizing the feminist movement. The ALF held its first annual meeting at the Libertarian Party national convention in New York City last August, and adopted a statement of purposes, the most important one being "to provide a libertarian alternative to those aspects of the women's movement which foster dependence and collectivism." The ALF's officers include Toni Nathan, President, and Sharon Presley, co-owner of the Laissez Faire Bookstore, as National Coordinator. The ALF publishes a sprightly newsletter, *AFL News*, the first issue of which has now appeared (February, 1976), and leaflets, the most important of which is Sharon Presley's "Libertarianism and Feminism", reprinted from *Majority Report*. The leaflets are available for 10¢. Annual dues for ALF membership are \$5.00, which includes the newsletter; the newsletter alone may be purchased for \$3.00 per year. Information may be obtained by writing to the Association of Libertarian Feminists, 206 Mercer St., New York, N.Y. 10012. □

## African Roundup

Africa has now entered the foreign affairs spotlight, and conditions in southern Africa are such as to keep that trouble-spot in the headlines for many years to come. The essence of the southern African scene is this: a small minority of whites has been suppressing the large majority of black Africans, particularly in Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. While the white minority has been able to impose racist, quasi-fascist regimes upon the black majority in these countries, by virtue of superior living standards and organization, those minority racist regimes are doomed in the long run. And, as the standard of living increases in these countries, and particularly as the blacks organize into a rising national consciousness, that doom is now approaching rapidly. For Americans the crucial question is: will the United States allow itself to get sucked in to expend men and treasure, as well as court the possibility of world war, in order to fasten racist regimes upon the black majority of southern Africa? Right now, that question is in doubt, and it is important for Americans to organize and put pressure upon our government to keep its hands off southern Africa, and to allow the Africans to decide their own fate without U.S. interference.

In the short run, the most vulnerable parts of racist southern Africa are Rhodesia and Namibia (South West Africa). In contrast to the Republic of South Africa, where whites are one-sixth of the population, in Rhodesia they amount to less than 5% of the total. Specifically, in Rhodesia 270,000 whites are foisting their rule on over 6 million black Africans. Rhodesian electoral law disqualifies virtually all the blacks, and insures that Parliament will be a white enclave: the whites have 50 members, while the blacks have 16 members, one half of whom are Quislings appointed by the white government. The oppression of the Rhodesian regime may be gauged by the Land Tenure Act, which allots half of the land to the 5% whites, and half to the 95% black population — with the whites, naturally, allotted the most fertile lands.

Rhodesia's imminent collapse stems from the hard-line, fanatical right-wing militancy of the Ian Smith regime. When Britain tried to pressure its colony into allowing gradual transition to black rule, Smith led a rebellion against British rule in 1965 and declared Rhodesian independence — thereby permanently alienating any hope of support from Britain and Western Europe. When Portuguese fascism was toppled by a coup in 1974, the shrewd South African regime of Premier John Vorster saw the handwriting on the wall, especially seeing that Portuguese Mozambique, bordering Rhodesia on the east, would soon be in left-wing native hands. Hence, Vorster has been desperately pressuring the Smith regime into making at least token concessions to an eventual black majority rule in Rhodesia, and to do so by peaceful negotiations. But the blockheaded Smith regime has been adamant, Smith himself repeatedly proclaiming that black majority rule in Rhodesia would never come "in my lifetime." Smith instead has opted for a war footing and outright fascist suppression. As a result, the majority of the leading black organization, the African National Council, went into exile in Mozambique, and is now committed to armed overthrow of the Smith regime. A rump minority of the ANC, headed by Joshua Nkomo, remained in Rhodesia to try to negotiate peacefully, but, despite extreme pressure by Vorster, Smith has refused to make any meaningful concessions even to the ultra-moderate Nkomo faction. Finally, the negotiations have now been broken off, thus signalling inevitable all-out guerrilla rebellion in Rhodesia.

The majority ANC, now based in Mozambique, and leading the political struggle of the blacks, is an effective though odd religio-political coalition. Its president is Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United Methodist Church, and its vice-president still resident in Rhodesia is an American-educated homeopathic physician, Dr. Elliott M. Gabella, who is also a theologian and patriarch of the African Orthodox Church in southern Africa. The black guerrilla forces proper are gathered into ZANLA (the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army). ZANLA is to the left of even the majority ANC, and is not subject to the latter's control, having broken with ANC over its support for Zambia's previous crackdown on ANC's left-wing militants.

And so Rhodesia gears up for armed struggle and guerrilla war. To combat existing guerrilla war, the Smith regime has already herded 200,000 black Africans in the northeast into concentration camps called

"protected villages". This follows the pattern of oppression set by minority regimes to fight against guerrillas: to cut the guerrillas off from their peasant supporters. The Spaniards began this brutal policy when fighting against the Cuban rebels in the 1890's; it was continued by the British in the Boer War, and by the U.S. in suppressing the Philippine rebellion at the turn of this century. And it was used again, of course, by the U.S. in South Vietnam. The peasants are driven away from their homes and properties, are placed behind barbed wire, and are systematically searched and forced to carry identity cards. No one is being allowed to return to their old village homes. This vicious tactic did not work in Vietnam and it will not work now.

And so the first minority racist regime to be toppled in southern Africa will be Rhodesia, and the fanatical stubbornness of the Smith regime insures that the overthrow will be at the point of a gun, by guerrilla war. Next to go will be Namibia (Southwest Africa), seized "illegally" (against UN edicts) by the Republic of South Africa. Namibia, too, has a thin layer of white rulers over a great majority of blacks. With Namibia bordering Angola on the south, the victory of the MPLA against the U.S. aided factions and against invading South African troops means that Angola can now serve as a base for guerrilla war against its rule in Namibia. The political and guerrilla resistance forces there are led by SWAPO (the South West African People's Organization.) Realizing that its regime in South West Africa is doomed, the South African regime has been following the Vorster policy of trying to leave the land in the hands of puppet blacks; it has, for example, offered autonomy to Namibia, but has specifically excluded SWAPO, backed by the great majority of Namibians, from legal rule.

U.S. imperialism is in a tough spot in these coming battles; it would like to preserve "stable" and "pro-American" white rule in these countries, but it is officially committed to opposing the white racist regimes. Kissinger has therefore been making ambivalent and contradictory statements about a future U.S. role in the guerrilla struggles to come. Unfortunately, the warhawk Reagan campaign has already borne bitter fruit for the cause of international peace and U.S. non-intervention. For, goaded by all-out support for Reagan among the embittered Cuban emigres in Florida, the Ford-Kissinger regime has been moving toward a policy so bizarre and warlike that even the hysterically anti-Communist TV commentator, Dr. Martin Abend, has strongly criticized it for courting World War III. In short, the U.S. will keep hands off Rhodesia and Namibia provided that none of the Cuban troops in Angola will be used in the fray. The problem is that since the U.S. cannot intervene in southern Africa directly without openly siding with white racism, the threat is to retaliate with force against Cuba itself! Kissinger has hinted about a U.S. blockade around Cuba to retaliate against any use of Cuban troops in southern Africa. But this would mean that Russian ships and air transports would have to be destroyed, and World War III would then be upon us.

And so, to prove to the Republican right that it, too, is just as anti-Castro as anyone else, we are now in danger of World War III over what will be, indirectly but clearly, a defense of fascist and white racist regimes in southern Africa. This policy is a monstrosity that must be stopped; the quickest way to stop it is to dispose of Reagan as soon as possible in the coming primaries. The very existence of the human race is at stake.

There are trouble spots in other parts of Africa, but none with the grave implications of the southern Africa struggles. In Western Sahara (formerly Spanish Sahara), King Hassan II of Morocco was able to use his grandstanding "people's march" to the border to induce the Spanish to leave and to allow Morocco and Mauritania to carve up Western Sahara against the express wishes of the Saharans, grouped into the political and guerrilla organization for national independence called POLISARIO (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguiat El-Hamra and Rio de Oro). Morocco's aim was to grab the rich phosphate reserves of northern Western Sahara. Morocco's despotic monarchical regime is — naturally — backed strongly by the United States, which uses its bases in Spain to funnel weapons to the Moroccan army.

The POLISARIO has already launched an effective guerrilla war  
(Continued On Page 3)

# The Lebanon Tragedy

We have received a letter from a friend and valued subscriber asking us to write on the terrible events in Lebanon; apparently, he has been getting flak from his archist friends blaming the calamity on — of all things — anarcho-capitalism. Well, rest assured; there is government in Lebanon, and how!, and indeed that government is the root of the problem that has festered for years and erupted last year in continuing and massive bloodshed.

The fault begins, as usual, with Western imperialism — in this case France and, partially, Britain. At war with Turkey and its Ottoman Empire in World War I, the British, to gain the support of the Arabs suffering under imperial Turkish rule, promised the various submerged Arab countries their independence after the war. Instead, Britain and France, in a quest for the domination of Middle East oil, carved out "mandate" colonies in the Middle East, with France seizing historic Syria and Britain grabbing Palestine. More fatefully, Syria itself was carved up, with the British violating their agreement with the French by grabbing southwestern Syria and annexing it to Palestine (now northern Israel), and the French carving a separate province of Lebanon out of the Syrian coast.

It is true that Lebanon had been a separate region under the Ottomans, reflecting its historic status as a refuge for Maronite Christians in a Moslem (and Druze) region, the refuge having been found in the caves and mountains of the coastal Lebanon range just north of the city of Beirut. Preserving historic Lebanon as a separate Christian entity made a great deal of sense, but a fateful decision was made by the French: to add to historic Lebanon Moslem areas of coastal Syria to the north and the south of the Beirut-mountain Christian preserve. For the French, this meant that their naval guns could dominate the entire ex-Syrian coast; and for

the grasping Christians, this meant that their slim population majority over expanded Lebanon could permit them to dominate the Moslems politically and economically. The continuing intervention of Syria during the 1975 troubles is explained by the fact that Syrian regards northern and southern Lebanon (outside of the old north-central Christian enclave) as their own land.

In 1932, a census was held in the greater Lebanon, revealing a wafer-thin Christian majority. A key to the recent civil war is the fact that a later census has never been held, for the simple reason that all parties know full well that the Moslem population has grown to be a large majority of the country. In 1943, the French declared Lebanese independence, feeling their empire to be in retreat as a result of the war; but they managed to engineer a complex religio-political quota system throughout the Lebanese government, riveting the Maronite Christian minority into permanent political control over the now Moslem majority (a majority never detailed because of the French-Christian refusal to hold a later census.)

This system, fastening Maronite Christian political control upon the country, has continued to govern Lebanon ever since, and it is the festering protest of the growing Moslem majority that has led to the current and tragic Civil War.

The reader need have only one guess on which party the United States has been backing ever since World War II; that's right — the militant ultra-right wing of the Maronite Christians, headed by the current Minister of Interior Camille Chamoun and the fascist para-military forces of the Christian Phalange, led by Pierre Gemayel. In fact, in 1958,

(Continued On Page 4)

## African Roundup —

(Continued From Page 2)

against the imperial Morocco regime, and now controls the eastern desert; the capital city of Aiun has been virtually depopulated, as the Saharan people have fled to the independent zone. One weakness in the Moroccan occupation is the alliance with Mauritania, most of whose population support the Saharan independence movement, as does Algeria. Already, Morocco has grabbed the town of Daklah, supposedly allotted to Mauritania (in Rio de Oro, the southern half of Western Sahara) and a skirmish has already occurred between the troops of the two countries near Daklah. And yet, the Daddah regime in Mauritania continues to collaborate with the Moroccan imperialists, permitting Morocco to establish an air base, and to allow its army to be partly commanded by Moroccan (as well as French) "advisors." In that way, the Mauritanian regime of Ould Daddah encourages the long-standing imperial Moroccan dreams of a "Greater Maghreb", to include all of Western Sahara and Mauritania, as well as a significant chunk of western Algeria, under its sway. The Mauritanian alliance would disappear, however, if the Daddah regime were overthrown.

Meanwhile, in East Africa, France is finally preparing to leave its last imperial stronghold in Africa. Once called "French Somaliland", the country, now called "The Territory of the Afars and the Issas", centers in the important port city of Djibouti, which commands a narrow southern neck of the Red Sea. The French changed the name some years ago, presumably to keep people from drawing the correct inference that the native population is ethnically linked with the Somali peoples of independent and anti-imperialist Somalia, bordering the French colony on the east.

As is typical of modern "neo-colonialism", the French are planning to leave by installing a friendly puppet ruling elite in their place. In this case, the elite is the minority tribe of Afars, who constitute 20,000 people out of the total population of 130,000. The French have relied on hand-picked Afars to run the territory since they annexed the land in 1862, and have rigged the electoral laws to give the Afars a comfortable majority in the colonial assembly. The French are preparing to turn over rule to their

hand-picked Afar premier, Ali Aref.

The subject majority population is the Issa tribe, which spills over into the land of Somalia, whose cause is therefore backed by the Somalis. Most of the Afars live in the capital city of Djibouti, which is literally surrounded by mines and barbed wire, and guarded by the infamous French Foreign Legion, to keep out Issa "undesirables"; the barrier was erected after anti-French rebellions by the Issas in 1966. The French, not incidentally, expect to keep a substantial military presence in the country after they hand over "independence" to the Aref clique. Typical of Aref rule were the most recent colonial assembly elections in 1973, when Aref not only prevented Issas from running in the election, but also imported illegal Afar voters from Ethiopia, where about 200,000 Afars have their home.

Tension within the country is already coming to a boil. The main opposition party, the Popular African League for Independence, is led by the Issa Hassan Gouled; the PALI advocates total independence from France, and an end to the French military presence. Last December there was an attempted assassination of Aref, and a border clash between French Foreign Legion troops and Somali forces. A small Issa guerrilla force, the Front for the Liberation of the Somali Coast, is operating out of Somalia bases.

A complicating factor is the role of Ethiopia. For many decades, the literal slave state of Ethiopia has been the main "pro-Western" country in East Africa. Even after the monstrous feudal despot Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown a few years ago, the secretive new "left-wing" military clique in charge of the country has continued to serve as a client state of the U.S. in the area. The basic reason is Ethiopian imperialism, since after World War II the victorious Allies enabled Ethiopia to seize and annex Arab Eritrea. Ethiopia has had its hands full in trying to suppress the guerrilla war of the Eritrean Liberation Front, and its attitude toward the Issas is much the same; for one thing, Ethiopia fears that if it does not aid Aref in putting down the Issas, that Aref would stimulate a rebellion among the Afar population of northern Ethiopia.

At any rate, one constant appears clear in the tangled web of conflicts throughout the African continent; in every case, the United States is hip-deep in intervention, and in every case on the wrong side, propping up minority elites and imperial rule. ■

# Capitalism, Socialism, And Bureaucratic Management

By Dave Osterfeld

It is commonly held that the unplanned "anarchic" nature of capitalist production necessitates bureaucratic regulation to prevent economic chaos. Thus the prominent Hungarian Marxist, Andras Hegedus, argues that bureaucracy is merely "the by-product of an administrative structure" that separates the workers from the actual management of the economy. Since the owners make the decisions everyone must ultimately take their orders from this small group. Since that would be impracticable in an industrial economy, the problem must be handled by a division of responsibility which in turn entails layers of bureaucracy. The capitalists make the decisions which are then filtered down the bureaucratic pyramid. This means that the workers must wait to be told what to do by their immediate superiors who in turn must wait for instructions from their superiors, etc.

It is important to realize that Hegedus believes that these bureaucratic features are a product of capitalism itself, rather than the nature of large-scale production. "Where capitalist property relations prevail," he says, "it is futile to fight against bureaucracy . . . . To change the situation it is necessary first of all to eliminate private ownership of the means of production." Bureaucracy, he continues, was the "inevitable consequence of the development of property relations at a given stage in the division of labor and in economic integration. Consequently, it is also inevitable . . . that at some point there will be no further need for an administrative apparatus separated from society, because subjective and objective conditions will be ripe for direct social self-administration." In plain English Hegedus is saying that because capitalism separates the worker from the control of industry production would be uncoordinated and chaotic were there not some agency for the transmission of knowledge. This is the function performed by bureaucracy under capitalism. Since under socialism the workers will make all of the industrial decisions there will be no coordination problem in such a society. Bureaucracy will no longer be necessary and will be discarded. But, other than vague appeals to "democratize the administrative apparatus" and calls for a "healthy mobility in all areas of administration," he is vague on just how socialism will accomplish this.<sup>1</sup> Since Hegedus' views, particularly regarding the bureaucratic nature of capitalism, are not uncommon, it is time they be critically examined.

## The Three Problems of Coordination.

Israel Kirzner notes that there are three problems of coordination that must be solved in any socio-economic system: (1) the problem of priorities, i.e., what goods and services should be produced; (2) the problem of efficiency, i.e., what combination of resources used in the production of a given commodity will leave the largest bundle of resources left over for the production of other goods and services; and (3) the problem of distribution, i.e., how to compensate each participant in the system for his contribution to the productive process.<sup>1</sup> The role of bureaucratic management can best be analyzed by seeing how both capitalism and socialism approach these problems as well as how well they can solve them.

**Priorities.** Within a market system priorities are set by the consumers' buying and abstention from buying. Entrepreneurs, anxious to maximize their profits, will tend to produce those goods with the greatest discrepancy between price and cost. Since the consumers are willing to pay more for goods they desire most intensely, the prices of these goods, other things being equal, tend to be higher than those of the less intensely desired goods. Thus the goods that the members of society deem most important are the ones that, without the need for any conscious bureaucratic direction, are first and most plentifully produced in a capitalist system.

A common criticism of this type of reasoning is that there are many examples where the market cannot be said to reflect the priorities of the consumers. It is assumed, for example, that bread is more important than diamonds while it is noted that the price of diamonds is much greater than that of bread. The error in this criticism is that individuals

are never confronted with a choice between diamonds in the abstract, and bread in the abstract. Instead, that choose between individual units of bread and diamonds. Since under normal conditions the quantity of bread greatly exceeds that of diamonds, the satisfaction or dissatisfaction caused by the addition or loss of any particular unit of bread, i.e., its marginal utility, is relatively low compared with that of any unit of diamonds. Were, by some quirk of fate, the quantity of bread greatly reduced or that of diamonds significantly increased, the marginal utility of the units of bread and diamonds would be altered causing the price of bread to rise and that of diamonds to fall. It can therefore be seen that the market does indeed reflect the priorities of the consumers and does so without the need for any bureaucratic direction. In fact, bureaucracy could only impede consumer satisfaction for, as Kirzner points out, "any non-market obstacles placed in the way of the pricing process thus necessarily interfere with the priority system that consumers have set up"<sup>2</sup>

Since socialism entails the elimination of the market, there is no mechanism by which priorities are established without conscious direction and control. Thus it is precisely socialism that cannot function without a burgeoning bureaucracy. A quick look at the planning process in the Soviet Union will clearly highlight the bureaucratic labyrinth endemic to even a moderately socialist economy.

In order to construct the plan for the coming year the planners must have as much data as possible on the state of the economy for the current year. This job is handled by the Central Statistical Administration, which alone employs several million people. This information is then conveyed to the State Planning Committee, or Gosplan. Priorities for the coming year are established by the Council of Ministers in conjunction with several other political agencies and communicated to Gosplan, which attempts to coordinate all of the priorities as well as balance the output targets for every industry in the economy with its estimate of the inputs required to produce them. The plan then travels down the planning hierarchy going first to the industrial ministries, then to the subministries, etc., down to the individual enterprises. In this way each firm is informed of the output levels that have been set for it, and the plan begins to ascend the planning hierarchy with each enterprise now in a position to calculate for itself the inputs necessary to produce the given level of output. As the plan travels upward both the input and output

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## The Lebanon Tragedy —

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the Eisenhower administration, absurdly scenting a "Soviet plot" to take over Lebanon, landed 15,000 American Marines on the Lebanese beaches to save the regime of then-President Chamoun from an insurrection against his unconstitutional attempt (even within the biased pro-Christian constitution) to perpetuate himself in power.

Fortunately, however, good sense seems to have struck Washington in this particular area, and the United States steadfastly refused to intervene in the Lebanese civil war of 1975-76, and even restrained their pro-Maronite Israeli allies from doing so. As a result, there is at least a possibility that the current truce will last, and will not precipitate a global conflict. But the newly agreed upon reforms, granting the Moslems a bit more parity in the government, are scarcely enough to allay Moslem grievances, and so the future remains in doubt. After failing to win the civil war (to say the least) the Maronites began to call belatedly for partition in Lebanon (i.e. roughly for a return to the original Lebanese boundaries) but, unfortunately, it looks as if the Moslems, after decades of grievances and after so much bloodshed, will refuse to accept it. And so — as in the case of bleeding Northern Ireland — a partition reflecting religious realities, and putting an end to the tragedy, remains only in the realm of theory. □

## Capitalism — (Continued From Page 4)

levels are adjusted according to a bargaining process between the enterprise manager and the central planners. The former attempts to underestimate his productive capacity and overestimate his resource requirements to make fulfillment of his part of the plan easier, while the latter does just the reverse. After finally reaching Gosplan the plan is surveyed in its entirety and the necessary corrections and adjustments are made. The plan is then sent back down the planning hierarchy with each enterprise being informed of its final production goals. And beyond this, of course, lie a host of government agencies required to insure compliance with the plan.<sup>4</sup>

Just what is this bureaucracy, which numbers into the tens of millions, able to accomplish? The first thing to notice is that despite the scientific jargon, its plans are in fact only guesses about what each individual consumer will want during the coming year. The estimates of the entrepreneur too, are guesses; however, there is a crucial difference: his are based on market data while those of the socialist planners, at least under pure socialism, are not. This means that the entrepreneur is not only in a better position to estimate consumer demand but, just as important, a wrong guess is immediately reflected on the market by a decline in sales. Since the loss of revenue prompts quick adjustments, any incorrect guess tends to be self-correcting. But under socialism, the plant manager need not worry about selling his product but only fulfilling his production quota. Consequently (1) quality tends to suffer since managers try to find the easiest and quickest way to fulfill their quotas, and (2) production continues, regardless of whether anyone wants the products, until the plan is altered by Gosplan. But if production of unneeded goods takes place in some areas, needs in others must remain unfulfilled. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Soviet Union is regularly plagued by gluts of some items and acute shortages of others. When quotas for the shoe and nail industries were set according to quantity, for example, production managers in the nail industry found that it was easiest to meet their quotas by producing only small nails, while those in the shoe industry made only small shoes. This meant gluts of small nails and children's shoes and shortages of large nails and adults' shoes. But setting quotas by weight meant the opposite: gluts of large fat nails and adults' shoes. Similarly, since the dress-makers don't have to sell their products they don't have to worry about style preferences. The result is periodic warehouses full of unwanted dresses. And at another time the Soviet Union found itself in the embarrassing position of having only one size of men's underwear — and that only in blue.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it is not surprising that the quality of consumer goods in the Soviet Union is notoriously low, the average standard of living is about one-quarter to one-third that of the United States, and so many goods are in short supply that one must stand in line three to four hours each day just to get basic necessities.<sup>6</sup> While capitalism can function with a minimum of bureaucracy, we have seen that socialism, far from eliminating it, requires a host of bureaucratic agencies. These are necessary in order to (1) collect the data for the construction of the plan, (2) formulate the plan, and (3) inspect the plants to insure that the plan is being carried out. The extent of this bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is indicated by a remark of a few years ago by the noted mathematician, V. M. Glushkov, that if it continued to expand at its current rate, by 1980 the planning bureaucracy would have to employ the entire adult population of the Soviet Union. Moreover, an overview of bureaucratic management must call its performance into serious question.

**Efficiency.** Turning to production we find the same results. Under capitalism the problem of the efficient allocation of resources is solved in the same way that the problem of priorities was solved: the price system. To produce their goods the entrepreneurs must bid for the needed resources. They therefore stand in the same relation to the sellers of resources as the consumers do to the sellers of final goods. Thus prices for the various factors of production tend to reflect the demand for them by the entrepreneurs. Since what the entrepreneur is able to offer is limited by his expected yield on the final sale of his product, the factors of production are thereby channelled into the production of the most intensely desired goods. Those who best serve the consumers earn the greatest profits and, hence, can offer the highest bids for the resources they need.

In short, the market is a highly interdependent mechanism that, without any bureaucratic direction, is able to achieve exactly what

Hegedus thought impossible: the transmission of knowledge to the relevant individuals. If, for example, steel should become more scarce, either because part of its supply has been depleted or a new use for it opened up, its price would rise. This would both (1) force the users of steel to cut back on their purchases, and (2) encourage the suppliers to increase their production. Not only are the actions of all market participants automatically coordinated by these price fluctuations, but the individuals involved do not even have to know why prices rise or fall. They need only observe the price fluctuations and act accordingly. As F. A. Hayek states, "The most significant fact about this system is the economy of knowledge with which it operates . . . . The marvel is that without an order being issued, without more than perhaps a handful of people knowing the cause, tens of thousands of people whose identity could not be ascertained by months of investigation, are made to . . . move in the right direction."<sup>7</sup>

It is also important to point out that even within an enterprise bureaucracy is kept to a minimum. First, if a firm becomes bureaucratically top-heavy it will be undersold and, if reforms are not made, put out of business by less bureaucratically structured enterprises. And second, as Ludwig von Mises notes, "There is no need for the general manager to bother about the minor details of each section's management . . . . The only directive that the general manager gives to the men whom he entrusts with the management of the various sections, departments, and branches is: Make as much profit as possible. And an examination of the accounts shows him how successful or unsuccessful they were in executing the directive."<sup>8</sup>

But in a pure socialist economy the entire apparatus of the market would be absent. All decisions regarding the allocation of resources and economic coordination would have to be made manually by the planning board. In an economy like that of the Soviet Union, which has over 200,000 industrial enterprises, this means that the number of decisions that the planning board would have to make each year would number into the billions. This already Herculean task would be made infinitely more difficult by the fact that in the absence of market data they would have no basis to guide their decisions. This problem became evident in the only attempt to establish a pure socialist, i.e., non-market, economy: the "War Communism" period in the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1921. By 1920, average productivity was only ten percent of the 1914 volume with that of iron ore and cast iron falling to 1.9 and 2.4 percent of their 1914 totals. In the early 1920's "War Communism" was abandoned and since that time production has been guided by means of restricted domestic markets and by coopting the methods determined in the foreign Western markets.

The task of the Soviet planners is greatly simplified by the existence of these limited markets, but the fact that they are so limited means that the economy still operates inefficiently and suffers from two problems inherent in bureaucratic management: incessant bottlenecks and industrial autarchy.

Since it is simply impossible for one agency to be able to familiarize itself with every nuance and peculiarity of every plant in the entire economy, much less to be able to plan for every possible contingency for a year in advance, the planners are forced to make decisions based on summary reports. Further, they must establish broad categories of classes which necessarily gloss over countless differences between firms. Consequently, every plan contains numerous imbalances which surface only while the plan is being implemented. Since there is no market, these surpluses and shortages cannot work themselves out automatically but can only be altered by plan adjustments made by Gosplan. Thus, shortage of good A cannot be rectified unless or until it is ordered by the planning board. But plan adjustment in one area will have ramifications throughout the economy. To alleviate the shortage of good A, resources will have to be transferred from the production of good B. Since this will reduce the planned-for output of B, the output of those industries dependent upon B will likewise have to be re-evaluated, etc., in ever widening circles. Empirical evidence bears out the economic theory. Paul Craig Roberts notes that what goes under the pretentious claim of planning in the Soviet Union is merely "the forecasting of a target for a forthcoming few months by adding to the results of the previous months a percentage increase." Yet, even this "plan" is "changed so often that it is not congruous to say that it controls the development of events in the economy." The planning bureaucracy, he goes on to say, simply functions as "supply agents for enterprises in

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# The State versus the Amish

By J.R.P

## Review of:

*Compulsory Education and the Amish: The Right Not to be Modern*, edited by Albert N. Keim, Beacon Press, Boston 1975.

This work is another valuable scholarly study of the hitherto sacred cow of compulsory education, an addendum to the superb papers published in 1974 under the title *12 Year Sentence: Radical Views on Compulsory Education*, edited by William Rickenbacker, (Open Court Publishing Co.). This series of nine papers constitutes a case study of how compulsory education laws operate upon individuals and communities, demonstrating in vivid detail their power to harass parents and children, destroy family relationships, coerce whole communities into succumbing to majority cultural values or be jailed, persecuted or hounded into exile. Editor Albert Keim, himself raised in an Amish community, presents a cogent and sensitive explanation of the Amish world view and the practical consequences of that upon their daily life and values. He then traces briefly the series of clashes which the Amish began to have from the late 1920's with various school authorities over compulsory schooling for their children, and presents the dangers seen by the Amish in such forced schooling. Prof. Donald Erickson undertook a personal investigation of three significant Amish cases in the 1960's in Iowa and Kansas which he reports in great detail, showing the bureaucratic politics and local cultural prejudices which combined to crush the unpopular Amish under the whip of the compulsory school laws. The last four papers concern the landmark Supreme Court decision, *Wisconsin vs. Yoder*, in

which, for the first time, a breach was made in the State's absolute power to impose school attendance on all children regardless of the wishes or religious beliefs of their parents. Most important for libertarians is to consider why this case turned out differently from so many earlier ones; almost certainly the key to victory was the moral and financial support and broad media mobilization which was brought to bear in the Wisconsin case by a citizens' committee composed of non-Amish clergymen, lawyers and civil libertarians who were able successfully to generate wide public sympathy for the Amish people's right to be different. The last essay by Leo Pfeffer, a lawyer who is particularly sensitive to violations of separation of Church and State, is alone worth the price of the book. His analysis of the *Wisconsin vs. Yoder* decision explains how the Amish may have won at the expense of the court's establishing special privileges for their Church to the exclusion of other religious people, weakening the so-called "wall of separation" and opening itself to all kinds of future difficulties. The appendix gives the complete text of this Supreme Court decision, itself a fascinating revelation of the tortured logic of the eminent jurists who decide what the rules of our society are to be. Any civil libertarian, anyone anxious to break the monopoly of public education, any student of our pluralistic society at work will want to add this stimulating work to his library. And those libertarians who hope that they can survive in what historian William Marina calls the "interstices" of a culturally hostile society will find provocative food for thought in this case study of the Old Order Amish. □

## Capitalism — (Continued From Page 5)

order to avoid free price formation and exchange on the market . . . .” While this appearance of central planning “satisfies the ideology,” the “result has been irrational signals for managerial interpretation, and the irrationality of production in the Soviet Union has been the consequence.”

Thus the evidence indicates that the perennially disappointing Soviet grain harvests are far more a result of the system than the weather, for even in “peak planting and harvest seasons as many as one third of all machines in a district may be standing idle because there are no spare parts. Central planners are acutely aware of the need for spares . . . yet the management system seems unable to match up parts with machines that need them.”<sup>14</sup> The problem of bottlenecks is nothing new, as indicated by a report of some time ago: “the Byelorussian Tractor Factory, which has 227 suppliers, had its production line stopped 19 times in 1962 because of lack of rubber parts, 18 times because of ball bearings, and eight times because of transmission components.” The same writer notes that “the pattern of breakdowns continued in 1963.”<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the absurd lengths to which attempts at central planning can be carried is illustrated in an incident reported by Joseph Berliner. A plant inspector, with the job of seeing why a plant had fallen behind on its delivery of mining machines found that the “machines were piled up all over the place.” When he asked the manager why he didn't ship them out he was told that according to the plan the machines were to be painted with red paint but the manager only had green and was afraid to alter the plan. Permission was granted to use green, but only after considerable delay since each layer of the bureaucracy was also afraid to authorize a plan change on its own and so sent the request to the next highest agency. Meanwhile, the mines had to shut down while the machines piled up in the warehouses.<sup>16</sup>

The problem of bottlenecks is closely connected with that of organizational autarchy. Plant managers are awarded according to whether or not they have fulfilled their production quotas. To avoid becoming a victim of a bottleneck, and thus not fulfilling the quota, the tendency emerged for each industry to control receipt of its own resources by producing them itself. “Each industry,” says David Granick, “was quite willing to pay the price of high-cost production in order to achieve independence.” In 1951 only 47 percent of all brick production was carried out under the Ministry of Industry and Construction Materials. And by 1957 116 of the 171 machine-tool plants were outside the appropriate industry, despite the fact that their production costs were in some cases up to 100 percent greater.<sup>17</sup> To

combat this tendency Nikita Khrushchev re-organized the economy in 1957 by setting up 105 Regional Economic Councils to replace the industrial ministries. In the absence of other reforms, however, he merely succeeded in substituting “localism” for “departmentalism,” as each economic region endeavored to become self-sufficient. To counter this the economy was further centralized in 1963 but this only increased inefficiency by further rigidifying an already inflexible economy. Unable to find the key to efficient planning, 1965 marked yet another significant step toward a return to a market economy. These reforms not only introduced a limited profit system but also called for “a high degree of local autonomy for producers and suppliers. Detailed planning of every important aspect of production would disappear, to be replaced by minimal direct guidance from above.”<sup>18</sup>

**Distribution.** Turning to the final area we again find that capitalism is the enemy of bureaucracy. Under capitalism, production is for profit. Capital and labor constantly flow to where they can obtain the greatest return. As can be seen, there can be no separation between production and distribution, for those individuals who, in the eyes of the consumers, render the greatest services to “society” are precisely the ones who reap the greatest rewards.

Turning to socialism, it is difficult to say much in theoretical terms about the way in which wealth is distributed since there are a number of conceivable bases for distribution: equality, need, merit and services rendered to society. It should be obvious, however, that the implementation of any of these would require conscious bureaucratic direction. It should also be pointed out in this context that the attempts to establish strict equality have never been successful and probably never will be. This is so for two reasons. First, to spur output the Soviet Union, for example, has always had to rely heavily on a bonus system for its plant managers and the piece-rate system for workers. The saliency of the bonus system is seen in the fact that while in 1934 bonuses equalled about four percent of a manager's salary, today it often reaches one-half, with bonuses in some industries comprising as much as eighty percent of income.<sup>19</sup> And second, in any society where the state controls all the essential facets of the economy there is a natural temptation for those in control of the government to use their political power to obtain economic privileges. Thus it is not surprising that the 1917 revolution, regardless of intentions, only resulted in the replacement of one privileged elite by another.<sup>20</sup> One example will illustrate this point. There are a host of “special shops” in the Soviet Union selling everything from food to jewelry. These stores, which are allegedly for the benefit of foreign

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## Foreign Affairs

By Leonard P. Liggio\*

### UNITED STATES OF EUROPE?

April 1 is the beginning of discussions on increased union among the European states. The objective is to move toward an elected parliament of the European community. Especially in France there is opposition to a super-state and its parliament. The Communists and right-wing Gaullists oppose any infringement on France's nationalism; while the Socialists oppose a parliament unless based on proportional representation. But elsewhere the Christian, Socialist and Liberal-Free Democratic parties are forming transnational political coalitions. The Free Democratic German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, wants a European foreign policy, as on Angola and Western Sahara, so as to have a unified foreign policy, mainly to back the US, but against it in the case of American cut-off of aid to Turkey. France opposes a common foreign policy as a restriction on its nationalism, as in its opposition to the US on Angola, where it supported the MPLA.

The important decision will be selecting a new president for the

European Economic Community, for the present president, F-X. Ortoli, is retiring to return to politics. Also, the industry minister of EEC, Altiero Spinelli, will retire due to age. Likely to remain as ministers are Carlo Scarascia Mugnozza, Wilhelm Haferkamp and Dr. Patrick Hillery, along with the classical liberals, Albert Borschette, minister of competition, and Hans-Dietrich Brunner, the research minister, who is expected to become external relations minister. The present external relations minister, former English ambassador to France, Sir Christopher Soames, son-in-law of Winston Churchill, is the prime candidate for president of EEC. He is supported by Harold Wilson and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, but not by James Callaghan. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, conservative leader would like Soames to return to parliament as shadow foreign minister for a conservative government of the future. Instead of Soames, Thatcher would like to have former prime minister, Edward Heath, go to Brussels as EEC president. Too clever by half! Meanwhile, Labor chancellor of the exchequer, Denis Healey, stole a

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tourists, have high quality merchandise at below cost prices in order to compensate the tourist for the government's artificially high exchange rate for rubles. However, James Wallace points out that "high-ranking Government officials, senior military officials and upper ranks in the Communist Party are all privileged to shop in these stores as a fringe benefit of their jobs." They are therefore able to buy "hard-to-get goods for a fraction of the prices their neighbors pay for often-lower-quality merchandise."<sup>1</sup>

It is a revealing sidelight, and one that should be especially noted by those who condemn capitalism for its unequal "distribution" of wealth, that there is greater inequality of wealth in the more socialist countries like the Soviet Union than in the relatively more market-oriented economies such as the United States.<sup>2</sup> This, moreover, is not a historical accident but in conformity with economic theory. For under capitalism there is a natural tendency for capitalists to invest in areas with a low wage level, thereby forcing those rates up to a level commensurate with that of other areas doing the same work, while workers in low pay jobs tend to migrate to areas where pay is higher. Similarly, entrepreneurs invest in areas manifesting high profits. But the increased output forces prices and profits in those areas to fall. In short, while capitalism will never eliminate inequality, it does tend to reduce extremes of wealth and poverty.

### Conclusion.

Under capitalism the price system performs the crucial function of transmitting knowledge throughout society and thereby eliminates the need for bureaucracy. But precisely because it eliminates the market, bureaucratic management is indispensable for a socialist economy. Furthermore, since there is an inverse relationship between central planning and the market, bureaucratic management is inherently contradictory. Its dilemma can best be summarized, perhaps, in the form of two planning paradoxes:

**Paradox One:** For central planning to be viable it needs market data to guide its decisions. But the greater the role of markets the less that of central planning. Conversely, the more extensive the area of central planning the more limited the market data, and hence the more inefficient must be the operation of the economy.

**Paradox Two:** If the planning board endeavors to maximize consumer satisfaction it merely does manually what the market does automatically. It is then just a wasteful, redundant entity. But if the planning agency plans operations that would not have been undertaken on the market, then that is an indication that the priorities set by the agency are in conflict with those of the consumers. It is clear that regardless of the course adopted by the agency the position of the consumers must be worse off than it would have been under a market economy.

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- <sup>12</sup>In David Granick, *The Red Executive* (New York, 1961), pp. 133-4.
- <sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 135.
- <sup>14</sup>J. P. Hardt et al., "Institutional Stagnation and Changing Economic Strategy in the Soviet Union," *Man, State and Society in the Soviet Union* Ed.: Joseph Noguee (New York, 1972), p. 183.
- <sup>15</sup>Granick, p. 111.
- <sup>16</sup>See Milovan Djilas, *The New Class* (New York, 1968). Also see the interesting remarks on the Bolshevik Revolution by a Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist and contemporary of the Revolution, "M. Sergven," in "The Paths of Revolution," reprinted in *Libertarian Analysis* (Winter, 1970), pp. 9-12.
- <sup>17</sup>Wallace, "Classless Russia," p. 35.
- <sup>18</sup>Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago, 1969), p. 169.
- \*Mr. Osterfeld is a doctoral candidate in political science at the University of Cincinnati. 

**Foreign Affairs — (Continued From Page 7)**

march on the Tories by announcing the need for extreme budget cuts, less social spending and not pressing for further nationalized industry.

**FRANCE AND ITALY**

The big issue in French and Italian politics is the role of the Communist parties. In Paris, Nelson Rockefeller warned the French and Italians that the US will end its alliances with them if they allow Communist participation. This echoes Kissinger's statements. In France, elections for the General Councils of the 95 departments showed a majority vote for the left-communists, 22.8%, socialists, 26.5%, and Radicals of the Left, 5%. President Giscard's Independent Republicans gained, but his ally, the Gaullist party, lost. This points to a socialist-communist victory in parliamentary elections in 1978. The communists in France and Italy were strengthened by their outspoken independent line at the recent Moscow congress of the Soviet Communist party. President Giscard will have to continue the popular anti-US foreign policy to maintain a strong political initiative. The interior minister, Michel Poniatowski, has lost the administration much support over his handling of the Corsican self-determination movement, along with those of the Bretons, the southern French of the Midi and the Octians, of the Southwest. Also, Giscard's economic 'reforms' will not gain support. The proposed capital gains tax would have fewer teeth than the British model, and they would be felt mainly by stockbrokers, antique dealers, art salesmen and auctioneers. But then the French are an acquisitive people, and it is not just the wealthy or conservative who loathe the concept of taxing capital gains. According to one opinion poll, 61% of even Communist voters are opposed to the bill. If American liberals and social democrats want to learn how to gain popularity they should learn from the French communists' acquisitiveness and their opposition to capital gains taxes.

In Italy, events are moving to the Historical Compromise (compromesso storico) of a joint Communist-Christian Democratic cabinet. For the first time, the premier, Aldo Moro, held a ninety-minute talk with Communist party leader, Enrico Berlinguer. This was the result of the request by the leader of the highly respected Italian Republican party, Ugo La Malfa, that the Communists be included in the cabinet. Communist leader Giorgio Amendola declared that the Communists would carry out an extreme austerity program once they were included in the government. Although the Catholic trade unions are more radical, that would mean that the Communist-led unions, having the most members, would keep industrial peace. For that reason the leading industrialists have been urging Communist membership in the cabinet. As evidenced in Portugal, Communist commitment to central control and planning makes them excellent discipliners of worker demands. The strong Marxist hatred of inflation makes their concerns coincide with those of capital owners. Italian money markets, after closing for forty days, were opened with a major anti-inflation program of the government, but to get parliamentary approval and union discipline, the

Communists are the basic ingredient. The Italian Socialist party — which was led into a coalition with the Christian Democrats a dozen years ago by Pietro Nenni — are demanding Communist inclusion before they will support austerity. This plan of their leader, Francesco De Martino, is challenged by left-wing socialists, led by Sr. Lombardi, which demands a government coalition of Socialists and Communists without the Christian Democrats. The Communists reject this. They want a grand coalition with the Christian Democrats so as to insure that there is strong popular support for difficult economic measures, so as to neutralize Vatican opposition, and to maintain continuity of government since the Christian Democrats have ruled for thirty years. Also the Christian Democrats have no moral credibility, especially as a result of the Lockheed bribes. The Communists would restore a moral cover to the government. The Communists have just joined the Socialists and the Social Democrats in a coalition regional government in Latium, whose capital is Rome. This is a result of a left-wing shift of the Social Democrats at their recent national congress.

But the Christian Democrats have the one thing the Communists need — a hegemonic position, the capacity for decision-making for a general public and not limited constituencies. The Christian Democrats have the tradition of 'Consensus politics' which the Communists need desperately to learn if they wish to be successful. Although a former leader, present defense minister, Arnaldo Forlani, an ally of the American puppet, Amantore Fanfani, is attempting to prevent the Historical Compromise, the party leader, pediatrician Benigno Zaccagnini, and premier Aldo Moro, require Communist participation in the austerity program. Although Communist rule in regional governments are giving them a sense of the attitudes required for decision-making, for hegemony, they still have a lot to learn. The Communists model themselves after technicians and business managers, because they mistakenly think that they are the decision-makers in a capitalist society. They are misguided by the entrepreneur fallacy, the belief that managers make decisions. In a capitalist society it is capitalists, owners of money, who make the decisions by their day-to-day investments, as the current monetary situation in Italy shows clearly. The decisions that a manager makes are far different than the considered judgment of the capital owner. Long study, care, restraint, abstinence from action as the highest form of action by the capitalist, are the real decisions. The Communists are just realizing that, but having trained themselves as technicians and managers, they have few if any real decision-makers, few if any capable of hegemonic leadership. While Communists are all 'business' with long-hours in their offices, the Christian Democrats at their March convention displayed the height of their hegemonic capacity — no lunch shorter than three hours. Important decisions are not made in offices, but in leisure, in study, in conversation. Real decisions take time, and in an atmosphere that reflects time. In Italy, important decisions cannot be taken in offices, only in a home, a club, and especially out of doors (walls have ears) during a leisurely stroll. When Moro and Berlinguer are known to have talked outside of an office, we will know that decisions were being made — and that the Communists are learning hegemonic leadership. □

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## FLP Split!

The big libertarian political news from New York is the defection from the Free Libertarian Party of nine of its leading members, including four of its former candidates for office, and two of its former chairmen. Of the nine, three have resigned from the FLP outright (Childs, Millen, and Rothbard), while the other six remain, in the words of the joint statement of the nine published below, "alienated, but continuing to do what they can for our cause . . . on their own." All of them have "disengaged" from the FLP.

The walkout was precipitated by the events at the recent FLP annual convention (March 26-28) but the causes have been brewing for a long time. Basically, the recent convention demonstrated that what I have called the "left sectarian" faction in control of the FLP was determined on continuing and escalating its long-standing campaign of personal slander and abuse against ourselves and against the national LP leadership. The campaign, orchestrated by what the Statement calls "an absurd Robespierre (Howard S. Katz), suspecting treachery and lack of virtue everywhere", has been conducted, as the Statement declares, "on the assumption, of course, that the victims would always be there, passively allowing themselves to be the butt of the ill-will of others." The Statement announces that "this particular show has now folded in New York, because those who were cast as the antagonists of the People of Virtue have simply walked off the stage."

The Statement speaks of anger and sorrow as two leading emotions held by those of us who have walked off the stage. My own dominant emotion is relief, relief at no longer having to be in a symbiotic relationship with those who control the FLP. For beyond the personal abuse, there is the vital point stressed by Roy Childs in his letter of resignation to the FLP, published below: that the FLP, in the hands of the sectarian faction, is a gross fraud, a fraud on those of its members who believed they were joining what the FLP purports to be: a political party. When I joined the FLP three years ago, there were flourishing clubs within the party that devoted themselves to studying and acting upon political issues. For that, after all, is what a libertarian political party is supposed to be doing: taking a public lead in applying libertarian principles to the vital, burning political issues of the day. But those clubs have long since evaporated, and in the last couple of years, the FLP has shown no interest whatever in any political issues. What did the FLP say or do about such leading political issues of 1975-76 as Angola or the New York City default crisis? The answer is Nothing, and the same is true about all the other vital issues. The FLP doesn't even have a platform. Instead, under the control of the People of Virtue, they have devoted all of their energies to sniffing out alleged moral impurity in fellow libertarians.

I have used the term "sectarian" in analyzing this faction, but even this term gives them too much credit. Thus, when, recently, the Mid-Hudson chapter of the FLP egregiously violated libertarian principle to the extent of calling for a sales tax (!) — a resolution that was later overturned by the narrowest of margins — our "purists" indicated that

they couldn't care less. To them, the content of libertarian ideology is a secondary and unimportant matter, far less important than sniffing out alleged philosophical immorality among libertarians who have never violated the content of libertarian principle. It is truly a bizarre situation.

I say that "relief" is my own dominant emotion at resigning from the FLP because, quite simply, for a long time I have not in good conscience been able to advise new and budding libertarians to join the FLP — an organization that displays no interest in political issues but only in personal and insufferably self-righteous abuse of their colleagues. And so it dawned ever more clearly: why should I continue to belong to an organization that I cannot recommend anyone else to join? That inner contradiction is now happily resolved.

My parting words to the Katznik faction is this stanza from Bobbie Burns' great poem, *An Address to the Unco Guid*:

O ye wha are sae guid yoursel'  
Sae pious and sae holy,  
Ye've nought to do but mark and tell  
Your neebour's fauts and folly.

As the Statement makes clear, we nine defectors continue to support enthusiastically the MacBride-Bergland Presidential ticket — indeed, that is one of the key issues in the split. The three resigners continue to be national members of the Libertarian Party.

### A STATEMENT

Concerned with the mischievous course which the Free Libertarian Party has come increasingly to pursue; mindful of the need to bring about a reappraisal and a redirection of the FLP; and attentive to the respect which we owe to ourselves, we the undersigned disengage ourselves, in varying degrees, from the FLP.

The causes which have led us to this action are many. In the case of some of us, we have been struggling against them — tediously, and at great emotional cost — for years. Others of us have only recently become aware of the deep problems which a certain faction continues to generate in our Party.

The faction whose conduct has occasioned our suspension of support has been guilty of harassment, of gossip-mongering, of character assassination and of the petty personal sniping that finally saps anyone's will to persevere in any organization — even one dedicated to the noble ideals of the FLP. Acts of spite and irresponsible accusations go back a long time with members of this faction. Some of the more recent ones are as follows:

Our errors are presumed to have malicious intent, while theirs are merely "mistakes;" praise for good work, and acknowledgment of

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## FLP Split! — (Continued From Page 1)

dedication to our cause is systematically withheld from some (including our presidential candidate) — rather we are constantly subjected to suspicion and malicious speculation as to our “real” motives; unguarded comments of some of us have been greedily seized upon and blown up to the proportions of the Dreyfus case; other comments, published in private newsletters, have for some reason been made into the official business of the FLP; an absurd Robespierre, suspecting treachery and lack of virtue everywhere, is permitted — even encouraged — to impugn the integrity of his moral and ideological betters; the FLP newsletter has been used to savage libertarians who dissent from the editorial line; indeed, and finally, for those with no more pressing Libertarian work to do, casting doubts on the integrity of other FLP members has developed into a kind of pastime, on the assumption, of course, that the victims would always be there, passively allowing themselves to be the butt of the ill-will of others. We hereby announce that this particular show has now folded in New York, because those who were cast as the antagonists of the People of Virtue have simply walked off the stage.

In announcing our disengagement from the FLP, we feel not only anger, but also sorrow. Some of us have dedicated years of effort to the FLP. All of us have cherished the idea of working with an FLP that was a community of women and men working together for the highest things we know, and a friendly haven from a crazy world — where we have always supposed our real adversaries are to be found.

The implacable wrong-headedness and vindictiveness of a powerful faction in the FLP has made all this impossible. The apathy and “who am I to judge” attitude of an acquiescent membership has become intolerable. Some of us are resigning outright; others will remain in the FLP, alienated, but continuing to do what they can for our cause — above all for the MacBride-Bergland ticket — on their own.

Walter Block	Andrea Millen	Murray N. Rothbard
Roy Childs	Ralph Raico	Jerry Tuccille
Gary Greenberg	Howard Rich	Fran Youngstein

### LETTER OF RESIGNATION

by Roy A. Childs, Jr.

It is with something akin to sadness that I have decided to resign my membership in the Free Libertarian Party of New York. This decision, far from being merely a personal response to personal events at the last FLP convention, and far from being impulsive, has been made only after weeks of careful thought and consideration. I should like to lay out my reasons for resigning, so that there can be no misunderstanding concerning my motives.

I feel quite frankly that I have been defrauded by the FLP, that my membership fee was in fact solicited under false pretenses, and that I have not gotten what I have paid for.

When I was solicited to join the FLP, I was told that I was joining a political party. Since it was an avowedly Libertarian political party, I thought that its purposes and functions were clear: it would be concerned with political issues, and with organizing a consistent, unified and effective Libertarian response to the issues of the day. It would, I supposed, run candidates where appropriate, endorse other candidates when that was appropriate, and address the burning political issues of our time, in terms of fundamentals, in terms of principles, and in terms of specifics. This last I held to be particularly important, for without a concern for facts, no discussion of concrete political issues is possible. When I joined the party, immediately after moving to New York City from California, I was very enthusiastic about the FLP; here in the den of statism, I thought, there was no lack of important issues to address. It would be both exciting and important to address them. The FLP, I thought, was just the institution to mount a concerted attack on the foibles and policies of the day. It was a vehicle whereby important issues could be identified and sorted out from unimportant issues. It was an institution which could above all organize libertarian responses to issues. I was very excited, in short, about the prospects for the FLP, and had high hopes in joining the party.

I was wrong to have had those hopes, for in the past year, every one of

them has been frustrated and thwarted. As I watched issue after issue arise, I witnessed a nightmare: Libertarians, uninterested in political events, calling themselves a political party, showing political judgment which was at best naive, at worst astonishingly superficial and wrongheaded. But above all, I witnessed in the FLP what I had earlier witnessed in the Society for Individual Liberty: impotence. As in earlier cases of the decay and destruction of Libertarian institutions and organizations, I watched the gradual takeover of the party by a particular spirit, a peculiar animating vision which can best be compared to the Objectivist discussion group of years past. Sterility, boredom and personal abuse had all become central to the FLP. I watched members of a political party give no thought to making effective use of opportunities which could only be described as monumental. Not only was there no serious thought or discussion about what the party should be doing, there was not even serious thought or discussion over who would be best in what office or in what campaign. There was never any effective, well-conceived response to any political issue. Instead, some people, whose comparative advantage apparently consists in their dubious ability to dissect other people's motives and hidden plans, to invent plots and posture as moral leaders whom it would be laughable to emulate, have systematically thwarted any attempt to grapple with the issues of the real world.

There was no protest from the FLP about the Mayaguez incident. There was no concern over U.S. intervention in, of all places, Angola. There has been no protest against U.S. involvement in the Middle East, despite the fact that most FLP members live in the city from which the push for such intervention has come.

Although there are in this city several brilliant and eloquent libertarian feminists, there has been no renewed response to the renewed push by the so-called “pro-life” lobby to impose a theocracy on the people of the United States, through their campaign against legalized abortion. What this campaign amounts to is nothing less than the attempt to impose the peculiar moral tenets of the Roman Catholic Church on the people of America. But there has been no outcry, no opposition, from the FLP. We have seen several attempts by the municipal unions, in the case of the garbage collectors, the cops, the firemen, the transit workers, to blackmail the people of New York City, to fleece them through taxation for their own personal financial gain. There has been no opposition from the FLP. We are in the midst of continuing enforcement of the vicious Rockefeller Drug Law, the most monstrous consumer-rights law ever to be passed in this nation since prohibition, a law which daily destroys the lives and hopes of countless numbers of people, people who are not articulate enough to defend themselves. Organized crime and the city police work hand in hand to divide the profits from drugs, and oppress several hundred thousand drug users. There has been no outrage expressed at these injustices from the FLP.

A massive financial breakdown has occurred in this city, with no one pointing a way out of the city's difficulties, no arguments for privatizing city services, no opposition to federal bailing out of the city government, a government run by irresponsible shell-game artists and downright hoodlums. The FLP, in short, remained silent. In fact, there is not a single current issue of any importance that the FLP has concerned itself with. Instead of organizing opposition to these and other vitally important political events, to the actions of the local, state and federal governments, we have seen incredible (and immoral) wasting of resources and time on petty personal squabbles, and on minor issues light-years away from anything which could be remotely conceived of as important. We have seen fruitless social gatherings, bitching and infighting, slander and moral denunciations, all designed, apparently, to make serious discussion of important political issues all but impossible, and to drive those who are concerned solely with political issues, out of the Free Libertarian Party. It has now become impossible to recommend membership in the FLP to those coming upon Libertarianism for the first time. One whiff of the poisonous atmosphere at an FLP meeting would, very likely, alienate them forever.

For discussion of political issues to be impossible within an organization which calls itself a political party, is obscene. I for one cannot any longer tolerate this fraud, and I cannot lend my name or support to such an organization, however painful such a decision may be to me personally.

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## FLP Split! — (Continued From Page 2)

In sharp contrast to the machinations and irrelevancies of the FLP, there is the national Libertarian Party and the MacBride for President campaign. In my view, these are magnificent models of what a libertarian political effort should be. We had no right last August to hope that the MacBride campaign would be anywhere near as successful as it has proven to be. I have been astonished at the consistently good political judgment shown: MacBride's immediate response to Reagan's view that we should "eyeball" the Russians over Angola, for example, or the press conference called to attack the Supreme Court decision on gay rights. Most of all, perhaps, there has been the distribution of vast quantities of good, solid literature on issues from a Libertarian perspective. Again and again good sound judgment has been manifested by Roger MacBride and his co-workers in this campaign.

If there was a concern immediately after the national LP convention as to what course a MacBride campaign would take, that concern should have evaporated. If there was a concern about the candor and honesty used in addressing issues, that concern should have passed. If there was a concern about the effectiveness with which Roger MacBride would speak out on the hard, tough issues in public, that concern should have been set aside. If there was a concern, in fact, about any major element of the MacBride campaign, that concern should have rationally been transformed into white-hot enthusiasm for the MacBride for President campaign. But it has not, not within the FLP at least, and the FLP's reluctance to support MacBride in this critically important election year with every available resource constitutes my gravest complaint against the FLP.

Should the day come when the FLP rejects its petty factionalism, its discussion-group-mentality, and turns instead to an authentic concern with political issues, with the cause of advancing Liberty in our time, I shall be happy to give it my enthusiastic support. But I do not expect this to happen in the near future, since recent events have shown precisely how members of the FLP are prepared to treat those who are concerned, passionately concerned, with political issues. When one stops to realize that the only resolution passed by the FLP at its recent convention was concerned, in its state-of-nature format, with attacking and slandering Murray Rothbard, Andrea Millen, and myself, the true concern of party members becomes evident. These are not my concerns. Indeed, when I brought this up to several members of the self-appointed "purist" faction, it was suggested to me, in so many words, that that's what we were for: Walter Block, Gary Greenberg, Andrea Millen, Ralph Raico, Howard Rich, Murray Rothbard, Jerry Tuccille, Fran Youngstein and myself were expected to come up with the resolutions and proposals for addressing issues, while the rest of the party members would, apparently, concern themselves with our moral character. Surely the only proper response to such an openly exploitative and manipulative outlook is for the victims to head for the nearest exit.

I believe in a great Rothbardian principle: that of demonstrated preference. This principle holds that individuals reveal their actual values, their actual preferences, in action. From what I have seen, then, the values of the members of the FLP are greatly at odds with my own. I am interested in addressing the important political issues which confront us. It is a paradox of the FLP that perhaps I can best pursue this end by not being a member. I have come to that conclusion with a great deal of reluctance, but nothing will be helped if I continue to play a role in sustaining the fundamental evasion and self-deception of the members of the Free Libertarian Party of New York: that they are a political party, that they are interested in political issues, that they are interested in promoting and advancing Liberty. I cannot allow myself to hope for changes any longer, I cannot allow myself to waste any more time with a political party which is not concerned with politics, which means: with the events of the real world.

It is therefore with great sadness and disillusionment that I resign my membership in the FLP, and turn instead to those political issues which are my first concern and my first love. I wish things could have been different, but unless FLP members listen to reason, they will never be any different. The only loser, unfortunately, will be Liberty, and therefore the human race itself.

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE FREE LIBERTARIAN:

by Walter Block

I object to your decision to print the "Declaration On Tactics for the LP" in the Jan.-Feb. issue of the *Free Libertarian*. The F.L.P. is supposed to be a political party, or so I thought when I joined; and political parties do not encourage smears, innuendoes and mud-slinging by one faction of the party against another. Even the Republicans have an eleventh commandment: not be vicious and nasty to each other. And the Democrats certainly would have fired any official responsible for allowing such an attack on one sector of their party by another. Political parties concentrate on attracting new members, gaining votes, and spreading their philosophy.

I object even more to your headlining the "Declaration." As I hope to show in the main body of this letter, the sentiments expressed in it are completely at variance with the libertarian philosophy.

But even more than printing it at all, and headlining it, I must object most strenuously to your decision not to offer at least an equal amount of space to someone willing to express an opposite point of view. Certainly Dr. Murray N. Rothbard, and Roy Childs, who are mentioned by name, in an out-of-context attack, might have been offered an opportunity to reply, in the same issue. As far as I know, however, they have not even yet been offered an opportunity to reply, even to this date.

I shall now reply to the specifics of the arguments made in "LP Declaration of Tactics". I shall reply at greater length, one, on the ground that it takes more effort to combat falsehood than merely to state it, and two, in order to correct the already existing injustice outlined above.

In my humble opinion, the essence of libertarianism is that it is wrong, immoral, evil, for anyone to initiate or threaten force or fraud against any other person — or his property. Everyone should be free to do exactly what he or she wants, provided that they respect the equal liberty of everyone else to do the same.

Libertarianism, as I see it, is an extremely limited philosophy. It's a political philosophy, not a philosophy of life. As a political philosophy, it states that people have the right to use physical violence only in response to those who break the libertarian code and initiate violence. It's not a philosophy of life stating how one can live the good life, settling out in fine detail how one may act in every conceivable situation. Practically the sole concern of libertarianism is that everyone keep his mitts off everyone else, unless, of course, he has that person's permission.

The beauty of this version of libertarianism is that it allows for an amazing diversity. Only libertarianism gathers together all who believe in this limited philosophy. We've all seen businessmen with suits, ties, and vests mingling with flower children. We've all seen teetotalers and alcohol drinkers at libertarian functions. We've all seen pot smokers, acid heads, drug freaks — together with Murray Rothbard, the straightest of them all. We've seen priests, monogamists, family men, as the fellow libertarians of the gays, the sado-masochists, the leather freaks, and those into what they call "rational bestiality." As Ralph Raico stated in his keynote address to the FLP state convention, only libertarianism could gather together the homosexual motorcycle gang, the acid dropper fascinated by the price of silver, and the Puerto Rican nationalist immersed in the Austrian School of economics.

At one time I thought that virtually all those calling themselves libertarians agreed with this limited view of libertarianism. Since then, I've learned differently. For example, according to the "Declaration on Tactics for the LP"'s definition, the libertarian must be honest and truthful. In extreme variations, people can even be condemned for secrecy or concealment.

Now this version of libertarianism is socialism. For, surely, knowledge is an economic good. It is no different to compel full disclosure than to compel giving away any other economic good. But in the case where someone is told to give away his goods — we libertarians have a name for it: theft. Yet, in the FLP of New York, Roger MacBride was roundly condemned, on supposedly libertarian grounds, for not telling all, for not letting it all hang out. We must reject the view that secrecy and privacy are incompatible with libertarianism.

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# Combatting Conservatism

As the libertarian movement grows and develops, one of its most vital tasks is in distinguishing ourselves from conservatism — of making it crystal clear that we are not simply an “extreme” variant of the Conservative Movement. We are liable to make such an error because of the similarity of the free-market rhetoric — but the similarity is in rhetoric only, and there is only a segment of the economic realm. We are the “extreme” (read consistent) heirs, not of the Conservatives, but of their ancient enemies, the Classical Liberals. Classical Liberalism, with its devotion to individual liberty and a peaceful foreign policy, found itself from the beginning at the polar opposite from Conservatism, and this polarity continues today. Then as now, Conservatism has stood for Big Government and statism across the board; for militarism and repression of civil liberties at home, and for interventionism, imperialism and a warlike foreign policy abroad; for a reverence for the State and its Leader (whether King or President or some other Führer); and for a theocratically imposed “morality” in which the State imposes a religiously conceived behavior on its subjects. Libertarianism, as the heir of classical liberalism, stands, on the contrary, for individual liberty and the absence of government intervention at home or abroad. Our reverence is for the peaceful individual and our hostility goes out to the State apparatus. We hold religion and morality to be strictly the private concerns of each individual.

Contemporary Conservatism is very much in the mold of our long-standing Enemy. It still advocates militarism and imperialism, it still believes in a State-coerced morality, it still reverences the State and its Leader, it still represses dissent. It is our Conservatives who call for warlike confrontation with the Soviet Union, for American intervention everywhere, for ever greater appropriations for wasteful and dangerous Pentagon boondoggles; it is our Conservatives who hail the FBI and the CIA, despite their proven record of trampling on individual rights of person and property, despite their persistent use of burglary, wiretapping, and repression — or perhaps because of these secret police methods. And it was our Conservatives who went down the line and to the end in support of the tyrant Nixon and his approach to a police state in America. And as for the free market, conservative interest is minimal and declining; witness their willingness to retain a “moderate” welfare state so long as military appropriations continue to rise. No; we are not Conservatives; and the more this is made clear, to the public and to ourselves, the better.

Hence, we must particularly hail trenchant attacks on conservatism in recent issues of important libertarian periodicals. In the new expanded format of *Libertarian Review*, March-April, for example, Walter Grinder has an excellent attack on the “neo-conservatism” of Irving Kristol. Replying to a defense of Kristol by one Bruce Ramsey, Grinder rips into the Kristol “right of center chic clique” as “the most immediate, most dangerous, and most pressing enemy of libertarianism.” Grinder points out that the mission of the Kristol clique is to streamline the existing New Deal system to make it work more efficiently. As against Kristolite neo-conservatism, Grinder upholds Mill and especially Albert Jay Nock, and points out why he believes that the Kristol clique “are the first line defense of the American State, and of American statism, albeit a proposed more streamlined version.”

Also in the March-April issue of *LR* is an excellent defense of the Libertarian Party by national chairman Ed Crane against the “left sectarianism” of Sam Konkin and against the conservative hostility of Jim Toole, Florida LP Chairman. Crane rebuts Toole’s attack on the LP platform’s affirmation of an isolationist foreign policy and of its call for abolition of the FBI; as Crane writes, “The United States needs a national police force like Germany needed the Gestapo.”

Then, in the current, January-February issue of the *LP News*, Ralph Raico points out our anti-Conservative heritage in his scintillating article, “English Libertarians Battled War, Tariffs.” It is a fine tribute to the truly radical meaning of Cobden, Bright, and the Manchester School — the “extreme” wing of the British classical liberals. Finally, in the same issue of the *LP News*, there is a thoroughly researched article “Conservative Darling — Schlesinger: Spokesman of Interventionism” — in which James Schlesinger’s conservative and Reaganite foreign policy

views are keenly dissected. The article shows that Schlesinger, like American imperialists before him, are Marxist-Leninists in reverse: i.e., that failing to comprehend the market economy, they believe that the U.S. must conquer natural resources abroad, and coerce the export of capital and goods in order to survive. The article also points out that “paradoxically, some Reagan conservatives who fear the closing out of U.S. trade (by Communist countries) also wish to prohibit East-West trade. The Libertarian Party, in contrast, favors the repeal of all prohibitions on individuals or firms contributing or selling goods and services to any foreign country or organization.” The *LP News* article also contrasts the extremely dangerous “limited” nuclear war-counterforce — first strike strategy of the Schlesingers, to the less fanatical but still dangerous Establishment strategy of deterrence via “mutually assured destruction” — to the LP third alternative: our platform’s “call for prudently negotiated nuclear disarmament.”

## FLP Split! — (Continued From Page 3)

But we must reject the more moderate view. Lying violates no libertarian principle. Certainly, we can lie to a thief who demands to know where our money is. Surely, as a representative of the Libertarian Party, we could lie to a reporter who asked what we thought of the assassination of a pre-seident or king: if we thought he was a dictator and immoral, and felt it was justified to kill him, we’d certainly be justified in lying, especially since such thoughts are illegal.

Even if asked what time it is, there is no libertarian principle that says we cannot lie. Remember, I am operating under the libertarian principle that forbids force and fraud against persons or property, a principle whose sole purpose is to answer the question: When may force be legitimately employed? and answers — Only when force or fraud were used previously.

Now it may not be nice to lie, it may not be admirable. The person we give the wrong time to may get into all sorts of difficulties because he believes us. That’s tough. But society is not justified in using force against the liar. For the liar has not first initiated force himself. He is not acting contrary to libertarian principle.

We must, of course, distinguish lying from fraud. In fraud, as opposed to mere lying, there is a contractual relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. Fraud is logically equivalent to theft. It makes no difference if you rob someone of \$1000, or charge him \$1000 for a bag of gold which turns out to be filled with worthless rocks.

If you have a contractual relationship to tell someone the correct time whenever he asks, and you lie to him, you are guilty of fraud. You are actually stealing money from him in that you are not giving him the services for which he has paid you.

Giving the correct time is a valuable economic service. If a beggar on the street asks you for the correct time, you have a right to ignore him and remain silent, and you have the right to make him a voluntary gift of something he has not asked for, namely the wrong time. It’s the same with the beggar who asks you for a dollar for a drink. You have the right to ignore him and give him nothing. Or you can make him a gift of something he hasn’t asked for, a “Get out of jail free” card, if you want.

Anyone who asks you a question is logically in the position of a beggar. He is asking you for something. You don’t owe him the truth unless he’s paid you for giving it.

Now of course in most cases, we usually find it in our self-interest to tell the truth. But it’s only a matter of self-interest, or pragmatism, not libertarian principle. That’s why the famous statement, “If lying helps, I say lie,” is justified. Usually it won’t help. But if it does, you are under no libertarian obligation to tell the truth. How else, for example, can a woman be justified in lying when asked for her phone number?

I come now to perhaps the most dangerous and vicious of all the  
(Continued On Page 5)

## FLP Split! — (Continued From Page 4)

mistaken definitions of libertarianism. The one that says that in order to be a libertarian, you have to "live the libertarian life", or "live the life of a libertarian."

Now at first glance this seems innocuous enough. After all, if libertarianism means that you cannot initiate force, leading a libertarian life would seem to mean that you actually have to live that way; that you have to take it seriously and really not do things like that.

But this is not at all what these "live libertarianism" people mean. Instead, they've got a whole bunch of things on their agenda. We either obey, or we're accused of not being libertarians.

What are the specifics? Well, they vary according to which person you've spoken to last, but most of them seem to include the following: being nice, not discriminatory, being truthful and honest, not hating, not making sexual jokes, not making ethnic jokes, not leading a dissolute life, and so on.

The most well known example of this sentiment surfaced at the National LP convention in NYC last August. There, it was actually held by a sizable portion of the delegates that it was anti-libertarian to vote against or veto a person for high office on the grounds that he is a homosexual or a smuggler. Now, I have nothing but the highest regard for homosexuals and for smugglers. Some of my best friends are homosexuals and, for all I know, smugglers.

But it seems the most abject nonsense to say that people who oppose homosexuals and smugglers running for high office on the LP ticket are not acting in accordance with Libertarian principles. It's not only nonsense, it's vicious and unjust because it expels people from the ranks of libertarianism who adhere fully to the principle of non-aggression.

It's dangerous to the vitality of our movement because it will sap our diversity, a scarce and vital resource. Look. If we define libertarianism narrowly, we can accept all as libertarians who agree to the limited premise that initiation of coercion may be forcibly stopped. But, as we add on proviso after proviso, we reject more and more people. Things have gotten to such a point in New York, that even people like Dr. Murray N. Rothbard, Andrea Millen, and Roy Childs have quit the FLP because they've been made to feel unwelcome by the "live libertarian" fanatics.

The "Declaration On Tactics for the LP" states that: "We do not contend that all, or necessarily any, of the tactics we oppose are in violation of libertarian principles. However, we believe there must be more to a viable movement than its disembodied ideology. There must also be a sort of animating ideal or spirit to give the movement a sense of purpose, direction, and identity. The modern libertarian movement was born of, and its steady growth sustained by, just such a spirit."

Now let me make my point in the language of this Declaration. I am convinced that there must not be more to our libertarian movement, than its disembodied ideology — its non-aggression principle. Any sort of additional "animating ideal" or "spirit" will only needlessly, and unjustly, force true libertarians to leave; although they may agree with the non-initiation of force, they may not be in tune with this undefined, ineffable "spirit". They may not even like "spirits."

We libertarians will just have to learn to get our sense of purpose, direction and identity from the one and only defining characteristic of libertarian political philosophy — opposition to the initiation of force. If we can no longer become excited, exalted, invigorated, impassioned with this, the libertarian principle, if we no longer love it, if we no longer think of it as excruciatingly beautiful, we won't get it from any other principles either — and still remain libertarians.

The modern libertarian movement has nothing at all to do with such non-libertarian "spirits". If there is anything that the modern libertarian movement was born of, and its steady growth sustained by, it is the work of just one person, and you all know who that one person is; a person that has just quit the FLP.

If there is anything that is destructive of our fledgling libertarian movement, it is the tactic adopted by the "Declaration on Tactics", of reading people out of the libertarian party, who, by your own admission, goddamn it, "are . . . not . . . in violation of libertarian principles." It's

crazy. It's incomprehensible. How can you attack people for not being consistently libertarian in the same declaration that you admit they are not in violation of libertarian principles?

Moreover, I cannot, for the life of me, understand how the signers of the "Declaration" can object to Prof. Rothbard's statement: "Tactics are purely a matter . . . of efficiency and practicality. In short, the proper realm of 'pragmatism' is that realm where principle does not apply." This doesn't mean, as the "Declaration" asserts, "that questions of strategy and tactics are exempt from challenge on grounds of principle or morality." All it means is that there are some decisions where libertarian principle does not, indeed cannot, apply. For example, the questions of what color ink, or kind of paper, should our Free Libertarian newsletter be printed on, is purely a matter of tactics, strategy, efficiency and pragmatism. Equally "pure" libertarians can hold different views on this burning question. Common sense? Sure. Yet Rothbard was taken to task for just such a small "evasion" and "distortion."

Several signers of the Declaration have expressed themselves as willing, even eager, to discuss the issues raised by the document. I hereby offer myself as willing to speak, discuss and debate any and all issues raised here.

I'd like to end with a plea for tolerance.

I realize that much of what I have said is controversial. But I think it's to all our benefit — ourselves, our movement, and the cause of liberty we love so much — not to read all those we don't agree with out of the movement.

There must be room for all deviant but non-aggressive behavior in a truly libertarian society. And in a truly libertarian party. □

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# A Political Party, Once More

The March-April issue of the *Libertarian Review* has a three-cornered debate on the Libertarian Party, in which equally frenetic attacks appear from the Right by Jim Toole (likening the LP to the SLA and the Manson Family, no less!) and from the Left by Sam Konkin (calling the LP "Machiavellian hacks" who are a conscious "vehicle of an invasion from the State"). Ed Crane has an excellent reply to both of these irresponsible attacks, although it is curious that such a worthy and ecumenical organ as LR should give so much space to these wild-swinging and rabble-rousing charges.

The Konkin article gives rise once again to the now venerable problem of the morality of political action for anarchist libertarians. While this may be in the nature of beating a dead horse, perhaps a bit more can be said on this critical issue. In the first place, the anti-party libertarians never make it clear which of the following charges they are making: (a) the strong case — that all political action is immoral for libertarians *per se* because it sanctions the State; or (b) the weak case — that while not immoral *per se*, a libertarian party that seeks for and attains State power is bound to sell out.

Let us take the strong case first, best exemplified by the pure anarcho-pacifism of Bob LeFevre. LeFevre takes the certainly consistent position that, since defensive violence is just as immoral as aggressive violence, that therefore the use of the State to pass an unjust law (e.g. the draft) is no more unjust than using the State to repeal such a law. In short, that repeal of the draft, or price controls, or the income tax, is just as wrong as passing such measures, because those who want such measures are being "coerced." A consistent position no doubt, but also an absurd one, and surely one that few libertarians will wish to adopt. As for myself, I have no compunction whatever about coercing criminals, either in using violence to repel their assaults, or in repealing criminal measures that some statist may wish to see enforced.

Failing pure LeFevranism, it is difficult to see what the philosophical groundwork of the Konkinites and the other strong anti-party types might be. Is it because a libertarian party necessarily takes part in State activity? No doubt, but so do we all when we decide to walk or drive on State-owned and operated streets and roads. In the modern world of pervasive State activity, the "purist" who wishes to avoid the State everywhere will soon die out. Surely morality requires, not cutting our own throats or self-flagellation, but in banding together to rollback or overthrow the State. We libertarians are not responsible for the existence of the State, nor for its pervasiveness in modern life, and there is no reason for us to assume that guilt. Let us band together to try to abolish the State as rapidly and as effectively as we can.

Passing to the soft argument against the Libertarian Party, here the critics are on stronger ground. For surely the danger of an eventual sellout is always real, and must be guarded against; in the great Jeffersonian phrase, eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. But the fable of the boy who continually cried "Wolf" is very relevant here, for if the cry of "sellout" is directed toward every bit of trivium that anyone thinks, does, or might do, the serious issues of substance get overlooked.

But the crucial strategic point is this: what alternatives do our anti-party libertarians have to offer? How are we going to rollback or even abolish the State? It is all too easy to point to dangers in the strategy of political action; but where are the plausible alternatives? Let us examine whatever strategic alternatives have been all too sketchily offered. First, there is armed revolution. Konkin hints at this alternative when he writes that the "game of democracy" is to withhold violence but jockey for the use of acceptable, legitimized violence." One point that can be made is that the danger of "sellout" by the armed rebels is at least as strong as that of a political party, but this is a minor issue. The major point is the historical truth that no successful armed revolution has ever taken place in a democratic country, i.e. a country of free elections. No matter that we know that democracy is a substitute of ballots for bullets, and that the democratic "game" scarcely confers moral legitimacy on the victors. But there is the overwhelming historical fact that every

successful revolution has taken place against a dictatorial form of government. So unless and until the United States goes openly fascist and eliminates free elections, the hope of armed revolution in this country is a chimera, and a dangerous one at that. What happened to the New Left when it began to go over into armed violence should be a sober and instructive lesson for us all.

A second strategy is the LeFevrian one of converting all the State rulers to libertarianism and wait for them to resign. I think the inanity of such a strategy should be evident to anyone with a grasp of State reality, i.e. that the State benefits from exploiting the citizenry, and is not about to cheerfully or shamefacedly surrender those benefits upon reading libertarian literature.

A third strategy is a bundle of different alternatives that all boil down to ignoring the State and hoping that it goes away or leaves us alone. One variant is retreatism — running off to a cave or to a libertarian island, a new "Atlantis." Again, an inane alternative that ignores State reality, that offers hope to only a few enthusiasts, and, what is more, gives up the market. For crippled and restricted that the market may be, it is still the only hope for man to survive: the only hope for massive capital equipment, and for a widespread division of labor. Forming our own "markets" or running off to our own caves, is not the answer, and reduces us to sterility, starvation, and utter defeat. The same strictures apply to the ignoble "Browning-Out" variant of Harry Browne, that is, to forget the State, make a pile, and put it in Swiss bank accounts, caves, etc. Once again, not only does this immorally give up the cause of liberty, but it won't even work, because the State will eventually find those bank accounts and sniff out the caves. Finally, there is the third Konkinite variant of the so-called "counter-econ", in which libertarians build up their own "markets" separate from the market. But, once again, the counter-econ suffers from all the above failings; a puny "market" in which libertarians exchange beans, baseball cards, and bottle tops is just a game and leads nowhere, and ignores the dependence of all us on the market, crippled and controlled though it may be. The Konkin scheme is reminiscent of an older counter-econ variant in which it was held that libertarians should only hire or buy from other libertarians; the idea was that since libertarians are uniquely rational, they would make the best traders and employees. A libertarian metallurgist would automatically be a better metallurgist, for example, than a "straight" metallurgist; the history of our young movement should have put an end, once and for all, to this pleasant but idiotic fable. The record of incompetence and/or ripoffs among libertarians is too blatant to fall for that anymore.

And so this leaves us with one and only one practical route toward rolling back the State — political action, as full of pitfalls as this course might be. Between action within the older parties and trying to forge a pure Libertarian Party surely only one choice is possible. The new Libertarian Party has already introduced literally tens of millions to libertarian ideology and to the libertarian alternative. It has provided a focus for libertarian activity and a focus for spreading the principles to the media, the public, and to pressuring the older parties in a libertarian direction. And hopefully it may in the future grow to such an extent as to mobilize and articulate the anti-government mood among the public, and to become a viable conduit for dismantling the Monster State. In the face of the nobility of this course, in the face of the absence of strategic alternatives we can only bend our energies into making the attempt.

I know many worthy and excellent libertarians who have refused to join the Libertarian Party not on Konkinite or Toolean grounds, but for precisely the opposite reasons: namely that there are too many neo-Konkinites or neo-Tooleans in the Libertarian Party, too many left sectarians and conservative ideologues, for the Party to succeed. Perhaps they are right, although I don't think so; strategy, after all, is an art and not an exact science. But surely the cause and the effort are noble enough for all of us to try our best. And we do have an excellent Presidential ticket and an excellent National Office to give us fine prospects for success, and for going forward with a high heart. □

# The 'Defense Gap' Mythology

It's budget time at the Pentagon again, and this time the traditional and meretricious Pentagon scare propaganda is being reinforced by the menace of Schlesingerism and the Reagan-Jackson warhawks. The war crowd has trotted out the old imperial vainglory — That America must be "second to none" — combined with the old scare tactic that we are now "behind" the Russians. Reagan has been making all too effective use of this demagoguery in his presidential campaign.

In the face of this propaganda barrage, there are several vital points that must be made. In the first place, there is no such thing as being "behind" or overkill. We have the capacity to annihilate all the Russians many times over, and they have a similar capacity to "overkill" us. With this sort of mutual deterrence, the concept of being "behind" no longer make any sense; if, for hypothetical example, we have the capacity to kill the Russians 800 times over, and they can kill us 900 times over, in what sense are we "behind"? Only in the sense of adding to the enormous military boondoggles of the Pentagon and its industrial allies. Only mutual nuclear disarmament would rid both countries, and the world as a whole, of the threat of nuclear annihilation that hangs over us all.

Secondly, even within this "mutually assured destruction" framework, there is no need any longer for bombers, surface vessels, or land-based missile sites. They could all be scrapped overnight, with no loss of American deterrent power. Our Polaris-Poseidon submarines are more than sufficient for this task. In twenty years, neither superpower has even begun to come up with a useful method for submarine detection, which makes these submarines invulnerable to a first missile strike. There is therefore no need for the Pentagon's latest, hugely expensive submarine toy, the Trident, which permits hitting any part of the world from any ocean; the range of the existing Poseidon submarines from the northern hemisphere is more than enough.

Let us now turn to a narrower framework — the current Pentagon scare campaign. (Here see the excellent analyses of Rep. Les Aspin (Dem., Wisc.), a former Pentagon systems analyst, available in the current *Foreign Policy* magazine, and in the April 3 issue of the *Nation*, "Budget Time at the Pentagon"; and further analyzed in "The Great Defense Budget Debate," *International Bulletin*, April 9.) First, there is the alleged "spending gap". The Pentagon-CIA complain that the Soviets, in terms of the dollar, are spending 40-50% more on defense than the U.S.; specifically, that, in 1974 dollars, the U.S. spent \$80 billion in 1975 while the Russians spent \$114 billion on defense. Scary? But the operative fallacy here is "in terms of dollars." For the Russians don't spend dollars, they spend rubles, and there is no free currency market, and hence no accepted rate of exchange between dollars and rubles. The "dollar" costs of Soviet defense are enormously inflated by the fact that a new U.S. soldier gets paid more than \$83 a week, whereas a Soviet recruit gets less than a ruble a week. Computing Soviet army costs at American rates of pay therefore enormously inflates our computation of Soviet defense expenditures. As Rep. Aspin states, "By computing the payroll costs of the Soviet armed forces at U.S. military wage scales, we discover a \$50 billion Soviet payroll that exists only in the Pentagon's imagination." If, on the other hand, we were to use ruble costs for both budgets, it would appear that the Russians spent far more on defense than the U.S. At the heart of the comparison problem is the fact that wages are low and technological equipment costly in the U.S.S.R. and the reverse is true in the U.S., so that the Soviet army is high in dollar cost, while American technology is very costly in ruble terms.

Another flaw in these Pentagon comparisons is that many of the advanced technologies of the U.S. are simply too costly for the Russians to produce: the Russians, for example, have no TV-homing bombs; the ruble costs for the Russians only show the old-fashioned iron bombs; if we add in the ruble costs for the American equipment the Russians do not have, the total ruble costs of American defense would be far greater than the Soviet military budget.

Furthermore, even using the fallacious dollar figures, the Pentagon

figures leave out the spending of our NATO allies, which outspent Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies last year by \$61 billion to \$3 billion; so that even using the dollar terms, the NATO countries outspent the Warsaw countries last year by \$141 billion to \$122 billion.

Another piece of alarmism widely circulated by the Pentagon are alleged gaps in specific weapons production. Thus, Pentagon charts show the Russians out-producing us in the number of tanks; average annual tank production from 1972-74 was 3,000 for the Soviets and 462 for us, a seemingly awesome 6.5-1 advantage. But these charts fail to show that: (a) the Pentagon itself felt it had enough tanks several years ago and advocated lower production; (b) the Pentagon then decided, after the October War in 1973 that it needed higher tank production to replace high losses in any possible future tank warfare; the Pentagon itself then requested a tripling of U.S. tank production by 1977, and Congress promptly agreed. (c) our NATO allies produced as many tanks as the U.S. did in these years, while the Soviet allies produced zero. (d) The huge total of 1250 Russian-made tanks were destroyed in the 1973 Middle East war. (e) Soviet tank production declined substantially in 1975. (f) The U.S. and NATO have substantial superiority in anti-tank weapons. All of this makes for a far different tank picture.

One of the big bugaboos, fueled by tireless speeches by retired U.S. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt (now trying to oust Senator Harry Byrd in Virginia as the Democratic nominee) is the alleged Russian lead in ship production over the U.S. It is true that the Russians outproduced the U.S. in ships in the 1972-74 period by 3.5 to 1, if we count every dinghy and rowboat. But if we concentrate on major combat ships, production was about equal. And if we take just those ships larger than 250 tons, total NATO production outpaced Warsaw Pact production by over one-third in 1972-74, and was double Warsaw Pact production in 1975. Thus, more subtle analysis transforms the Pentagon scare figure of a 3.5 to 1 Soviet advantage in ship production to a 2 to 1 Western advantage!

Another old standby in Pentagon scare tactics is the alleged "missile gap", in which the Pentagon asserted that the Soviets led America in the number of missiles possessed, by 2,400 to 1,700. But, the important statistic is not the number of missiles but the number of warheads, in which we outpace the Russians, plus we have many more bombers. Altogether, the U.S. has 8,500 nuclear warheads, while the Russians have only 2,800; this is "second best"?

Furthermore, American tanks and naval vessels are far better in quality than Russian tanks and ships. American tanks can fire more rapidly and accurately, and have thicker steel armor; Soviet tanks are also extremely vulnerable to burning up from hits on their external fuel tanks. America's huge aircraft carriers have enormously more fire power than the entire Soviet navy.

Another important point is that much of the Soviet armed forces are poised to fight, not the U.S. but Red China. The Russians have 500,000 men poised on the Chinese border, where they hardly threaten the United States: much of the Soviet arms buildup in the last few years is directed against what they increasingly perceive to be a likely war with China. Furthermore, about 430,000 Soviet soldiers are devoted to internal police, and 5 per cent of its officer corps are simply political commissars with no military role. Also, when we look at the comparative total numbers of Russian and American soldiers, we have to realize that construction and other supply and administrative tasks that America assigns to relatively highly paid civilians, the Russians assign to its soldiery.

Let us keep these sobering points in mind as the Pentagon creates bogeymen to scare the Congress, and as the right-wing hawks gear up for a rerun of old discredited scare tactics. It would be a major tragedy if the gloriously growing anti-Big Government mood in this country were derailed, as it has been so often in the past, by the scare propaganda of the militarists and the global crusaders. □

# Recommended Reading

compiled by Bill Evers

Les Aspin, "How to Look at the Soviet-American Balance," *Foreign Policy*, (Spring, 1976.) A debunking of current alarmism on Soviet military spending, missile throw-weights, troop strength, and naval strength.

G. E. Aylmer, ed., *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975). Documentary material on the first modern libertarians — the Levellers of the late 1640s. Includes Richard Overton's "An Arrow Against All Tyrants," and important pieces by John Lilburne. Excellent introduction, scholarly apparatus, and annotated bibliography. Published in a paperbound edition.

P. T. Bauer, "Western Guilt and Third World Poverty," *Commentary*, Jan. 1976.

**Index on Censorship.** This quarterly provides thorough coverage, major documents, and in-depth analysis of the suppression of freedom of expression around the world. The spring 1976 issue, for example, treats the trial of Yugoslav social democrat Mihajlo Mihailov, torture in Iran, East German censorship, the trial of Ukrainian nationalist Vyacheslav Chornovil, South African censorship, and Senate Bill One in the United States. Each issue includes a country-by-country listing of censorship incidents. (\$14 per year from Index on Censorship, Room 221, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010.)

Jere Cohen, Lawrence E. Hazelrigg, and Whitney Pope, "De-Parsonizing Weber: A Critique of Parsons' Interpretation of Weber's Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, April 1975. Discussion of Talcott Parsons' distortion of Max Weber's notion of power. Weber talked of power as domination, as power over others. Parsons, in translating Weber and writing about his thought, transforms this into the functionalist notion of power as a resource.

**CounterSpy.** This quarterly provides analyses and information on the practices, organization, and objectives of U.S. intelligence agencies. The Winter 1976 issue contains articles on current plans to use the military and police in civil disorders in the U.S., and on the U.S. involvement in Angola. A one-year subscription to CounterSpy costs \$6. Checks should be payable to the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, P.O. Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D.C. 20004.

Edwin T. Layton, Jr., *The Revolt of the Engineers* (Cleveland, Oh.:

Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1971.) Scholarly historical treatment of Progressive-Era engineers to promote social engineering and scientifically managed government intervention. Herbert Hoover is a central figure.

Karl Olivecrona, "Appropriation in the State of Nature: Locke on the Origin of Property," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April-June 1974.

Karl Olivecrona, "Locke's Theory of Appropriation," *Philosophical Quarterly*, July 1974.

A. F. Ringold, "The History of the Enactment of the Ninth Amendment and its Recent Development," *Tulsa Law Journal*, Spring 1972. Argues that the forgotten Ninth Amendment, which recognized unenumerated rights retained by the people, can properly be used to attack the constitutionality of peacetime armies, suspensions of the laws and federally-imposed monopolies.

Lionel Rothkrug, *Opposition to Louis XIV: the Political and Social Origins of the French Enlightenment* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965). Focuses on the anti-mercantilist thought of persons like the Christian humanist Fenelon and the early utilitarian Antoine Hotman (descendant of the famous Huguenot monarchomach Francois Hotman.) Published in a paperbound edition.

William Shawcross, "Cambodia Under Its New Rulers," *New York Review of Books*, March 4, 1976. French-educated intellectuals are trying to impose a Rousseauian republic of virtue. They are depopulating the cities, impressing former city dwellers into the farm labor force, strictly enforcing victimless-crime laws, and exchanging gunfire with Cambodia's more liberal neighbors in South Vietnam.

**Wealth of Nations Bicentennial.** The March 2 *Times Literary Supplement* from England contains a review by Donald Winch of the new University of Glasgow-commissioned edition of the *Wealth of Nations* and of a new volume of essays on Smith. The March issue of *Encounter* reprints William Letwin's introduction to the new Everyman Library reissue of the *Wealth of Nations*, published by J.M. Dent. (This issue of *Encounter* also contains a short piece by Maurice Cranston on Hannah Arendt: "She repudiated the whole liberal conception of freedom as a private right of the individual to be preserved against the intrusion of other men, including men in authority. For Hannah Arendt . . . freedom is positive participation in the political life of one's city.")

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## The Zen Candidate: Or, Browning Out In The Movement

H. L. Mencken once brilliantly wrote that "no one ever went broke underestimating the intelligence of the American people." Is this going to be true of the libertarian movement as well? We have already noted in these pages the curious tendency of many libertarians (especially in California) to leap from anti-political left sectarianism into ardent enthusiasm for the (to put it very kindly) right opportunism of the Reagan campaign. The latest manifestation of this peculiar tendency is the current enthusiasm of many former anti-political "purists" for the Presidential candidacy of Governor Jerry Brown of California. How is it possible to leap from sectarianism to opportunism without even a momentary touch down on the correct plumb line strategy of a candidly Libertarian presidential campaign (the MacBride-Bergland ticket)? As we have seen many times in the past, however, sectarianism and opportunism feed on each other; they are the other sides of the same coin: the avoidance of a rational, persistent strategy for changing reality on behalf of pure libertarian goals. It is all too easy for the sectarian "purist", after spending years in futile spinning of wheels leading nowhere, to leap suddenly in the direction of supposed short-run gains, however illusory and however contradictory to the long run, pure libertarian ends.

It is one thing to hail the advent of Jerry Brown as a means of weakening the long-time statism of the Democratic party; it is quite another to hail Brown as a new libertarian Messiah. While content to remain governor of California, Brown's nutty ascetic Zen style was fine insofar as it applied to asceticism for the government, from sleeping on a mattress on the floor to cutting the education budget. But Brown's ideology and policies have been distressingly vague and formless, as befits a Zen disciple, and it behooved everyone to wait to hear Brown's national policies before leaping wildly upon his presidential bandwagon. Caution in supporting any politician is always the first order for a libertarian; for a Zen screwball such caution is even more mandatory.

Well, now we know a bit more of Brown's national policies, and this knowledge makes the pro-Brown libertarians even more incomprehensible than before. In the first place, Brown has elevated vagueness and Zen hogwash into high principle. When challenged about his fuzziness and lack of programs, Brown replied: "That's part of the game. . . . Programs? What programs? You're using words that have no meaning in my head. I'll provide leadership." (New York Times, May 14, 1976) So there we have it; the hell with ideology or programs; in short, the hell with tangible ideas; instead, we are to be provided with charismatic leadership. Haven't we had enough of this kind of "leadership", haven't we had enough of the Fuhrer Principle in this century? What kind of leadership can we expect? Since Brown's move toward his Presidential candidacy, he has, in swift succession, defended the FBI and CIA, come out for the disastrous Humphrey-Hawkins bill for the federal government as the employer of last resort, called for national health insurance, and come out against any cuts in the swollen military

budget. This is a libertarian?

Let's face it: Jerry Brown is nothing more nor less than a Zen statist; he is the young "intellectual's" version of Hubert Humphrey. He dresses up his fuzzy statism with the fashionable trappings of Zen hooey. Thus, his replies to press questioning are typical; instead of answering the questions, we hear: "I don't know. . . I live in the moment. There is an old Jesuit saying, 'age quod agis.' Do what you're doing." When asked to offer specific ideas or policies, he comments: "I'm just trying to understand life and myself. There's a saying that in the beginner's mind there are many possibilities. In the expert's very few. . . . Each experience is not separate, does not weigh you down first in one direction and then another. There's a certain continuity of who you are. All of these things are just the process of unfolding. . . . There's an organic, natural flow to things." In short, thinking, reason, knowledge are deprecated; just "flow" with it. Which has to mean in practice: just flowing with the State.

Just flowing also with the political hacks of the Democratic party. For it is a high irony of the current libertarian interest in Jerry Brown that his candidacy is quite openly the stalking horse for a recrudescence of one of the most repellent statist figures in American politics: the gaseous Hubert Humphrey. It is no secret that Brown and Frank Church are not really serious candidates; that they are desperate attempts by the machine pols and the union bosses to stop Jimmy Carter and bring us the egregious Humphrey once more.

There is a phrase in the libertarian: "Browning out" — following the lead of Harry Browne in abandoning political activity or moral concerns on behalf of short-run hedonism and making a fast buck. The new "Browning out" is a new variant of this copping-out from libertarian politics; except that the Brownian libertarians are absurdly making themselves into stalking horses for none other than Hubert Horatio Humphrey!

One of the odd and disturbing aspects of this Presidential campaign is the sudden infusion of religiosity into American politics. For many years, the American tradition has put religion into the background of a President's personal life, with little or no direct connection to his politics. But now, particularly in the candidacies of Carter and Brown, religion has suddenly come to the forefront, along with a messianic style and a specially fuzzy, self-contradictory content devoid of ideology or program. For if a candidate be pure of heart, be touched by a divine and charismatic call, what need is there of specific ideas or programs? Or, as the pro-Nazi social philosopher Werner Sombart once wrote, the Fuhrer gets his notions directly from God.

In this spurt of political religiosity, we see two very different styles at work, with two different sets of appeals. Jimmy Carter's Southern

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## On Nozick's Anarchy, State, And Utopia — II

(Editor's Note: In our December, 1975 issue, we presented the first of a series of articles presenting the anarchist rebuttal to Robert Nozick's critique of anarchism in Part I of his *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. The following paper was presented by Roy Childs at the Third Libertarian Scholars Conference last October. The significance of Childs's title stems from Professor Nozick's claim that a *laissez faire* State can rise by an

"invisible hand" process out of a condition of free-market anarchism, a process that is not only spontaneous but in which no individual is aggressed against. In addition to refuting this claim, Childs turns Nozick on his head: demonstrating that, on the contrary, out of Nozick's minimal State, free-market anarchism can reappear as an invisible process in which no one's rights are violated!)

### The Invisible Hand Strikes Back

By Roy A. Childs, Jr.

Surely one of the significant occurrences on the intellectual scene during the past few years has been the emergence of a Professor of philosophy at Harvard University as an eloquent and forceful spokesman for the doctrine of Libertarianism. Indeed, so much attention and praise has been lately showered upon the man, Robert Nozick, and his National Book-Award-winning treatise, *ANARCHY, STATE AND UTOPIA*, that all who uphold the doctrine of human liberty have been cheered.

If they have been cheered by the reception given to the book, however, and to the new concern of portions of the intellectual establishment with Libertarianism, they have not been equally cheered by the content of the book itself. For amidst the book's subtle and wide ranging critiques of doctrines such as Marx's theory of exploitation, egalitarianism, and John Rawls' theory of justice (so hailed by intellectuals in recent years), appears an argument so central to Nozick's thinking that it dominates the first third of the treatise itself: a defense of the 'minimal State' against the claims and arguments of anarchism.

Part of the consternation caused by this section is due to the fact that Nozick's argument is of often brain-cracking complexity, using against the reader all of the techniques and tools of contemporary philosophy — with not a few other technical insights from other fields, such as economics, thrown in for good measure — giving the reader oftentimes the feeling of being on a merry-go-round moving at a dizzying pace, changing speed and direction in unpredictable ways.

But part of the consternation is caused equally by the nature of the arguments themselves, with their seemingly anti-libertarian bent; arguments resting on notions such as the "compensation principle," the principle of "risk," and the alleged "right" to prohibit certain risky activities of others.

It is no accident, then, that *ANARCHY, STATE AND UTOPIA* has raised a storm of controversy in Libertarian circles. While the media and the intellectual world in general has focused, appropriately enough, on Nozick's persuasive critiques of the conventional wisdom, particularly the section devoted to examining Rawls' theory of justice, and Nozick's defense of "capitalist acts between consenting adults," Libertarians have focused more on Nozick's frame of reference, the absence of a theory of rights (upon which much of the book tacitly rests its case), and the attack on anarchism.

It is obvious that any persuasive and comprehensive critique of this profound and complex work would have to be as long as the book itself. We aspire to no such grandiose heights here. What we shall do instead is to attempt to answer Nozick's main argument in defense of the "minimal state." Nozick begins with the Lockean "state-of-nature" to show how, by means of a series of "invisible hand" processes which violate the rights of no one, a legitimate "minimal state" may arise. We shall, on the contrary, maintain that, beginning with a "minimal state," and moving through a series of stages (which process violates the rights of no one), we may properly arrive back at a state of anarchy. In short, we shall maintain that the only good minimal state is a dead minimal state, one which allows those processes to operate which would, if continued over a period of time, dissolve the minimal state into anarchism.

In clarifying this, we shall have to discuss Nozick's concept of "risk," his principle of "compensation," and his view that the explanation offered for the origin of the state is an "invisible hand" explanation. We

shall see that, on the contrary, there is instead a very visible hand: in fact, a veritable iron fist.

Prof. Nozick's defense of the minimal state unfolds in three stages. Firstly, he argues that, "given" an anarchistic system of competing protective associations within a free market, one dominant agency will emerge, through market procedures and by economic necessity. This "dominant agency" will in turn "evolve" into an "ultramiminal state" by an invisible hand process in a morally permissible way which violates the rights of no one. This "ultramiminal state" differs from the dominant agency in that it maintains a monopoly on force in a given geographical area (except that necessary in immediate self-defense). It therefore "excludes private (or agency) retaliation for wrong and exaction of compensation; but it provides protection and enforcement services only to those who purchase its protection and enforcement policies." Prof. Nozick then shows how this ultramiminal state evolves into a minimal state, which is "equivalent to the ultramiminal state conjoined with a (clearly redistributive) Friedmanesque voucher plan, financed from tax revenues. Under this plan all people, or some (for example, those in need) are given tax-funded vouchers that can be used only for their purchase of a protection policy from the ultramiminal state." Prof. Nozick holds that "the operators of the ultramiminal state are morally obligated to produce the minimal state," since "it would be morally impermissible for persons to maintain the monopoly in the ultramiminal state without providing protective services for all . . ."

(This last is, of course, especially interesting. The successful transformation of the ultramiminal state into the minimal state is dependent upon the ultramiminal state's allegiance to Prof. Nozick's principle of compensation. The ultramiminal state is obligated to "compensate" those whose risky activities they forcibly prohibit. Adequate compensation is taken to be, quite without reason, as we shall see, the provision of protective services. Prof. Nozick grants that the ultramiminal state "might fail to provide this compensation," but he assumes that "generally people will do what they are morally required to do." This assumption, unfortunately, is only made by Prof. Nozick in considering the actions of the state apparatus, not in pausing to consider the actions of competing protective associations. This naivete is charming indeed, but not very heartwarming, reassuring or realistic. That such an assumption should find its way to make a crucially important bridge in Prof. Nozick's argument is, in many ways, symptomatic of the

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Baptist evangelical style appeals to the rural American heartland; Jimmy Brown's pseudo-profound Zen blather appeals to the half-educated "intellectuals" of the cities and the wealthy suburbs. For a rationalist it is difficult indeed to choose between the two; although, as far as I am concerned, Southern Baptism is more clear-cut and even more rational than Zen; at least it doesn't pretend to intellectual profundity.

For libertarians the lesson is clear: to stop whoring after strange gods, and to get behind, with enthusiasm and dedication, the MacBride-Bergland ticket. 

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book, and of much of contemporary philosophical discussion of the state.)

Why must one "dominant agency" develop, within the free market system of competing protection agencies? "Initially," Prof. Nozick writes, "several different protective associations or companies will offer their services in the same geographical area. What will happen when there is a conflict between clients of different agencies?" We learn that "only three possibilities are worth considering:"

1. In such situations the forces of the two agencies do battle. One of the agencies always wins such battles. Since the clients of the losing agency are ill protected in conflicts with clients of the winning agency, they leave their agency to do business with the winner.

2. One agency has its power centered in one geographical area, the other in another. Each wins the battles fought close to its center of power, with some gradient being established. People who deal with one agency but live under the power of the other either move closer to their own agency's home headquarters or shift their patronage to the other protective agency . . .

3. The two agencies fight evenly and often. They win and lose about equally, and their interspersed members have frequent dealings and disputes with each other. Or perhaps without fighting or after only a few skirmishes the agencies realize that such battling will occur continually in the absence of preventive measures. In any case, to avoid frequent, costly and wasteful battles the two agencies, perhaps through their executives, agree to resolve peacefully those cases about which they reach differing judgments. They agree to set up, and abide by the decisions of some third judge or court to which they can turn when their respective judgments differ. (Or they might establish rules determining which agency has jurisdiction under which circumstances.) Thus emerges a system of appeals courts and agreed upon rules about jurisdiction, and the conflict of laws. Though different agencies operate, there is one unified federal judicial system of which they are all components.

What is the significance of this? "In each of these cases," we are told, "all the persons in a geographical area are under some common system that judges between their competing claims and enforces their rights,"

"Out of anarchy, pressed by spontaneous groupings, mutual protection associations, division of labor, market pressures, economies of scale, and rational self-interest there arises something very much resembling a minimal state or a group of geographically distinct minimal states."

According to Prof. Nozick, then if competing protection associations make arrangements between themselves to settle disputes we have a type of "federal judicial system," a variant of government. This is surely metaphorical and unjustified. Surely, if we take all the protection devices in use in a given society and lump them together, then the total has what some might call a "monopoly" on protection. Similarly, all farmers taken collectively have a "monopoly" on growing food. But this is tautological.

The real point which Prof. Nozick wishes to make is that if either of these alternative courses result, then we have a "legal system" resulting. Now, no one has ever denied that there would indeed be a "legal" system under anarchism. Many prominent anarchists have claimed that they advocate that structures and processes (even content, in some cases), be separated from the state, and the state abolished entirely. If one is going to term any "legal system" in this broad sense a "state," then there is little point in pursuing the matter

Discussion may proceed along more productive lines if we distinguish between two radically different types of legal systems: a "market legal system" and a "state legal system." A "market legal system" could be designated as a system of rules and enforcement procedures which arises from the processes of the market economy: competition, bargaining, legal decisions, and so forth; a legal system whose order is "spontaneous" in the Hayekian sense. A "state legal system" on the

other hand, could be designated as a system of rules and enforcement procedures which are designed by the state apparatus, as a result of political procedures, and imposed by force upon the rest of society.

In a society with a "market legal system," the shape of the legal system is determined by the processes set in motion by the actions of a number of independent agencies whose plans may conflict, and therefore cause some adjustment in the means-ends structure of themselves and others. Independent agencies, then, can make agreements, reach decisions, set precedents, bargain and so forth, producing a legal "order" which is not designated by anyone. The resulting system is not a "federal system" in the traditional manner: We may have ad hoc decisions for individual disputes, procedures agreed upon in advance, such as drawing the names of arbitrators out of a hat, alternating arbitrators chosen by each agency, ad infinitum. We need not suppose that any permanent, distinct, appeals system has been erected. (If one had, it would not change our essential argument.) Anarchism, then, can have a legal system, a "market legal system" as opposed to a "state legal system." The analogy is to the distinction drawn between state-economic systems and unhampered market economic systems. Both are systems, but not of the same sort; they are built on different processes altogether. What we shall conclude, then, is that if the third of Prof. Nozick's three alternatives results, then there will not be a state apparatus as the result.

Several other objections to this reasoning arise here; Prof. Nozick's arguments that "maximal competing protective services cannot coexist" lacks force, because he merely assumes that violent conflicts between agencies will be the norm. Now, if such conflicts do begin to develop, economics gives us every reason to assume that it will be more in the interest of competing parties to develop a means of arbitrating disputes rather than to engage in violent actions. Finally, there is no reason to regard the concept of "protective services" with holistic awe. An infinite variety of institutions can develop in society, concerned with as many different aspects of protection. Some institutions may patrol the neighborhood block, some might focus on copyrights, some on violations of contracts, some merely on insuring against crime, rather than on apprehending criminals (for cases where customers in society do not think that retribution or punishment is justified or worthwhile). Here again, there is no reason to expect a single agency to dominate the field.

The "invisible hand" has indeed gotten itself entangled in a very strong web. Let us examine the process by which the "dominant agency" would evolve into an "ultraminimal state," which is in turn morally obliged to become the "minimal state."

"An ultraminimal state," writes Nozick, "Maintains a monopoly over all use of force except that necessary in immediate self-defense, and so excludes private (or agency) retaliation for wrong and exaction of compensation; but it provides protection and enforcement services only to those who purchase its protection and enforcement policies."

"The minimal (night watchman) state," on the other hand is, as he writes, "equivalent to the ultraminimal state conjoined with a (clearly redistributive) Friedmannesque voucher plan, financed from tax revenues. Under this plan all people, or some (for example, those in need), are given tax-funded vouchers that can be used only for their purchase of a protection policy from the ultraminimal state."

Prof. Nozick assumes the existence of a dominant protection agency in a field of competitors, and shows how it might evolve into the ultraminimal state, which is in turn morally obliged to become the minimal state. The key question to ask is: how may the dominant agency act towards independents? To answer this, we must briefly consider the notions of risk, prohibition, and the principle of compensation.

In Prof. Nozick's view, one is morally justified in prohibiting certain acts, provided one compensates those who are so prohibited. What actions may be prohibited? In Anarchy, State and Utopia, there is no clear and unambiguous line drawn between classes of human actions which one may justifiably prohibit, and those which one may not. One class can be identified, however: we may prohibit certain risky actions, providing those so prohibited are compensated. Which risky actions? It is not too clear, but the answer seems to be: those presenting "too high" a probability of harm to others. The dominant agency may justifiably

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prohibit enforcement procedures of independent agencies, by this reasoning, since these risk harming others, whether by punishing wrongly, using unreliable procedures, or anything else. In asking the question "How may the dominant agency act?" or "What . . . may a dominant protective association forbid other individuals to do?" Prof. Nozick answers:

"The dominant protective association may reserve for itself the right to judge any procedure of justice to be applied to its clients. It may announce, and act on the announcement, that it will punish anyone who uses on one of its clients a procedure that it finds to be unreliable or unfair."

This is based in turn on the notion of "procedural rights." "The person who uses an unreliable procedure, acting upon its results," he writes, "imposes risks upon others, whether or not his procedure misfires in a particular case." Nozick articulates the general principle that "Everyone may defend himself against unknown or unreliable procedures and may punish those who use or attempt to use such procedures against him," and does not in principle reserve this "right" to a monopoly agency. However:

"Since the dominant protective association judges its own procedures to be both reliable and fair, and believes this to be generally known, it will not allow anyone to defend against them; that is, it will punish anyone who does so. The dominant protective association will act freely on its own understanding of the situation, whereas no one else will be able to do so with impunity. Although no monopoly is claimed, the dominant agency does occupy a unique position by virtue of its power . . . It is not merely that it happens to be the only exerciser of a right it grants that all possess; the nature of the right is such that once a dominant power emerges, it alone will actually exercise that right" (my emphasis)

Hence: a *de facto* monopoly. Ergo: the ultraminimal state.

It is at this point that the principle of compensation rears its ugly head.

Prof. Nozick has stated that one has a right to prohibit certain excessively risky actions of others provided they are compensated. What constitutes "compensation"?

"Something fully compensates a person for a loss if and only if it makes him no worse off than he otherwise would have been; it compensates person X for person Y's action if it is no worse off receiving it, Y having done A, than X would have been without receiving it if Y had not done A. (In the terminology of economics, something compensates X for Y's act if receiving it leaves X on at least as high an indifference curve as he would have been on, without it, had Y not so acted.)"

Prof. Nozick then proceeds to "shamelessly" ignore certain key questions surrounding the central issues concerning the meaning of "compensation." His final formulation is as follows:

"Y is required to raise X above his actual position (on a certain indifference curve I) by an amount equal to the difference between his position on I and his original position. Y compensates X for how much worse off Y's action would have made a reasonably prudent acting X."

This is the meaning, then, of "compensation". "The principle of compensation requires that people be compensated for having certain risky activities prohibited to them." What "risky" activities does Prof. Nozick wish to prohibit? The enforcement procedures of the non-dominant protection agencies. That is, he wishes to prohibit us from turning to any of a number of competing agencies, other than the dominant protection agency.

What is he willing to offer us as compensation for being so prohibited? He is generous to a fault. He will give us nothing less than the State.

Should one wish to reject this admittedly generous offer, it would be responded that he cannot reject it. It is foisted upon one whether one likes it or not, whether one is willing to accept the State as compensation or not.

It is this which should give us pause, and lead us to think a bit. Let us consider the nature of Prof. Nozick's State, and then consider a few of the weak links in the chain of arguments which will, in the end, bind us to the State. With a good yank or two, perhaps we can snap some of these weak links, and save ourselves from what some of us, at least, regard as certain doom. In the meantime, though, let it be realized that we have arrived at the minimal state. The ultraminimal state arose when non-dominant agencies were prohibited from certain activities. The minimal state was reached when the ultraminimal state was combined with the extension of protective services to those who were so prohibited.

(We should note that the only thing binding the minimal state to pay such compensation is a moral principle. Prof. Nozick "assumes" in this case that they (those in the ultraminimal state) will act as they ought, even though they might not acknowledge this moral obligation.)

Consider the nature of the Nozickian state itself. The Randian "limited government" has a rather interesting economic form: it is in essence a consumer's co-op, with all coming under its power being "consumers," having the right to vote, and so on. Prof. Nozick's State is private property. It was, one recalls, a private firm, an agency, which developed by a series of specifiable steps, into a State. It remains private property, then, since nothing was done to change matters. Since it was once upon a time ago a dominant agency, and got that way through the free market, one is justified in assuming that its owners, the board of directors, (stockholders or whatever) are aggressive businessmen, driving towards "expansion" of their business. There is no question of a constitution, of course, merely the contracts with its clients, which in case of conflicts, it alone can judge and interpret. There is no voting. There is no separation of powers, no checks and balances, and no longer any market checks and balances either. There is merely a private agency, now with a monopoly on power, on the use of physical force to attain its ends.

This, we are told, is an agency which is going to follow certain moral principles and (a) extend protection to those whose risky activities are prohibited (or whose agencies were prohibited from functioning), and (b) stop with the functions of a "minimal state." What is to check its power? What happens in the event of its assuming even more powers? Since it has a monopoly, any disputes over its functions are solved exclusively by itself. Since careful prosecution procedures are costly, the ultra-minimal state may become careless without competition. Nevertheless, only the ultraminimal state may judge the legitimacy of its own procedures, as Prof. Nozick explicitly tells us.

One might find Nozick's argument as to why this should be taken as a less "risky" situation than that of competing agencies, less than totally convincing. Let us take up some of those weak links in the chain of reasoning, and see if they can be snapped.

The fact that, as we saw, we cannot reject the State's "protection" as justifiable "compensation" for being prohibited from patronizing competing agencies, should lead us to question Prof. Nozick's view of compensation. A similar critical glance will lead us to reexamine his view of risk as well.

We are justified in prohibiting the actions of competing agencies because they are alleged to be "risky". How "risky" does an action have to be before it can be prohibited? Prof. Nozick does not say. Nor does he give us any indication of how "risk" of the kind he deals with can be calculated. As Murray Rothbard wrote in *Man, Economy and State*: "Risk" occurs when an event is a member of a class of a large number of homogeneous events and there is fairly certain knowledge of the frequency of occurrence of this class of events."

In his masterwork *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*, Frank Knight uses the term "risk" to designate cases of measurable uncertainty. As applied to human action, this becomes very dubious indeed. In fact, it involves us in innumerable difficulties.

As Prof. Knight writes, "We live only by knowing something about the future: while the problems of life, or of conduct, at least, arise from the fact that we know so little." This is why we cannot calculate the risks from future human actions. (We shall restrict the concept of "risk" to the cases of the probability of harm resulting from certain actions.) In dealing with questions of probability of consequences of human actions, our calculations must of necessity be vague and inexact. While in some

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cases, certainly, we can say that a probability is greater or less, a quantitative calculation is impossible. Not dealing with homogeneous units, or with accidents distributed throughout a large number of cases with some frequency, we lack the preconditions of quantitative calculations. This is particularly the case with such institutions as "competing protection agencies," since they may differ vastly in scope of activities, procedures, or any number of other attributes. If Nozick provided a criterion of what degree of "risk" was permissible, and what not, then we might be able to separate those agencies which are "too risky" from those which are not, prohibiting only the former. No criterion is given, however. Moreover, Nozick is not even simply concerned with "harm," but extends his concern to a much more subjective element, namely, fear. How much "fear" justifies what response is not discussed. It is very difficult, then, to see how one can arrive at any objective cut-off level. Not only can "fear" not be calculated or measured, it is so subjective that it cannot even be said to be a simple response to any one set of objective conditions. There may be psychological and ideological factors, as well. For instance, the person in question might at one time have had to live under a State apparatus, and that experience might have left deep fears in his subconscious.

Since man anticipates the future without knowing what will happen, since he modifies his plans and actions continually as new knowledge accumulates, how can anyone predict that competing agencies will automatically and inevitably supercede any given level of "risk" in society? Uncertainty and fear on some level seem to be an essential (or at least central) part of the human condition; Prof. Nozick has given us no reason to believe that any one category of uncertainty, such as the risk of unjustifiable punishment, or unreliable enforcement procedures, should morally lead us to establish one set of institutions over another. Why isn't fear of tyranny an equally valid reason for prohibiting something? And who is to say that the procedures of the dominant protection agency are not among the most unreliable? Only given the assumption of reliability can we even begin to consider as "morally justifiable" any judgment and prohibition of the activities of others. Certainly a dominant agency whose procedures were among the least reliable would be in the same position as one with reliable procedures with respect to its power to prohibit other procedures and agencies. But we would not defend the moral permissibility of this prohibition. In the absence of criteria, Prof. Nozick has given us few guides here.

Moreover, while there is an extent to which people can correctly anticipate the future in human actions, including the risk of harm, there is no means of objectively discovering, in the present, which people will correctly anticipate the future, and which not. The best chance we have of picking those whose expectations are likely to be most in harmony with future reality, in the area of "risk of harm," would be to look at objective tests. But in the realm of human action, the closest we can come is not any science of risk-calculation, but through market processes. Here, some participants show, through a record of profit-making, that their expectations have been historically more in harmony with reality than those of other market participants. Entrepreneurship is the general category of such risk-taking in the area of producing goods and services in society. But even in the case of entrepreneurs, there is no way of predicting that those whose abilities in forecasting the future have been historically more accurate, will be more accurate in the future.

If we are concerned with risk and uncertainty, there is therefore no reason to focus our attention on the political channel of attaining ends. If, in a free society, there were sufficient concern with the risk imposed by some actions of members of a market economy (or market processes or market institutions), institutions would be developed to deal with and alleviate the fear and the risk. The insurance firm is one such institution. We know from market analyses that prices are more stable in those areas where futures markets exist than when they do not. Now "prices" are merely exchange ratios between buyers and sellers of a given commodity. Thus, insurance markets, and futures markets in related fields, would in an unhampered market economy most probably provide the greatest stability of the level of risk in a society, that is: risk as seen through the eyes of a participant of the market economy. Moreover, an unhampered market economy would provide for the optimal degree of

present provision for future risk in society. Any intervention by a minimal state would, therefore, increase risk, and lead to a sub-optimal allocation devoted to provision for risk. It would lead to a shift away from the optimum societal provision for risk. The minimal state would thus create discoordination of resources in the vitally important market of provision for risk.

What we have seen here is that risk-calculation cannot be quantitative, but only qualitative: indeed, even then the concept is vague when we deal with the possible consequence of precisely unknown future actions. Moreover, insofar as there can be calculation of risks, entrepreneurs and other market participants are the only ones we have a right to expect to be successful in their expectations. The unhampered market economy is the only means of setting institutions and processes in society free, to deal effectively with risk and fear. Any movement away from the purely free market, from the choices and decisions of market participants, each with limited knowledge, learning through market processes, is a shift away from an optimal situation in the area of expectations of and provision for risk of future harm. In short, in the very process of forming a network of competing market agencies, differentiating each from the other, risk would be provided for tacitly, by the preferences and choices of market participants.

All of this gives us reason to believe that any attempt to prohibit certain actions of independent agencies is not morally permissible, and cannot be motivated by any concern with risk or fear.

The problems with the principle of compensation are much more difficult.

Prof. Nozick's notion of compensation rests upon the concept of an "indifference curve". The "indifference curve" is one of the saddest plagues to hit economic science since the concept of "macro-economics" first reared its ugly head. Indifference curve analysis is based on interviewing people about their relative preferences between two or more alternatives. Points of "indifference" between different quantities of certain goods or services are placed on a "map". When many such points of indifference are reached, all placed neatly on a map, the noble indifference curve analyst connects the points by a line, and applies the techniques of mathematics to analyzing varying things.

Very little of this has anything to do with reality. A person's value scale is a constantly fluctuating thing, ranks shifting constantly, sometimes violently. Even if some useful information were imparted by interviewing people in this way, it could not be the basis of any action or expectation on our part. We need not go into this further. Prof. Nozick is a new Platonist or Rousseauian, and is really developing a new version of "real" or "rational" interests or values, to supplant our "actual" or concrete interests.

To "compensate" someone, we must place him, according to this view, at a point on his indifference curve at least as high as he would have been without any interference. The point should be made that we are talking about the individual's own view of things, about his evaluations, not any objective state of affairs. It is therefore not possible to judge what would constitute full compensation merely by looking at such states of affairs. We must look at the value hierarchies of the individuals involved.

Prof. Nozick, however, does not look at the actual evaluations of individuals. Instead, he assumes that everyone prohibited from taking certain risky actions may be compensated in the same way, namely, by providing protective services for them through the minimal state. The basis for this assumption is hard to determine. Why does provision of protection constitute full compensation? Apparently, because Nozick thinks that it comes close to "copying" the initial situation (objective), where the oppressed victim of the minimal state could still buy alternative protection from independent agencies. But this is entirely unjustified.

What this actually amounts to is saying that we are to judge what makes a person "at least as well off," rather than the person himself, through choosing and acting. But this is paternalism, which Prof. Nozick rejects elsewhere in *Anarchy, State and Utopia*.

If we take the point of view of the person whose actions are prohibited, then we can concern ourselves only with his own value scale. This places

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## The Invisible Hand —

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matters in a different light.

The only ways in which we could tell if someone was justly compensated then would be:

(1) If they will accept A in exchange for B, i.e., if they exchange one for the other on a free market. This exchange, if it occurs, tell us that A was worth at least as much as B to the relevant party. Obviously, this exchange needs to be made in the absence of force, violence, aggression, or threats of either.

(2) If, after the relevant agent has been aggressed against, he agrees to accept A as compensation from an aggressor or aggressor's agent. Again, this acceptance must be in the absence of force, violence, aggression or the threats of them.

Apart from these, there are no objective means of measuring justifiable or "full" compensation. The minimal state however, makes both of these impossible, for it does threaten such violence or punishment. Moreover, the argument rests on a variant of the "just price" doctrine, applied to compensation. But this is not justified anywhere.

Let us see if we can arrive at the minimal state by some legitimate method of "compensation". In a market society, anyone would have the right to approach anyone who is a client of an independent agency, and buy him off, strike some sort of a bargain with him. A certain number, no doubt, would go along with this. But what of those who will not? We may see the problem by looking at a supply and demand chart. In this case, let "S" represent the supply of a given service, namely, foregoing the use of independent agencies and accepting state protection instead. Let "D" represent the demand for this service. "Figure 1" is that portion of a supply-and-demand chart blown up above the point where exchanges of these sorts would occur. In this situation, there is no exchange. The suppliers (those who subscribe to independent agencies) are not willing to settle for anything the demanders (the dominant agency) are willing to offer. Ergo, there is no point of contact between them at which compensation would be both offered and accepted. Even in the absence of threats of force, there would be no settlement. Since there is nothing which the "S's" would accept before prohibition, why should one assume that compensation is possible after prohibition? If the supply and demand curves have not shifted, the dominant agency cannot offer more (or the nondominant agencies accept less), than was offered before, and still there can be no meeting of the minds. How, then, can those whose risky activities are prohibited be compensated? How can they be raised to a situation equal in their eyes (on their own value scales) to that in which they would have found themselves without prohibition? It appears that we have reached a dead end.

(We should add that Prof. Nozick makes things no less difficult by talking about compensating only those "disadvantaged" by the prohibition. The problems of compensation remain, and there is, to boot, no theory of "disadvantage" offered in *Anarchy, State and Utopia*.)

There are, in addition, other arguments which might be made against the principle of compensation. Prof. Nozick does not deal with the problem of compensating those for whom the creation of the minimal state would be a vast moral and psychic trauma. What just compensation could be offered in this case? How could they be raised to a position equal to the situation they were in before the creation of the minimal state? Moreover, consider the case of the clients of the dominant agency, A. They may very well benefit (or perceive themselves as benefiting) from the existence of agencies B, C, D. . . , which they may perceive as a probable check on A's activities, fearing that A might supercede its contractual functions in the absence of B, C, D. . . Must A, in the transition from dominant agency to minimal state, compensate its own clients after taking those actions which eliminate this benefit? If so, what compensation? If not, why not? Why aren't they as "disadvantaged" as anyone else?

If we cannot assume that providing protection\* to clients of independent agencies constitutes full compensation, but suppose instead that compensation can be arrived at, perhaps, through higher costs to the

agency, then consider the chain of events which begins.

If the minimal state must protect everyone, even those who cannot pay, and if it must compensate those others for prohibiting their risky actions, then this must mean that it will charge its original customers more than it would have in the case of the ultraminimal state. But this would, ipso facto, increase the number of those who, because of their demand curves, would have chosen non-dominant agencies B, C, D. . . over dominant agency-turned ultraminimal state-turned minimal state. Must the minimal state then protect them (or subsidize them) at no charge, or compensate them for prohibiting them from turning to other agencies?

If so, then once again, it must either increase the cost of its service to its remaining customers, or decrease its services. In either case, this again produces those who, given the nature and shape of their demand curves, would have chosen the non-dominant agencies over the dominant agency. Must these then be compensated? If so, then the process leads on, to the point where no one but a few wealthy fanatics advocating a minimal state would be willing to pay for greatly reduced 'services' of government. If this happened, there is reason to believe that very soon the minimal state would be thrown into the invisible dustbin of history, which it would richly deserve.

What would more likely happen is that the state would turn instead to its old friend, robbery — otherwise known as "taxation" (which is, incidentally, treated altogether too slightly in Prof. Nozick's tome). Hence, one sees the sinister invisible hand leading us from a defense agency. . . to a dominant agency. . . to an ultra-minimal state. . . to a minimal state. . . to the first trappings of tyranny. Moreover, it is a private tyranny, since the agency is privately owned. This being so, what can be our protection against a private company's monopoly on force in society? Surely the objective risks here are immensely greater than those which led to the hesitant creation of the minimal state.

The compensation principle, then, as is presently formulated, leads us into difficulties. Let us then make our remaining points quickly.

Is the process which led to the creation of a minimal state an "invisible hand" process? We maintain that it is not. The reason is that while the state may not be intended as the end result, the state-like action of prohibiting compensation is still the outcome of a specific decision. The dominant agency must decide to prohibit the actions, and punish offenders. At each step lies an insidious but rather explicit decision. If this is an "invisible hand," it nonetheless packs a mean wallop, threatening to crush liberty in its grasp.

Finally, before we turn the Professor's argument around, what, in our view, is the dominant agency justified in doing? Nothing more than punishing those who can be shown to have initiated violence against its citizens or clients, and this only after the fact. Risks of harm in the case of human agencies cannot be calculated except by observing the actions of men (such as those who constitute competing protection agencies) over some considerable period of time. It is by means of their policies that we judge the reliability of their procedures, the threat that they do or do not constitute to innocent people, and thus decide how to respond to irresponsible or criminal agencies. There are difficult problems here, but there are more problems in assuming that a dominant agency is more virtuous, more reliable in its procedures or even, of all things, less threatening to the safety and liberty of the people than other agencies. Prof. Nozick cannot even prove that those agencies which employ reliable procedures should be prohibited from acting along with those which do not employ such procedures.

But if that is the case, then the invisible hand returns:

Assume the existence of the minimal state. An agency arises which copies the procedures of the minimal state, allows the state's agents to sit in on its trials, proceedings, and so forth. Under this situation, it cannot be alleged that this agency is any more "risky" than the state. If it

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\*It is not clear whether this protection will be offered without cost or if the former customers will be forced to pay for it. My interpretation is that the "minimal state" can force clients to pay up to what they would have with another agency (what problems this raises in a world of shifting prices!). "Compensation" would then consist of picking up the tab for the difference between the cost with another agency and its own "price".

## Arts and Movies

Mr. First Nighter

Nashville. dir. by Robert Altman

Several friends of mine, one of them a professor of film, reacted to this picture with almost identical words: "I know this picture is significant, but I'm damned if I know what the significance is." Before I even saw Nashville, then, I knew one thing: that the film was a failure, since it puzzled even intelligent and knowledgeable viewers, and that its chief success was in provoking discussion.

For those who care about movies, there must be esthetic and ideological war to the knife between the Old or Movie-Movie, and the New Movie, spawn of a culture in an advanced stage of decadence. The Old Movie, true to the classical esthetic of fiction and drama which ruled until the twentieth century, and which ruled in movies until recent decades, was marked by a strong plot and by central characters with whom the audience could identify and who developed through the action of the plot. The plot emerges logically and step-by-step from purposive action by the central characters, and from the conflicts which that action engenders. The New Movie, like twentieth century (once *avant-garde*) fiction, assumes that individuals have no purposes, are not self-motivated, but instead respond mechanically and randomly to events. But if the central characters have no purposes, there can be no plot and, furthermore, it is impossible for the audience or the reader to identify with them or to give a damn what happens to them. Who can care about random response mechanisms?

This sort of fiction tends to puzzle as well as bore the reader or viewer. For, along with his own indifference to the characters, the viewer perceives the author or director as himself being indifferent as well. And so the characters are depersonalized and distanced from creator as well as the audience. But in that case, the viewer will wonder, what in the world is the director or author getting at? And if the author is skillful enough at weaving a general air of portentousness and implicit significance, the viewer is apt to conclude that there *must* be profundity there, except that he is too dense or naive to capture the subtle point.

And so the New Movie. Boring as all getout, but reeking an atmosphere of pretentious pseudo-profundity. Robert Altman is one of the masters of the New Movie. In his celebrated Nashville, Altman's contribution to the genre is to use New Movie distancing and depersonalization as a massive put down of a whole population and a whole culture. Using an effective pseudo-documentary technique, Altman accomplishes his distancing by fragmenting his characters; instead of one or few central characters, he creates a dozen or so, who necessarily appear on the screen for only a minute or two at a time. Being so fragmented, there is scarcely a chance that anyone in the audience will identify with any of them. To top it off, each of these characters is random and unmotivated, to an extreme far beyond most of his New Movie colleagues. In fact, each of the characters is a colossal jerk, ranging from nitwitty to venal.

It is of course all too easy for a director to put down his characters, particularly if the movie is done in documentary style where no one person can possibly capture the empathy of the audience. Years ago, a non-fiction documentary film, I believe it was *Naked City*, managed to put down and ridicule all of the people in it by the crude but effective device of showing each of them in closeups doing everyday but unglamorous things like wolfing down popsicles. Altman gets away with his device, without enraging much of his public, for several reasons. In the first place, there are a lot of funny bits. Odd ball and random behaving characters can be funny, particularly in the hands of a skilled director. There is, for example, the half-naked groupie who arrives at the airport in Nashville in order to visit her dying aunt in the hospital, but who never gets to the hospital or the funeral because she wanders off with every stud in sight. There is the dimwit BBC reporter, who thinks in pretentious cliches, is always on the prowl for celebrities, and misses the only newsy event — indeed, the only event at all — in the movie. There is much random sex with no emotion whatsoever.

A second reason Altman has not alienated the public is that he is, to give him credit, far more subtle in his massive put-down than are many other directors. *Smile*, a left-liberal assault on California beauty contests, for example, was a clumsy and preachy picture. Altman is more

subtle and far funnier. But there is another and complex point about Nashville that makes it a far more important picture than an obvious turkey like *Smile*. For Altman is engaging in a massive put-down of an entire way of life and culture, specifically the combination of right-wing ideology and country music that permeates much of the American heartland. Yet, the largest part of the picture consists of filmed country music singing, with the occurrences — there is no real plot — weaving around the various musical sets. And yet, what with the subtlety plus the massive doses of country music, Altman has succeeded in out-finessing himself. For it is very easy to sit through the entire picture, enjoy the country music, and not see it as any put-down at all. Hence, while Altman has succeeded in holding his audience and not alienating them, he has failed in his purpose, since the put-down does not very readily come through. It does, of course, for liberal urban intellectuals, who are cued to join in smirks against country culture. And though I am informed by an expert on country music that this is bad country music and hence a put-down there too, this message does not come through to the large number of Americans who are neither poised to attack right-wing mass culture nor are experts on this musical genre. For the largest group in the middle, Nashville will be seen as two hours of pleasant if undistinguished country music, punctuated with peculiar and sometimes funny characters. And perhaps this sort of reception is the best revenge that lovers of movie-movies can take on Robert Altman.

For the rest, as we have said, the "plot" is non-existent, as must be the  
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## The Invisible Hand —

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is still too risky, then we are also justified in saying that the state is too risky, and in prohibiting its activities, providing we compensate those who are disadvantaged by such prohibition. If we follow this course, the result is anarchy.

If we do not, then the dominant agency-turned minimal state finds itself competing against an admittedly watched-over-competing agency.

But wait: the competing, legally subordinate, spied upon, oppressed second agency finds that it can charge a lower price for its services, since the minimal state is guaranteeing "risk" and has to compensate those who would have patronized agencies using risky procedures. It also has to pay the cost of spying on the new agency, which constitutes a greater capital expenditure.

Since it is only morally bound to provide such compensation, it is likely to cease doing so under competitive pressure. This sets two processes in motion: those formerly compensated because they would have chosen agencies other than the state, rush to subscribe to the maverick agency, thus partially reasserting their old preferences.

Alas, another fateful step has also been taken: the once proud minimal state, having ceased compensation, reverts to a mere ultraminimal state.

But the process cannot be stopped. The maverick agency must and does establish a good record, to win clients away from the mere ultraminimal state. It offers a greater variety of services, toys with different prices, and generally becomes a more attractive alternative, all the time letting the state spy on it, bugging its offices, checking its procedures, processes and decisions. Other noble entrepreneurs follow suit. Soon, the once mere ultraminimal state becomes a lowly dominant agency. It finds that the other agencies have established noteworthy records, with safe, non-risky procedures, and stops spying on them, preferring less expensive arrangements instead. Its executives have, alas, grown fat and placid without competition; their calculations of who to protect, how, by what allocation of resources to what ends (gathering information, courts, buildings, prisons, cops, etc.), are adversely affected, since they have taken themselves out of a truly competitive market price system. The dominant agency grows inefficient, when compared to the dynamic, new, improved agencies.

Soon — lo! and behold! — the lowly dominant protection agency becomes simply one agency among many in a market legal system, or

disappears altogether. The sinister minimal state is reduced, by a series of morally permissible steps which violate the rights of no one, to at best merely one agency among many. The evil black State apparatus dissolves into the utopia of anarchy. In short, the invisible hand strikes back. Justice is triumphant, and everyone lives happily ever after.

I should like to end with one quotation, from Benjamin R. Tucker, and one paraphrase, from Karl Marx, which express most clearly my own attitudes toward the matters we have been discussing. Tucker pointed to the anarchist definition of the State as the "embodiment of the principle of aggression":

"... we see," he said, "that the State is antagonistic to society; and, society being essential to individual life and development, the conclusion leaps to the eyes that the relation of the State to the individual and of the individual to the State must be one of hostility, enduring till the State shall perish."

And, paraphrasing Marx, we may say that "traditional political philosophers have sought only to explain and justify the State. The point, however, is to abolish it." □

## Arts And Movies —

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case with purposeless and random characters. The only action of the film is a pointless assassination by a "lone nut" whose motivation — typically — is never explained or even hinted at. More fodder for those looking for deep-think in Nashville. Then, there is Altman's much-heralded "innovation" of having several people talking at once. I didn't find this device as annoying as I had expected. For one thing, since none of the people had anything important or interesting to say (typical in New Movies), not hearing the dialogue was just as well. Secondly, the device is scarcely new, since it was used — in that case brilliantly, to add to the suspense and the general air of menace — in that grand old movie, *Citizen Kane*. Come to think of it an Old Movie like *Citizen Kane* was a left-liberal messagy picture too, but it was done with brilliance and with power, with highly charged and purposeful, conflicting characters on a grand scale. But just the mere mention of *Kane* puts our entire discussion in its proper perspective; the grievous decline of the American cinema over the last thirty or forty years can be no more starkly revealed. □

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## Ford Vs. Carter?

At this writing, the long primary trail has just ended, and we can all heave a sigh of relief, for it looks as if (more tentatively, of course, on the Republican side) that the Presidential nominees will be Ford and Carter. Relief because that means that the most dangerous candidates in either party have been repudiated. Both Ford and Carter are fuzzy centrists, Carter being the most unknown quantity of any of the Presidential hopefuls; but, for the cause of liberty, better a fuzzy centrist than a fanatical warmonger, and the warmongering candidates are in the process of biting the dust.

On the Republican side, the most dangerous candidate of any party is Ronald Reagan, as the *Lib. Forum* has repeatedly warned. Fortunately, at the last minute the stumbling and wavering Ford campaign decided to go with the hard-core anti-Reaganites, and to pick up and hammer home on Reagan's outrageous gaffe on giving cheery consideration to sending American troops to fight on behalf of white racist rule in Rhodesia. Reagan's hasty retraction — a typical Reagan pattern on his more controversial statements — did not close the opening that his trigger-happy gaffe provided. And happily the Ford campaign decided to hammer this home in anti-Reagan TV spots, and in Ford's own trenchant statements pointing to Reagan's irresponsibility. Ford's excellent phrase: "Governor Ronald Reagan couldn't start a war, but President Ronald Reagan could", said it all. The fact that this anti-Reagan-as-warmonger line had little or no effect in California is beside the point; for it undoubtedly did have an important effect on the Ohio voters, in the most important of the vital June 8 primaries. For Reagan was supposed to pick up about 25 delegates in Ohio, and only managed to acquire 6; and in a race as tight as this one, this differential should prove decisive.

The howls of outrage by the Reaganites at the anti-warmongering campaign is not just a question of wounded sensibilities — although why the Reaganites feel that they have a license to dish it out but not to take it is something of a mystery. For the purpose of the Reagan campaign was twofold: first, to try to gain the Presidency for their man; and second, to push the Ford administration in a war-mongering direction. They had accomplished the latter all during the spring, as Ford reacted passively to the Reagan hawk thrusts on detente, Africa, military spending, and the Panama Canal. The decision, at long last, to hammer away at Reagan as an irresponsible and trigger-happy warmonger not only will probably succeed in turning back the threat of a Reagan nomination; it also paves the way for Ford to move in a peaceward direction, to move "left" on foreign policy for the duration of the campaign. Hence, the hysterical attacks by the Reaganites.

Fortunately, Ronnie has shown the same self-destructive streak that Goldwater did in 1964: making highly controversial comments in an off-hand manner which he then quickly repudiates when criticism hits the fan. In doing so, he not only scares his natural opponents, but also confuses his supporters, since his rapid retractions indicate that yes, he was being kooky and irresponsible. At every crucial turning-point of the primary campaign, Reagan managed to blow it with a particularly ill-

directed gaffe. In New Hampshire, it was the \$90 billion misunderstanding, seemingly carefully prepared but abandoned under fire. After that lost Reagan New Hampshire, airy comments about making social security voluntary managed to scare the bejesus out of the old-folk masses of St. Petersburg-Tampa, who, though right-wing on other issues, run like mad when their Social Security checks seem to be in danger. Exit Florida, since the defection of the old folks more than compensated for the fanatical enthusiasm for Ronnie among the Cuban fascist emigres. If Reagan had been either (a) smart and/or (b) libertarian, he could have explained to the old folks that Social Security was a gigantic swindle that was going bankrupt, and that they would fare better with a voluntary system. But, of course, Reagan was neither (a) nor (b) so he turned tail.

Then, just as it looked that Reagan would make it, shortly before the Tennessee and Kentucky primaries, he spoke airily about "selling the TVA", which of course scared the bejesus out of the right-wing masses of eastern Tennessee and eastern Kentucky, whose right-wingism stops well short of their slavish devotion to the TVA mystique and its attendant subsidies. And, finally, American troops to Rhodesia helped scuttle his chances in Ohio.

The Ford strategy will now be to stress the argument that Ford is "electable" while Reagan is not; this is no argument to deter the right-wing militants, but it should work well enough among the uncommitted to get Ford the nomination.

In the Democratic race, the most dangerous candidate (second only to Reagan as a war-mongering menace) was, of course, Mr. State, Scoop Jackson, and fortunately, Scoop, with the charisma of a wet mackerel, faded fast. Next, there was the ever-looming problem of the old gasbag, HHH, who while not quite as bad as Scoop ideologically, was the No. 2 war threat among the Democrats, and was also undoubtedly the most repulsive esthetically of any of the candidates in either party. But the Lord was with Jimmy Carter, especially in Ohio, and the decisive victory in that northern industrial state wrapped it up for Carter. As this editorial is being written, the leading Democrats are engaging in an undignified scramble to climb aboard the Carter bandwagon, or, to adopt the current vivid metaphor, "to get aboard the ship before the gangplank goes up".

And so the sigh of relief (provided, of course, that Ford beats Reagan). Instead of a savage Yankee vs. Cowboy contest, it looks as if we will have a pleasant and gentlemanly discussion on foreign policy between the Morgan candidate (Carter, Vance, Ball, Brzezinski) and the quasi-Rockefeller candidate (Ford, Kissinger, but a pro-peace Morgan policy on the Far East, signalled by Ford's appointment of the top Morgan man in politico-economic life, Thomas Sovereign Gates, Jr., lately head of the Morgan Guaranty Bank, as ambassador to Red China. Gates was the original architect of the pro-peace policy with Red China). Neither candidate is of course ideal, but either Ford or Carter is about as pro-

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## Who's Behind . . . . ?

Recently, Newsweek reported that an aide of Jimmy Carter visited Moscow, and was immediately besieged by high Soviet officials asking the question: "Who's behind Jimmy Carter?" Newsweek treated the question with a snide scoffing tone at the Russians' alleged naivete. But it's really a darn good question: who is behind Jimmy Carter? Or is he really just a Bible-thumping Georgia peanut-farmer with lots of charisma, and does that suffice to account for his meteoric rise? Well, for one thing we do know that Carter is a member of the secret and extremely powerful "Trilateral Commission", a group of top politicians and corporatists who meet regularly to decide on public policy. More specifically, we have a few other clues. Notably, that, at a recent fund-raising meeting for Carter in New York City, a leading role was taken by none other than Cyrus Vance, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, president of the New York City Bar Association, and with close ties to the powerful Wall Street investment banking firm of Lehman Brothers. The same firm houses a man who might well be Secretary of State in a Carter administration: George Ball. Moreover, Vance is a member of the Board of Directors of IBM, one of the most important corporations in the Morgan financial ambit. When we consider, too, that Georgia's most powerful corporation, Coca-Cola, is also a Morgan firm, the pattern begins to fill out.

Jimmy Carter's ties with the Morgan financial interests bring waves of nostalgia to veteran Washingtonologists. For it recalls the days when the giant Morgan and Rockefeller combines ran political parties and governments, usually clashing, sometimes in coalition. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the pattern was usually: Morgan control of the Democratic Party, and Rockefeller control of the Republican Party. The latter was accomplished through Rockefeller's domination of the Ohio Republican Party (Cleveland being John D.'s original home and power base). Rockefeller's school chum and lifelong friend and financial ally, Marcus Hanna, was for many years boss of both the Ohio and the national Republican parties. It is no accident that every Republican nominee for President from 1876 to 1920, with only a couple of exceptions, was an Ohio Republican, and therefore Rockefeller-dominated: Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding. The only exceptions were Theodore Roosevelt, who came to power upon the assassination of McKinley by one of our earlier "lone nuts", and Charles Evans Hughes, the 1916 nominee, who was enough of a Rockefeller man to be chief counsel for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and who had led a Baptist Bible class which included John D. himself.

On the other hand, the Cleveland and Wilson administrations were dominated by the House of Morgan; always bipartisan, especially after the maverick William Jennings Bryan came to power in the Democracy, the Morgans dominated even more heavily the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge, both of whom rose to power by the accident of deaths in the Presidential office. 1924, by the way, was a blockbuster year for the Morgans, who controlled both Presidential candidates, since Democrat John W. Davis was an attorney for J. P. Morgan & Co.

Since World War II, the old Morgan vs. Rockefeller motifs have altered, with the Morgans and Rockefellers essentially joined in a "Yankee" coalition in the Northeast against the "Cowboy" coalition centered in the Southern Rim, or Sunbelt, states. But, if Carter and Ford are nominated this year, we will get the closest thing to a Morgan vs. Rockefeller contest since 1948, when Dewey tightly controlled by the Rockefellers, opposed Harry Truman, who was at least loosely allied to the Morgans and other Democratic Wall Street firms. For Jerry Ford, while certainly not in the Rockefeller camp to the same extent as Tom Dewey, is surely allied to the Rockefellers, as witness Nelson's throwing the New York delegates into the Ford camp.

What about the other Republican hopeful, Ronald Reagan? Who's behind him? Of course, the Southern Californian is a quintessential Cowboy, but that doesn't help very much, since the Cowboys are a much looser and broader coalition than the YANKEES. But one important clue has surfaced: the close ties of Reagan with the State-created monopoly, the Pacific Telephone Company. (Interesting for a supposed advocate of laissez-faire and free competition!) When Reagan was governor of

California, the man who coordinated the screening of all appointments to his administration was Reagan's personal attorney, William French Smith, whose Los Angeles law firm does the legal work for the Pacific Telephone Company. Smith, a longtime friend of Reagan and a key political operative, is also a member of the board of Pacific Telephone, and a trustee of Reagan's estate during his Presidential campaign.

Further: Reagan's press secretary from 1967 to 1973 was Ed Gray, a former executive of Pacific Telephone; and the vice-chairman of his 1966 state campaign committee was Charles Ducommun, a director of Pacific Telephone.

Reagan was also close to the notorious San Diego corporate tycoon C. Arnholt Smith, the Nixon ally who himself served as a member of Reagan's appointment screening committee, and who, along with his associates, pumped money into Reagan's 1970 re-election campaign. Another virtual scandal during the Reagan regime was the enormously costly boondoggle, the Bay Area Rapid Transit System (BART). From its opening in early 1972, BART was plagued with safety defects, probably due to shoddy work by its corporate builders, who enjoyed munificent cost overruns from the pliant BART system. Two of the major prime contractors of BART, it so happened, had extremely close ties with the Reagan administration: Bechtel Corporation and Rohr Industries, both of which were charged in a subsequent BART board suit with providing unsafe equipment. Bechtel director Eugene Lipka served as assistant state finance chief of Reagan's re-election campaign in 1970; Bechtel also gave generously to the Reagan campaign. Even closer to Reagan was Rohr Industries. Rohr's legal work is handled by the law firm of none other than William French Smith. Rohr's president, Burt Raynes, was a member of Reagan's re-election steering committee in San Diego. Gordon Luce, a key figure in Reagan's two statewide campaigns, and secretary of California Business and Transportation from 1967 to 1970, became a member of Rohr's board of directors in the same year. And when Ed Meese, Reagan's executive secretary, left California government with Reagan's exit in 1975, he became vice-president of Rohr Industries. Furthermore, Luce and Raynes both served on Reagan's appointment screening panels.

And so, apart from Reagan's monstrous foreign and military policies, we must cease thinking of Reagan as any kind of classical liberal. By their fruits ye shall know them, and the record shows clearly that Reagan is a state corporatist, and ally of the burgeoning government-industrial complex that is wrecking America.

(On Reagan and California corporatism, see Joel Kotkin and Paul Grabowicz, "Who Got Rich With Reagan?" *Village Voice*, March 8, 1976, pp. 13-14. For more on C. Arnholt Smith, see Lowell Bergman and Maxwell Robach, "C. Arnholt Smith and the San Diego Connection," in S. Weissman, ed., *Big Brother And The Holding Company* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1974), pp. 185-204.)

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peace as we are likely to get until Roger MacBride becomes President. So let us count our blessings.

As well as being good for the cause of peace, a Ford-Carter contest will also be very good for the MacBride-Bergland Libertarian Party ticket. A hot ideological contest (e.g. Reagan vs. Kennedy) would have enlisted all the conservative and liberal juices on their respective sides. But a Ford-Carter contest is not going to make more than a dime's worth of difference on any policies, foreign and domestic. Nobody is going to be really exercised on which of these two is going to make it. This will leave a lot of people free to vote their conscience, which in many cases will mean the Libertarian Party ticket. Consider: there must be, among the host of fanatical Reaganites, some substantial number who are more interested in liberty than in blowing up the world; these, bitter and disgruntled at the Ford victory, and not really deeply worried about Carter, should vote in large numbers for Roger MacBride. Conversely, there must be a substantial number of pro-peace and pro-civil liberties liberals who, not really enthusiastic about Carter and not really scared stiff of Ford, will also shift to Roger MacBride. So that Roger should gain a substantial protest or conscience vote from idealistic conservatives and idealistic liberals. If there's not more than a dime's worth of difference, why not vote MacBride?

# Secession, The Essence Of Anarchy: A Libertarian Perspective On The War For Southern Independence

By Joseph R. Stromberg\*

## Introduction

For the libertarian who reflects upon American history the War for Southern Independence presents vexing problems. For liberals, radicals, pacifists, and libertarians the war appeared to require a choice between fundamental values: self-determination for the South or freedom for Black Americans. This conflict was as difficult to resolve then as it is now. P.J. Proudhon, the French anarchist, supported the Confederacy, on balance, because he identified it with the cause of decentralization. (1) Michael Bakunin, founder of Russian anarchism, strongly favored the North because he saw slavery as the essential issue. (2) Marx, strongly anti-state at times, likewise desired Northern victory, which he regarded as historically necessary. (3)

On the American Left division also existed. Most abolitionists backed the war, hoping for emancipation as a by-product. A minority, which included Lysander Spooner, opposed it. Spooner, a natural law anarchist and revolutionary, believed that the war merely enslaved all Americans to the centralized state for the benefit of Yankee monopolists while hardly helping Black Americans at all. (4)

One circumstance in particular complicates any libertarian or anarchist assessment of the war. Between 1789 and 1860, Southern

thinkers derived from social contract theory and constitutional law doctrines of nullification and secession; advanced though they were to defend the South's social order, these ideas have much wider application. It is even possible that had the Richmond government been faithful to its official decentralist ideology, the outcome of the war might have been different for Southern independence and possibly for human liberty. (5)

## A Radical Theory Developed By Conservatives

In his first inaugural address Abraham Lincoln stated that "Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy." (6) How state-rights men created this "anarchistic" theory is an interesting study in American political thought. The secessionist theory, despite its inconsistency, does have clear anarchist implications.

In America, Law — as embodied by the Constitution — serves as a secular social cement and as a source of final authority. Lacking the kind of value base an established Church could provide, Americans have

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## The Psycho-Presidency

One of the great and continuing benefits of the Watergate affair is the widespread demythologizing of politicians in general, and of the President in particular. The great turn-of-the-century tradition of muckraking, and of the adversary relation between press and government — so long forgotten since the New Deal — has now been happily revived. Many people deplore the recent spate of revelations about the personal lives of our recent Presidents. But, despite the well-trodden cliches, we are a government of men rather than laws, and so what these men are like becomes very relevant to all of our lives. The press tradition of sweeping all the dirt about our rulers under the rug has only served to advance the dangerous mythologizing about the State — and especially about the President — in the minds of the public. The pre-Watergate media had abetted the task of raising the President to the status of a quasi-divine figure in the eyes of the American people; in the words of a new quasi-autobiography by New York Post publisher Dorothy Schiff, to her — and to countless other Americans of that era — Franklin D. Roosevelt was like a "sun god." To say that this state of mind is dangerous for the sanity and the liberty of the American public is a masterpiece of understatement.

And dangerous for the idolized and adored Presidents as well. Lord Acton's great aphorism: "Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely," is all too true; for it is now becoming clear that our last two Presidents at least, drunk with near-absolute power, were more than halfway round the bend. We all know about President Nixon's conversing with the portraits of his predecessors; but now we know from Doris Kearns' sympathetic biography that Lyndon Johnson used to talk to his deceased conferees as well. Nixon, in his final days, scared the pants off everyone in sight by wildly talking about his power to push the nuclear button; Johnson, after retiring to his ranch, tried to recreate the atmosphere of the Oval Office by treating his illiterate farm hands as if they were White House staff aides, and cursing his hens for not laying eggs up to the quota that the ex-President had set for them.

Even the amatory lives of our Presidents may have direct relevance for our political fortunes. The now revealed fact that President Kennedy had a long-term affair with a Mafia moll and

friend of the late Chicago mobster Sam Giancana (patron of one Jack Ruby) may have direct relevance for the mysteries of the Kennedy Assassination. But, perhaps more important is the implications of some of these liaisons for the state of mind of the President-worshipping American public. Take, for example, the revelations of Dorothy Schiff (see New York Times, May 27, 1976), whose friendship with President Roosevelt was changed, under legal pressure, from earlier to later editions of the Times from "romance" and "affair" to "personal relationship." Why did Mrs. Schiff, then married to Democratic activist George Backer, enter into this personal relationship with the President? Because, in addition to FDR's "sun-god" quality, in Mrs. Schiff's words, "I guess I stayed with him because . . . you don't say no to the President of the United States." There we have it: You don't say no to the President of the United States — the political and social philosophy of the twentieth century. Adolf Eichmann couldn't say no to his Fuhrer; Halderman, Erlichman, Magruder and all the rest of the crew couldn't say no to their President. And what, pray tell, was the attitude of Mr. Backer to all this? Let Mrs. Schiff tell the story: "George was overwhelmed by the President, and it was he who really sold me on him. George saw it all in a sort of *droit de seigneur* way, his wife being tapped by the Lord of the manor. He was proud of it, and it gave him tremendous prestige with his friends."

Lord of the manor; *droit de seigneur*; sun-god; you don't say no to the President of the United States. Sick, sick! We will never recapture our liberty until we have cast off this cancerous remnant of feudalism and Oriental despotism in our thinking and our attitudes. We must learn to say No, No, a thousand times No to the Presidents and despots of this world: it can only be that great Nay-saying that will topple our rulers from their exalted perches. La Boetie was right; we forge our own chains by our complicity in exalting these tinpot politicians to their sun-god status. And we can rectify this horror by casting out this idolatry, by standing tall and independent, and by saying Nay to the Emperors that we have created. Hopefully, Watergate has brought this Great Refusal far closer to reality. □

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subscribed to a cult of the Constitution. (7) Hence Americans often make moral questions into constitutional ones, a habit their strong English legalism reinforces. Except for a few "higher law" advocates like William Lloyd Garrison, most American political activists have been eager to appear as good constitutionalists.

Thus when Southerners defended slavery and when they resolved on a separatist revolution, they argued as constitutional lawyers. When the South seceded, it possessed a complete theory which legitimized the deed. Southern political thinkers from Thomas Jefferson and John Taylor of Caroline to Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens had elaborated this "state-rights" or "compact" theory of the Union. Nullification, obstruction of an unconstitutional federal law, and secession, withdrawal by a "sovereign state" from a federation voluntarily entered, were the devices the state-rights school put forth as bulwarks against majority tyranny.

Because legality and morality coincide so much in American thought, the constitutional rationale for an action is of no small importance. When war came, it was critical. As Chief Justice Chase admitted in *Texas v. White* (1869), if secession were constitutional, the struggle "must have (been) a war for conquest and subjugation." (8) This was the view urged after 1865 by former Confederate President Davis and former Vice President Stephens. Seeking to win the postwar legal argument at least, they provided the final summary of received secessionist dogma. (9)

According to the mature theory, the Constitution was a compact between the states (including those formed later), each of which was fully sovereign. Since no common judge existed to decide constitutional questions — despite the Supreme Court's claim of authority — each party had a residual right to exercise judgment. This right extended as far as nullification and secession if the Constitution were violated by the common agent of the states, the federal government, or by the other parties. These remedies were not to be undertaken lightly, but they were within the reserved rights of the states.

The compact theory was articulated at various times of crisis and gradually refined. It was first expressed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, drafted by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison respectively. Although considerably watered down from Jefferson's draft, the Kentucky Resolutions began with the ringing declaration that "the several states composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government; but that by compact . . . they . . . delegated to (a general government) certain definite powers, reserving . . . the residuary mass of right to their own self-government. . . ." Each state "accessed as a State" to the Constitutional compact, and was "an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party. . . ." There being no common judge, each state had "an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress. . . ." (10)

The Resolutions called the Alien and Sedition Acts "altogether void and of no force." Citing instances of the Federalist drift toward arbitrary power, the resolves warned that such acts "may tend to drive these States into revolution and blood. . . ." Government by confidence was dangerous: for "free government is founded in jealousy. . . ." (11) The Resolutions were sent to the other states in the hope they too would protest.

The Virginia Resolutions attributed federal power to "the compact to which the States are parties." When the general government exceeded its delegated powers, the states were "duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil." The Virginia Assembly declared the Alien and Sedition Acts "unconstitutional" and called on the other states to act against them. (12)

Madison's resolutions mentioned "interposition," but the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, drawn up by John Breckinridge, first introduced the term "nullification." Asserting that the "sovereign and independent" parties to the federal compact possessed final judgment, Kentucky stated that "a nullification of those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under color of (the Constitution) is the rightful remedy." (13)

Liberal historians, eager to claim Jefferson for the tradition of democratic nationalism, hesitate to admit he held "extreme" state-rights views. The resolutions which he, Madison, and Breckinridge

authored are presented as "emergency" rhetoric inspired by concern for free expression. Although the immediate question was the Federalists' attempted suppression of the Democratic Republican movement, the crisis went deeper. One historian observes that Hamilton's circle "talked of marching into Virginia and dividing it into smaller states" while "Virginians openly considered secession." (14)

John Taylor, the Jeffersonian theorist par excellence, was in the forefront of the disunionists. Jefferson resisted, but as matters worsened he became willing to contemplate secession. When Breckinridge hurriedly drew up the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799, he consulted Jefferson's 1798 text, appropriating the word "nullification" from it. (15) Jefferson had written that "every State has a natural right in cases not within the compact . . . to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits. . . ." (16) Later, because of the other states' unfavorable replies to the 1798 Resolutions, Jefferson favored a more radical protest. Writing to Madison on August 23, 1799, he suggested declaring that Kentucky and Virginia would "sever ourselves from that union we so much value, rather than give up the rights of self-government which we have reserved. . . ." (17) Clearly, nullification and secession were not inventions of later Southern "fire-eaters." Madison's Report on the Resolutions, written for the Virginia Assembly in 1800, affirmed that if the Constitution was a compact, states could determine what questions "required their interposition." (18)

Once in power in Washington, the Jeffersonian Republicans found new merit in vigorous federal action, including the Louisiana Purchase, which Jefferson admitted was unconstitutional. (19) By 1812 President Madison had the nation at war with England, a war very unpopular in New England. Of the old Republicans John Randolph battled almost alone for peace. The remnants of the Federalist party, particularly the "Young Federalists", took up the position the Republicans had abandoned and displayed new interest in limited government. Massachusetts remained virtually neutral, supplying virtually no troops against the British. Disaffected Federalists met in convention at Hartford, Conn., in 1814 to protest the war. Some of them favored a separate New England confederacy. Before any drastic steps were taken, the war ended. The convention recommended several constitutional amendments, and adjourned.

The state-rights position was again put forward during the struggle over the protective tariff 1828-33. South Carolina became the focal point of Southern resentment at protection of Northern manufactures, and under the covert leadership of Vice President John C. Calhoun proceeded to reassert state interposition against unconstitutional laws. After South Carolina nullified the tariff in 1832 and prepared to arrest federal collection officers, President Andrew Jackson, who believed in military solutions to many problems, was ready to march troops in to reduce the defiant state. The Carolinians were resolved to resist with state forces. To avoid bloodshed, the state recinded its Nullification Ordinance; at the same time the tariff was lowered.

Calhoun, now Senator from South Carolina, led the state-rights faction. His rigidly logical mind was responsible for the first advances in state-rights theory since the time of Jefferson. In his *Disquisition* he sought to ground his conception of federalism in political philosophy. Paradoxically, he severed his position from its roots in natural law and Lockeian liberalism, and yet attempted to vindicate minority rights with his notion of the "concurrent majority." (20)

One innovation of South Carolina was to call a convention directly expressing the sovereignty of the people of the state to nullify the tariff and later the Force Bill. Like a constitutional convention, this body was deemed more qualified to pass on such matters than the state legislature, itself a creature of the people. In addition, the Nullification Ordinance directly threatened secession. (21)

State-rights ideas cut both ways. At the time of the Mexican War threats of secession were heard in New England. (22) In 1859, Wisconsin nullified a US Supreme Court decision based on the Fugitive Slave Act, quoting the Jeffersonian language of 1798. (23) Garrison advocated Northern secession, crying "No Union with slaveholders." As the South became a "conscious minority," more talk was heard there of leaving the Union. After 1850, proslavery radicals held conventions almost yearly; at these meetings "fire-eaters" like William Yancey and Robert Rhett

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agitated for a Southern confederacy. (24) In 1860, South Carolina led the way: the state seceded by simply repealing the act by which an earlier South Carolina convention had ratified the Constitution of the United States. (25)

### The Historical Basis of the Theory

Was the secessionist case a sound one? In many ways it was, although it was not the only position to develop out of social contract and American law. The secessionist contention that the states were sovereign — subject to no higher final authority — during and after the Revolutionary War is strong indeed. Despite generations of Federalist propaganda and nationalist razzle-dazzle, it is clear that the thirteen colonies fought for their separate sovereignty and independence, albeit in loose concert. (26) During the war, the Continental Congress — in which nationalists spied the germ of national sovereignty — was a standing committee which coordinated the common struggle. The Declaration of Independence proclaimed the colonies "Free and Independent States." Twelve colonial delegations awaited instructions from home before consenting to it. Even then seven legislatures separately confirmed it: Connecticut, for example, announced that it was "a free and independent State." (27)

The Declaration asserted that the new states could "levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances" and exercise all other sovereign powers. Virginia's independent foreign policy activities illustrate state exercise of these powers. (28) By Articles of Confederation, which they took over three years to ratify, the states created "a firm league of friendship" and "confederacy." Article II reserved to each state "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every Power, Jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled." Most of the revolutionists believed in the sovereignty of "the people organized as states." (29) They were certainly not fighting to replace one strong central authority with another.

The right wing of the Revolution was appalled by democracy in the states and sought to curtail it. Crying up a "crisis" which existed primarily in their pocketbooks, a coalition of Northern merchants and Southern planters engineered the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia and secured ratification of a new constitution. (30) Even here prevailing opinion forced them to compromise with state sovereignty to get the new charter approved.

Because of this compromise the Constitution lent itself to a state-rights interpretation, especially since social contract was the common rhetoric of the men at Philadelphia. Gouverneur Morris, no friend of neighborhood control, wanted "to form a compact for the good of America." (31) Elbridge Gerry protested the plan to let nine states establish the Constitution, saying "If nine out of thirteen can dissolve the compact, six out of nine will be just as able to dissolve the new one hereafter." (32) References to Locke, Vattel, Priestley, and other writers abounded. (33) On the extremes, Luther Martin and Alexander Hamilton utilized Lockean terminology, clearly understanding it differently.

The nationalists thought they were making a proper, irrevocable Whig compact, a pure Lockean contract creating a new sovereign over the states. But during the adoption struggle Madison and Hamilton argued in the Federalist essays that the new Constitution — rather like the triune God of the Creed — was at once federal and national. State-rights men or "Antifederalists" stressed the dangers of a monarchical presidency, imperial consolidation, and the decline of the states (and were borne out by events). (34)

From the standpoint of state-rights theory, much of the argument at Philadelphia seems simply opportunist. State-rights men, wanting to retain the Articles, asserted that the Confederation could not be broken; hence the Articles must be honored. The Nationalists, contemplating a constitutional coup d'état, had to claim that the Union could be dissolved and recreated by as few as nine states. Madison, who then denied state sovereignty, argued that the Confederation was not a proper compact precisely because a majority could not bind the remainder; it was a "convention" and could be dissolved by any party. (35)

Given the need to reassure the states, Madison and even Hamilton pitched their arguments to the objections of state-rights men like Patrick Henry. Hamilton named the proposed system "a Confederate Republic,"

defining it — after Montesquieu — as "an assemblage of societies." Such a confederacy secured to its members the advantages of strength in foreign affairs without annihilating their individual characters. (36) Answering charges of consolidation, Madison stressed that ratification was "the act of the people, as forming so many independent States, not as forming one aggregate nation"; otherwise, the majority of the whole could bind the rest. Each state was "a sovereign body" only "bound by its own voluntary act." (37) Denying the new government was novel in operating directly on individuals, Madison remarked that the existing Confederation did so already. Hence, the new plan was merely "the expansion of principles which are found in the articles." (38)

These admissions from the centralizing camp, founded in political reality, greatly assisted later state-rights men. Jefferson Davis could write that "a 'more perfect union' was accomplished by the organization of a government more complete in its various branches ... and by the delegation ... of certain additional powers ...." (39) The changes did not alter the principle of a federal compact. Accepting Madison's terminology in his secessionist *summa*, Alexander Stephens, the foremost libertarian of the old South, called the American system "a pure Confederate Republic, upon the model of Montesquieu...." The general government was "an entirely artificial or conventional State or Nation," "a Political Corporation" created by a compact between states. (40) Externally, it appeared as a nation; in its metaphysical essence, however, it was a sort of political joint-stock venture, whose shareholders could withdraw for cause. (41) By this theoretical innovation secessionist thought almost transcended its liberal, Lockean origins.

Constitutional exegesis need not detain us long. In his celebrated "Reply to Hayne" in 1830 Daniel Webster denied that terms like "compact" and "accede" were in use at Philadelphia: state-rights men had invented them. Since these were typical eighteenth century terms, Webster was easily refuted. (42) As for "We the People" in the preamble, the original draft had begun "We the People of the States of New Hampshire," etc. (43) Since as few as nine states could enact the Constitution "between" themselves, it would have been awkward to name them all. Most of the prohibitions on the states (Article I, Section 10), often cited as evidence of federal supremacy, existed in the old Articles which acknowledged state sovereignty. Finally, Rhode Island and North Carolina remained aloof from the Union in 1789-90 after eleven states had established the new government. This demonstrates beyond question that the people who ratified the Constitution were the people-as-states and not Americans in the aggregate! (44)

If the states were sovereign in some arguable sense before 1789, and if sovereignty cannot pass by implication — as Davis and Stephens emphasized — then they remained so under the Constitution. (45) Constitutional scholars are wont to lose sleep over the framers' intentions in such matters. Although the potentially radical notion of the "consent of the Governed" is still an ideological prop of the system,\* little attention is paid to the intentions of those who ratified the document. Ratification gave the Constitution all the "validity it ever had." (46) The temper of the ratifying conventions in the states may be gauged by their words. Massachusetts, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Rhode Island all called for an amendment closely modeled on the second Article of Confederation, expressly reserving to the states all powers not clearly "delegated" to the general government. South Carolina and Rhode Island mentioned state "sovereignty." North Carolina and Virginia invoked natural rights, the latter listing the rights men retain when they form a "social compact."

Most significantly, Virginia, New York and Rhode Island declared that "the powers of government" may be "resumed" or "reassumed" by the people when perverted or abused. (47) Since each convention spoke only for the people of its own state, Davis' and Stephens' idea that three states by this language reserved the right of secession in their very ratifications is not altogether unwarranted. In addition, New York and South Carolina declared all undelegated powers to be reserved; Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island stated that clauses restricting Congress were exceptions to delegated powers or inserted "for greater caution." (48)

Given these sentiments, it is not surprising that ten amendments passed quickly, including the much neglected ninth and tenth. The ninth reserves

\* like our "voluntary" donations to IRS

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all residual rights to the people, while the tenth reserves all powers not "delegated" to Congress to the states or the people.

### Philosophical Roots And Outcome

Granting the possibility of state sovereignty, secession still required another philosophical postulate. This it inherited from radical Anglo-French liberalism. Even if the Constitution is a compact or a political joint-stock company, it must be shown that withdrawal is a right. According to Parrington, secession ultimately rests on "the doctrine which Paine and Jefferson derived from the French school, namely, that a constitutional compact is terminable." (49) Paine argued, as against the Whig theory, that the people are always entitled to alter their government. (Strict Lockeanism holds that a people may only alter a government under the most extreme provocation, and then only if a substantial majority of them support the revolt.) In this, Paine agreed with Price and Priestley. (50) Jefferson, too, believed "No society can make a perpetual Constitution, or even a perpetual law." (51)

If the people are sovereign-as-state, secession follows as a natural right if one accepts the radical version of the social contract. Parrington comments:

However deeply it might be covered over by constitutional lawyers and historians who defended the right of secession, the doctrine (of terminable compact) was there implicitly, and the southern cause would have been more effectively served if legal refinements had been subordinated to philosophical justification of this fundamental doctrine. (52)

Parrington has overstated only the French influence on Jeffersonian thought. There also existed an Angle-American radical natural law school whose ideas paralleled the French. (53) There was a real reason Southerners refrained from developing the philosophical side of the argument. The Virginia debate of 1850 was the last open discussion on freeing the slaves until 1865, when it was too late. Determined to preserve their "peculiar institution," Southerners turned inward, resorting to repressive legislation and thought-control. Given their laager mentality and traditional legalism, Southerners naturally presented secession as a "civil," "constitutional" right.

Uneasily aware that natural law liberalism had very dangerous potentials, Southerners shied away from libertarian arguments. A libertarian slaveholder is a contradiction in terms, and Calhoun epitomized the schizophrenic Southern mind. Having abandoned natural law in favor of force and hierarchy — a logical position for a slaveholder he smuggled back into his political theory the "compacts" and "ratifications" which make no sense apart from liberalism. As Louis Hartz notes, if minorities still have rights, why not the minorities within the minorities — until we are back in a state of nature. (54)

Only George Fitzhugh had the courage to really defend slavery, and he abandoned liberal contractualism for organic nationalism and universal authoritarianism a la Filmer. (55) One insincere solution was liberalism for whites coupled with a racist denial of Black Americans' humanity. The South was trapped in a deep contradiction, denying and affirming its liberal origins, and espousing a "reactionary anarchism."

Jeffersonianism ended in secessionist logic in the South. People-as-states were sovereign, subject to no higher law. In the North, such liberalism ended in radical abolitionism. Having no vested interest in slavery and hating all forms of compulsion, antislavery men like Stephen Pearl Andrews, Garrison, Spooner, and Henry David Thoreau soon pushed liberalism all the way into natural law anarchism. Parrington calls Thoreau's position "individual compact" which "implied . . . individual nullification" or full anarchism. (56) Unlike Stephens who took the federal Union as a joint-stock operation, Thoreau took all states as artificial and asserted his right to secede.

### Contractualism Succumbs in a War for Empire

If the South could not follow out its own logic for fear of admitting the natural rights of Black men, Unionists in 1860 would not admit any doctrine of revocable compact. On the "macro" level of social compact, where Southerners felt entitled to secede, Lincoln took a strict Lockean position: There was one society and only a majority of the states could agree to its dissolution. (57) On the analogous "micro" level, only the

left-wing individuals asserted individual sovereignty and individual secession. At the micro or state level Southerners became Lockean Whigs once again.

Despite the inconsistencies of secessionist thinking, it is of no small interest today. In this age of imperial centralization the secessionist argument, if properly grounded in human rights, goes hand in hand with radical libertarianism. Abraham Lincoln fundamentally recognized the implications for the imperial state. Secession was a denial of majority rule, and to reject that rule was to "fly to anarchy or despotism." Could not parts of the new Confederacy themselves secede, ad infinitum, he asked. (58) Between anarchy and despotism, Lincoln chose despotism and waged a brutal war solely to preserve an instrumentality of power based in Washington. (59) As Spooner remarked, if the Union had ever been based on consent the war changed all that. (60) Since the war was not defensive and did not free large numbers of people in any meaningful sense, a libertarian is inclined, at least, to sympathize with Spooner's position. Spooner opposed the war as enslaving the people to the government and at the same time supported slave revolts. (61) But this is not really an adequate position. Libertarians were perplexed at the time. To properly assess the war and its results from a libertarian standpoint would require another essay.

J.W. Gough, an authority on social contract, writes that there was something to "the contractual theory of the federation." (62) Much more than slavery and Davis' government died in 1865. Parrington sees the great tragedy of American history in the fact that "local self-government should have been committed to the cause of slavery." The division between Northern and Southern liberalism which this circumstance opened up was "disastrous to American democracy." (63) The imperial government in Washington, having freed the slaves for the wrong reason, leaving them to starve, was able to pose as the friend of liberty while parcelling out the political economy to various privileged interests. The fostering of monopoly after the war under "laissez faire" statism, a free market in name only, was made possible largely because local self-government and genuine federalism had succumbed when the South, rightly or wrongly, lost the fight for its independence. With the death of local sovereignty and the crushing of secession, one more barrier to empire was gone.

Like the Constitution itself, state rights — the American variant of the social contract — was an attempt to provide a philosophical basis for the permanent limitation of government. However well intended, such liberal constitutionalism was doomed to long-run failure, for it asked that government not act like government. Washington could no more accept South Carolina's secession than Massachusetts could accept Thoreau's. At the extremes, Spooner and Fitzhugh understood this and rejected constitutionalism — for opposed reasons. They knew that underneath the parchment guarantees, only temporarily held in check by them, was the imperial Leviathan "born in aggression and begotten of aggression."

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(Continued On Page 7)

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## AT LAST!!!

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# Economic Scapegoats: Heroes Or Scoundrels?

Review of Walter Block, *Defending the Undefendable*, Fleet Press, \$9.95

By Bill Evers\*

Would you classify the following sorts of people as heroes or villains: loan sharks, litterbugs, misers, slanderers, libelers, pimps, counterfeiters, stripminers, drug pushers, ticket scalpers, prostitutes, scabs, blackmailers and slumlords?

If your intuitive inclination is to think of such people as scoundrels, you'll find Walter Block's new book mind-boggling. Block presents them as heroes and offers good reasons for doing so.

Previous popularly written introductions to political economy have suggested ending occupational licensure of doctors, legalizing marijuana or legalizing abortions. But no previous book in this genre has thoroughly dealt with the almost universally reviled practices and occupations discussed in Block's book.

Block's book is a startling, witty and eminently reasonable tour de force. The reader begins each chapter by thinking (as Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek did at first, according to his introduction to the book), "this is going too far." But led by Block's ingenious arguments, the readers are compelled (as Hayek was) to agree with Block.

Moreover, Block's method has the special attraction of nonmathematically treating economics as a matter of logic of choice, while avoiding the all-too-common practice of relying on statistics.

An unexpected bonus in an economics book is the presence of illustrations for each chapter drawn by Rodrigues, whose cartoon studies of the demimonde are regular features in *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and the *National Lampoon*.

All Block's heroes have three characteristics in common. First, the practices in which they are engaged do not involve the initiation of aggression against others. Second, the demonstrated preferences of people and the logic of choice show that Block's heroes are performing jobs that are of great value to other people. Third, these heroes are providing their services in the face of constant reproach from the public and outlawry by the state.

After reading Block's book, we recognize the pimp as an honest broker and the uncorrupted cop as the Nuremberg defendant who always followed orders. We are reminded that stripmining of coal allows miners to escape black-lung disease and cave-ins, while creating what could be described as a stark, desert-like beauty.

Block gives the reader succinct yet penetrating criticisms of the Federal Reserve System and the Keynesian paradox of savings. His chapter on charity is the best modern defense of social Darwinism that I have ever read.

Perhaps Block's finest chapter is the one on advertising. For example, Block shows how the use of advertising gimmicks to alert consumers to products is exactly parallel to a person's attention to his personal appearance and grooming before a job interview.

Read this book for the intellectual delight (as well as the gain in knowledge) to be found in observing Block reason his way through extreme, shocking cases to a counterintuitive, but rigorously defended account of the just solutions to them.

\* Reprinted from the *Stanford Daily*, April 30, 1976. Bill Evers is a doctoral candidate in political science at Stanford University. ■

"In the absence of force, peace and liberty simply exist; they do not have to be created or supported. Capitalism had its beginnings in a condition under which no man can be dispossessed of what he has produced or discovered except with his own consent. In the absence of force, capitalism automatically exists in the same sense that peace and liberty automatically exist." —

Thomas Nixon Carver (1925).

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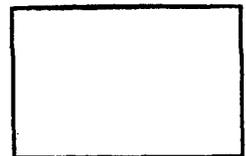
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## A Monthly Newsletter

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## MacBride's New Book

Roger MacBride's campaign paperback book, *A New Dawn For America: The Libertarian Challenge* (Ottawa, Illinois: Green Hill Publishers, June 1976), has now been published. Its major function is to serve as MacBride's campaign statement of his ideology and policies, his "manifesto", his "Conscience of a Libertarian", in well-designed, highly readable, brief (97 pp.) and inexpensive (95¢) form. The book performs this vital task admirably. But it also performs two other, and at least equally vital, functions: (1) it should lay to rest, once and for all, the charge by libertarian skeptics and holier-than-thou "purists" that MacBride would compromise libertarian principles in his campaign; and (2) it fills a gap by providing an excellent and lucid introduction to what libertarianism is all about that we can distribute to interested neophytes. Despite the enormous growth in the literature of liberty in the last few years, there has been no one brief book that we could give to friends or acquaintances who have come brand new to an interest in our ideology — no one book that could provide a readable yet thorough overview of libertarianism, a book that could instruct the reader in the basics and stimulate interest in more detailed and advanced treatment. Roger MacBride's *A New Dawn For America* now provides us with such a book. It deserves the widest possible distribution.

MacBride begins the book with a concise exposition of libertarian philosophy and an attack on the growth of government power in modern America. He then proceeds to apply and elaborate his views in four more specific chapters: on the economy, on politicizing America, on foreign policy, and on the criminal law. Libertarians will be interested to know that in his economics chapter MacBride adopts wholeheartedly the "Austrian School" position. He explains how government-propelled expansion of money and bank credit causes inflation and leads to the boom-bust business cycle; and to cure these ills, he calls for a return to a hard, free-market commodity money such as gold and the total separation of money from the State. The latter includes a call for abolition of the Federal Reserve System. MacBride also urges early repeal of the income tax, a drastic cut in taxation and expenditures at all levels of government, and a "look into the feasibility of creating a truly voluntaristic society in which all goods and services are provided on the free market." (This is "compromising"?)

MacBride concludes his economics chapter with this ringing paragraph: "Contrary to the propaganda of expedience, there is no real conflict between the demands of moral principle and of pragmatic reality. There is no real conflict between the moral principles of individual liberty and private property on the one hand, and the requirements of economic health and prosperity on the other. Both require getting government out of our lives and out of our pockets."

The Politicizing America chapter applies libertarian principle to various key problem areas of existing government intervention. MacBride calls for the elimination of the postal monopoly and the sale of the Postal Service to private investors; the total deregulation of transportation; the end of FDA regulation of drugs and vitamins; and an end to all "corporation coddling" by government, including "favors,

subsidies, bailouts, tariffs, regulatory agencies, credits to exporters, loan guarantees, and so on." On television and radio, MacBride shows how the FCC's interference with freedom of speech is a direct and inherent result of the federal government's nationalization of the airwaves fifty years ago; MacBride retorts with a call for the abolition of the FCC and all of its powers. On agriculture, MacBride not only supports a free-market for food products, but he demonstrates how, for example, the government-created milk cartel not only restricts competition and raises milk prices, but also established the conditions which led to the milk-corruption scandal during the Nixon administration. Finally, MacBride courageously tackles the famous Social Security question head-on, showing that Social Security is bankrupt and should be abolished, and comes up with an ingenious and consistently libertarian plan to ease the hardships on the citizens who have been suckered into support for this racketeering program: older citizens could be exempted from all taxation and all restrictions on earnings; younger citizens could be freed from all Social Security taxes and encouraged to invest in (far more productive and profitable) private retirement plans (perhaps through tax exemptions), and for the middle-aged groups remaining, the promised benefits could be paid for by the United States Government's "systematic sale of all of its mammoth land and industrial holdings." Thus, at one and the same time, the onerous and fraudulent Social Security system would be abolished, the promised recipients would be helped rather than harmed, and we would see the de-socialization of the U. S. Government's vast holdings of land and other property!

Perhaps those libertarians who have suspected MacBride of "conservative deviationism" are still not impressed with his libertarian position on economics: what of civil liberties and foreign policy, where crypto-conservatives are much more likely to "lead". Well, we are happy to report that MacBride takes an uncompromisingly "isolationist" or non-interventionist position, and one, furthermore, that is unabashedly "radical" and revisionist. MacBride begins his foreign policy chapter by praising the traditional American foreign policy of political neutrality, and economic and cultural freedom of trade and travel. He then blisteringly indicts Woodrow Wilson for sabotaging that policy by maneuvering the U. S. into a "purely European war", over "the valiant opposition of such grand traditionalists as Senator 'Fighting Bob' LaFollette..." MacBride then states:

"We libertarians propose to reverse that vote and return to a strict policy of neutrality in other countries' affairs, of non-intervention in other peoples' wars, of free trade and travel throughout the world." And again: "After sixty years of crippling and brutally destructive wars, commenced with the wish to 'make the world safe for democracy', to 'end all wars', to advance the 'free world', and to 'spread freedom throughout the globe', what has the U. S. accomplished? What kind of world was wrought at the cost of close to half a million American lives, of over a million Americans wounded, of hundreds of billions in American economic resources, of producing a swollen government at home at the

(Continued On Page 2)

## MacBride's New Book —

(Continued From Page 1)

expense of the liberties and the property of the individual citizen? What has the U. S. Government accomplished at the terrible price of engendering a vast military machine, of enforced military service for American youth, of crippling American productivity with taxes, inflation, and controls, of diverting so much American investment and scientific personnel from peaceful production to the machines of war? If we look about us, we see a world where dictatorship has never been stronger, where war has never been more threatening or fearful."

MacBride then pinpoints not only the cost but the deceptions that took America into each of its wars in this century. For each of these wars, MacBride adopts the revisionist position. Thus, on World War II: Roosevelt "had by intervention in the Sino-Japanese struggle maneuvered United States entry into a war with Japan and Germany." On the Korean War, MacBride adopts the advanced revisionist position of I. F. Stone, pointing out that the start of the Korean War (and America's later intervention into it) succeeded by only one week the prediction in Tokyo by Secretary of State Dulles of "positive action by the United States to preserve peace in the Far East."

On the disastrous Vietnam intervention, MacBride's radical revisionist position points to "the support given to these presidents (Johnson and Nixon) by American businessmen from Standard Oil, General Electric, Ford Motor Company and so on. Is it coincidental that they profited generously from the massive defense orders generated by the years of intervention in the name of peace, aptly called 'perpetual war for perpetual peace'." Finally, MacBride blisteringly attacks President Ford's last-minute attempt to intervene yet again to save the tottering South Vietnam regime, while reiterating all the discredited interventionist shibboleths that had gotten us into the mess in the first place.

In contrast, MacBride proposes to replace the disastrous policy of government intervention with a libertarian foreign policy: "We must stop the interventionist policy of wasting American blood and treasure in an attempt to dictate to people and to nations all over the globe. . . . We can see that the indispensable corollary of rolling back government at home is rolling back government abroad. Getting the government out of our affairs at home is part and parcel of getting it out of the affairs of other peoples." Instead of conjuring up the spectre of foreign devils to justify such wars and interventions, "Libertarians argue that we need no more foreign devils, and the time has come to return home and get the politicians and bureaucrats off our backs."

More specifically and magnificently, MacBride looks to replace the current disastrous system by a nation in which **no foreign policy exists**, in which "Foreign relations conducted by the State will be replaced by foreign relations by individuals, groups and voluntary associations in an atmosphere of voluntary mutual exchange with their foreign counterparts." There will be a foreign policy of "strict non-intervention", with a "defense force which will only respond to foreign aggression aimed at the geographical territory of the United States." Furthermore, MacBride states that a Libertarian administration "would be alert for genuine possibilities for removing the spectre of nuclear confrontation through disarmament agreements" which would be consistent with maintaining such a geographical defense.

Moreover, a MacBride foreign policy would "quit meddling in the domestic politics of foreign governments and stop propping up foreign governments." Diplomatic recognition would — in the great non-interventionist tradition — be granted to all *de facto* governments regardless of their political system. Free trade would be strictly adhered to, and Americans would be able to invest abroad where they wish "but at their own risk, unprotected by the U. S. Government." All foreign aid, government-backed loans, and membership in international organizations, ranging from the UN to the International Monetary Fund, would be abolished. U. S. intelligence activities would be "limited to collection of signs of possible offensive action against the U. S." All "collective security" alliances abroad would be terminated, including NATO and SEATO, as well as the Truman and Eisenhower Doctrines. Also abandoned would be Presidential "police actions", CIA-funded wars, and secret executive agreements.

## News From Spain

There are still many libertarians who think of America's conservatives as "really on our side" if a bit more "practical". For a long time there have been a couple of quick acid tests that one may use to find out the libertarian quotient of Buckleyite conservatives: what is your view of Rhodesia and South Africa, and what do you think of Franco's Spain? The obvious love and admiration of conservatives for these fascist and racist regimes speaks volumes of just how libertarian these "libertarian conservatives" really are, of where their hearts really lie. It's true, of course, that these regimes are "hard-line anti-Communists", if that is one's only test of political virtue; but, then, so again was Adolf Hitler. In fact, in a way Hitler can be summed up as a "premature anti-Communist" of the 1930's. At any rate, this enthusiasm demonstrates — if such a demonstration is really necessary by this time — that the libertarian rhetoric of American conservatives is skin deep, and that their hearts lie elsewhere.

(Continued On Page 3)

MacBride also attacks the powerful military-industrial complex, "the biggest lobby for intervention and unchecked Executive power". MacBride points out: "Each year the Pentagon spends more than the annual income of every corporation in America. It spends funds upon twenty thousand business firms, which (with their employees) live off money taken from American taxpayers. The military-industrial complex is by no means a free-market phenomenon. Instead it resembles a royal court in which a king (the Pentagon) grants favors to his favorites (in the arms and military-support industries)."

Again, MacBride transcends the old "conservative"-"liberal" tags: "Unless we realize that the Barry Goldwaters and the Hubert Humphreys of American politics agreed all along on the need for a strong national-security state we will be unable to begin the search for alternatives beyond the old ideological labels of 'conservative' and 'liberal'".

MacBride concludes his foreign policy chapter with these noble aims: "We will replace intervention by non-intervention. Militarism by voluntarism. State agreements by individual agreements. Coercive political action by voluntary mutual exchange. The power of the state will be diffused and foreign affairs will be reduced to the decentralized voluntary affairs of individuals in a free society."

In his chapter on criminal law, MacBride comes out foursquare for the abolition of all victimless crime laws, of all laws restricting or prohibiting voluntary actions of consenting adults. Laws against prostitution, pornography, homosexuality, gambling, and drugs are attacked specifically and concretely. The crime problem arising from heroin is shown to emerge not from the addiction itself but from its prohibition, which makes the drug enormously expensive and leads the addict into crime to pay for his addiction.

Not the least charm of this book are the excellent quotes from libertarian writers and theorists that stud the book: quotes from H. L. Mencken, Ludwig von Mises, John Stuart Mill, P. J. Proudhon, Thomas Jefferson, Herbert Spencer, Murray N. Rothbard, Robert Nozick, and others that also lead the reader into plumbing more of the libertarian literature. There are also ads in the back for worthy libertarian groups and publications: including the Libertarian Review, Reason, the Libertarian Forum, the Center for Libertarian Studies, Free Life Editions, the Libertarian Scholar, Laissez-Faire Books, the Libertarian Party, and the MacBride-Bergland campaign. There is also an ad for the Young Libertarian Alliance, a rapidly growing group of campus affiliates of the national Libertarian Party, headed by Tom Palmer. The YLA can be contacted at LP headquarters at 1516 P. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005; it supplies organizing kits to campus chapters.

MacBride's *A New Dawn For America* can be purchased, either for \$ .95 a single copy or at bulk discount rates, from the MacBride for President Committee at the above 1516 P. St. address.

Let the griping cease. *A New Dawn For America* is clear evidence that Roger MacBride has come, not to betray the great 1976 LP Platform but to fulfill it. He is libertarianism's champion, our White Knight, in the political arena. May his impact and his votes multiply! ◼

## CLS Booms!

In our February, 1976 issue we announced the formation of the Center for Libertarian Studies (CLS). In the last few months, the CLS has grown with remarkable rapidity and intensity, attesting to: the enterprise and vigor of its organizers, and the enormous growth in recent years in the quantity and quality of scholars in the libertarian movement. Surely the formation of a center for libertarian research and scholarship, actively encouraging development and communication between libertarian scholars and intellectuals throughout the country, was an idea whose time has come. A new and handsomely professional publication — the Center for Libertarian Studies Newsletter — has now emerged with its first issue, Summer, 1976, detailing the present and forthcoming activities of the new Center. The Newsletter also reports on other scholarly libertarian activities across the country, thereby serving as “an informal communication network for libertarian scholars.” The Newsletter, edited by Peter J. Ferrara, Lawrence H. White, and Matthew Malkan, all of Harvard University, is sent gratis to Friends of the Center (those who have contributed at least \$100 per year to the Center), and is available to all other interested people for \$6 per year. The Newsletter is available at Box 220, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, or directly from the Center for Libertarian Studies, 200 West 58th St., Suite 5D, New York, N. Y. 10019.

The eight-page first issue of the Newsletter contains reports on two forthcoming conferences sponsored by the CLS, an article explaining the CLS concept and activities by Executive Director Walter Grinder, an article on Center fundraising by President John Hagel III, numerous news items on scholarly activities, including a report on the Austrian Economics Seminar held at New York University, and handsome profiles on two veteran libertarian intellectuals: Henry Hazlitt and Felix Morley, both members of the Board of Advisors of CLS. No one interested in the progress of intellectual and scholarly libertarian activities can afford to miss the CLS Newsletter.

One of the most desperate needs of the libertarian movement for many years has been a high-level scholarly journal, devoted to the advancement of the discipline of libertarianism — an inter-disciplinary body of thought that cuts across all the studies of human action: from political philosophy to economics to history to sociology to law to education to biology. Such a journal will now appear, under the auspices of the CLS, to be published by Pergamon Press, a distinguished publisher of scholarly journals, and to be edited by Murray N. Rothbard. The first issue of the new *Journal of Libertarian Studies: An Interdisciplinary Review* will appear in January, 1977. It will be a blockbuster, centering on several critiques of Robert Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, plus other goodies.

The annual Libertarian Scholars Conference has long been the cutting edge of developments in libertarian scholarship. From now on, many of its papers will be able to find a publishing outlet in the JLS. The Fourth Libertarian Scholars Conference, to be held jointly by the CLS and the Liberty Fund this October 22, 23, and 24 at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City, will feature an intriguing program. One panel will feature papers on conservative sociologist Robert Nisbet's latest work, *The Twilight of Authority*, by John P. McCarthy of the history department of Fordham University and Leonard P. Liggio of the history department of SUNY, Old Westbury. Robert Nisbet will be in attendance for a possible response. Another panel will discuss papers on “The Foundations of Libertarian Legal Theory” by Randy E. Barnett of Harvard Law School and Williamson M. Evers of Stanford University, with comments by Murray N. Rothbard and Roy A. Childs, Jr. Other panels will deal with “An Historical Inquiry into Nineteenth Century Libertarian Social Analysis”; “Liability, Economics and the Law — Two Problems: Pollution and Bankruptcy”; and “An Analysis of the ‘Southern Rim’ Thesis”. The banquet speech will be delivered by G. William Domhoff of University of California at Santa Cruz on “The Current State of Social Analysis in the United States.” Speakers and participants will include: Mark Weinburg of the University of Chicago; David Osterfield of the University of Cincinnati; Joseph T. Salerno of Rutgers University; R. Dale Grinder of the University of Kansas; Lawrence H. White of Harvard University; William Beach of the University of Missouri; Walter Block of Rutgers University; Jonathan Marshall of Stanford University; John Hagel III of Harvard Law and Business Schools; Larry Shoup of San

Francisco State College; social analyst Carl Oglesby; Joseph Castrovinci of the University of Chicago; Eric Mack of Tulane University; William Marina of Florida Atlantic University; Karen Vaughn of Central Michigan University; and Harry Watson of the Council of Economic Advisors.

Next spring on March 5-7, the CLS and the Liberty Fund will hold another exciting conference on “Crime and Punishment: Retribution, Retribution, and Law” at Harvard Law School. Topics will be: “Objective Crime and Objective Punishment: The Illegitimacy of Psychiatric Reasons for Imprisonment”; “The Crisis in the Criminal Justice System: An Examination of Causes and Consequences”; “Time Preference and Crime”; “Restitution as an Alternative to Punishment”; “Retribution: the Ethics of Punishment”; and “Some Treatments of Crime in History.”

As if all this were not enough, the CLS is in the process of publishing two Occasional Papers, which should be out this summer, and which will be available to the public: Lawrence H. White's “The Methodology of Austrian School Economics”, and a translation by Prof. J. Huston McCulloch of a classical gem by Gustave de Molinari, “The Production of Security” — the never-before translated essay by a prominent mid-nineteenth century French economist which was the first exposition and advocacy in all history of anarcho-capitalism!

Future plans include pamphlets and study kits on vital topics; so watch the Center for exciting developments, and, if possible, please contribute! □

## News From Spain —

(Continued From Page 2)

Libertarians, of course, can only rejoice at the loosening of the fascist dictatorship that Spain has seen since the death of Franco. Some of the fruits of the freer climate in Spain have just come to our attention. The Libertarian Spanish Group, which has translated and published over a hundred thousand copies of free-market books in Spain, now feels that with the new political climate they can translate and publish more of the philosophical and political aspects of libertarianism. Secondly, a new classical liberal, *laissez-faire* political group was formed this April: the Union Liberal Espanola, with hopes of becoming a political party. For forty years, the small band of Spanish classical liberals has been oppressed and ravaged by Left and Right; perhaps they will now be able to flourish.

But in stark contrast to the new freedom emerging in Spain, we have the very different view of Russian emigre Alexander Solzhenitsyn, whom not only American conservatives but even some libertarians have raised to the status of guru and folk hero. Solzhenitsyn, who in time-honored emigre fashion has been trying to heat up the Cold War against his own homeland, spoke recently over Spanish television in praise of the late fascist dictator and against the loosening of Spain's dictatorial bonds. The LP News (May-June 1976) reports:

“Alexander Solzhenitsyn, darling of conservatives because of his Cold War rhetoric, appeared on government-run television in Spain and praised the regime of the late fascist dictator Francisco Franco. Solzhenitsyn also told the people of Spain not to press demands for freedom to strike because this would lead to establishment of a Communist dictatorship.”

It is one thing to hail Solzhenitsyn for his heroic battle against Soviet prison camps; it is quite another to think that this experience automatically qualifies him as a political philosopher or foreign affairs spokesman. In addition to the understandably warped perspective that all oppressed emigres have on foreign affairs, it is useful to remember that Solzhenitsyn is in no sense a libertarian. On the contrary, his perspective is that of an unreconstructed Czarist theocrat, and opponent of Western freedoms and Western technology alike. The LP News is to be hailed as virtually the only source, inside or out of the libertarian movement, where good sense can be found on the Solzhenitsyn question. □

## Democratic Convention Notes

Were you all impressed with the feast of Love at the Convention? Are you all sleeping better every night in the knowledge that Jimmy Carter loves each and every one of you? Apparently at least one convention delegate was, as witness a memorable TV shot of one Oriental-American with tears streaming down her face as Jimmy went on about love and unity. Of such stuff are these our rulers made.

Meantime, the Northern Liberals, so suspicious of Carter not so long ago, are scrambling to get on the crowded Carter bandwagon. Shirley Maclaine opined that she liked Carter because he's a "man of the earth" (the Ecology note). Chi-chi hostesses all over town are serving peanuts at the In cocktail parties. . . .

Southern populism, however, still lives. In one interview, Cassie Mackin of NBC-TV asked young Hamilton Jordan, major architect of the Carter phenomenon, if she could "call him Ham." "My friends call me Ham," Jordan smugly retorted, "but you can call me Hamilton." But Jimmy loves each and every one. . . .

The highlight of the convention, understandably under-reported by the media, was the seconding speech of Alexander Garshin of Massachusetts for the nomination of young anti-bussing candidate David Benoit for Vice-President. Garshin used the opportunity to make a blistering right-wing speech, mocked by the delegates. The climax came when Garshin began to denounce the Council for Foreign Relations and its Rockefeller control; when he got to the point of attacking David Rockefeller for being head of the CFR, he was cut off by the chairman, who cited an old 1870's rule of Democratic conventions prohibiting any speaker from personally criticizing other nominated candidates. Unfortunately, in the brief flurry of excitement, neither Garshin nor anyone else had the wit to point out that David Rockefeller was certainly not being nominated for anything at the convention, and therefore that the rule could scarcely apply. But Garshin got off a few good cracks, such as "if this convention doesn't want to hear the truth, it's all right with me," and "I apologize to this convention. . . for telling the truth." Cutting off speech when Rockefeller and the CFR were attacked means, of course, that the Conspiracy Theory of History is alive and well. . . .

Since only the "extremes" of left and right are interested in ideas, the other high points of the convention were provided by the Left: by Ron Dellums' attack on war and militarism, and by young Fritz Efav, under indictment for draft resistance, pointing out the need for total amnesty for Vietnam War "deserters" and the less-than-honorably discharged. . . .

But there were some interesting nuances even in the Carter Center. There were the hosannas handed to Rep. Barbara Jordan, sounding for all the world like a basso Franklin Roosevelt, complete to the Groton accent and the whistled s's, whose call for a "national community" was strongly reminiscent of Adolf Hitler, though Hitler, of course, had a lot more pizzazz.

And then there was the unprecedented applause at Daddy King's stem-winding benediction: "The Lord make his face to shine upon YOU!", after which the assembled forces of left-liberalism clasped hands and swayed to the singing of "We Shall Overcome," as Jimmy Carter kissed Coretta King. Good God, you don't think that deep in their heart they really do believe? Let's hope not. . . .

In a desperate attempt to whitewash New York's image and in a grab for future federal funds, Mayor Abe Beame managed the enormous feat of turning Fun City into a Potemkin Village for one solid week. A special one-week anti-prostitute law was passed, two night shifts of sanitation men worked round the clock in midtown, a special detail of 1500 very friendly cops were all over the place (presumably they had gotten special Niceness Training), and who knows? maybe the authorities sternly told the muggers and rapists to Cool It for one week. The Georgia delegation, naturally, got the red carpet treatment and purred that "Oh, New York is such a friendly place". Hah! Police even hailed cabs for delegates. Art Buchwald quipped that he had finally figured it out: all New Yorkers had been shipped to special detention centers in Staten Island for a week, while all the alleged New Yorkers on the streets were really imported from the Middle West for the occasion. . . .

The biggest word of the convention was "compassion." It is a

strange use of the word, though of course standard for left-liberalism. It means that A is a compassionate person if he steals money from B to give it to C. Not only is B the Forgotten Person in this equation but A's coercive behavior, along with a rakeoff for "handling" costs, hardly fits any sort of rational definition of compassionate. But it's all right folks, because Jimmy loves each and every one of you. . . . □

## Arts And Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

Two current hit movies, of very different genres, both identify the prime evil as resting in government, and they do so with excitement and panache; hence, they deserve to be seen by every libertarian. One is the famous *All The President's Men*, superbly directed by Alan J. Pakula to provide the atmosphere and authenticity of the newsroom and of investigative journalism on the trail of the biggest story of our time, the Watergate. The uniformly excellent acting is a tribute to the direction; even Robert Redford is induced to forget his absorption in his own good looks to become Robert Woodward. Particularly good is Jason Robards' performance as *Washington Post* editor Ben Bradlee; Robards is able to convey irritation or elation in under-stated but finely crafted gestures. So absorbing and fast-paced is the action that the two-and-a-half hours seem like twenty minutes; and the abrupt and unsatisfactory ending leave the audience panting for More. Five hours would have been needed to bring out all the ramifications of Watergate; as it is, only the initial aspects of the story are developed. Perhaps there will be a sequel.

The other hit movie with libertarian implications, these totally neglected by the uniformly hostile critics, is *The Omen*, a fantasy horror movie starring Gregory Peck and Lee Remick. All too many horror films are so low-budget as to (correctly) seem to be made on some wood in the dead of night; produced with a lavish budget, *The Omen* can and does pull out all the stops to make a gripping and exciting picture. The theme is theological; and obviously the producers knew their Revelations. The picture is derived from *Rosemary's Baby*; but *The Omen* is not cramped by the static, filmed-play aspect of the former picture. Put simply, the plot revolves around the birth of a baby Anti-Christ, and the gradual revelation of this fact to its stunned and oppressed adopting parents.

The libertarian aspect of the picture stems from the repeated theological prediction that the Anti-Christ would in some way stem from government, and that government would be the instrument by which he would wreak havoc upon the world. Sure enough, the evil kid winds up in the bosom of a Kennedyesque President of the United States.

Joyce Maynard, in a frenetic attack on *The Omen* in *Newsweek*, denounces it as an attack on children per se. In the first place, in a culture that is excessively and sentimentally child-centered, in which children are automatically considered good and any evil emanating from them blamed on their parents, it is a pleasure to see a correction of this one-sided picture. (Here *The Omen* follows in the honorable path of the *The Bad Seed* and *Lord of the Flies*.) And secondly, the whole point of fantasy fiction is to suspend disbelief in one crucial axiom; once that often bizarre axiom is accepted, the rest of the plot should follow logically. In *The Omen* that axiom is the Christian prediction of the birth of the Anti-Christ, which is here intimately intertwined with government. What better blend than fun and anti-State?

"It is reason that produces everything: virtue, genius, wit, talent, and taste. What is virtue? Reason in practice. Talent? Reason enveloped in glory. Wit? Reason which is chastely expressed. Taste is nothing else than reason delicately put in force, and genius is reason in its most sublime form." —

M. J. de Chenier (1806).

## Foreign Affairs

### PALESTINE

By Leonard P. Liggio

Following the official visit to the UN of PLO leader Yasir Arafat, and the historic UN vote on Israel's racism toward the Palestinians, Israel has made a monumental contribution to the victory of the PLO. There have been massive riots, with Israeli troops killing Palestinian students, in the past weeks. The result has been the resignations of the mayors and administrations of nine Palestinian cities in the Israeli-occupied areas in Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. These are traditionalist Palestinian leaders who have tried to cooperate with the Israeli occupiers. The younger generation has expressed its support for the PLO, and indicates the future direction of the politics of the Palestinians. If after 1967 the Israelis had returned the area to the other illegal occupier of Palestinian lands against the decisions of the UN, — the Jordanian monarchy, or set up the area as a Palestinian puppet under the traditional leaders, the PLO would have been very limited in its future. But Israel has planted colonies in the occupied lands and allowed "unofficial" colonies to be founded. The final blow has been the issue of the Haram es Sherif, the Temple Mount. This is the place that tradition says that Abraham offered to sacrifice Isaac. Following the stateless epoch of the Hebrews, they sought the conquest of cities from the Philistines and the establishment of political power about which they were warned in the Book of Samuel. A temple was established on the hill of Jerusalem, which became the political capital. The temple was built by the great trading, building and artistic people, the Phoenicians (the ancestors of the Carthaginians of North Africa). The temple was destroyed in 70 A.D. Since the seventh century it has been the third most important religious site in Islam as the Prophet ascended to heaven from there, in addition to Islam's veneration for Jesus and for Abraham, patriarch of Semites. During the Crusades it was a center of the Latin Kingdom and of the Knights Templar. Jewish rabbis forbade Jews to enter the Haram es Sherif as it was the site of the Holy of Holies which may be entered only by descendants of Aaron; for any other Jew to enter it is a desecration. However, Israeli secular nationalists entered the Haram es Sherif this year to sing pro-government songs. The Palestinian riots were the result.

The attempts to establish Israeli colonies in Arab areas and the issue of the Temple Mount coincided with Israel's attempt to hold local elections in the Arab area. Israel was hoping to manage the election so that a more cooperative local leadership would result. However, the Israeli settlement attempts have unified support around the PLO. In Christian Arab Bethlehem, the university students ran up PLO flags on the university. Heretofore, Christian Arabs have been much less activist than the Moslems. In the March, 1976 UN debate, the PLO delegate was permitted to participate (despite the negative vote of William Scranton) in the role of a "UN member". The PLO delegate compared the anti-Israel riots to "the glorious Warsaw ghetto uprising" against the Nazis in World War II. This reemphasized the fact that the problem of Israel is a creation of European peoples who forced Jews to go to Israel in the World War II period rather than permit them to settle in Europe or America. The previous participation of the PLO delegate in the Security Council was in January to discuss the resolution concerning Palestine. Based on the November 30, 1975 resolution, the UN affirmed: "(a) That the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its inalienable national right of self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state in Palestine in accordance with the charter of the United Nations; (b) The plight of the Palestinian refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors and the right of those choosing not to return to receive compensation for property; (c) That Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967; (d) That appropriate arrangements should be established to guarantee, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence within secure and recognized boundaries of all states in the area."

William Scranton in March UN debates called for the implementation of UN resolutions requiring an International Administration for Jerusalem, and noted that the Israeli colonizations were in violation of the Fourth

Geneva Convention. The debate was characterized by strong emphasis upon specific fulfillment of the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947 (which is the legal basis for Israel's existence) creating borders for the Israeli and for the Arab states in Palestine; Israel's three decades' violation of its basis for legal existence has been the basis of its outlaw status. Israel's friends have been trying to end that outlaw status by immediate restoration of the conditions of the November 29, 1947 resolution.

The 1947 UN actions on Palestine were rooted in the conditions which had developed during the British occupation. George Antonius, in *The Arab Awakening* (1946) noted: "Zionist colonisation involved the actual wiping out of villages and the eviction of their peasantry; that the money which the Zionists brought and the resulting prosperity - if real prosperity there were - did not make up in Arab eyes for the loss of all that a peasant holds dear and sacred in his village surroundings; that the peasants were defenceless against the process of dispossession and the legalized but relentless pressure that went with it; that the sense of helplessness against the inexorable advance of Zionist colonisation had led to obviously unpremeditated outbreaks on the part of a population who are by nature peaceful and hospitable to strangers, and was bound, if allowed to continue, to cause unpredictable losses in lives and property. They learnt from actual experience that the policy they were carrying through by sheer force was, for all the optimism in ministerial speeches and official reports, a policy which was in effect laying in stores of dynamite."

Antonius commented on the partition plan: "It runs counter to the lessons of history, the requirements of geography, the natural play of economic forces, and the ordinary laws of human behavior. It reproduces some of the most discredited and dangerous features of the Treaty of Versailles. It pays scant regard to the doctrine of consent. In drawing it up, the Commissioners appear to have overlooked that it is no more feasible to drive a peasantry from its soil than to impose an alien government upon an unwilling population, except by constant resort to force; and that the use of superior force to hold down a nationally-conscious people, while it may for a time achieve its immediate purpose, is bound sooner or later to defeat its own ends.

"One of the most prevalent misconceptions is that the trouble in Palestine is the result of an engineered agitation. It is variously attributed to the intrigues of the *effendi* class, to the political ambitions of the Grand Mufti, to the agents and subsidies of Italy and Germany, to Communist machinations; and the opinion is commonly expressed — and sometimes quite genuinely — that, had the Arab masses been left unmisguided to reap the full harvest of benefits brought to them by the mandate, there would have been no trouble. The blindness of that view is clear today. Former outbreaks have similarly been explained; but, after inquiry by one or other of the commissions appointed by the mandatory Power, the underlying causes had always been found to have lain in the profound attachment of the Arabs to their soil and their culture. The rebellion today is, to a greater extent than ever before, a revolt of villagers, and its immediate cause is the proposed scheme of Partition and, more particularly, that aspect of it which envisages that eventual displacement of a large Arab peasantry to make room for the immigrant citizens of the proposed Jewish state. The moving spirits in the revolt are not the nationalist leaders, most of whom are now in exile, but men of the working and agricultural classes who are risking their lives in what they believe to be the only way left to them of saving their homes and their villages. It is a delusion to regard it as the work of agitators, Arab or foreign. Political incitement can do much to fan the flames of discontent, but it can not keep a revolt active, month after month, in conditions of such violence and hardship.

"Far from its being engineered by the leaders, the revolt is in a very marked way a challenge to their authority and an indictment of their

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## The Education Grab

The public school establishment has fallen on hard times lately. First it was struck a body blow by the criticisms of its role as an instrument of racism, class stratification, capitalism, and bourgeois values; then it was hit from the opposite direction by Jencks and others claiming that schooling was ineffective in doing more than reinforcing existing socio-cultural values. Public education's traditional purpose as an instrument of social, economic and cultural manipulation was documented by revisionist historians like Joel Spring, Michael Katz and even by more moderate scholars like Timothy Smith; while the radical libertarian Ivan Illich urged the "deschooling" of modern society. Then struck the greatest threat of all; the end of the gravy train. Inflation, recession, increasing resistance to ever expanding school taxes, the collapse of cheap credit through public bond issues, all of these were quite suddenly dovetailed with the ultimate result of the zero population craze — an absolute decline in the number of children of school age. The child-oriented industries faced an inelastic market in decline, and for the first time since World War II, teachers at all levels of schooling began to feel the grim shadow of structural unemployment, a certainty for increasing numbers in the next decade.

The situation in New York State is likely to be a model for the rest of the nation. As each year passes, the enrollments have been declining in the lower levels; the decline is now rippling upward through the system, and will reach collegiate levels in the early 1980's when the Regents of the State University predict a drop of perhaps 25% in college enrollments before 1984-85. Add to the natural decrease in births, the steady losses through emigration from the old Northeastern states, people seeking lower taxes, more jobs, better climate and more livable environment in the "sunbelt" region, and one can foresee an irreversible decline in the schooling industry in the Northeastern region. The near bankruptcy of New York City, and of the State as well, has already compelled unprecedented cuts in school budgets, mass cutbacks in personnel, and sudden decreases in the numbers of students training to enter the teaching field. For teachers, potential teachers, administrators, and college faculties in pedagogy, the crisis has one obvious and chilling meaning: actual or potential redundancy in mid-career.

While no one ought to rejoice over another's troubles, libertarians will certainly feel little sympathy for the teaching profession's response to the evolving crisis in New York. They have responded to their economic decline in much the same fashion as so many other industries — they have turned to the States to bail them out in every way conceivable, short of increasing the birth rate by act of the legislature.

The most subtle and devious proposal, because it seems to cost so little in immediate expenditures, has just been unveiled by the Task Force on Teacher Education and Certification. The Task Force was the brainchild of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), the state-wide teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO and a tributary of the powerful and ambitious Albert Shanker, chief of the New York City United Federation of Teachers, the largest teachers' local in the labor movement. NYSUT's president, Thomas Hobart, reported to his constituents that fear that the State Regents might adopt the views of the national movement for "competency-based teacher education," and apply them to teacher education in New York, caused NYSUT to intervene in opposition to such developments. Hobart summarized NYSUT's successful intervention thus:

"One of the tenets of the original plan (for competency based teacher education) was to have life experience instead of a baccalaureate degree (as a qualification for certification). We were able to remove that. Another one was that a proficiency exam should be substituted for a baccalaureate degree. We were able to eliminate that. The evaluation of teacher competency was to be based on student performance, and we were able to eliminate that."

Following this victory, NYSUT and other special interest groups persuaded State Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist to appoint the Task Force on Teacher Education and Certification composed of 21 persons, all members of the education establishment except the

chairman, an attorney, Arnold Gardner, who was recommended for the position by NYSUT and was formerly president of the Buffalo School Board. Without the presence of anyone outside their own bailiwick, these educationists have now produced a preliminary report which has national implications.

If its recommendations are accepted by the New York State Regents and legislature, they will provide the needed model for similar action by educationists in other states.

What has been proposed? Nothing less than the creation of a system of licensing for teachers modelled on those of the other professions, law, medicine and accountancy. At the present time, the State department of education merely certifies teachers upon the recommendation of their various colleges and universities, based upon successful completion of specified courses of study and the granting of the baccalaureate degree. Though it still restricts hiring to those with the requisite degree, it is not particularly onerous as no further investigation is made into the potential

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## Foreign Affairs — (Continued From Page 5)

methods. The rebel chiefs lay the blame for the present plight of the peasantry on those Arab landowners who have sold their land, and they accuse the leaders of culpable neglect for failing to prevent the sales. The peasants have had no say in the great majority of the land transactions which have led to their eviction. The landowner who has the legal title disposes of the land at his discretion, and one of the provisions of the deed of sale is that the land is to be surrendered to the purchaser free from all occupants or rights of tenancy. The revolt is largely manned by the peasantry, that is to say by the people whose life and livelihood are on the soil but who have had no say whatever in its disposal; and their anger and violence are as much directed against the Arab landowners and brokers who have facilitated the sales as against the policy of the mandatory Power under whose aegis the transactions have taken place. The fact that some of these landowners have served on national Arab bodies makes them only more odious to the insurgent peasantry and has rendered it less amenable to the influence of the political leaders as a whole.

"In the first place, while it is true that Jewish capital and initiative have greatly contributed to the economic development of the country, to the enrichment of a number of Arab landowners and to a rise in the wages of Arab labour, it is also true that they have created new needs and new burdens. The public services called into being by the policy of the mandate — special services of public security, duplication rendered necessary by the imposition of Hebrew as an official language, swelling of the wages bill in public contracts solely in order to give employment to Jewish labour — have necessitated the setting up of an abnormally large and costly bureaucracy for such a small country, and the ear-marking of a considerable portion of the budget to unproductive expenditure. The establishment of Jewish industries, especially those which are artificial in the sense that they depend on raw materials imported from the outside, led to the imposition of protective tariffs and a consequent raise in the price of commodities. The rapid influx of population resulted in an abnormal rise in the cost of living everywhere, in the villages as well as in the towns. In the absence of full statistical data, it is impossible to tell to what extent the economic benefits have been offset by the corresponding burdens; but it is an undeniable fact, and one that is generally overlooked, that, save for the enrichment of a number of landowners and middlemen, the economic position of the Arab population as a whole, and more particularly that of the villages, is scarcely better or worse than it has been for generations."

"In the second place, the economic aspect is overshadowed by the moral and political issues. To the Arabs the problem is now essentially one of self-preservation . . . The disturbances have since assumed the character of a rebellion in which the leading part is played by peasants and labourers who, in despair, have resorted to violence as the only means left to them of resisting Partition." (George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, New York, Capricorn, 1965.)

# Russia!

By Justus D. Doenecke\*

Review of: Robert G. Kaiser, *Russia: The People and the Power* (New York: Atheneum, 1976, \$12.95)  
Hedrick Smith, *The Russians* (New York: Quadrangle, 1976, \$12.50)

In 1947 George F. Kennan wrote his famous "X" article, entitled "The Sources of Soviet Conduct." Here, in an essay mastered by generations of college students, the prominent diplomat claimed that Russia's tradition of absolutism, along with the new and militant ideology of Marxism-Leninism, had created an intolerant and isolated society. Kennan predicted, however, that Western containment would eventually lead to "the break-up or gradual mellowing of Soviet power." Because Russia's "tired and dispirited population" worked "largely under the shadow of fear and compulsion", their country remained economically vulnerable, and in some ways impotent.

One can now test Kennan's analysis. Few correspondents are better able to describe today's Russia than Hedrick Smith of the *New York Times* and Robert G. Kaiser of the *Washington Post*. Smith, co-editor of the *Pentagon Papers*, has won a Pulitzer for his Moscow coverage; Kaiser was given a correspondent's award in 1974 by the Overseas Press Club. Their books are extremely well-written, although Smith falls into an occasional cliché ("sauce to season the dry intellectual noodles") and Kaiser can jump too abruptly from one topic to another.

The authors pay few tributes to the planned society, at least to state planning as practiced in the USSR. The role of women are a case in point. Soviet boasting concerning female equality hides an oppression that would make the United States look like a NOW vision of utopia. Women in the USSR have the most low-paying and unskilled of all jobs, with many involved in physical labor.

Russian society frowns on candid discussion of sexuality, and the regime fosters marriage and large families. Many Russians, however, engage in pre-marital sex and find that budget and housing restrictions limit households to one child. Abortion is frequent, not because of any "liberation ethic," but because the supply of birth-control devices is limited. The much vaunted state nurseries give infants less care than they would receive at home; even respected Soviet scholars are voicing misgivings about group upbringing.

Both authors pay few compliments to Russia's centralized planning. The Five Year Plans, Smith and Kaiser admit, have modernized one of the most backward societies of the world, and have done so in less than five decades. Rigid adherence to longterm blueprints, however, has led to waste, featherbedding, doctored statistics, and lopsided development. The regime vigorously resists innovation, and one almost yearns for the economic world espoused by Milton Friedman, not to mention the more "hard core" Murray Rothbard, to whom the Friedmanian universe is like a timid sip of 3.2 beer.

Inefficiency is so great that even New Zealand and the Arab states rank ahead in per capita output. Goods are often too shabby to be sold on Western markets. Contrary to legend, laborers have little work ethic and take no pride in craftsmanship. Few Russians want to work in Siberia, a region rich in oil, gas, and other minerals; it is too bleak, too cold, too primitive for all but transient youth.

Collective farming is another sore point. Despite the rigorously collectivized agriculture, nearly 30 per cent of farm output is grown on private plots. Ironically, it is these free enterprise markets that help keep Russians alive. Crop yield is low, mechanization primitive, fertilizer and seeds poorly distributed. Much rural life remains shabby, drab, and isolated, with millions living at poverty level. The basic wages for collective farmers lag far behind those earned by factory workers.

Not all production problems lie in farm and industry, for science and technology reflect a most uneven development. The Soviet Union has more scientists than any other nation. Its physicists and mathematicians are among the world's most brilliant, and Russians have done significant work in steelmaking, electronic generators, and magneto-hydrodynamics. However, they have made little contribution to such fields as organic chemistry and biology. Kaiser shows that their

publicized space exploits draw attention from serious technological gaps: they never had the resources to fly to the moon, much less conduct extensive experiments outside the earth's surface. Here again, it is the closed nature of Soviet society that prevents the Russians from having the freedom they need.

Education shows up the same gap, indeed chasm, between rhetoric and reality. True the USSR has moved close to full literacy, but even over half its adults still have not advanced beyond the seventh grade. At an early age, poorer students are shunted off to vocational schools, a device that often preserves the class structure of Soviet society. The Soviets stress rote-learning and drill, with much time devoted to "patriotism" and "Lenin-worship." American scholars impressed with the "collective responsibility" Russian children take for each other merely betray their naivete, for the Soviet classroom has institutionalized a system of tattling.

The fact that many dissenters seek "real communism" and genuine "worker control" makes little difference: they want freedom of expression and hence constitute a threat to Russia's leaders. Both authors have superb accounts of writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn and scientist Andrei Sakharov, with Smith showing the provocative novelist as a man who hopes to restore Russia to its pre-industrial, Orthodox, isolated days.

The regime still fosters atheism, and does so aggressively. Some 30 million Russians, however, are believers — twice the number of Communist party members. True, religious observance can lead to professional setbacks and the Orthodox church faces many state restraints. In small towns, however, the priest is still a central figure and many members of the intelligentsia have turned to the church as a haven.

The status of some three million Soviet Jews remains in limbo. After the Revolution of 1917, Yiddish culture enjoyed a renaissance and some Jews, such as Trotsky, had extremely important positions. Stalin's anti-Jewish purges gave way to a far milder but pervasive anti-Semitism, one that included quotas in schools and colleges and the professions, and Judaism as a religion is dying. Yet, even now, Jews have succeeded far out of proportion to their members, particularly in the creative arts, and Smith claims that the renewed sense of Jewish nationalism "seemed less a zealous devotion to Israel than a drive for self-affirmation in Soviet life after decades of self-denial."

Smith and Kaiser devote much space to the ruling elite, a group that lives as a privileged class. The group can maintain substantial villas in the countryside, shop in special stores, watch foreign films forbidden to the rest of the population, and help their children get admitted to universities. If the ruling elite is not a monolithic group, it has still been able to maintain a united front. Cronyism, not ideological struggle, is the earmark of the leadership, and there are Russians who yearn for another Stalin to cut through the bureaucratic arrogance.

Ideology serves as a tool of the Kremlin's power brokers, and an individual can ignore it so long as he presents no open challenge. The dream of a "new Soviet man", unselfish and devoted, is contradicted daily publicized accounts of greed and scandal. "Don't make waves" appears to be the earmark of the ambitious functionary or "apparatchik," for promotion goes to the steady and unimaginative. Indeed, it is frequently the petty bureaucrats, self-appointed busybodies, who most erode the human spirit. Smith writes, "Soviet life often resembles living full time in the Army." The system is designed to bring out the worst, not the best, in people. Reform would necessitate decentralization, which in turn would make party control of the nation most precarious.

Only Kaiser systematically discusses foreign policy. The West, he says, has continually exaggerated Russia's military strength, while ignoring its

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## Education Grab — (Continued From Page 6)

teacher's competency or his particular educational philosophy. Also, certification is required only for employees of the public schools, and does not even extend to those employed by the New York City public system which has more onerous requirements including written and oral examinations for certification.

The new plan for licensing would make teaching a licensed profession. In Hobart's immortal words: "The greatest strength of a license is that in the licensed profession those who practice without a license go to jail." He is quite frank about this. No one will teach in New York without the permission of the profession's licensing board. That extends the state's power over public school teachers to those in private and parochial schools as well. It will also make it difficult for those coming from other states to qualify for employment in New York. It will inevitably restrict the potential supply of new teachers and thus support demands for higher wages and benefits. Under the guise of making a profession, the Task Force hopes to create a monopoly over labor supply.

Hopefully, this professionalization will create a new "criminal class" — the unlicensed teacher, restoring to us the historic days of 18th century Ireland where the penal laws forbade, under threat of deportation, any unlicensed teacher to instruct the children of Catholics. The Catholic response, the profession's response, was the "hedge school master", the man who risked his life and fortune to instruct children in the ditches and behind the hedges of rural Ireland, out of sight of the magistrate.

The new licensing will demand at least two requirements to be met: first, potential licensees must serve a one year's internship in a public school under the tutelage of a master teacher, and be responsible for a restricted, small number of students. For this he will be paid a salary, and if his evaluation is satisfactory, he will presumably be granted a license. This doubles the time of the present internship, makes it mandatory for all, and shifts the cost from the intern to the taxpayer. But with increasing pressure for cost efficiency, how many schools will wish to take on the burden of such costly internships? Probably few, reducing the opportunity of potential teachers to fulfill the license requirements. As in the skilled trades, internships will probably become valued legacies from fathers to sons, or mothers to daughters. The politicization of access to the profession is bound to become more flagrant.

A second requirement will be success in passing an examination in both pedagogy and subject matter. Hobart's premise in demanding an examination in pedagogy is that it is "a body of knowledge which can be systematically categorized and learned." But this claim is ludicrous! There is hardly any area of pedagogical theory which is not marked by the presence of conflicting paradigms. As a science, pedagogy is a shambles of contrary theories. As an art, it has successfully been practiced by many highly talented artisans, and even has known a few genuine

geniuses. But the notion that one can categorize it for purposes of examination to test competency is likely to impose an orthodoxy unjustified by the nature of the art. The professionalization of teaching through examination makes as much sense as the professionalization of painting, sculpting, or salesmanship through qualifying examinations in these arts.

Finally, the Task Force has recommended the creation of a board to regulate the "practices" of the "profession," analogous to such regulatory boards in other licensed professions. While just what practices of teachers might constitute malpractice is left very vague, the Task Force chairman has noted that the board would almost certainly require continuing in-service training for teachers to upgrade the quality of the profession. Thus, the license would not be permanent, but presumably subject to periodic renewal, with those teachers uncooperative in undergoing further "upgrading" subject to loss of employment. In addition to the tremendous monopoly of power, and the control over individual teachers such a board would exercise, teachers would become a captive market for the declining schools of education, thus providing a continuing job cushion for the faculties of graduate level education departments. Needless to say, the board would be composed solely of "professionals" nominated by specified categories of professional associations, and thus not subject to control by laymen or even public officials.

This plan is just the product of a preliminary report; in the fall further "reforms" will be forthcoming. Friends of liberty and lovers of learning will need to organize in every state at the first sign of the spread of this latest manifestation of monopoly and the unholy alliance of the special interest group and the State. It will be a difficult and crucial struggle. The issues are basic; the forces agitating for licensing are politically powerful and financially strong. What role will libertarians play in the ensuing battle? 

J. R. P.

## Russia! — (Continued From Page 7)

economic and technological failings. He stresses that the USSR is still living under the same "siege mentality" it first experienced in 1917; hence it seeks not so much to advance the cause of communism as to protect its own autocracy. It realizes that it cannot compete economically with the Western powers for Third World allegiance and is now finding the Arab nations singularly ungrateful. Detente reduces arms competition with the West while legitimizing the Soviet empire.

The Washington Post correspondent warns that Russia is "anxious to do us ill" but claims that the United States has the resources to cope effectively. George F. Kennan's prediction of Soviet decay appears farther away than ever; in the meantime, it is foolish to exaggerate Russian strength.

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## The State As An Immoral Teacher

by Ouida

**Editor's Note:** Marie Louise Ramé, who wrote under the penname of her lifelong nickname "Ouida", was a prominent English writer of many romantic and sometimes scandalous novels in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Most of her life she lived in her beloved Italy. It was little realized at the time, and certainly forgotten since, that Ouida was a hard-hitting and thoroughgoing libertarian; in middle-age, during the 1890's, she wrote lucid libertarian articles, of which the following, published in the *North American Review*, Volume 153, pages 193-204, was one of her finest. In "The State as an Immoral Teacher" we find Ouida's lucid and impassioned hatred of the State as the eternal oppressor of the individual, and her intertwined belief in both the civil liberty and the property rights of the individual is both clearly and nobly expressed. Her trenchant opposition to what most people concede to be a legitimate duty of the State — compulsory vaccination — takes on important modern overtones in these days of trumped up government hysteria over the "swine flu" scare. The one place where a modern libertarian would disagree is Ouida's going so far as to defend a degree of parental child abuse, but this is surely a minor blot on Ouida's libertarian escutcheon.

The tendency of the last years of the nineteenth century is toward increase in the powers of the state and decrease in the powers of the individual citizen. Whether the government of a country be at this moment nominally free, or whether it be avowedly despotic, whether it be an empire, a republic, a constitutional monarchy, or a self-governing and neutralized principality, the actual government is a substitution of state machinery for individual choice and individual liberty. In Serbia, in Bulgaria, in France, in Germany, in England, in America, in Australia, anywhere you will, the outward forms of government differ widely, but beneath all there is the same interference of the state with personal volition, the same obligation for the individual to accept the dictum of the state in lieu of his own judgment. The only difference is that such a pretension is natural and excusable in an autocracy: in a constitutional or republican state it is an anomaly, even an absurdity. But whether it be considered admirable or accursed, the fact is conspicuous that every year adds to the pretensions and powers of the state, and every year diminishes the personal freedom of the man.

To whatever the fact be traceable, it is there; and it is probably due to the increase of a purely doctrinaire education, which with itself increases the number of persons who look upon humanity as a drill-sergeant looks upon battalions of conscripts: the battalions must learn to move mechanically in masses, and no single unit of them must be allowed to murmur or to fall out of the ranks. That this conscript or that may be in torture all the while matters nothing whatever to the drill-sergeant. That what would have been an excellent citizen makes a rebellious or

inefficient conscript is not his business either: he only requires a battalion which moves with mechanical precision. The state is but a drill-sergeant on a large scale, with a whole nationality marched out on the parade-ground.

Whatever were in other respects the evils attendant on other ages that this, those ages were favorable to the development of individuality, and therefore of genius. The present age is opposed to such development; and the more the state manipulates the man, the more completely will individuality and originality be destroyed. The state requires a military machine in which there is no hitch, an exchequer in which there is never a deficit, and a public monotonous, obedient, colorless, spiritless, moving unanimously and humbly like a flock of sheep along a straight high road between two walls. That is the ideal of every bureaucracy; and what is the state except a crystallized bureaucracy? It is the habit of those who uphold the despotism of government to speak as though it were some impersonal entity, some unerring guide, some half-divine thing like the pillar of fire which the Israelites imagined conducted them in their exodus. In actual fact, the state is only the executive; representing the momentary decisions of a majority which is not even at all times a genuine majority, but is in frequent cases a fabricated and fictitious preponderance, artificially and arbitrarily produced. There can be nothing noble, sacred, or unerring in such a majority: in the right, it is fallible and fallacious; it may be in the right, it may be in the wrong; it may light by accident on wisdom, or it may plunge by panic into folly. There is nothing in its origin or its construction which can render it imposing in the sight of an intelligent and high-spirited man. But the mass of men are not intelligent and not high-spirited, and so the incubus which lies on them through it they support as the camel his burden, sweating beneath it at every pore. The state is the empty cap of Gessler, to which all but Tell consent to bow.

It has been made a reproach to the centuries preceding this one that in them privilege occupied the place of law; but, though privilege was capricious and often unjust, it was always elastic, sometimes benignant: law — civil law, such as the state frames and enforces — is never elastic and is never benignant. It is an engine which rolls on its own iron lines, and crushes what it finds opposed to it, without any regard to the excellence of what it may destroy.

The nation, like the child, becomes either brutalized by over-drilling, or emasculated by having all its actions and opinions continually prescribed for it. It is to be doubted whether any precautions or any system could compass what the state in many countries is now endeavoring to do, by regulation and prohibition, to prevent the spread of

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infectious maladies. But it is certain that the nervous terrors inspired by state laws and by-laws beget a malady of the mind more injurious than the bodily ills which so absorb the state. Whether Pasteur's inoculation for rabies be a curse or a boon to mankind, there can be no question that the exaggerated ideas which it creates, the fictitious importance which it lends to what was previously a most rare malady, the nightmare horrors it invokes, and the lies which its propagandists, to justify its pretences, find themselves compelled to invent, produce a dementia and hysteria in the public mind which is a disease far more widespread and dangerous than mere rabies (unassisted by science and government) could ever have become.

The dissemination of cowardice is a greater evil than would be the increase of any physical ill whatever. To direct the minds of men in nervous terror to their own bodies is to make of them a trembling and shivering pack of prostrate poltroons. The microbe may or may not exist; but the nervous terrors generated in the microbe's name are worse evils than any bacillus. It is the physiologist's trade to increase these terrors; he lives by them, and by them alone has his being; but when the state takes his crotchets and quackeries in earnest and forces them upon the public as law, the effect is physically and mentally disastrous. The cholera as a disease is bad enough, but worse than itself by far are the brutal egotism, the palsied terror, the convulsive agonies, with which it is met and which the state in all countries does so much to increase. Fear alone kills five-tenths of its victims, and during its latest visitation in the streets of Naples people would spring up from their seats, shriek that they had cholera, and fall dead in convulsions caused by sheer panic, whilst in many country places the villagers fired on railway trains which they imagined might carry the dreaded malady amongst them. This kind of panic cannot be entirely controlled by any state, but it might be mitigated by judicious moderation, instead of being, as it is, intensified and hounded on by the press, the physiologists, and the governments all over the known world.

The state has already passed its cold, hard, iron-plated arms between the parent and the offspring, and is daily dragging and forcing them asunder. The old moral law may say, "Honor your father and mother," etc., etc., but the state says, on the contrary: "Leave your mother ill and untended whilst you attend to your own education; and summon your father to be fined and imprisoned if he dare lay a hand on you when you disgrace and deride him." The other day a workingman in London was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment with hard labor, because being justly angry with his little girl for disobeying his orders and staying out night after night in the streets, he struck her twice with a leathern strap, and she was "slightly bruised." The man asked pertinently what was the world coming to if a parent might not correct his child as he thought fit. What can be the relations of this father and daughter when he leaves the prison to which she sent him? What authority can he have in her sight? What obedience will he be able to exact from her? The bruises from the strap would soon pass away, but the rupture, by the sentence of the tribunal, of parental and filial ties can never be healed. The moral injury done to the girl by this interference of the state is irreparable, ineffaceable. The state has practically told her that disobedience is no offense, and has allowed her to be the accuser and jailer of one who, by another canon of law, is said to be set in authority over her both by God and man.

The moral and the civil law alone decree and enforce the inviolability of property: anything which is the property of another, be it but of the value of a copper coin, cannot be taken by you without your becoming liable to punishment as a thief. This, by the general consent of mankind, has been esteemed correct, just, and necessary. But the state breaks this law, derides it, rides rough-shod over it, when for its own purposes it requires the property of a private person: it calls the process by various names — condemnation, expropriation, annexation, etc.; but it is seizure, violent seizure, and essentially seizure against the owner's will. If a man enter your kitchen-garden and take a few onions or a few potatoes, you can seize, prosecute, and imprison him: the state takes the whole garden, and turns you out of it, and turns it into anything else which for the moment seems to the state excellent or advantageous, and against the impersonal robber you can do naught. The state considers it compensation enough to pay an arbitrary value; but not only are there many possessions, notably in land, for the loss of which no equivalent could reconcile us, but the state herein sets up a

principle which is never accorded in law. If the man who steals the onions offers to pay their value, he is not allowed to do so, nor is the owner of the onions allowed to accept such compensation: it is called "compounding a felony." The state alone may commit this felony with impunity.

The state continually tampers with and tramples on private property, taking for itself what and where and how it pleases: the example given to the public is profoundly immoral. The plea put forth in excuse for its action by the state is that of public benefit: the interests of the public cannot, it avers, be sacrificed to private interest or ownership or rights of any sort. But herein it sets up a dangerous precedent. The man who steals the potatoes might argue in his own justification that it is better in the interest of the public that one person should lose a few potatoes than that another person should starve for want of them, and so either in prison or in poorhouse become chargeable to the nation. If private rights and the sacredness of property can be set at naught by the state for its own purposes, they cannot be logically held to be sacred in its courts of law for any individual. The state claims immunity for theft on the score of convenience: so then may the individual.

If the civil law be in conflict with and contradiction of religious law, as had been shown elsewhere, \* it is none the less in perpetual opposition to moral law and to all the finer and more generous instincts of the human soul. It preaches egotism as the first duty of man, and studiously inculcates cowardice as the highest wisdom. In its strenuous endeavor to cure physical ills it does not heed what infamies it may sow broadcast in the spiritual fields of the mind and heart. It treats altruism as criminal when altruism means indifference to the contagion of any infectious malady. The precautions enjoined in any such malady stripped bare of their pretences, really mean the naked selfishness of the *saue qui peut*. The pole-axe used on the herd which has been in contact with another herd infected by pleuro-pneumonia or anthrax would be used on the human herd suffering from typhoid, or small-pox, or yellow fever, or diphtheria, if the state had the courage to follow out its own teachings to their logical conclusions. Who shall say that it will not be so used some day in the future, when increase of population shall have made mere numbers of trifling account, and the terrors excited by physiologists of ungovernable force?

We have gained little by the emancipation of human society from the tyranny of the churches if in its stead we substitute the tyranny of the state. One may as well be burned at the stake as compelled to submit to the prophylactic of Pasteur or the lymph of Koch. When once we admit that the law should compel vaccination for small-pox, there is no logical reason for refusing to admit that the law shall enforce any infusion or inoculation which its chemical and medical advisors may suggest to it.

On the first day of May, 1890, a French surgeon, M. Lannelongue, had a little imbecile child in his hospital; he fancied that he should like to try trepanning on the child as a cure for imbecility. In the words of the report:

"Il taillait la suture sagittale et parallèlement avec elle une longue et étroite incision crânienne depuis la suture frontale à la suture occipitale; il en resulta pour la partie osseuse une perte de substance longue de 9 centimetres et large de 6 millimetres, et il en resulta pour le cerveau un véritable débridement."

If this child live, and be no longer imbecile, the parents of all idiots will presumably be compelled by law to submit their children to this operation of trepanning and excision. Such a law would be the only logical issue of existing hygienic laws.

In the battlefield the state requires from its sons the most unflinching fortitude; but in civil life it allows them, even bids them, to be unblushing poltroons.

An officer, being sent out by the English War Office this year to fill a distinguished post in Hong Kong, was ordered to be vaccinated before going to it; and the vaccination was made a condition of the appointment. In this instance a man thirty years old was thought worthy of confidence and employment by the state, but such a fool or babe in his own affairs that he could not be trusted to look after his own health. You cannot make a human character fearful and nervous, and then call upon it for the highest

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\* See article "Has Christianity Failed?" — NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, February, 1891.

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qualities or resolve, or capacity, and of courage. You cannot coerce and torment a man, and then expect from him intrepidity, presence of mind, and ready invention in perilous moments.

A few years ago nobody thought it a matter of the slightest consequence to be bitten by a healthy dog; as a veterinary surgeon has justly said, a scratch from a rusty nail or the jagged tin of a sardine-box is much more truly dangerous than a dog's tooth. Yet in the last five years the physiologists and the state, which in all countries protects them, have succeeded in so inoculating the public mind with senseless terrors that even the accidental touch of a puppy's lips or the kindly lick of his tongue throws thousands of people into an insanity of fear. Dr. Bell has justly said: "Pasteur does not cure rabies: he creates it." In like manner the state does not cure either folly or fear: it creates both.

The state is the enemy of all volition in the individual: hence it is the enemy of all manliness, of all force, of all independence, and of all originality. The exigencies of the state, from its monstrous taxation to its irritating by-laws, are in continual antagonism with all those who have character uncowed and vision unobscured. Under the terrorizing generic term of law, the state cunningly, and for its own purposes, confounds its own petty regulations and fiscal exactions with the genuine solemnity of moral and criminal laws. The latter any man who is not a criminal will feel bound to respect; the former no man who has an opinion and courage of his own will care to observe. Trumpery police and municipal regulations are merged by the ingenuity of the state into a nominal identity with genuine law; and for all its purposes, whether of social tyranny or of fiscal extortion, the union is to the state as useful as it is fictitious. The state has everywhere discovered that it is lucrative and imposing to worry and fleece the honest citizen; and everywhere it shapes its civil code, therefore, mercilessly and cunningly towards this end.

Under the incessant meddling of government and its offspring, bureaucracy, the man becomes poor of spirit and helpless. He is like a child who, never being permitted to have its own way, has no knowledge of taking care of itself or of avoiding accidents. As, here and there, a child is of rare and strong enough stuff to break his leading-strings, and grows, when recaptured, dogged and sullen, so are there men who resist the dogma and dictation of the state, and when coerced and chastised become rebels to its rules. The petty tyrannies of the state gall and fret them at every step; and the citizen who is law-abiding, so far as the greater moral code is concerned, is stung and whipped into continual contumacy by the impertinent interference of the civil code with his daily life.

Why should a man fill up a census-return, declare his income to a tax-gatherer, muzzle his dog, send his children to schools he disapproves, ask permission of the state to marry, or do perpetually what he dislikes or condemns, because the state wishes him to do these things? When a man is a criminal, the state has a right to lay hands on him; but whilst he is innocent of all crime his opinions and his objections should be respected. There may be many reasons — harmless or excellent reasons — why publicity about his life is offensive or injurious to him: what right has the state to pry into his privacy and force him to write its details in staring letters for all who run to read? The state only teaches him to lie.

"You ask me things that I have no right to tell you," replied Jeanne d'Arc to her judges. So may the innocent man, tormented by the state, reply to the state, which has no business with his private life until he has made it forfeit by a crime.

The moment that the state leaves the broad lines of public affairs to meddle with the private interests and actions of its people, it is compelled to enlist in its service spies and informers. Without these it cannot make up its long lists of transgressions; it cannot know whom to summon and what to prosecute.

That duplicity which is in the Italian character, so universally ingrained there that the noblest natures are tainted by it, — a duplicity which makes entire confidence impossible, and secrecy an instinct strong as life, — can be philosophically trained to the influences which the constant dread of the sbirri and spie employed under their various governments for so many centuries has left upon their national temperament. Dissimulation, so long made necessary, has become part and parcel of the essence of their being. Such secretiveness is the

inevitable product of domestic espionage and trivial interference from the state, as the imposition of a gate-tax makes the peasantry who pass the gate ingenious in concealment and in subterfuge.

The requisitions and regulations of the state dress themselves vainly in the pomp of law; they set themselves up side by side with moral law; but they are not it, and cannot possess its impressiveness. Even a thief will acknowledge that "Thou shalt not steal" is a just and solemn commandment: but that to carry across a frontier, without declaring it, a roll of tobacco (which you honestly bought, and which is strictly your own) is also a heinous crime, both common-sense and conscience refuse to admit. The Irish peasant could never be brought to see why the private illicit whiskey-still was illicit, and as such was condemned and destroyed, and the convictions which followed its destruction were amongst the bitterest causes of Irish disaffection. A man caught in the act of taking his neighbor's goods knows that his punishment is deserved; but a man punished for using or enjoying his own is filled with chafing rage against the injustice of his lot. Between a moral law and a fiscal or municipal or communal imposition or decree, there is as much difference as there is between a living body and a galvanized corpse. When in a great war a nation is urged by high appeal to sacrifice its last ounce of gold, its last shred of treasure, to save the country, the response is willingly made from patriotism; but when the revenue officer and the taxgatherer demand, threaten, fine, and seize, the contributor can only feel the irritating impoverishment of such a process, and yields his purse reluctantly. Electoral rights are considered to give him a compensating share in the control of public expenditure; but this is mere fiction: he may disapprove in every item the expenditure of the state; he cannot alter it.

Tolstói has constantly affirmed that there is no necessity for any government anywhere: it is not a government, but all governments, on which he wages war. He considers that all are alike corrupt, tyrannical, and opposed to a fine and free ideal of life. It is certain that they are not "the control of the fittest" in any actual sense, for the whole aspect of public life tends every year more and more to alienate from it those whose capacity and character are higher than those of their fellows: it becomes more and more a routine, an engrenage, a trade.

From a military, as from a financial, point of view this result is of advantage to the government, whether it be imperial or republican; but it is hostile to the character of a nation, morally and aesthetically. In its best aspect, the state is like a parent who seeks to play Providence to his offspring, to foresee and ward off all accident and all evil, and to provide for all possible contingencies, bad and good. As the parent inevitably fails in doing this, so the state fails, and must fail, in such a task.

Strikes, with their concomitant evils, are only another form of tyranny; but they have this good in them — that they are opposed to the tyranny of the state, and tend to lessen it by the unpleasant shock which they give to its self-conceit and self-complacency. Trades-unions turn to their own purposes the lesson which the state has taught them — i. e., a brutal sacrifice of individual will and welfare to a despotic majority.

There is more or less truth and justification in all revolutions because they are protests against bureaucracy. When they are successful, they abjure their own origin and become in their turn the bureaucratic tyranny, sometimes modified, sometimes exaggerated, but always tending towards reproduction of that which they destroyed. And the bureaucratic influence is always immoral and unwholesome, were it only in the impatience which it excites in all courageous men and the apathy to which it reduces all those who are without courage. Its manifold and emasculating commands are to all real strength as the cords in which Gulliver was bound by the pygmies.

The state only aims at instilling those qualities in its public by which its demands are obeyed and its exchequer is filled. Its highest attainment is the reduction of mankind to clockwork. In its atmosphere all those finer and more delicate liberties which require liberal treatment and spacious expansion inevitably dry up and perish. Take a homely instance. A poor, hard-working family found a little stray dog; they took it in, sheltered, fed it, and attached themselves to it; it was in one of the streets of London; the police after a time summoned them for keeping a dog without a license; the woman, who was a widow, pleaded that she had taken it out of pity, that they had tried to lose it, but that it always came back to them; she was ordered to pay the amount of the dog-tax and two guineas'

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## The State —

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costs; i.e., the state said to her: "Charity is the costliest of indulgencies; you are poor; you have no right to be humane." The lesson given by the state was the vilest and meanest which could be given. The woman's children, growing up, will remember that she was ruined for being kind; they will harden their hearts, in accordance with the lesson; if they become brutal to animals and men, it is the state which will have made them so.

All the state's edicts in all countries inculcate similar egotism; generosity is in its sight a lawless and unlawful thing: it is so busied in urging the use of disinfectants and ordering the destruction of buildings and of beasts, the exile of families and the closing of drains, that it never sees the logical issue of its injunctions, which is to leave the sick man alone and flee from his infected vicinity: it is so intent on insisting on the value of state education that it never perceives that it is enjoining on the child to advance itself at any cost and leave its procreators in their hovel. The virtues of self-sacrifice, of disinterested affection, of humanity, of self-effacement, are nothing to it; by its own form of organism it is debarred from even admiring them; they come in its way; they obstruct it; it destroys them.

Mr. Ruskin, in one of the papers of his *Fors Clavigera*, speaks of an acacia tree, young and beautiful, green as acacias only are green in Venice, where no dust ever is; it grew beside the water steps of the Academy of the Arts and was a morning and evening joy to him. One day he found a man belonging to the municipality cutting it down root and branch. "Why do you murder that tree?" he asked. The man replied "Per far pulizia" (to clean the place). The acacia and the municipality of Venice are an allegory of the human soul and its controller, the state. The acacia was a thing of grace and verdure, a sunrise and sunset pleasure to a great soul; it had fragrance in its white blossoms and shade in its fair branches; it fitly accompanied the steps which lead to the feasts of Carpaccio and the pageants of Gian. Bellini. But in the sight of the Venetian municipality it was irregular and unclean. So are all the graces and greenness of the human soul to the state, which merely requires a community taxpaying, decree-obeying, passionless, enduring as the ass, meek as the lamb, with neither will nor wishes; a featureless humanity practising the goose-step in eternal routine and obedience.

When the man has become a passive creature, with no will of his own, taking the military yoke unquestioningly, assigning his property, educating his family, holding his tenures, ordering his daily life, in strict accord with the regulations of the state, he will have his spirit and his individuality annihilated, and he will, in compensation to himself, be brutal to all those over whom he has power. The cowed conscript of Prussia becomes the hectoring bully of Alsace.\*

\*Whoever may care to study the brutal treatment of conscripts and soldiers in Germany by their officers is referred to the revelations published this year by Kurt Abel and Captain Miller, both eye-witnesses of these tortures.

"*Libera chiesa in libero stato*" is the favorite stock phrase of Italian politicians; but it is an untruth — nay, an impossibility — not only in Italy, but in the whole world. The Church cannot be liberal because liberality stultifies itself; the state cannot be liberal because its whole existence is bound up with dominion. In all the political schemes which exist now, working themselves out in actuality, or proposed as a panacea to the world, there is no true liberality; there is only a choice between despotism and anarchy. In religious institutions it is the same: they are all egotisms in disguise. Socialism wants what it calls equality; but its idea of equality is to cut down all tall trees that the brushwood may not feel itself overtopped. Plutocracy, like its almost extinct predecessor, aristocracy, wishes, on the other hand, to keep all the brushwood low, so that it may grow above it at its own pace and liking. Which is the better of the two?

Civil liberty is the first quality of a truly free life; and in the present age the tendency of the state is everywhere to admit this in theory; but to deny it in practice. To be able to go through the comedy of the voting-urn is considered privilege enough to atone for the loss of civil and moral freedom in all other things. If it be true that a nation has the government which it deserves to have, then the merits of all the nations are small

indeed. With some the state assumes the guise of a police officer, and in others of a cuirassier, and in others of an attorney; but in all it is a despot issuing its petty laws with the pomp of Jove; thrusting its truncheon, or its sword, or its quill into the heart of domestic life, and breaking the backbone of the man who has spirit enough to resist it. The views of the state are like those of the Venetian municipality concerning the acacia. Its one aim is a methodical, monotonous, mathematically-measured regularity: it admits of no expansion; it tolerates no exceptions; of beauty it has no consciousness; of any range beyond that covered by its own vision it is ignorant. It may work on a large scale,—even on an enormous scale,—but it cannot work on a great one. Greatness can be the offspring alone of volition and of genius: it is everywhere the continual effort of the state to coerce the one and to suffocate the other. □

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# Cold War Revisionism

by Walter E. Grinder

A REVIEW ESSAY *Architects of Illusion: Men and Ideas in American Foreign Policy 1941-1949* by Lloyd C. Gardner (Quadrangle, 365 pp.) and *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy 1943-1945* by Gabriel Kolko (Random House, 685 pp.)

The interwoven dynamics of war, revolution and economic hegemony have been the supreme animating forces of Twentieth Century history. Unfortunately it is these very dynamics which are among the least understood by academics and laymen alike. A moment's pause for reflection helps us to understand why it is so difficult, in general, to piece together the pattern of meaning which flows from these animating forces; and why, in particular, it has proven so difficult to grasp the significance of these dynamics in the post-World War II period.

Very simply, the answer lies in the veil of governmental secrecy, myth, and propaganda that surrounds all governmental war-making and counter-revolutionary activity. The task of the historian is to cut through this veil and to attempt to reconstruct the truth concerning how and why the pattern of events emerged as it did. The role of the historian is therefore at once both the most difficult and the most important of all the social disciplines. It is the historian upon whom we all must depend to stand as the cutting edge in the process of demystification, in the process of seeking out the truth.

In the post-Watergate, post-Pentagon Papers era, it should be evident why historians have had such difficulty finding and putting together the pieces. Because the Second World War and the immediate post-war activities were shrouded in almost total "national security" secrecy, it has been a particularly long and arduous task to get the truth out. But although the truth has emerged only haltingly, the bits and pieces slowly but convincingly have been fitted together over the past twenty years.

The capstone of these two decades of work can be found in these two impressive and complementary volumes — *Architects of Illusion* by Lloyd C. Gardner and *The Politics of War* by Gabriel Kolko. The years covered in these volumes — 1941-1949 — are the crucial years, the years which must be understood if one is to grasp the essential nature of the Cold War.

It is impossible to touch on all or even most of the important insights of these detailed works, but there are three major themes which tie these works together and on which we will focus our attention. Hopefully by doing this, we can get to the roots of their combined thesis without doing an injustice to either of these excellent works.

First, there was the desire of United States policy makers to build a stable world political-economic order. The United States' attempt to dominate and maintain the economic system of a reconstructed "capitalist" order to be built out of the post-war rubble was to become an all-consuming passion of both wartime and post-war American policy.

Second, there were the ill-fated aspirations of the forces of change which emerged during the war. Most of these forces grew out of the Resistance against the various authoritarian regimes. They were the forces of the Left.

Third, the combustible truth was that the reality of the second rendered the wishes of the first both obsolescent and illusory from the very beginning. Plans, policies and institutions based on a vision of the world in which the United States was to dominate, even if not absolutely control, and which did not include the nationalist and liberationist aspirations of a changing world were bound to lead to endless friction and frustrated hopes and dreams.

## II

The twin economic fears which haunted United States policy makers throughout the war years were (1) the continuing depression and (2) the deterioration of international trade that had taken place during the 1930's. These policy makers were determined that the world economy must not fall back into the malaise of the 1930's. In order to stave off such a

recurrence, the United States leaders were convinced that they had to build an open world, i.e., a world congenial to American trade and investment. Only through increased foreign trade and investment could the United States insure itself and the world against continued depression. This Hobsonian belief was the determining economic premise which guided American political-economic policy both during and after the war.

After the breakdown of the 19th Century liberal order, a breakdown that occurred mainly due to World War I and the center of which was the collapse of the international gold standard, the international market fractured and ultimately divided into self-contained trading blocs. The co-Prosperity Sphere in Asia and the German domination of Central Europe were two such blocs which grew strong during the 1930's. Both of these were to be eliminated by the defeat of Japan and Germany. Two others which grew out of the aftermath of the Great War were the Ottawa Preference System (the Sterling Bloc) i.e. "western Capitalism" minus the United States, and finally there was the closed Soviet Union. A crazy, inefficient world to be sure. More importantly though, it was an international "system" which had effectively frustrated the global aspirations of the American one-world planners from Woodrow Wilson onward.

After 1943, when it became apparent that Germany and Japan were going to be defeated, the United States political-economic leadership began planning in earnest for the restructuring of the post-war world. This included, among many other things, plans for toppling the Sterling Bloc and for de-bolshevizing the Soviet Union.

Under the direction of William L. Clayton, the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and not merely incidentally one of the country's leading exporters as head of Clayton and Anderson Company, the post-war loan to England was calculated to take advantage of Great Britain's distressed financial condition in order to achieve several specific goals. The first was to break down the exclusionist provisions against American trade participation within the Ottawa Preference System. The second was to offset the English drive for postwar exports, a drive which clearly competed with America's own national goals. The third was to slow down the new Labour government's plan for the "socialization" of the British economy. Clearly the United States was not going to permit such a precedent to be set which might serve as a model for other countries to imitate. To various degrees each of these goals was achieved, and the United States had effectively penetrated the British Empire. The United States became the senior partner and undisputed leader of the "free world."

Even though the plan was eventually to be thwarted, the Morgenthau-White Plan (names for Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau and his assistant Harry Dexter White) for the economic penetration of the Soviet Union was even more ingenious than Clayton's success with Great Britain. The plan was to dismember the German economy so that no reparations could come out of current production. Then, the Soviet Union, according to the plan, would become totally dependent on the United States for a line of credit for her post-war reconstruction. The negotiation for credit then could be tied to *quid pro quo* concessions on the part of the Soviet Union for further easing of restrictions against United States exports and investments. Of course, the hardening of the Cold War led Stalin to veto the whole program; but when seen as a plan to de-bolshevize and penetrate the Soviet market, the Morgenthau Plan makes a great deal of sense whereas taken out of context it could be seen only as blind revenge and pastoral madness.

Central to the post-war planning was the rebuilding of an international monetary system that would (1) end Great Britain's international financial dominance and (2) solidify the United States control of that system into the indefinite future. Only the United States came out of the war relatively healthy. The United States was strongest, and clearly intended to stay strongest, by taking over the "burden of global leadership" which was "thrust" upon her. Only a monetary system which insured the continued dominance of the United States was acceptable to

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her leaders. Therefore, an international monetary system within which the dollar was the central pillar was constructed and driven through at Bretton Woods.

The destruction of the Sterling Bloc was thereby ultimately ensured. Because of the reserve status of the dollar, the United States would henceforth be able to export large portions of its excess inflation with economic impunity, at least in the short run. But finally and most importantly, the United States could construct a matrix of multilateral trade flows in which ready liquidity and markets for American exports would be available and for which United States financial institutions would become the principal banker. Hence American bankers and exporters were to be the principal beneficiaries of the newly constructed system, but United States policy makers were absolutely convinced that what was good for American exporters was good both for the nation and for the world. In fact, throughout this period, United States leaders were largely motivated by a mania for exports to keep the United States and the world from falling back into depression.

### III

The Resistance movements of liberation which rose up during the war had not fought to overthrow old empires merely to have a new one come and take its place. Not only had the fascist empires been toppled, but the democratic empires of the western European nations were in a state of disarray. From the Balkans to Indo-China the Resistance forces emerged very strong, and they were not likely to give up their gains of national self-determination in order to fall into line with the wishes of some aspiring new empire builders, no matter how democratic and benevolent they might sound.

In the aftermath of World War I, the Versailles Conference, and the ensuing depression, there developed a steady decline in genuine international free trade and in the free society everywhere. The New Order was entirely statist oriented; only the form and degree varied. Whether authoritarian or democratic, statism was the hallmark of the 1930's. Planning and intervention were the rule rather than the exception.

All statism by its very nature is necessarily, to one degree or another, *status quo* oriented, interested in maintaining its own power perquisites and the given institutional arrangements. To the degree that statism prevails in a society, it would seem, to that same degree the governing fabric of that society will be *status quo* oriented and conservative. Rightist, if you will; reactionary if you prefer. This, then, was the makeup of the world when the war broke out. A statist world which America's leaders, when they got into the war, planned to open up and make safe for American economic penetration and control — a New Deal for a new world.

Against this background, the forces of Resistance emerged. The very process of resistance was necessarily anti-statist and liberationist, and by definition resistance was carried out by the Left. Grasping this one point takes one a long way towards understanding the parameters and nature of the Cold War that was to follow the Second World War. The terms "liberal" and "conservative" have only to do with marginal changes within the *status quo* itself: clearly such has increasingly become the case throughout the 20th Century. Only the terms Right and Left seem properly to distinguish between the *status quo* and the disloyal opposition, between statism and revolution, and between subjection and liberation.

### IV

Perhaps the single most important misunderstanding (often seemingly contrived) of the Cold War was the American policy makers' constant jumbling together of the Left and the Soviet Union as though they were somehow one and the same. No one, not even Churchill nor Truman, could outdo Stalin in his ruthless conservatism. The first real evidence of this came with America's first confrontation with the Left.

As the Americans swept up through Italy, a precedent was set which loomed ominous for freedom fighters everywhere. First, the Russians who were member of the Allied Control Commission were given a say in the administration of the occupation of Italy. Stalin, who was wise in the ways of power and who was properly suspicious of Churchill and

Roosevelt's delaying tactics on the issue of the second front, properly took all this as a signal that the actual conquerors should have absolute control within their respective spheres of influence. Second, in practically every case, members of the Resistance were overlooked and conservative members of the previous order were reinstated in governing positions. Those of the Resistance who held out and continued to fight were ruthlessly eliminated, considered to be just as dangerous to the Allies as were the retreating Germans.

When the Soviet forces began to rumble westward, Stalin obviously took his cue from the West and installed only those who were willing to subordinate themselves to Soviet hegemony and to the Soviet's self-perceived defense needs. Just as in the Italian precedent, this policy precluded members of the genuine Left from participation.

A brief look at the Balkans and Greece is instructive. Stalin's treatment of Tito's partisans was viciously conservative and typical of his behaviour throughout the war and after. Stalin tried continually to force Tito both to merge his movement with Old Order conservatives and to submerge his own and his troops' radicalism. When Tito refused, Stalin cut him off with no aid — even though there was seemingly a strong similarity of socialist ideology between the two. Socialist solidarity never seemed to mean much to Stalin whenever his would-be colleagues and comrades began to take revolutionary change seriously. The Partisans were forced to fend for themselves because Stalin saw their success as a threat to the Soviet Union's own conservative hegemonic goals in Central Europe. Stalin's interests never had been nor were they then in favor of revolutionary change; his interests were, rather, always oriented towards maintaining his personal power and towards shoring up the defensive position of the autarchic Soviet empire. To those who have carefully studied the history of Stalin's reign, the incontrovertible conclusion emerges that these conservative aims motivated his actions throughout.

All of the "big three" — Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin — were militantly anti-revolutionary, anti-Left, from the beginning to the end. The 1944 agreements on Greece and Rumania show just how cynically conservative they were. In Greece the National Liberation Front (EAM), like Tito's Partisans in Yugoslavia, was a tough, independent-minded Resistance movement. The Communists (KKE) make up a small but significant part of this movement. By late 1943 it appeared that the EAM would be in control of Greece after the Germans were defeated. Churchill, who was trying to reassert British hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, like Stalin, was sure that the successful example of the revolutionary EAM would spread and perhaps undermine England's attempts to rebuild its empire in that area of the world. Churchill and Stalin, therefore, secretly agreed in 1944 that the Soviets should have control in Rumania in exchange for British control in Greece. Both Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull were edgy about the agreement because the U. S. wanted a world totally open to U. S. businesses' penetration, but Roosevelt finally grudgingly agreed.

Immediately after the agreement was consummated, the British began a determined campaign to decimate the EAM and to assert British control. The slaughter was swift and savage, and once again Stalin kept his part of the bargain by failing to support the Greek Communists. Curiously, however, it is here that we find the origin of the myth assuming that the Left and the Soviet Union were synonymous: it is here, beginning with the turmoil in Greece, that both Churchill and later the Americans justified waging war against the Left (in this case against the Greek Resistance) on the grounds of containing Soviet influence, of containing Soviet Communist expansionism.

Then came Yalta. Conservatism, suspicion, and misunderstanding were the order of the meetings. All sides wanted to stop the seemingly ceaseless rising tide of the Left. Everyone, including Stalin himself, thought that Stalin had more control of the situation than he actually did. He promised to put the brake on the Left and indeed tried to do so. He attempted to pressure all of the Communist parties of the world. Where his control and influence reached, his will prevailed; and where his will prevailed, he was successful in blunting the cutting edge of revolution. In Italy and in France the Communist parties resumed their accustomed Social Democratic ways. They returned to trade union politics and tactics, and in many cases became moderating members of the various governments.

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But in Yugoslavia, Tito again refused to fall in line. In China, Mao instead stepped up the revolution. Most of the Left had little contact with the Soviet Union. The genuine Left was invariably an indigenous movement, always a movement firmly rooted in local problems and offering specific local responses to those problems. Whenever the Left movements did find themselves in contact with the Soviet Union, they usually found the relationship uncongenial because the Soviets, being far away and concerned mainly with their own empire's needs, had no knowledge of or empathy with the specific social problems that had given rise to the local Left in the first place. Soviet generalities about working-class solidarity and Soviet specifics about the need to mould all revolutionary movements to fit the needs of "building socialism in one nation." (in the Soviet Union, that is) were viewed with derision by the true Left. Time and again, the Left's leaders would attempt to narrow the scope of their contacts with the Soviet Union to curtail its leaden influence on their local movement; and time and again, the Left would be driven back into the arms of the Soviets by the mindlessness of the West's equally anti-revolutionary policies.

Most of the misunderstandings about the Yalta agreements arose as a result of Stalin promising more than he could deliver. (Kolko's exposition of the Polish question is superb but too involved to go into here.) First, Roosevelt and then Truman took Stalin's inflated word at face value. They took it as both true and as readily dischargeable. Whenever Stalin failed or proved unable to deliver, his inability was always interpreted as an unwillingness to deliver.

At Potsdam, Truman saw Stalin as an intractable foot-dragger who had to be shown who was the boss. Truman was sure that he had the means to do just that. The atomic bomb was in a state of near readiness, and Truman was ready to use it as a "hammer" to "dictate our own terms at the end of the war" and to maneuver and perhaps break the unmanageable Stalin. The apparently unnecessary dropping of the bomb was carried out not primarily to defeat the Japanese, but rather, it seems clear, to impress Stalin.

Stalin was duly impressed, but rather than acquiesce he acted out the self-fulfilling prophecy of Truman and Averill Harriman's earlier expectations. As Stalin was maneuvered and finally forced into a corner by the Americans, he really began to further tighten his grip on the Soviet sphere of influence; and the Cold War began in earnest.

Thereafter, since every international move was to be defined in simplistic Soviet Union versus the United States black and white terms, it was inevitable that American leaders would characterize each gesture of self-determination as being Soviet inspired and manipulated. By equating the Left with Soviet machinations, the way was cleared for the United States to devise a strong counter-revolutionary policy. Whereas in reality even a closed Soviet Union represented only a marginal obstacle to the achievement of U. S. global aspirations, the success of the Left, on the other hand, really could block such United States domination.

But how could a war-weary and generally isolationist American public be sold on an anti-self determination crusade? In order both to salve their own consciences and to enlist the support of the American people, the policy makers and their kept intellectuals had to package their plan to extirpate the Left as a crusade against a godless, Soviet-Communist international conspiracy. There was, indeed, an international revolution against imperial order throughout much of the globe, but it was being carried out by the Left and it was being undermined and thwarted every bit as much by the Soviets as by the Americans throughout the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's. In the 1970's "detente" is an open agreement to squash movements of radical self-determination wherever and whenever they develop; or, if possible, "detente" is being used as a cover behind which the Soviet Union and the United States attempt to co-opt the movements, to rob them of their radical character, and to lure them into one or the other of the detente partner's respective sphere of influence.

In order to understand American foreign policy during these all important years, it is necessary to delve deeply into the ideas, ideals, and vested interests, if any, of the major participants. It would be nice if we knew more about the minds and motivations of Soviet personnel; but the Soviet archives are not open to foreign historians, and therefore we do not yet understand the other side nearly as well as we might wish. We do,

however, have in Gardner's book a most helpful cataloging of ideas, wishes and events surrounding America's decision-making personnel. These include among others: F.D.R., H.S.T., Will Clayton, George C. Marshall, Bernard M. Baruch, Dean Acheson and others. It is impossible to understand the origins of the Cold War without peering intently into the ideological framework and the international desires of these men.

V

Libertarians in particular are deeply indebted to both Kolko and Gardner, not simply because of their masterful setting straight of the record, but also because they help to provide us with a more libertarian interpretation of the dynamics of war, revolution, and economic hegemony. No historian can provide us with all of the answers, and Kolko and Gardner are not exceptions to this rule; however, they do clear away many of the statist apologetics of the "court historians" and give us a remarkably clear view of what really did take place. Perhaps even more importantly, they give us good understanding of why the events took place the way that they did.

If there has been one overriding weakness in the developing libertarian *Weltanschauung*, it has been and continues to be an extraordinarily peculiar inclination for many libertarians to accept, without much question, the United States' orthodox propaganda concerning international affairs. A careful and honest look at the evidence leads one to realize that the United States is even far more statist (anti-freedom) abroad than it is at home. Massive amounts of money and energy of the United States for the past thirty years have gone to wipe out the aspirations of freedom around the globe in the name of stability, prosperity, and maintaining the "free world."

Hopefully, libertarians will learn from a careful study of Kolko and Gardner to see that the United States' intransigent demand for a world order that would be congenial to American business penetration and expansion was and continues to be perhaps the major and constant source of the Cold War. No nation is either more responsible or more culpable for the origination, the development, and the outcome of the Cold War than is the United States. On this the record is clear.

After libertarians carefully sift the evidence, it is furthermore hoped that they will conclude that to remain libertarian in judging, analyzing, and commenting on foreign affairs, one must side intellectually, emotionally, and morally with the revolutionary forces of liberation, with the forces of the Left; for the processes of revolution, the processes of liberation are of necessity moral and libertarian. Perhaps the most difficult reality of all to accept is that these forces of the Left are almost always, and properly so, anti-American. It really hurts to realize, as history is most likely to judge, that the United States is the chief counter-revolutionary — and therefore the most anti-self determination — force in the world, and that the United States will stop at practically nothing to protect, maintain, and extend its global empire.

Such support of the Left, of course, does not commit one to a pro-communist or pro-socialist position; for clearly the socio-economic system of socialism is but the total fulfillment of statism. As such, socialism or communism is always *status quo* oriented, rightist and anti-Left, the very antithesis of the libertarian social order. Neither, of course, does such support lead one to whitewash nor to apologize for the sins and hegemonic aspirations of the Soviet Union, but, then, this review is not meant to be a discussion of Soviet history.

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## Cold War Revisionism — (Continued From Page 7)

At the very least, though, what such an identification with national liberation movements does commit one to, vis a vis the United States, is a total commitment against any and all U. S. foreign interventionist activities. It has become increasingly clear that practically all American foreign aid, whether military or economic, inevitably finds its way into the coffers of reactionary, "stability oriented" regimes. Thus, for over thirty years the United States government has led and supported the parties of reaction and counter-revolution, especially in the Third World. The record, beginning during W. W. II, clearly shows that the political, economic and military support policies conceived in Washington and implemented around the globe, as commentators as diverse in their views as Lawrence Dennis and Sidney Lens saw long ago, have done more to generate interest in socialist ideology, to multiply the number of the communist faithful, and to confirm the otherwise absurd predictions of socialist theories of imperialism than all of the time, effort, teaching, planning, propaganda, wishful thinking and so forth that has gone on in the Kremlin since 1917. United States foreign policy, especially since about 1942, has been the best friend international communism ever had.

One's commitment, then, to national liberation movements both in theory and in fact, in general; and to an anti-American global interventionist policy, in particular; must surely lead one to adopt a political program which has as its object the forcing of United States' military and political-economic legions to come home, to mind their own business, and, then, to allow the chips to fall where they will. This, after all, is what the devotion to freedom and the free market is all about. One simply cannot fight socialism with socialism (or militarism and fascism) and expect the result to be libertarian either abroad or at home. Yet, this has been precisely the policy pursued by the United States and boosted by both the social-democratic liberals and the conservatives alike now for over thirty years. This is the very policy that the conservatives and the neo-conservatives in the Commentary-National Review-Public Interest clique would have us redouble our efforts to pursue. This is the policy toward which libertarians must at long last stand up and say, "No more."

Libertarians must help forge a movement which will pressure the U. S. government to cease shoring up reactionary regimes and to cease attempts to force open closed doors. The U. S. government must do one thing only, and that is to get out of the way and to permit business to proceed where business is wanted. And the United States government must under no circumstances be permitted to assume the risks for American enterprises doing business abroad. Even in our real world of social upheaval and political turmoil, this — no help, no hindrance — is what the doctrine of free trade must mean. Anything else is but a sham.

It will take several decades of such strict non-interference to convince those of the Third World and elsewhere that America's international free-trade vocabulary is not simply a verbal cloak for a more sophisticated form of imperialism. It will take several decades to break down the walls

of hate and distrust built up by the Cold Warrior empire builders. And it will likely take several decades of closed-door, socio-economic experiments before the emerging nations discover that socialism does not work. This may not make good textbook economic sense and it may be unfortunate for all concerned, but it will probably have to happen and the United States government will simply have to tolerate it. Only such a policy of non-intervention and tolerance will encourage the adoption of free trade policies among the developing countries. Only by adopting such a policy could the United States ever become a symbol of liberty and gain a measure of deserved international respect. Only then will the ideas and ideals of free trade and their political corollary — individualism and political liberty — gain credence and adoption. Only such a policy of non-intervention can lead the world towards true international progress and true freedom. Just as the aggressive policy of United States global interventionism has caused a quantum leap in statism both abroad and at home, so too, a friendly policy of minding its own business will surely lead to a safer, freer, and more productive world for all of us everywhere.

It is sad but true that the ideology of most Left movements is wrapped in socialist rhetoric and interventionist policy. But this should not be cause for surprise. If, as it does, the United States carries out its imperial policy of counter-revolution under the guise of "free enterprise," and if the United States continues its policy of buying off and exterminating unwanted socio-economic agitation under the banner of "free trade," then whenever we find someone who is shocked at the large doses of socialism and egalitarianism to be found in the rhetoric and actions of national liberation movements, we assuredly will have found one who has not very carefully thought the situation through. It seems clear that all too many libertarians have not carefully read the evidence and have not carefully thought the situation through.

In fact, one can reinforce one's free market position by identifying with the Left. For only the genuine free market is the fulfillment of all liberating processes. Only the genuine free market is truly anti-statist, anti-statist, anti-conservative — truly Left. Seeing the free market in this manner helps to place the implications of the free market philosophy in its wider and more nearly correct historical and strategic perspective.

We must all remember that no nation-state can "build" a stable world order; it can attempt to do so only through the massive use of statist force both at home and abroad, and even then the stability gained is at best only short run stability. A genuinely stable order of the free market develops only out of free and voluntary exchange processes. To "build a free world" is a contradiction in terms, and to persist in such a policy is at best to chase an illusion and must always lead to a perversion of the libertarian ideal.

Both Kolko and Gardner offer us a great deal of food for thought and understanding. We can hope that libertarians will not be so put off by some of their socialist views, especially on the part of Kolko, that they do not searchingly study and appreciate the evidence and analyses of these two magnificent books.

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THE

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## Education By Bribes And Coercion

by Auberon Herbert

Most libertarians are aware of the existence of a circle of American individualist anarchists who contributed to the famous newspaper *Liberty*, edited by Benjamin Tucker, in the late 19th century. Readers of James Martin's *Men Against The State* (Ralph Myles Publishers, PO Box 1533, Colorado Springs, Colo. 80901 \$2.50) are familiar with Josiah Warren, Ezra Heywood, Lysander Spooner, Victor Yarros, and the many other brilliant contributors to the philosophy of anarchism in its native American individualist form. Some of their writings have in recent years been republished, a few by *Libertarian Forum*. But few of us are aware of a circle of equally brilliant libertarians - they preferred to be called individualists or voluntarists rather than anarchists, a term they associated rightly in its European context, with socialism and violence. These virtually unknown philosophers lived in late Victorian England, were largely disciples of Mill and Spencer, but were men who were capable of taking their teachers' ideas to their logical conclusion - the abolition of the coercive State. Perhaps the most important of the English voluntarists was Auberon Herbert (1838-1906) whose publication, *The Free Life* (1890-1901) fulfilled the same function among the English libertarians as *Liberty* did among their American colleagues.

Auberon Herbert was the scion of two of the most aristocratic families of England. His father was the Duke of Carnarvon, his mother the sister of the Duke of Norfolk, his wife the daughter of an earl. As a young man he began his career in the army, and in the 1860's he travelled to Denmark and the United States to observe local wars, and witnessed the collapse of France at Sedan in 1870 and the violent days of the Commune in Paris. Originally entering politics as a conservative, he was elected to Parliament in 1870 as a Liberal, where his first speech was, characteristically against the bill establishing the English system of state education. By 1872 Herbert caused a commotion in the House by proclaiming himself a republican, and he retired from office in 1874.

Herbert had studied at Oxford after his military service, and taught history and jurisprudence for four years at St. John's College, Oxford. His intellectual curiosity caused him to become an ardent disciple and lifelong friend of Herbert Spencer and a correspondent of J. S. Mill. By the 1880's Herbert had come to believe that the principle of voluntarism was the only just basis of society. His own intellectual conversion was probably recorded in a fictionalized Socratic dialogue entitled: *A Politician In Trouble About His Soul*. This was serialized in the liberal *Fortnightly Review*, (1883-1884) and it was subsequently published by Benjamin Tucker in *Liberty* (1884, #48-50) in a revised version as *A Politician In Sight Of Haven*. To organize the propagation of his views he announced the formation of the Party of Individual Liberty and issued five pamphlets called the *Anti-Force Papers* to present his opinions on various subjects. The fifth *Anti-Force Paper* was an appeal to the English people to liberate themselves from the bondage of State directed education. It is our great pleasure to share this incisive work with our readers in this issue of *Libertarian Forum*.

For more than a century, the public education question has been largely

confined to the criticisms of various "reformers". But the basic issue - whether the State has any right at all to be involved in schooling has scarcely been discussed. Only recently, with the publication of the stimulating polemic by Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society*, has the general public turned its attention to the question of the very legitimacy of the school as an institution. But at least as important is the question of disestablishment of the schools, the abolition of state involvement in education. To our knowledge, no organization, no libertarians, have undertaken the radical task of seeking the absolute separation of School and State. Yet sooner or later this immense work must be begun. The libertarians of the 18th century disestablished the Church from the State; the libertarians of the 19th century smashed the State enforced enslavement of man by man; will the libertarians of the 20th century liberate education from the tyranny and perversion of the State?

As a contribution to the dialogue that must precede action, we commend to you the reading of Auberon Herbert's essay, *Education By Bribes And Coercion*.

(J. R. P.)

### THE PARTY OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

An appeal to the English people against State education; against the driving of children to school by compulsion; against the persecution of parents; against officialdom in all its forms; against over-pressure, hurry and worry; against waste and extravagance; against a compulsory tax and a compulsory rate; against infallible wisdom and authority enthroned either at Whitehall or Victoria Embankment, or in any other part of town or province; and a plea for true voluntary work, apart from State funds and State direction, undertaken by the people in their own groups, according to their own wants and their own ideas, under their own control and supported by their own efforts and their own contributions.

### Education By Bribes And Coercion

It is time that the English people-especially that part of it that lives in London-shook themselves free from certain time-old superstitions and saw things as they really are. What the State touches, that it destroys. Since the State has laid hands on education, it is fast becoming a curse instead of a blessing to them; an instrument of torture instead of a means of happiness and strength.

State education, State religion and State conscription are three children of the same evil family. They are three forms of bondage which nations in their worship of force have inflicted on themselves.

Let us look at the nature of one of these State-made things. See what education has grown into under the hands of a department. Two or three gentlemen sit at Whitehall and courageously undertake to think for a whole nation. From their central office they make rules and regulations, and spin codes like a new kind of industrious worm, spinning tape instead

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of silk. Under this system the whole nation is pressed into whatever mould happens to suit the fancies of these gentlemen; and in consequence, protected by the sleepy approval of Parliament, they have ousted the parents from all real control over the education of their children, and have taken possession of it into their own hands.

But the official gentlemen, spinning tape, are not the only people to blame. The parents themselves are equally to blame. Listening to the bad advice of the politicians they have let themselves be ousted. The politicians have said "We will make you a system, with buildings, offices, training-colleges, and school-houses, with managers, lawyers, surveyors and contractors, with superintendents and visitors, with every kind of official, big and little. There shall be taxes, there shall be rates, to pay for what we give you; and if you do not like paying any school-pence for your children, you shall not pay them. You shall dip your hands into your richer neighbor's pocket for what you want; and we will tell your richer neighbor that to ask you to pay your own school-pence is an "abominable" thing, a "cruel" thing, an "unjust" thing. There is only one slight service in return that we need ask at your hands. Accept the system, as it is planned, and arranged for you. Question nothing; doubt nothing; trouble not your own minds. Trust wholly to a paternal department in the first place; and to those of us who can get elected by your votes in the second place. Forget that your children belong to you and not to us, and banish all vain desires to keep any part of their control and management in your own incompetent hands." It is ever in this way that the birth-rights of the people one after the other are sold.

Some day you will see that there is no man so truly disinherited, as the man who once takes a State-bribe. Now let us examine what kind of a system it is which the State has established. It is a system—arrogant as if invented by Supreme Wisdom—that dreads competition and endeavors to exclude all rivals; that respects no difference in your wants and your ideas; that treads free choice under its feet; that despises individual effort and individual conception; that has no patience with your infirmities; has no belief that the home possesses anything more sacred than its own pedantic rules; and treats millions of people as mere sheep in a flock, or oxen in a herd. It is a system built on those two most evil foundation-stones, coercion and State money; coercion to make the people tread in the paths, which by Supreme Wisdom are thought right for them; State-money to try to salve the hurt and gild the degradation of the people. Politicians love to speak of State-money as not being charity. There are many forms of charity, both good and bad. Of them all-State-money is the worst, for whilst it takes from others, it is ashamed to confess the fact and say "thank-you" openly, like an honest and well-mannered citizen.

Now let us look at some of the reasons why this State-system deserves hatred instead of gratitude. It is bad, just as all universal systems applied by officials to a whole nation are bad. It is bad

1. Because you cannot place hundred of thousands of persons under the same system, without repressing the differences that exist and ought to exist among them. Men and women, are not shilling pieces, so like in themselves that one should pass for another. In destroying these differences, you destroy all hope of progress; for progress is the child of difference. Compare the deadly uniformity of one official system with the life and movement that exist where there are many systems. Under one system it is most difficult to try experiments, for they disturb the smooth working of the vast machinery, and are unpleasant to the official mind. Where many systems exist, experiments try themselves, proving their own fitness, or unfitness, and resulting in continuous progress.

2. Because any universal system which rests on force and therefore is no longer exposed to competition, becomes stupid, brutal, and extravagant, in its methods.

3. Because any system which is built upon the foundation of public money, must have severe tests as regards the spending of this public money, and these tests react upon the system itself, making it rigid, mechanical and oppressive.

4. Because a universal system of education leads to an official class of schoolmasters, struggling with the State for their own interests. There is no class of men, which suffer more from being made into an official class. They specially require a constant flow of fresh and varied thought into their ranks.

5. Because any universal system, on account of all the prizes of influence, reputation and power that are attached to it, must always cause the most desperate political struggle as to who shall obtain the direction of it. It results in the formation of parties organized against each other, and in all the strategy, personal ambition, and unscrupulous promising, which are the persistent features of party organizations.

6. Because every universal system forces intolerance upon us all, making each man struggle to suppress forcibly the beliefs of his neighbour in his necessary effort to achieve success for his own.

7. Because what we call the religious question can never be separated from the higher subjects of education. A universal system either leads to a false truce between Catholic, Protestant, Theist, Agnostic, Atheist,—where we want active fighting and unfettered effort,—or to the suppression of some sects by other sects. Both denominational teaching and secular teaching are, if supported by State-force, equally unjust. That education should do its real work, the teacher must be free, whether he is Catholic, Protestant, Theist, Agnostic or Atheist. Otherwise he is but a one-armed and one-legged man, utterly unable to exert his full influence—a mere creature of ignoble compromise.

8. Because all universal systems lead to bureaucratic rule. Given an universal system of education, the central department must obtain the management. How can you decide the real education question at the hustings? Fancy one party advocating some special way of teaching arithmetic; another advocating some method of needlework; a third some special system of grammar, and yet these and their like, are the real education questions. You can only decide at the hustings questions that belong to the mere outside;—that are the husks of education. May schools give religious education? Shall it be gratuitous? Shall it be compulsory? Therefore if you build up a State system, you practically forbid the people to trouble their heads about the real education questions. The sure result is to produce an unthinking nation on the subject of one of its greatest interests. Why should any man at the present day think about education? He is powerless to give effect to any desire or conviction of his own. How can he move the immense machinery that he sees in front of him? Let him be content. It has become a departmental affair, wholly in the hands of the big clerks, and the little clerks; with some petty matters left for the elected members to wrangle over.

9. Because a state-system teaches the people the bad lesson of taking compulsorily from their richer neighbours purse for their own purposes. Let us all learn to help each other freely and by our own consent; but let no man,—rich or poor,—be ever made the mere instrument of another. Such a system degrades all concerned. It is not in this state-driven fashion that nations become inspired with life and energy and rise to the high levels of their existence. The soul of an administered nation is a poor dumb thing that just knows that it suffers but has hardly any other consciousness. See how our people suffer under the present oppressive system, and yet scarcely know in what the hurt consists. They have dim perceptions of pain and unrest, but they are in no real way responsible for the system, and therefore have no clear understanding of its workings. They do not see how their children are kept far too many hours in the school; how insufficient are the intervals given in one attendance that lasts three hours; how the children are hurried and driven through the standards; how by the system of money payments the master is obliged to overpress both himself and his pupils; how in consequence the education given is of a low mechanical order, feebly stirring the intelligence; how at the very beginning of life both body and mind are jaded; and how little those who direct the great education-machine are able or willing out of their office-windows to see the evils that exist. Nor do those who in their own persons are the most deeply interested, but whom by our system we have prevented from thinking and acting for themselves, perceive the cruelty and folly of setting up a system of official compulsion. In London, week after week, a pitiless persecution goes on. Like all official systems, the system is and must be worked with great harshness. It is easy to set ten thousand wheels to grind flesh and blood; it is not easy to grind without causing suffering. In all weather and under many difficulties parents lose a day's work to attend the court to which they are summoned; homes are broken up; furniture sold; men thrown into prison; families dispersed, in some cases taking to a vagabond life in order to avoid the School-board officer. Occasionally some very arbitrary act finds its way into the public press, just for the moment startling those who happen to see, and who then forget it; as, to

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take any one of many instances, the case of a man, who was summoned notwithstanding the doctor's certificate; which he had sent to the School board officer, and which the officer refused to return to him; occasionally some magistrate wisely stands between the pedantic zeal of the school-board officer and the wretched parent whom he is hunting down; but nothing checks the great machine, which like all other machines, goes relentlessly on, week by week, and month by month, without pause or rest, until the prosecutions are to be counted by tens of thousands, and the life of the poor is made considerably bitterer and harder than it was in the days when we had fewer politicians, philanthropists, educational pedants, and officials busy at their work of trying to spread education by fine and imprisonment. Truly we all are at this very hour faithful descendants of those zealous children of the Church who flogged and imprisoned and put on the rack their fellowmen in order to spread her doctrines and extend her empire.

And for what reason is this persecution? To get the children to school? As if persecution were the only instrument placed in our hands for carrying out a good work! By all means get them to school, but get them there by kindness, sympathy, persuasion, by the example of others, by the help which the friendly kindly-minded people are ever ready to give, where it is wanted, and where you leave them free to bring their help. Is not this one of the great works which fellow-men and fellow-women can do for each other, and are ready to do for each other, if you do not drive them away from such work by your official machinery. What sight would be nobler than to see one half of the nation persuading the other half to seek the advantages of education for their children; what sight viler than to see one half coercing the other half? And how, and from where, let me ask, did we get this precious right to persecute each other; to play the petty tyrant, the one over the other? We may choose to say in our wisdom that it is better for every child in the nation to be in one of these new fine buildings which we have put up with money collected by the tax gatherer's machinery, than to help its mother, struggling with want, in her work, but who gave us authority to force this idea of ours, — be it a true or false idea, — upon others by the brotherly methods of fine and imprisonment? I deny this right of persecution; and I appeal to all those in the English nation, who have not yet fallen down before the State machine and worshipped it, to deny it and resist it. The cruelty of the method, the suffering it causes, the anger and bitterness that it is calling out, all point to the fact that the official pedants here, as always, are wrong, and that the right we claim to persecute others for the sake of your own ideas is a crime and a folly of which one day we shall be as much ashamed, as we now are of the whip, and the knife, and the branding-iron in which our equally enlightened forefathers so devoutly believed.

What is the true thing to be done? I answer "Break up this costly, this misdirected, this oppressive system. Let the parents resume their own control and management of their own children and of their education; understanding that they can only recover their lost rights by resolutely rejecting all the bribes that the State offers them. Rates, and taxes, gifts and grants from the State, by whatever name they are called, are always the instruments by which the management and control of the people's interests pass into official hands. Let the parents open their eyes, and see that they need no rate, that they need no tax. If indeed their hearts desire fine buildings, State certificated teachers, armies of official inspectors, superintendents and visitors, and every kind of degree of child-hunter, if they want infallible gentlemen sitting in Whitehall and infallible ladies and gentlemen sitting at the Victoria Embankment Theatre of all the Vanities, then they must be content to take gifts from Government, to depend upon taxes and rates, and to look on, whilst others—the political busy-bodies of the nation—jostle them aside and officiously manage the education of their children. But if they desire none of these things, if they are sick of this empty vain-glorious shew, and this pretentious and insolent officialism; if they are content to carry out in their own fashion, and according to their own wants and ideas, a far simpler but truer system, then let them combine in their own groups, and boldly undertake the work which never should have been taken out of their hands. They will soon find that neither rate nor tax are necessary. The combining faculties of the English people are great, and if left to themselves, neither harassed nor persecuted by officials, not made stupid by systems and codes, nor enervated by State-payments, there are few, if any, of the

great wants of life that they could not fulfill with their own hands and brains; and in doing it make a great stride forward in civilization. It cannot too often be repeated that progress in civilization means the awakening of new desires, new thoughts, and feelings—the effort to give effect to these new feelings—the life, the movement, everywhere in society, as some for the first time struggle to help themselves, and some to help others, the new faculties of voluntary association, the new taking of each other's hands, the unloosening in every direction of the great moral forces, that change not merely the external circumstances, but the inner beings of the man. Progress in civilization does not mean a people partly driven to fulfill a great duty like education by fine and imprisonment, partly bribed to do so by money taken from the pockets of the richer classes. This mingled bribery and coercion are merely one of the rank survivals of old and rotten forms of Government; they can find no place in that pure, simple, self-reliant democracy that we have yet, as our noble though difficult task, to found in this and in every other country.

I appeal then to the workmen of London and of every other part of the country, to take a higher view of this question and they have ever yet taken. Be masters of your own children, and don't hand them over to any State machinery. Sanction no cruel persecution of the weaker and more ignorant. Leave all the good people of every church, sect, and opinion, to humanise and improve these fragments of society, instead of making their lives more wretched and their feelings more bitter by hunting them with your paid official bloodhounds. Look neither to tax nor rate; don't accustom yourselves to depend upon the richer classes for what you want. If you do, then you are for ever at the mercy of the bribing politician. Money is not your first necessity, not even your second. If you want money, you have the right to see that the old revenues left to the use of the poor should be turned from their present uses and applied to education by which you can profit. Take them, if you think good. They are your right, which compulsory taxing of the richer classes to serve your own purpose is not. But take care that these revenues, when acquired, do not lead you astray from the great purpose and work in front of you. Your work is not to quarrel amongst yourselves over any public funds,—it would be better to cast them into the deeps of the sea—it is not to build up any one great system that shall pass out of your control; it is not to accept official views and to sacrifice your own individuality to these; but it is to understand your own power of combination, to unite in your group according to the views and convictions that are dearest to you, to put together bravely your slender resources, and to organize your own systems of education for your children, as your fathers and forefathers organized their religion. As you do this, you will gain in powers of self-help, of self-direction, of co-operation with your fellows, of knowledge of your own wants, of glorious power to fulfill them. Help, almost too much help, will come to you from outside sources, for the English were always a generous nation to help each other, until we began to weaken that generosity by our official systems and our ever increasing burdens of taxation. Of course the politician—who having to live by his trade, must ever magnify it—will tell you a nation can only be educated by means of the State and its machinery; will assure you that such a work of self-help should not be asked for at your hands. Leave him to whine as he will, he has his own trade to look after. Let him magnify it for the present to his heart's content, preaching to you the sorry doctrine of his own importance, and your salvation by rates and taxes. The day will come when you will discover that you can do better without him than with him, that he has been only a fetter on your hands and a log to your feet in your struggle to better things, and then, like others worthier than himself, he will begin to look for a new and more useful occupation for his restless energies and ambitions. Meanwhile have confidence in yourselves. Have confidence in your own powers of association. Have confidence in the strength that will come to you when you once fairly plunge into the work. Have confidence in moral force as against all coercion, in free voluntary work as against all State-directed systems.

To sum up. Organise yourselves for liberty.

Destroy compulsion in every form and under every disguise.

Break up all connection between local education and the Whitehall Centre.

Change both tax and rate into voluntary payments. Give to no man the power of carrying out his own ideas at the expense of his neighbour. With voluntary tax and voluntary rate those who like best a central and

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## Thinking About Revolution: Two Books Of Importance

In the August 1975 issue of the newsletter of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL, Box 1147, Warminster, Pa. 18974), editor Don Ernsberger reviewed the means by which libertarians have been attempting to build "a free society". Quickly passing over education, politics, tax resistance and escapism, he raised the interesting question of "the approach least often seriously studied, considered or undertaken—revolutionary violence". While recognizing that the mere hint of revolutionary violence as a viable tactic would probably attract every psychopath in the vicinity to the movement, not to mention the paid provocateurs of the State, Ernsberger still raises a legitimate question: what tactics would be desirable or necessary if two possible situations came into existence—an outbreak of another Vietnam style intervention by the United States in Korea of the Middle East, or the outbreak within the country of urban guerrilla warfare, perhaps in the wake of economic collapse, or even prolonged unemployment? A third possibility, not raised but just as probable, would be the establishment of a presidential dictatorship through a suspension of civil liberties or massive evasion of the law as in the Nixon years, and earlier. Ernsberger concluded with the suggestion that in each situation outlined, "libertarian revolutionary action might be both rational, moral and practical", and that more attention should be paid to this problem in libertarian periodicals and conferences.

Ernsberger is certainly correct in urging that libertarians give greater attention to the study of revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics. No tyrant ever has voluntarily restored freedom to his victims, and we are not likely to preserve those liberties we have without a conscious strategy of resistance to creeping or leaping statism. The events of the past decade amply demonstrate the tenuous character of constitutional liberty in American society in an age of rampant militarism, imperialism and corporate state capitalism.

Where does one start in planning a successful revolution or resistance to aggressive statism? Not, I think, by assessing one's chances for dynamiting the local Society Security office or voting machine storage warehouse, which Ernsberger rather thoughtlessly implies. Certainly by now, after our experiences in Vietnam, we ought to understand the fundamental necessity of basing any revolutionary action on the objective of "winning the hearts and minds of people". This was the central principle in the Chinese and Indo-Chinese revolutions, as it was in the American revolution two centuries ago. The failure of the Bolsheviks to adhere to this principle opened the way for the triumph of Stalinism and the tawdry tyranny of contemporary Soviet society. Any libertarian revolutionary actions must always be evaluated in the light of this same principle. Hopefully libertarians would understand the difference in affect in destroying Selective Service records and those of the millions of sick or elderly citizens dependent on the Social Security Administration for their survival. A careful analysis of the true enemy's identity is crucial for any successful revolutionary movement.

Libertarians interested in thinking about the problem of planning successful revolution might begin by reading the newly published edition of a classic libertarian treatise, Etienne de la Boetie's *Discours de la servitude volontaire* (published under the title *The Politics of Obedience* with an introduction by Murray N. Rothbard, Free Life Editions Inc., 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y. 10003. \$2.95). Written in the sixteenth century by a perceptive French law student, it goes directly to the heart of the puzzling fact that men submit so passively to the tyranny of other men's rule. La Boetie brilliantly analyzes the psychological foundations of the State and finds that tyrants rule because men consent to live in servitude. In effect, governments exist by the consent of the governed. If that seems platitudinous, it is not in La Boetie's capable hand; rather he uses this insight to examine the fact and how it works; he then draws certain conclusions of radical significance. Liberation begins in the mind and will of the subject; self-liberation comes through the withdrawal of the subject's consent to be ruled; the armaments of the tyrant are meaningless once his authority had dissolved in the hearts and minds of the people.

The richness of La Boetie's historical analysis of the nature of tyranny

and the characteristics of human behavior which nourish and sustain it will delight and impress the reader. Prof. Rothbard's introduction, almost as long as the text itself, offers new light on La Boetie's career and the significance of his work, and also explains the curious fact that the essay has been ignored or misinterpreted for centuries by almost everyone except anarchists.

A second work that ought to stimulate further libertarian study and discussion of revolutionary theory and tactics is by Paulo Freire, a distinguished Brazilian educator, most famous for his planning of a massive effort to eradicate illiteracy among the oppressed peasantry of northeastern Brazil, a project terminated by the military junta that ended democratic government in that country in 1964. Freire's work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (The Seabury Press, 815 Second Avenue, New York 10017) begins with a general analysis of the nature of tyranny, and, with less elegance of style than the French humanist La Boetie, reaches the same conclusion: that servitude exists in the minds of the oppressed and that liberation is, first and foremost, a process of self-realization of the full dimension of one's dignity as a human being, and then the withdrawal of one's consent to another's claim of authority. But while La Boetie attributes the initial submission of the oppressed to another's tyranny to fear of the tyrant, and his subsequent servility to the domination over the mind of habit, Freire presents a much more sophisticated psychological analysis. According to Freire, there are two classes in a non-libertarian society: the oppressors and the oppressed. (It should be noted that Freire rejects the Marxian class analysis in favor of one similar to Oppenheimer's notion of the rulers and the ruled). Both classes exist in a state of dehumanization; both suffer from a distortion of man's essential human vocation of becoming more fully human. By this he seems to mean man perfecting his nature, perhaps reflecting a notion of man as possessing a definitive nature to which he aspires to conform as in natural law theory, or even a notion of man's nature as evolutionary in character, as in the teachings of Teilhard de Chardin. Freire believes that dehumanization is the result of an unjust social order that engenders dehumanizing violence in the oppressor which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed. The historical task of the oppressed is to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressed will not gain their liberation by chance, or by the benevolence of their oppressors; it will come only through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to struggle for it. As Freire so eloquently puts it:

"Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man: nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion."

What is it that keeps the oppressed from seeking freedom? La Boetie believed it to be fear of the tyrant and habit; Freire believes it to be fear of freedom itself. Even when the oppressed become conscious that without freedom they cannot live an authentic human life, they fear living outside a prescriptive order imposed by the oppressors. (This explains the common situation in which the rationality and morality of the anarchist position is granted, but anarchism itself is rejected as impractical). As Freire says:

"The oppressed are severely hindered in their effort to

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uniform system can still help to maintain it; whilst those who believe in other systems, that express different convictions and different aspirations, can out of their means and their labour, allow experiments, that are yet untried, to struggle for existence.

For every man freedom of choice and freedom of action.

For none the degradation of using his neighbour, or being himself used, against his convictions. □

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liberate themselves by several objective conditions within their psychological persona: they have a profound sense of inferiority vis-a-vis their oppressors which tends to make them emotionally dependent upon them; this in turn makes the oppressed prone to self destructive behavior, fatalism, hatred of self and their fellow oppressed, and even (generates) an admiration for the oppressors as superior creatures, yet hating them for what they are."

Freire sees a kind of psychological dualism deeply rooted in the minds of the oppressed, so deeply that even when they gather enough courage to overthrow a concrete ruling regime, they tend to adopt the same consciousness as the deposed oppressors; hence, the rarity in history of a genuine sustained libertarian revolution, unmarred by a relapse into a new phase of statism.

How then can this depressing cycle of oppression be broken and a libertarian society not only be won but sustained? Freire believes that:

"The conflict (in the oppressed) lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education should take into account."

Thus to Freire, liberation comes about through education — and the main burden of his argument in this book is to present his ideas on an effective pedagogy for the oppressed, as the title indicates. Merely perceiving the inner conflict in the consciousness of the oppressed and the reality of the objective condition in which they exist is not enough to transform them, to humanize them, to liberate them. The oppressed must act. Perception and action are distinct aspects of what Freire calls *conscientization* (*conscientizacao* in Portuguese)-learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements with the historic reality. Significantly, Freire does not contemplate the use of violent action; violence is the method of the oppressor, not the oppressed, and task of the oppressed is not only to liberate themselves, but also to liberate their oppressors, i.e. to help them to become more human. Violence would negate this goal and also make the oppressed oppressors.

How can the oppressed break out of the psychologically anti-human tendency to use violence as a means of liberation? Freire believes that the way to do so is through critical and liberating dialogue. The correct method for a libertarian leadership to create a revolution is not, I repeat, not "to employ libertarian propaganda, nor seek to implant in the oppressed an idea of freedom, thus thinking to win their trust." The correct method is dialogue in which the oppressed are not treated as objects, but rather engage in co-intentional education in which:

"teachers and students (leaders and people) co-intent on understanding reality through reflection and action are both subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming together to know it critically, but also in recreating that reality in the light of their new critical knowledge. Thus the oppressed are involved in their own struggle for liberation not as pseudo-participants, but as fully committed and creative analysts and actors".

Freire devotes about a quarter of his text to the teacher-student or leader-people relationship, condemning the essentially narrative character of most teaching or propaganda. The pedagogy of the oppressor-oppressed social is called the "banking concept of education" by Freire. It is one in which knowledge is bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable on those they consider ignorant. The ignorant are supposed to receive the "pearls of wisdom" and deposit them in the storehouse of their minds. The oppressor utilizes this system of education the more easily to shape the consciousness of the oppressed into accepting their role as subjects of the oppressor's authority and objects of his paternal manipulation. Against this model Freire proposes the

problem-posing or dialogic model in which through dialogue, acts of reflection and cognition jointly experienced, both teacher and student, or leader and people, now critical co-investigators of objective reality - come to see the world and their own role in it, not as static reality, but as reality in process, in transformation. "Problem-posing education affirms men as beings in the process of becoming-as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality." It is essentially individualistic and human in method and result, and revolutionary in a libertarian sense.

In another chapter Freire takes up the peculiar qualities required of the revolutionary teacher or leader. A basic a priori requirement for dialogic relations is absolute faith in the capability of the oppressed to liberate themselves through dialogue. "Trust the People," as Chairman Mao has put it. The second fundamental requirement is love of the human race, or commitment to other men and their liberation. A third is hope, confidence in ultimate success. Optimism in the long-term achievement of humanization is necessary to sustain both the leader and the people in their continuing dialogue. Finally the dialogue cannot exist without humility infusing both parties.

Freire is extremely critical of those revolutionary leaders who, in their desire to obtain support of the people for revolutionary action, adopt the "banking concept of education" of planning the program content of the revolution from the top down. "They forget that their fundamental objective is to fight alongside the people for the recovery of the people's stolen humanity, not "to win the people over" to their side. Such a phrase does not belong in the vocabulary of revolutionary leaders, but in that of the oppressors. Moreover, such an approach constitutes a "cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding." Thus "winning the hearts and minds of the people" is to be understood in the sense that "the prospective leader must identify himself with the people's aspirations, not compel them to adhere to his own." As Mao has put it, "we must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly." "The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people."

I have just tapped the surface in this review of the incredible riches of this profound work. Fully half of the book deals with the methodology of dialogues in greater detail. But I wish to stress that this book is not useful just to those who by profession are teachers or propagandists of some kind; it is essential reading for anyone seriously committed to libertarianism as a philosophic approach to shaping social or personal reality. It is a handbook for true revolutionaries, rather than putschists. It is, along with that of La Boetie, required reading for anyone interested in the process by which liberty can be won and sustained. It ought to be subjected to the same dialogic method of study and critical analysis that it advocates. Hopefully, it will inspire some of the kinds of interest in libertarian revolutionary theory and tactics which Don Ernsberger called for us to develop.

(J. R. P.) □

"In all ages, whatever the form and name of government-be it monarchy, public or democracy, an oligarchy lurks behind the facade: Roman history, republican or imperial, is the history of a governing class. . . Liberty and the laws are high sounding words. They will often be rendered, on a cool estimate, as privilege and vested interests".

Sir Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939.

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# The First Two Years Of W. W. II

BY J. P. McCarthy \*

A review of John Lukacs' *The Last European War* (Garden City: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), \$15.00

On very few episodes in human history have moral judgements seemed so easy to be rendered as the Second World War. This was particularly so in the United States where, once the nation became a participant in the war, there existed universal support for the cause. The absolute or unconditional defeat of the enemy further enhanced the clear-cut crusade image. Consequently, a whole generation of Americans came to look upon the government that led the crusade as the paragon of virtues and decency and applauded any extension of that government's mandate domestically or externally as further steps towards the attainment of universal righteousness. Because of this mental consequence of the Second World War any historical re-examination which can re-create the actual atmosphere and attitudes of the war period and not simply repeat the post-war self congratulations is to be applauded. Such revisionist history helps one to realize that there necessarily were great varieties of motives, moralities, and actions on all sides of so massive a human drama as the Second World War.

As valid and important as is revisionist history, one has to acknowledge that it is usually inspired by and prompted to serve an ideological cause. That is, it is an attempt to understand the past in order to prove a contemporary position. However, John Lukacs' *The Last European War*, which covers the Second World War from its inception to the American entry, is a form of post-revisionist revisionism. He was not a participant in any of the controversies of the war period, nor is he an antagonist in any contemporary ideological controversy. Consequently, his revisionism is not special pleading. At the same time his work remains revisionist in that he challenges both orthodox versions as well as some of the earlier revisionist views. His thorough scholarship and acquaintance with the personalities and events of the period would by itself make this a worthwhile book. His ability to combine that knowledge with remarkable insights that grant a new understanding of the events make his work the outstanding history of the early period of the war.

Very few ideological camps feel at home with Lukacs ever since his pioneering, revisionist *History of the Cold War* that he wrote in the early 1960's. He personally is a conservative, but a conservative of a European and neo-liberal character. That is, he hails the bourgeois age and its domesticities—such as regard for family, security of possessions, and industriousness—and dreads mass politics, particularly when it calls for international crusades. The kind of American political figures with whom he would probably feel most at home are William Fulbright and Eugene McCarthy (at least in the Spring of 1968).

There are three prevailing schools of thought in America on the Second World War (that is, if one does not take into account that small group who actually hold that the right side lost the war). First, there is the orthodox establishment view of it as a struggle by Liberal Democracy—personified by F.D.R.—to destroy racist and reactionary Fascism and enable the world to move ahead towards international solidarity and the welfare state. Second, there is the right-wing revisionist view which holds that the United States ought have left the totalitarian powers Germany and the Soviet Union to slug it out and then, upon their mutual exhaustion, impose peace. Third, is left-wing revisionism which holds that the cynical capitalist powers, whose appeasement of Hitler as an anti-Communist ally had been short-changed by the shrewd Stalin-Hitler pact, later exploited the Soviet people as the main cannon fodder in the defeat of Hitlerism and then sought to monopolize for western capitalism all of the territory liberated from the Nazis.

An aspect of the orthodox view is a depreciation of Hitler's talents and genius and the implication that he was his own worst enemy by taking on too much, especially in his decision to invade Russia in June 1941. Lukacs insists that Operation Barbarossa made a lot of sense from a military and diplomatic point of view. Hitler's original pact with the Soviet Union had been an attempt to prompt the British to avoid fighting him over Poland. When that failed and when the possibility of invading Britain, which he never wanted to do, became increasingly remote, Hitler decided that the

only way to bring the British to acquiesce in his claim for German ascendancy on the continent was to defeat the only other major independent power, Russia. Then the British and their still officially non-belligerent supporters, the Americans, would, in accord with *realpolitik*, acquiesce in the new German hegemony over the European continent.

There was a very great chance that he could have defeated the Russians. Indeed, the Russian regime was in such a state of disrepair, Lukacs suggests, that had Hitler let Stalin know in September of 1941 that he could be let off with the same terms as the French were in June of 1940 the Red dictator might have acquiesced. As it was, the population of Moscow throughout October were anticipating with much curiosity and fascination their imminent conquest by the Germans. The Russian Army was collapsing all around. Russian resistance and discipline were only restored when climatic elements halted the German march. At that point, Lukacs indicated, Hitler, in contrast to the usual image of him believing in the possibility of a German victory almost until 1945, became aware that the war could not be won and that the German strategy should be to fight on, as they were well able to, until their enemies would fall out among themselves and then a negotiated peace could be arrived at.

The other alleged over-extension of Hitler was his support for the Japanese in their war on the United States. Lukacs argues that Hitler did not declare war on the United States out of a blind and imprudent sense of loyalty to his Japanese ally (who, for their part, had shrewdly signed a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union). Rather, Hitler had all along urged the Japanese to war on the Americans with the hope that it would keep the Americans hamstrung from any European operations. Admittedly he should have urged the Japanese to expand northward towards Russia. He also miscalculated American strategy. However, some Americans, such as Douglas MacArthur, wanted to do just what Hitler hoped they would, that is, give first priority to fighting Japan.

One of the most intriguing and thoughtful sections of Lukacs' book is his analysis of the "balance of power" implications of the origins, duration, and conclusion of the Second World War. Hitler, he asserts, although a fanatic ideologist, wanted a traditional foreign policy goal, that is, a new balance of power with German dominance of the continent (admittedly "a kind of near-absolute domination, and not some kind of Bismarckian preponderance") to which he believed the British and ultimately the Americans would acquiesce. The master *realpolitician*, Stalin, most anxious for Hitler's friendship, would accept that new balance of power including German dominance of Europe in return for the safety of the Russian state. Stalin hoped that Hitler's dominance of Europe would allow Russian neutrality. If Russia had to be drawn into war he preferred an alliance with Hitler than with Britain. It was the traditionally *realpolitical* British and their supporters, the Americans, who rejected a *modus vivendi* solution. They were determined to get rid of Hitler rather than accept a new balance of power because "they felt that the very nature of Hitler's regime stood in the way of any kind of a reasonable balance of power." Convinced that the Anglo-American alliance with the Russians from mid-1941 on would have to eventually break apart, Hitler failed to understand that Britain and the United States would prefer Russian domination over half of Europe than German domination of all or most of it.

Lukacs is particularly contemptuous of the Left which he holds had become eclipsed as a political force in the early 1930's as the major mass movements that "came out of the Depression were Fascist or Nationalist Socialist, rather than Communist." The failure of the Left was in accord with the persistent inaccuracy of Marx's political prophecies. The twentieth century has seen more of the dissolution of class differences than class warfare, more intensification of national consciousness than its lessening, and a "Marxist" revolution in Russia that was, unlike the French Revolution of 1789, more a by-product of another war and a localized event than the vanguard of the future. During the thirties in the advanced and industrialized West, the logical focus for the emerging classless society, the Marxist and Leftist leadership, seemed increasingly old and/or beset by desertions to the Right (Laval, MacDonald,  
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## The First Two Years —

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Mussolini), while its mass following, especially in Central Europe, were most susceptible to the appeals of Nazism. As for the one established Marxist regime, the Soviet Union, not only was it at that stage an abysmal failure and a tyranny, but its leader, Stalin, was himself really more of a Nationalist Socialist than a Marxist, being contemptuous of the Western Leftists but having "a healthy respect for the men and forces of the Right."

The European political struggles and the later military clashes of the late 1930's and early 1940's should, Lukacs acutely argues, be seen as a struggle between two Rights rather than Left and Right because the opponents of Hitler appealed to the same impulses—duty, loyalty, tradition, patriotism—that Hitler and the collaborationist Right did. The most unyielding, although not always successful, enemies of domestic Nationalist Socialist movements or collaborationist tendencies were the conservative dictators, regents, and monarchs of Portugal, Greece, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Similarly, clerical and aristocratic forces were the strongest counterpoles to collaboration in Austria, Italy, and Spain. The Poles fought Hitler to the end—and beyond—unlike the democratic Czechs who collapsed before his threats.

Since the book deals with the period in which the Third Reich seemed in fact the wave of the future, Lukacs deals with the generally ignored (or deliberately forgotten) tendency of most people—particularly among the conquered—to accept the apparently inevitable. Part of the reason was the viability of National Socialism (as opposed to the exclusive German form, Nazism). National Socialism, that is the "conjunction of nationalism with socialism . . . may have been the principal political configuration of a century," just as during the Nineteenth Century, "the principal political ideas in the Western world were a mixture of conservatism and liberalism." What better label than National Socialist, Lukacs asks, could be applied to such different men as Castro, Mao, Peron, Nasser, Tito, and—in a broader sense—"many of the leaders of the democracies of the second half of the twentieth century."

Sympathy for or acceptance of Hitler by non-Germans sprang, Lukacs notes, from a variety of causes ranging from Nationalist Socialist ideological solidarity (naturally unreciprocated by Hitler who preferred opportunist thugs to fanatics as supporters in satellite countries) to Germanophilia. Another important facet of Hitler's appeal was his anti-Communism, a pre-occupation of certain conservatives and many Catholic churchmen which allowed them to excuse Hitler's gross violations of their standards. Continental Anglophobia was another important factor. The Anglophobia of the Germans was a kind of inferiority complex, according to Lukacs. But he also sees it as a blatant assertion of the Germanic idealistic rejection of the positivism of the nineteenth century. Along the same lines Vichy apologists identified France's democratic-liberal decadence with the Anglo-French alliance.

Lukacs devotes a whole chapter to the relations between nations, that is, the popular attitudes of nationalities towards each other—one of the many things of which the New York man in the street has been conscious long before most academicians. These attitudes manifested themselves in such things as mass spectator sports, and Hitler was particularly attuned to registering and evoking these impulses. Naturally the attitudes of nationalities towards each other often changed because of the war. Lukacs reasserts what had always been a pet peeve of Hilaire Belloc—that the English had suffered from a Germanophilia that was filled with racist implications, dating from Victorian times, and manifest in the ideas of Carlyle and the policies of Joseph and Neville Chamberlain. The war ended this, but the war also enabled the intellectual left and the press to whip up in the British an irrational Russophilia (a parallel to this was the mood in Hollywood during the war years).

Lukacs is most original in his discussion of the central criminality of Nazism—its genocidal anti-Semitism. He asserts that the universal liberal dogma "that Nazism was much more criminal than Communism, will stand only because of the Jewish issue." If Hitler and company had not murdered the Jews a kind of pro-German apology could easily have developed and have pointed out that the German people were much better off under Hitler than the Russians were under the Communists, that many of

the Eastern Europeans suffered less under German occupation than they did under the Russians, and that in the early stages of the war there was an extraordinary degree of personal and political freedom within the Third Reich (For instance, full wartime mobilization was not proclaimed in Germany until 1942—three years after it had been in England!).

Hitler's principal conviction throughout his life was his Judeophobia, that is, "To solve the Jewish problem." His biological racism, to which he was inconsistent in view of his courting alliances with the Arabs and the Japanese, was secondary to his rigid and consistent Judeophobia. But while his Judeophobia was always central to him, the severity of his "solution" evolved in intensity. His earlier preference was expulsion rather than extermination of the Jews of Europe—a policy having many localized precedents in European history and with which many political leaders in Eastern and Southern Europe were agreeable. Indeed, if Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed in late 1941 to suspend the war and provide ships to transport the Jews out of Europe, Hitler, Lukacs insists, would have immediately agreed.

A central date suggesting a probable change in intensity of his anti-Semitic policy was January 30, 1939. In a speech responding to the increasing American encouragement of anti-Hitler figures and forces in Europe, Hitler, convinced of extraordinary Jewish influence on President Roosevelt, warned international Jewry that should they succeed in provoking a world war in opposition to German policy—that is, secure American intervention—the result would be "the annihilation of the Jewish race throughout Europe." Accordingly, the policy towards the Jews in territories under Hitler's control up to 1939 was one of

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## The First Two Years —

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encouraging and/or forcing emigration. Then, from 1939 to January 1942, emigration remained the official policy, although the Jews in Poland were being concentrated into ghettos and a half million Jews were being murdered by the Germans elsewhere in Eastern Europe, frequently with the help of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Rumanians (whose National Socialist Iron Guard movement possibly exceeded the SS in the intensity of their anti-Semitic barbarity). In January of 1942, coinciding with the total mobilization of the Reich, annihilation became the official and definite Third Reich policy towards the Jews. With the American entry into the war—a development which heartened millions of Jews throughout the world—Hitler's solution of ridding Europe of Jews by sending them to America had become academic. Consequently, the logic of his perverse phobia required the dire "final solution"—a decision which once taken no longer attracted his interest or supervision.

The weakness of the book is paradoxically its wealth of information and insights. In other words, it is too much to digest. Each page could develop a theme for a monograph and, as a result, there tends to be an awkward type of organization. Footnotes, usually of paragraph length, which are at the bottom of pages rather than at the end of chapters or the book, distract the reader but in an intriguing way.

An interesting theme of the book which could lend itself to enormous study is the often ambiguous and frequently collaborationist attitude of religion with the horrors of the Third Reich. At the same time, Lukacs notes, religion was a major stimulant animating resistance movements and provided meaning for thoughtful people shocked by "not only the disasters of the war but also the disasters of the mass mind." Out of the war would come a generation of Europeans "freeing their minds from allegiance to the state without, at the same time, becoming anti-religious."

On the subject of religion and the Third Reich, Lukacs is critical of "saintly and sincere" Pius XII. Acknowledging that the Pontiff had no illusions about Hitler, Lukacs feels he allowed both his fear that a German defeat would be followed by a Communist victory all over Europe and his excessive caution in anticipating what Hitler might do to the German Catholics to impede his exercising true spiritual leadership by outrightly condemning Hitlerism. Another note, intriguing to Roman Catholics in particular, that Lukacs makes is that Cardinals Ottaviani and Tisserant were the most determined Vatican opponents of the Third Reich. In addition Lukacs gives an embarrassing quotation, dated August

2, 1940, from the futurist Jesuit, Teilhard de Chardin: "The world is bound to belong to its most active elements...Just now, the Germans deserve to win because, however bad or mixed is their spirit, they have more spirit than the rest of the world."

Lukacs steps on other toes as well. He lumps Neville Chamberlain, Petain, and Robert A. Taft together as being so paralyzed by a fear of the Communist threat, despite its non-existence in their own nations, that they lacked realistic judgement in international affairs. On the other hand, he notes Roosevelt's embarrassed inability to reply to the parallel Hitler drew in 1940 between the Third Reich's European policy and the Monroe Doctrine. Lukacs also points out the anxiety shared by a few sensitive Europeans, like Bernanos and De Gaulle, as early as 1941 about a future American hegemony, particularly if it was propelled by the universalist ideology represented by the Roosevelts and proclaimed by the William Allen Whites and the Harold Ickes.

A review of *The Last European War* can be summed up only with the colorful conclusion of so many columns of a late New York ethnic journalist: FOOD FOR THOUGHT. □

\*Dr. McCarthy teaches modern European history at Fordham University at Lincoln Center, New York City.

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"Rome's unquestionable greatness and her amazing achievements in the first one or two centuries of the Christian era must not make us overlook the fact that the imperial tradition is the most questionable part of our Greco-Roman heritage, different from its highest, truly humanistic ideals, and it is at the same time the part which is most difficult to reconcile with our Christian heritage".

Oscar Halecki, *The Millenium of Europe*, Notre Dame 1963.

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"Brigands of the world, they (the Romans) have exhausted the land by their indiscriminate plunder, and now they ransack the sea. The wealth of an enemy excites their cupidity, his poverty their lust for power. East and West have failed to glut their maw. They are unique in being as violently tempted to attack the poor as the wealthy. Robbery, butchery, rapine, the liars call Empire; they create a desert and call it peace".

Tacitus, *Agricola*.

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THE

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# To The Elections

## The Reagan Defeat

By now, everyone knows, of course, that it will be Ford vs. Carter in November. It is instructive, however, to ponder the reasons for the narrow Reagan defeat, because it highlights the snares and pitfalls of "pragmatism" in politics. The essence of the Ford vs. Reagan struggle was that Reagan had the hearts of the delegates and Ford their pocketbooks: in short, that the hearts of most of the delegates lusted for hard-rock conservative principle which they thought to be embodied in Reagan; whereas the President inevitably wielded the lures and powers of patronage wielded by his office—a road here, a contract or a job there.

Reagan, in fact, was leading a veritable revolution—a bold attempt by the majority of party militants to overthrow a centrist sitting President, and to replace him by a supposed hard-core conservative. Yet, the thrust and meaning of that revolution was repeatedly blunted by Reagan, Sears, and their advisers, who wished to preserve the fiction that all Republicans were and are buddies together. To do so, Reagan-Sears engaged in a series of evasions and sellouts of conservative principle on behalf of seemingly "pragmatic" considerations. There is no more ignoble sight than men of supposed principle who sell their souls for victory ... and then lose! So that neither their souls nor their objectives are obtained. It is not only that revolutions are never won by the faint of heart; it is also that since Reagan's sole asset was his conservative ideology, his repeated sellouts weakened and confused enough of his supporters in the tight contest so as to ensure his defeat. Specifically, there was: (a) the decision not to wage any contest in the Northeastern states that were the heart of the Ford support—so as not to disturb the party; (b) the monumental blunder of picking Schweiker as the vice-presidential nominee; and (c) the decision to make the major fight at the convention, not on emotional conservative issues (e.g. abortion, detente, the Panama Canal), but on the silly 16c rule — a technicality rather than an issue — which even most Reaganites realized was on shaky ground. In particular, the Schweiker decision angered and saddened enough conservative militants to lose Reagan the critical Mississippi delegation. Bill Buckley's defense of the Schweiker decision on pragmatic grounds was proved inane by the most pragmatic of results: that Schweiker gained no Northeasterners and lost Reagan more delegates than he gained. The most superficial political observer should have realized, for one thing, that Schweiker, considered a lightweight by all who know him, had no political clout in his home state. Notably, for example, as one disillusioned Reaganite told *Newsweek*, after Schweiker, "no one is going to break the law for Reagan", i.e. no one was going to violate his state pledges to Ford in order to vote his heart for Reagan.

Some wag has said that World War II was a conflict between Left Hegelians (Russia) and Right Hegelians (Nazi Germany); in a more trivial way, it is possible to see the Ford vs. Reagan contest as one between Randians (Greenspan vs. Martin Anderson.) *Newsweek* reports that the ex-Randian and quasi-libertarian Anderson was, along with Sears, the most powerful influence in convincing the reluctant Reagan to choose Schweiker. One wonders: does Martin realize that he sold his soul

for a mess of defeat? So far we have heard no mea culpas coming from Anderson or from self-styled "anarcho-pragmatist" Dana Rohrabacher, also high up in the Reagan camp.

Not, of course, that we at the Forum are mourning the Reagan defeat. On the contrary, we can all breathe easier at the sending of the dangerous war-monger Reagan and his cohorts back to private life. The conservative revolution was a revolution on behalf of war and militarism (as well as the outlawry of abortion and a crackdown on civil liberties), and so libertarians must all rejoice at the outcome. But the lesson on principles vs. compromise remains for all ideologists.

## II The Rusher Defeat

Another cause for rejoicing, this time on a more comic level, was the well-deserved defeat of the attempt of Bill Rusher and other conservatives to capture the American Independent Party and to create a "respectable" New Majority conservative third party. If Rusher and Dick Viguerie had succeeded in their attempted coup, we might have been plagued with a growing "respectable" right-wing populist party of National Reviewish stripe which could have posed a long-term danger for peace and liberty. Rusher had proposed a mighty conservative Republican-Wallaceite coalition that would have jettisoned the rhetoric of the free-market and grounded its ideology on a coalition platform on behalf of war, militarism, and discreet racism. Instead, Rusher and his cohorts underestimated the shrewdness of Wallaceite William Shearer, head of the AIP, who beat off their challenge and nominated the blatantly un-respectable racist Lester Maddox for President. Thus, Rusher et al. were fortunately left without a political home. It couldn't have happened to a more deserving crew, especially in view of their media boasting that they would field a powerful third-party ticket this November.

## III The MacBride Ticket

All this leaves the MacBride—Libertarian Party ticket in a happy position. The fuzzily centrist Carter and Ford nominations leave a great many unhappy ideologues in both parties. Furthermore, the differences between Ford and Carter are so marginal that unhappy liberal Democrats might well be moved to vote for a third-party candidate, knowing that Ford is fairly "safe"; while unhappy conservatives might be tempted to vote third-party in the knowledge that Carter is not a liberal ideologue like Humphrey or McGovern. Carter's fuzzy record on peace and civil liberties might, in short, tempt many liberals to leave the Democrats and vote for MacBride who is consistent on these issues; while Ford's lack of ardor toward a free-market might move conservatives to do likewise.

Liberals tempted to kick over the traces are faced with a choice between MacBride and the Eugene McCarthy independent ticket. But surely liberals should recognize a vital point: that McCarthy is purely a one-man movement; he represents no party and no ideological party structure—he doesn't even have a Vice-President. A vote for McCarthy,

(Continued On Page 2)

## The LP Convention

The 1976 Libertarian Party convention—held at the Statler-Hilton in Washington on the weekend of Sept. 24-26—was by far the best libertarian convention yet held, inside or outside of the Party. This was not only my unhesitating conclusion, but also the conclusion of many other observers, including veterans of Libertarian gatherings, as well as old friends who usually run in the other direction when more than four libertarians are contained in any one room.

The spirit at the convention was harmonious, joyful, and attentive; there was none of the faction-fighting, petty snarling, or ill will that has marred so many other libertarian gatherings. Of course, this harmony was aided by the fact that, as is always the case in even-numbered years, this was not a business meeting of the LP—but the spirit of harmony and solidarity went far beyond this purely mechanical fact.

The happy and welcome spirit of the convention can be attributed to two main sets of facts: the high quality of the speeches, panels, and workshops, and the high quality of the audience. As to the speeches, one distinguished academic at the convention marvelled at the unusually high quality of the talks (and of the questions from the audience as well), comparing it to a scholarly conference rather than a typical political party. Coupled with that admiration, was an equal praise for the consistency and integrated nature of the libertarian thought displayed. The speeches stressed the importance of a peaceful, isolationist foreign policy, of civil liberties as against the CIA and FBI as well as against victimless crime laws, of natural rights, of American revolutionary history, the history of the movement, of Austrian free-market economics, and of individualist psychology. To this observer, the most welcome stress was on the one area where most libertarians need the most firming up: on the overwhelming need for a non-interventionist foreign policy. Here the most important speeches were the masterful and moving pro-peace address of Roy Childs, and the solidly well-informed explanation of the implications of non-intervention by the one firm isolationist among American foreign policy experts: Professor Earl Ravenel of Johns Hopkins and Georgetown Universities. Also notable in the foreign affairs area was the panel on the emotionally explosive issue of the Middle East, in which three of the leading Middle Eastern experts in the libertarian movement: Professor Leonard Liggio of SUNY, Old Westbury, Dr. Steven Halbrook of Howard University and Georgetown Law School, and John Hagel III of Harvard Law and Business Schools and Oxford University, examined the tangled threads of Middle Eastern politics in a masterful and scholarly fashion. Particularly interesting to me were Halbrook's point that the Lebanese "left" is Moslem and pro-capitalist rather than Marxist; and Liggio's demonstration that U.S. support to the Zionist movement after World War I stemmed from a desire to provide a cover for the anti-Semitic immigration restrictions that the U.S. imposed during the same time. Liggio added that the intensified U.S. support for Zionism after World War II reflected a proportionately more intense U.S. guilt for immigration barriers to European Jews—a process of what Liggio termed the "exporting of guilt" from the U.S. to the Arabs of the Middle East.

Even more remarkable than the quality of the speeches and panels was the quality of the audience. The audience was knowledgeable and attentive—who, for example, could ever have foreseen several hundred well-informed and alert people at a panel on Austrian economic theory? Especially since virtually all non-economists regard economics as the dismal science? But even more, there seemed to be a new kind of audience in Washington, as witness the fact that so many were newcomers attending their first LP convention. Almost uniformly, this audience consisted of "real people", people who work, think, and are active in the real world. Happily, the crazies seem to have disappeared from whence they came. All in all, the L.P. convention was an inspiration and a joy.

Finally, the media coverage of the convention was splendid. The Washington Post covered the meeting in a lengthy article; NBC-TV gave in a lengthy article; NBC-TV gave it over three minutes on the evening news; and at least one lengthy UPI dispatch went over the wires—with all the coverage respectful and favorable.

Who can deny that the Libertarian Party is on the march? □

## Libertarianism For Profit? A Letter And Reply

**Ed. Note:** We have received the following interesting and challenging letter from a subscriber, Mr. Charles A. Jeffress, that deserves publication and a reply. The letter follows:

Dear Editor:

I subscribe to several libertarian publications and I think *Libertarian Forum* is the best. In my opinion it is the only consistently libertarian and intellectually respectable publication our "movement" has. Its pages are free of the Cold War jingoism, American flag idolatry, nambypamby pacifism, petty sectarianism, and science fiction claptrap so often found in other libertarian publications.

However, I think there is something missing in libertarian strategy which *Libertarian Forum* has never discussed. That is, what does the libertarian movement have to offer its followers besides some future promise of freedom. Nicholas von Hoffman put it quite well in the latest Reason:

"... the damned politicians are always getting up and asking people to sacrifice for some large goal. This really goes against the fact of finite mortal existence. We just don't want to sacrifice for some future goal, for our grandchildren, or for some horrendous abstraction, be it the socialist state or freedom or what have you. What we want, because we're not going to be around that long, is something now."

Of what benefit is libertarianism to us? The more altruistic and fanatical libertarians can sustain themselves with a long and unrewarded struggle for liberty, but most of us cannot.

Libertarians defend the free market because it works. It provides its followers with present benefits. I think a movement that promotes the free market should do the same. There's a fair amount of truth in the H.L. Hunt quote:

"If the world's worth saving, it's worth saving at a profit."

Charles A. Jeffress  
Tulsa, Oklahoma

The Editor Replies:

The central error of Mr. Jeffress' thoughtful letter is one made by many "profit-oriented" libertarians: a confusion of the concept of "profit" with mere monetary profit. Profit, indeed, is the aim of every

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## Elections — (Continued From Page 1)

therefore, is really "thrown away", because it is purely ad hoc and one-shot; a vote for McCarthy builds nothing for the future.

Most conservatives will undoubtedly do as they have always done—swallow their pride and vote Republican. But those who don't suffer from blind Republican loyalty have three options: Maddox, Tom Anderson of the Birch Society and the American Party, and MacBride. Racists and Birchers will of course be tempted to vote for their own. But surely there are some conservatives who believe their old free-market and anti-statist rhetoric and will vote Libertarian. How many will we see in November?

Meanwhile, the Libertarian Party is winning spots on the ballot of state after state, at this writing in at least 31 states, and the welcome news has just arrived that the LP will be on the ballot in its two major areas of strength: New York and California—the latter the result of a loosening of the formerly impossible state election laws. Nationwide television spots, along with the LP convention in Washington in late September, will hopefully accelerate the visibility of the Presidential ticket. Due to the heroic efforts of MacBride, Bergland, the national office, the state parties, and roving petition-gatherers, the fledgling Libertarian Party is already the nation's third largest party—a remarkable achievement, and one which could scarcely have been predicted a year ago. □

## 'Benediction' Speech At The LP Convention

The following speech was delivered by the editor of the *Lib. Forum* as the closing, or "benediction", speech at the L.P. Convention in Washington, D.C. on Sunday, Sept. 26.

Friends and Fellow Libertarians:

I must admit to a bit of confusion when I saw that this speech was listed on the convention program as a "benediction". As one of my friends said in disbelief: "Are you going to be praying for us?" Several years ago, when I argued in the *Libertarian Forum* against reading Christians out of the movement, I was charged in some of our more militant circles with having become a "Jesus freak." I suppose that for some of our more humorless critics in the movement, the title "benediction" will be proof enough of this indictment.

But we can all rest assured. For I looked up the definition of "benediction" in Webster's and here is what it said: "Act of blessing; a blessing; an expression of blessing, prayer, or kind wishes; a solemn or affectionate invocation of happiness." And while I am not prepared to pray for our cause, I am more than willing to convey an expression of blessing, kind wishes, and an affectionate and even at times solemn invocation of happiness.

For we libertarians have a lot to be happy about. First, we should be happy about this convention, about the excellent and scholarly speeches and workshops built around the vital themes of liberty. It is impossible to recapitulate all of these speeches and lessons that we have heard here; but I would particularly like to commend the stress that has been placed here, and in the Presidential campaign, on the vital importance of a non-intervention foreign policy. And particularly on the primary stress that has been laid on the moral basis for a peaceful and non-interventionist foreign policy, on the moral imperative of avoiding mass murder, as Roy Childs has so eloquently reminded us. For it is elemental but sometimes forgotten that we cannot have liberty unless we have life.

Also we have something else to be happy about: We are reaching the end of the mightiest libertarian campaign in over a century, and the most explicitly libertarian campaign in all of human history; we have reached

literally 70 million people with our libertarian message in clear and principled and uncompromising form — 70 million who have heard the words and the concepts of liberty for the first time in their lives. We have and will continue to beam our message over nationwide television; we have gotten coverage in the press and the media across the country which we could scarcely have imagined last year when the campaign began.

Of course none of this coverage and this dissemination would have been possible without the literally superhuman efforts of our Presidential candidate, Roger MacBride, who has been campaigning continuously since last year's convention. How he did and is still doing it I don't know; on Roger's schedule I think most of us would have been in a rest home after a few weeks. I can only think that in addition to his natural stamina, that Roger is afire with the spirit of liberty, and that spirit must be sustaining him. And if that last sentence sounds just a teeny bit religious, I guess I'll just have to answer to whatever, or whoever, is the atheist equivalent of St. Peter.

And let us not forget the heroic efforts — the energy and the dedication — of the national office and of the state parties, state MacBride committees and roving petition-gatherers who got us on the ballot in over 31 states! Here we are, a brand-new party with a brand-new ideology, and we are already on more state ballots than any of the other minor parties! Isn't that phenomenal?

To us libertarian veterans, the most remarkable aspect of the vast amount of media attention to our campaign is that the reports have ranged from favorable to neutral, with very few unfavorable comments. And no one has called Roger or the party a fascist, a crazy, or a Neanderthal — a refreshing change from the common epithets of two and three decades ago.

The quantity of media coverage is surely a response to the success of the campaign and the ballot drives. But how explain the good will and even the approval that we find in the media? I think it is clear that the media people themselves are surprised and attracted by this new-found

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## Libertarianism — (Continued From Page 2)

market exchange, indeed of every human action; but it is **psychic profit**, that is, the advance of a person higher up on his value scale, the satisfaction of an otherwise unfulfilled want or goal. Chiding libertarians for not "making a profit" would only be correct if no **psychic profit**, no profit in terms of the individual libertarian's own utilities, were being made.

But this would imply that every human action is made in order to obtain a **monetary profit**; but this of course would be an absurd claim. The entire range of **consumption expenditures** is made, clearly not to make money, but to earn **psychic profit** from the expenditure; a person goes to a concert, or buys food, etc. not to gain a monetary but a **psychic profit**. And since consumption expenditure is the ultimate aim of production and the making of monetary income, this demonstrates that non-monetary or **psychic profit** is the ultimate aim of even money-making activities. Ludwig von Mises used to scoff at Dickens' capitalist character's contention that he could not give money to his ailing grandmother because to do so would be to violate the contentions of economists that one must always buy in the cheaper market and sell in the dearer, i.e. make a **monetary profit**. Dickens' charge was a caricature because it left out the entire range of consumer expenditures which lie at the base of money-making, and which are conducted to yield a **psychic profit** only.

To answer Mr. Jeffress' contention, then: those of us who are "fanatical" libertarians, engaged in a lifelong battle on behalf of individual liberty, joyously earn a **psychic profit** in the course of the struggle. Why? Because our value-scales are such that we consider it of enormous **psychic profit** to us to participate in the battle for liberty, to fight for the most noble and glorious cause of all. We don't consider that we are "sacrificing" either ourselves or our descendants. We consider that a commitment to participate as much as possible in the struggle for liberty gives joy and enrichment to our lives. If we feel that we are

succeeding in bringing the glorious future day of total liberty closer by our efforts, then of course so much the better; but if our best efforts do not eventually succeed (which I do not believe), we in no sense will consider our efforts wasted—for we will consider ourselves happy and privileged to have fought for the glorious cause of individual liberty. That continuing and lasting **psychic profit** cannot be taken away from us.

Mr. Jeffress calls battling for the libertarian cause "altruistic". Since we are continually making a great **psychic profit** from the struggle that term clearly does not apply. But there is more to be said about this common charge. I regard altruism as an absurd and self-contradictory philosophy, in flat contradiction to the nature of man. Consider the old cartoon: a father is instructing his child, rather sentimentally: "Our purpose in life is to serve others"; to which the kid pipes up, to the considerable embarrassment of his parent: "What then is the purpose in life of the others?" To say that A should always serve the interests or at the dictates of B,C, etc. is to fail to resolve the problem of the fact that B,C, etc. won't be able to dictate any action either, since still **others** will have to decide on their action. The result of consistent altruism, then, is that no one will be able to act at all. Of course, in practice, as Isabel Paterson said in her great work *The God Of The Machine*, the "altruist"-humanitarian acts and pushes people around on behalf of what he claims are their best interests.

Finally, the libertarian fights for the liberty of all men because he believes that justice requires such a world; since he holds the liberty of all very high on his value-scale, such liberty is to his own "psychic interest" as well as to the **psychic interest** of everyone. The libertarian fights for a world in which he would very much like to live, a world of justice where everyone's rights (including of course his own) are upheld. He wants to exploit no one and no one to exploit him; to write off such a goal of justice for all as "altruism" is to misconceive both altruism and justice, and to posit that the world can only be a jungle in which each man lives either by trampling upon others, or by being trampled upon. □

## 'Benediction' — (Continued From Page 3)

libertarian ideology. For one thing: who else but Roger and the Libertarian Party can offer a coherent, systematic defense of Daniel Schorr? We have struck a chord that resounds in thoughtful people throughout the country, a chord that demonstrates that the time is now ripe for Americans to listen to and heed the libertarian message. Conservatives, as we know, tend to take an aggressive and paranoid attitude toward the media, to write them off as "all a bunch of blankety-blank liberals", and of course the media people, being human, tend to respond in kind.

It is true that media people are similar to most intellectuals in being liberals. But let us examine the mind-set of the typical liberal, vintage 1976. He or she knows, down-deep, that something has gone very wrong with the liberal ideology and with the liberalism that we have all lived under for forty years. He knows that the entire idea that "we are the government", that the government should regulate and control our lives and resources, has gone very sour. After forty years of liberal "fine-tuning" of the economy, he knows that all that has been accomplished is chronic and accelerating inflation combined with periodic recessions, the last one the deepest since World War II. He knows that we are all groaning under a burden of high taxation, taxes that injure and cripple the poor and the middle class as well as the wealthy. He sees that the formerly sacrosanct public school system is in deep trouble, barely teaching anyone and only serving an increasingly inefficient custodial and babysitting function for its charges. He sees that compulsory integration and forced bussing have aggravated rather than relieved racial tensions. He is getting fed up with the idea that the criminal is always to be pitied, while the victim of the crime is either neglected or somehow blamed for the actions of the criminal. Above all, as a civil libertarian, he sees that Big Government, even elected government, has become a tyrant and oppressor of civil liberties, of the freedom to dissent from the powers that be. He sees also that the liberal foreign policy of global intervention and collective security has only brought us endless war, mass murder, and great waste of resources. And since Watergate and the Pentagon Papers, he sees how an unchecked executive power in domestic and foreign affairs brought us close to a police state.

And so the thoughtful person, in or out of the media, has become increasingly disillusioned with liberalism and ripe for a fundamental change in political outlook. Until now, however, the only alternative to liberalism that seemed to be available was conservatism, and conservatism could still only repel the thoughtful liberal ready to become an ex-liberal. Devoted to peace and civil liberties, he sees conservatism as a frenetic call for still more militarism, global intervention and war, and for still more suppression of civil liberties — both in the form of political dissent and of personal activities, or victimless crimes, which the conservative deems to be immoral and therefore to be stamped out by the police. Devoted to the sturdy American principle of separation of church and state, our liberal is hardly likely to be attracted to the odor of theocracy and the Inquisition that permeates the conservative movement.

Given the repellent nature of conservatism, and given the propensity of human nature not to abandon an old belief until a new and better one comes along, our typical thoughtful liberal has generally remained one, in spite of himself — but ready to defect should a better political ideology come along. But that better ideology is libertarianism — and hence the surprising degree of favorable media interest. For only we are consistently opposed to coercive Big Government — in all aspects of American life: domestic and foreign, economic and personal, secular and religious. Only libertarianism brings back to American political life what has for so long been absent — a consistent and well-thought-out ideology, a seamless web on behalf of the liberty of the individual, on behalf of voluntary as opposed to coercive action in all spheres of life.

I have so far spoken of media people and intellectuals; but the mass of the public, too, is ripe for the libertarian message and for many of the same reasons. The public, too, is sick of Big Government and high taxes, of inflation, and of government coercion. The mass of the public is not interested in global crusades or nuclear incineration. Above all, the public has a healthy distrust of government and of politicians. There are many signs of this welcome and radical shift in the public mood, but perhaps the most important is that both the major party candidates feel it

necessary to try to ride this mood by campaigning against "Washington." Of course, their campaigns are empty, cynical, and devoid of issues or concrete content. Of course, they will continue to con the public a while longer. But this con job is getting more and more difficult and will only succeed for a while because most of the public sees no viable alternative to the two major parties.

But this lack of an alternative, this common idea that we are stuck with two evil parties of which we must at each election choose the lesser, is rapidly coming to an end. Because we Libertarians are now here to present the real anti-Washington alternative! An alternative that presents the issues clearly and consistently. No one can accuse us of being "fuzzy." And as our message spreads, and as the public realizes that we are here and here to stay, they will turn more and more to the Libertarian alternative.

I would like to try to clarify some confusion that has arisen about the relationship of the Libertarian Party to the broad libertarian movement in this country. The libertarian movement consists of everyone who is active in trying to bring about complete individual liberty. It consists not only of the Libertarian Party, but of many other organizations and associations in all walks of life: including scholars' movements within and cutting across numerous scholarly disciplines; tax-protest movements, such as the splendid mass demonstration in New Jersey last weekend in favor of repealing the state income tax and cutting the budget; organizations opposed to government fiat money, and many others too numerous to mention. It also includes the Libertarian Party, which is the political-action, or political-party, arm of the movement. I regard all of these worthy activities as complementary and indispensable, and not at all competitive. The Libertarian Party comes to put the libertarian ideal into practice in American political life.

Specifically on the Libertarian Party, I see the party as fulfilling four vital and interlocking functions. First, it has proved to be an indispensable method for **building the libertarian movement**. Political campaigns, in the first place, are vitally important methods for informing previously isolated libertarians about the existence of an organized party of fellow-libertarians, and thereby spurring the organization of previously fragmented libertarians in every state in the Union. Secondly, the party provides a channel for libertarians to gather together and engage in fruitful and rewarding libertarian activity. In the days before the party, I would often hear newly converted libertarians ask: "all right, now we believe in liberty, but what can we do about it?" Now that we have a Libertarian Party, no one need ask such a question any longer; as we all know, there is plenty to do. Already, in its brief existence, the Libertarian Party has been phenomenally successful, far more so than any and all other libertarian organizations, past and present, in building the libertarian movement, in gathering libertarians together and in providing them important and fruitful forms of continuing activity.

In addition to building the movement, the Libertarian Party has, as we all know, a vitally important **educational** function, in educating the media and the public in the libertarian ideology, in presenting that ideology, and then in changing the climate of opinion in a libertarian direction. I have already spoken of the fantastic fact that scores of millions of Americans have been exposed to uncompromising libertarian ideas for the first time in their lives — and this could only have been done in the context of a political, and particularly of a Presidential, campaign.

Building the movement and educating the public; these two functions are crucial enough and are more than enough to justify our efforts. But this is far from all that the party will be accomplishing in the months and years ahead. In the first place, as we gather in strength and influence and durability, we will find — in the classic pattern of third parties — that we will succeed more and more in pushing the major parties in a libertarian direction. Not, of course, because they will be converted to the cause, but, because, cynical vote-seekers that they are, they will have to bend under what they perceive as public pressure. Now, in 1976, they are content to give lip-service to the inchoate mood of being against "Washington"; in the years to come, they will be forced to adopt more and more of the specific stands on issues on which the Libertarian Party will be convincing the public.

Let us contemplate for a moment how great it would be, for example, if the Libertarian Party had a bloc of even a few Congressmen of our very

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## Storm Over The 'Scum': Defending The Undefendable Block

I must confess to a degree of astonishment at the range and depth of the emotional hostility to Walter Block's excellent new book, *Defending the Undefendable*—in libertarian circles. In his book, Block takes the libertarian position and applies it, with lucidity, logic, and wit, to the "hard" and extreme cases, thereby forcing the reader to widen and deepen his understanding of libertarian principles. After all, it doesn't take any truly radical or consistent spirit for someone to favor legalizing the activities of the natural gas producer or the steel manufacturer, and to see why his activities, left unhampered by government, benefit the consumers. Anyone, even President Ford, can see why the airlines or railroads should be deregulated and left to the free market. But the blackmailer, the libeller, the dishonest cop, the pimp, the curmudgeon, etc? Here, support for their activities comes a lot harder. As I wrote in my introduction to the Block book:

"These case studies also have considerable shock value. By relentlessly taking up one 'extreme' case after another that is generally guaranteed to shock the sensibilities of the reader, Professor Block forces the reader to think, to rethink his initial knee-jerk emotional responses, and to gain a new and far sounder appreciation of economic theory and of the virtues and operations of the free market economy. Even many readers who now think they believe in a free market must now be prepared to grasp fully the logical implications of a belief in a free economy. This book

will be an exciting and shocking adventure for most readers, even for those who believe that they are already converted to the merits of the free market economy."

Judging from the outraged responses to the Block book in many libertarian quarters, apparently many of "our people" are not ready for this exciting and shocking adventure. Since libertarians are, or are supposed to be, on the forefront of thought, since their whole lives have been an intellectual adventure in many ways, the hostility to the Block book becomes even more mysterious. In contrast to so many of our radical and hard-core libertarians who balk at Block, let us consider the commentary on the book published in its pages by F. A. Hayek, a distinguished free-market economist who has never been known either as a flaming radical or as a daringly consistent libertarian. Hayek writes: "Looking through *Defending the Undefendable* made me feel that I was once more exposed to the shock therapy by which, more than fifty years ago, the late Ludwig von Mises converted me to a consistent free market position. Even now I am occasionally at first incredulous and feel that 'this is going too far', but usually find in the end that you (Block) are right. Some may find it too strong a medicine but it will do them good even if they hate it." If F. A. Hayek can show himself willing to rethink his premises and apply libertarianism consistently and "extremely" in his late seventies, this points up even more starkly and ironically the stodgy and conservative (in the bad sense) habits of mind that seem to be

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### 'Benediction' — (Continued From Page 4)

own. By their speeches and above all by the consistency of all of their votes, they would show a first astonished and then delighted press and public what libertarianism in action really means. For most people, an ideology only comes alive if they can see its application in the concrete, and we could then show them plenty — even to voting, year after year, against the overall budget! Think of the great educative and pressure value of such an openly Libertarian bloc in Congress!

All of these functions: movement-building, public education, pressure on the major parties; are now within our grasp. But ultimately we cannot rely upon the statist parties to complete our vital task of rolling back the Leviathan State, of gaining a world of full individual liberty. To do so, we must aspire to be the eventual conduit, the channel, for that rollback of the State. We must aspire to become one of the major parties ourselves.

Of course there are risks involved; but we of all people can overcome them, because we know full well that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. We must take care never to compromise or water down our glorious libertarian principles which are the very point and the heart of our existence, as a party and as a movement. I am confident that we can and will do this, because our record so far shows that we are determined never to water down those principles! Moreover, those libertarians who are opposed to political action have failed dismally to come up with a single sensible alternative strategy for rolling back the State; the State is not going to disappear or fade away out of shame; it will have to be pressured into having its scope and its power whittled away. Who but a Libertarian Party is going to roll back the State and repeal all the statist measures that have been oppressing us?

Let us consider the experience of the ballot drives, the launching of active candidacies at the local level, the filming and showing of national TV spots. Let us consider these experiences in the light of our proud boast that we are the party of principles. All this hard work around the country has been inspired by the love of liberty and it has been work devoted to the cause of liberty. That is the cause that justifies our passionate efforts. That is the end that justifies our organizing a means of social transformation.

But we are not simply motivated by a passion for liberty. We are not only the party of principle; we are the party of principles. We are an organized, increasingly coherent political organization. The ballot drives,

the TV spots, are all part of a professionally-run, integrated, disciplined, coordinated, purposive effort to advance the libertarian cause. Give us a coherent organization and, inspired by the love of Liberty, we will transform America.

We have a glorious opportunity now and in the future, to succeed in all these aims. For not only is the climate of opinion among intellectuals and the public ripe for libertarian ideas, but the two-party political system is breaking up before our very eyes. The Republican party has virtually disintegrated, a disintegration only masked by the fact that it is still viable on the Presidential level. But the Republicans have only a handful of governors, and not only have the Republicans not controlled either branch of Congress in twenty-two years, but there is no prospect of the Republican party doing so ever again. Surely this situation cannot continue indefinitely, and in a few years a fundamental realignment of parties will have to take place. Since we Libertarians are already, despite our infancy in terms of years, the largest of the minor parties, and since we stand for something in an age of cynical fuzziness and absence of ideology, the chances are excellent for us to arrive before long at major party status.

In this and in future elections, we have the potential to obtain, not only the votes of outright libertarians, but of two other large and important groups. We have the potential of attracting those liberals who place peace and civil liberties above federal spending on their list of priorities; and we have the potential of attracting those conservatives who place a free-market economy and minimal government higher than their devotion to theocratic suppression and global military intervention. Let us hope that these people are legion.

I have no idea how many votes we are going to get in November. Whatever the figure, it will be infinitely more than we could have dreamed or expected four, or even two, years ago. We are going to make a mighty impact in this election. We have already made a mighty impact. But we know, and the public should know, that this election is only the beginning. We are here to stay, and we are going to have ever greater influence in the months and years ahead. We are the party of the future. Just look around at us; I venture to say that I am by far the oldest person in this room, maybe in the entire Libertarian Party, and I am still not ready for the rocking chair. We are the party of youth, of youth and of hope. And we have the truth on our side, as well as a ripening disgust among the public at the old world of statism and tyranny. With all this going for us, how can we help but be the party of the future? ■

## 'Scum' — (Continued From Page 5)

endemic among libertarians who are less than half his age. Apparently, the young at heart is not a matter of chronology.

Before dealing with the specific critical reviews of the Block book by libertarians, we may treat two general themes that appear in them all, as well as in oral criticisms of the book. Why is Block defending, they want to know, what they often refer to as "the scum of the earth"? Apart from the general answer that the occupations that Block is treating (a) should be legal, as voluntary acts between consenting adults, and (b) provide productive services to the consumers on the market, we come to the highly loaded term "scum of the earth". Are the prostitute, the pimp, the drug addict, the dishonest cop, etc. really the "scum of the earth"? This is a pretty drastic social label to apply to a whole category of occupations, and it seems to me incumbent on the "scum" labellers to prove these wild-swinging charges. Why are they the scum of the earth (if, indeed, this term itself can be rationally defined), and on what ethical theory are they so dismissed? So far, none of the Block critics has come up with any ethical theory to justify this label.

The other major cavil is at Block's use of the term "hero" to apply to these occupations. As Block, I believe makes clear in his book, he applies the term "hero" to these "scum" because (a) they are engaging in activities that supply desired services on the free market, activities which should be legal; and (b) they persist in doing so despite social obloquy and outlawry or suppression at the hands of the State. As Block writes in a letter defending his use of the "hero" concept: "there is nothing intrinsically heroic about the grocer who earns a profit. There are no popular songs extolling his virtues. Nor is the grocer the subject of any great epic poems. Nevertheless, when the totalitarian state prohibits 'speculation' in food, in cases of shortages or famines, it is easy to show that the ordinary profit-earning grocer can be a hero....I admit that no one but a libertarian would consider the food speculator 'heroic'. But this is not, I maintain, because of a misuse of the word. It is because only a libertarian could combine an economic analysis showing the beneficial effects of speculation with a moral analysis defending the full rights of voluntary free trade."

And even if we turn to the non-libertarian Webster's, we find one of its definitions of "hero" that is relevant to Block's usage: "a person of distinguished valor or enterprise in danger, or fortitude in suffering" — which can surely apply to Block's case studies, and which says nothing about the intrinsic nobility or epic nature of the enterprise itself.

I hasten to add that I am not at all opposed to sharp intellectual debate within the libertarian movement. On the contrary, one of the reasons for the moribund nature of the conservative movement is that conservative intellectuals have tended to engage in logrolling and back-slapping to the point where important intellectual differences are slurred and papered over, in the name of a phony "unity" against the foe — as a result, intellectual issues never get defined and theory never gets advanced. The rare importance of the late Frank Meyer to conservative intellectual circles for twenty years was the fact that he, almost alone, was willing to engage in such important debates, and often against close personal friends: hence, the fame of the Meyer-Burnham, Meyer-Bozell, Meyer-Kirk, etc. debates — debates that became famous partially because any intellectual argument has been so rare in conservative circles. So it is not the fact of the storm of criticism against the Block book that I deplore, but rather that the criticism is so wrong-headed.

There is, furthermore, a double-standard that is often at work in these attacks. For libertarians, too, have tended to log-roll and to "accentuate the positive" in book reviews — a very human tendency in an embattled movement, to be sure — so that sometimes one had the feeling that anyone who writes a book devoted to "freedom, man, is groovy", is assured rave reviews in much of the libertarian media. But, all of a sudden, with the appearance of the Block book, standards are sharply raised, and every aspect is considered with a caustic eye.

Let us now turn to some of the detailed reviews in the libertarian press. Jim Davidson, in *Libertarian Review* (July-August, 1976) has three basic criticisms which he pursues at length. First is the hero definition, where Davidson asserts that classically "hero" meant "a man of superhuman strength of ability who was favored by the gods", who even "was like a god." Well, sure, but usage has changed since Homer's day, and Block's definition, as I have pointed out above, comes within the rubric of modern

usage combined with libertarian and free-market economic insight. Surely, Block would agree that the pimp, etc. is not a Homeric hero.

Secondly, Davidson maintains that the Block book is not a "work of art", does not come close, for example, to George Bernard Shaw. No doubt; but if we start applying such high stylistic standards to every libertarian book, or indeed to any book at all in this century, we would have to burn all the libraries. Block's style is readable, lucid, and interesting; to demand any more in this day and age is to be Utopian in the unfortunate sense.

Thirdly, Davidson criticizes Block for not enriching his logic with examples, anecdotes, and a critique of modern and classical legal theories. Here, I think Davidson has also raised an unrealistic standard, and is really saying that if he had written the book, it would have been done differently. Walter Block's forte is logical analysis rather than empirical anecdote; he is a formidable libertarian and economic theorist rather than an historian or legal critic. We can't demand that everyone know everything for a book to be valuable. In a sense, it is as if Mises' *Human Action* is to be criticized for not having enough historical examples, for being pure theory. The book should be weighed on its own grounds, and logic and sound theory are surely not in such superabundant supply that we can dismiss it on this sort of grounds.

*Laissez-Faire Books* considered the Block book so controversial that two contrasting reviews are offered (Summer, 1976). Roy Childs' favorable review is excellent, even though space considerations necessarily make it all too brief. Childs commends the book as "challenging, brilliant, relentlessly argued", as "shocking, audacious, and awfully funny"; and as taking "seriously Ayn Rand's dictum that one should be willing to defend the least attractive instance of a principle, and has done precisely that." Childs, too, criticizes Block's use of the term "heroic" because "what we mean by 'heroic' includes great or important values being at stake". Again, not necessarily; it is certainly permissible to take as "heroic" the formal struggling for whatever a person's goals may be, against great odds, and against State outlawry. Words do not have only one definition.

Sharon Presley's con review in *Laissez-Faire Books* I must simply pass over as an embarrassment. In addition to the now familiar charges about the word "hero" and accusing Block of not being as witty as H. L. Mencken, Miss Presley engages in hysterical verbal overkill. For example, she repeatedly attacks the book as "an affront to human dignity". Since Block is trying to rescue the dignity of his much-maligned "rogues", the term is rationally incomprehensible as applied to the book.

We turn now to the most substantial critique of the Block book that has yet appeared, that of Walter E. Grinder in his column in *Libertarian Review* (September-October 1976). Grinder writes that he is "extremely ambivalent" about the book; he is in "full agreement" with Block's basic thesis; the book is "ideologically sound", and even highly "important" and "seminal." And yet? Grinder has two basic objections. First, while he understands and even agrees with Block's use of the term "hero", that Block is defending "the very scum of the earth". Again, Grinder offers no ethical theory in defense of this serious charge. Perhaps a clue is Grinder's reference to "low-character, high-risk people who would likely fill any nonlegal...professions..." There is no question about the fact that non-legal occupations tend to attract a penumbra of what libertarians would consider real criminals: thieves, muggers, etc., since all have been placed unjustly in the same "criminal" boat by the State. But surely the way out of this is, as Grinder recognizes, to remove the stain of illegality, and thereby withdraw the criminal penumbra from all these useful but now illegal or suppressed activities. Besides, even unesthetic people can take on the character of "hero" if they determinedly and therefore heroically persist in legitimate activities that are treated as illegal by the State.

But Grinder's basic objection, as he points out, is strategic. He is worried that "defending the dregs" of society is a "short-run strategic disaster" (a point that Presley also seems to be making.) In the long-run, however, Grinder is optimistic about the Block book, because even though "it will not play well in Peoria", "it will surely lead other scholars to take up each point raised by Block and set it into legal and historical perspective." But, for now, says Grinder, "this is the wrong book at the wrong time." I think the problem here is Grinder's evaluating a book as being strategic or un-strategic. Books are, or should be, timeless, and

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## A Letter From Britain

Two centuries after the American people rejected the twin tyrannies of King and Parliament, the status of Liberty in the old "mother country" is still considerably worse than in the United States. The bright hopes engendered among all libertarians in the heyday of 19th century classical liberalism were dashed by the collapse of liberal England during World War I and the triumph of state socialism in the aftermath of World War II. The spectrum of English political life does not include any significant organized libertarian movement. The Conservative party includes a few outspoken advocates of the free market, but the party as a whole is interventionist when in office, chauvinist, imperialist, and overtly (Enoch Powell) and covertly (anti-Celtic, pro-South African) racist. It has been unable to escape its image as the enemy of the working class. The Socialist or Labour party is deeply divided between its Marxist left wing and democratic socialist right wing, retaining power largely by appealing to class envy and fear. The Liberal party has recently enjoyed a slight revival as several million middle class voters, disgusted with the Labor-Conservative incompetents, turned Liberal as a protest. The Liberals have survived as a minority party largely due to the loyalty of neglected minorities in the Celtic regions - Wales, Scotland and Cornwall - and the far north of England. But the rise of the Welsh and Scottish nationalist parties may weaken the Liberals, as it has both other parties in the Celtic lands. However, as the Liberals have recently voted on two occasions to maintain the minority Labor party in office, at the next election it will have to justify these votes, and its support for the nationalization of Britain's aircraft and shipbuilding industries. And if Wales and Scotland continue to support their growing nationalist parties, the Liberals and Laborites may both decline as the margin of their winning majorities traditionally come from the Celtic realms.

What is the state of Liberty in Britain in the summer of America's Bicentennial of the Revolution? Let us look at one issue which was much in the news.

**The Right To Work:** A major effort is underway to impose the closed shop on British workers in both private and state-owned industries. Daily reports in the newspapers indicate that the trade union movement is becoming militant in demanding that private employers and the directors of nationalized industries consent to making union membership a contractual condition for all employees. Avoiding for the moment coercion through an act of Parliament, which might not succeed due to Labour's minority status therein, the same ends can be achieved by administrative fiat or employer connivance. There is no law requiring secret balloting in union elections, and British workers are notoriously apathetic in participating in the internal governance of the unions. One result has been that the leadership of the unions has tended to fall into the hands of the more extreme Leftists, and outright Communists, who wield power wholly out of proportion to their numbers. But in any real crisis between labor and management or capital, the strong class character of British society rallies the blind loyalty of the workers to the trade union leadership. This class solidarity made democratic reform of the trade unions impossible when it was attempted by the Conservative government in 1974, and instigated the subsequent fall of that government and its loss of the general elections that year. A crucial difference between British and American societies is the different perception of social class. In England, unlike America, the ruling class is extremely visible and their presence and privilege a pervasive irritation to the self-respect of the lower classes. Historically, the working class has used a variety of social institutions to defend themselves against the arrogance and despotism of the ruling elites: the free churches, the trade unions, the old Liberal party, and more recently, the Labour party. The Conservative party has not been able to achieve credibility as a friend of the working class, or the poor. Thus, instead of the rather fuzzy and undetermined class character of American political parties the two major British parties have a hard core bitter class basis. The minor parties, the Liberals, the Welsh and Scottish Nationalists and the Ulster Unionists, represent marginal forces in the total society, forces which have been largely ignored by the dominant Labour and Conservative parties until recently.

The only force that might turn the British away from further

erosion of civil and economic liberty is the Conservative party now under the leadership of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, whose rhetorical devotion to the free market is manifest. But in practice, the Tories are notoriously unprincipled and have invariably been more socialist in office than out of office. On the vital issue of the closed shop, the Tory shadow cabinet under Mrs. T's leadership has decided to do nothing officially in the Parliament to protect the open shop by statute. Rather, the issue is to be avoided until public opinion can be aroused and changed. To their credit, a few Conservative and Liberal M. P.'s have protested this unprincipled stand and have joined with other civil libertarians in creating a new organization - the National Association for Freedom - to challenge the continued drift towards despotism. It has begun to publish a fortnightly newspaper-The Free Nation (87 Regent St. London W1A 2BU.5 pounds p.a.), established local branches and raise funds for legal action. NAFF hopes to take the case of dismissed employees, victims of the closed shop, to the European Court for Human Rights at Strasbourg and has begun making contact with other groups concerned with civil liberties, including doctors who are trying to prevent passage of a Labour party bill which would prohibit the use of hospital facilities by physicians in private practice or their patients. Since there are few private hospitals, the bill in effect would complete the socialization of medical care. NAFF also hopes to rally opposition to "incomes policies" - price and wage controls, further nationalization of industry, and new plans to make land tenancies virtually hereditary. Thus NAFF could be a rallying point for libertarian oriented activities in Britain, and perhaps give libertarian backbone to the Tory and Liberal politicians at Westminster. Considering the past record of the Tory party, we are not too sanguine about the future of liberty in England, but the economic crisis is so great that it may provide the necessary radical solvent for a libertarian "great leap" forward. (J. R. P.)

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should be written for their truth value; the true writer or scholar should not give a damn whether his book will "play in Peoria." Where strategy or tactics come in is the use any given individual makes of any book. Block's book could possibly be used in a counter-productive strategic manner; but so also could any book, including Nock, Mises, Hayek, or what have you.

For example, suppose that someone comes to me who knows nothing at all of economics, and wants me to advise him what book to read first. For me to recommend Mises' *Human Action* or Hayek's *Prices and Production* would be strategic folly, because the person in question would undoubtedly be confused by the whole matter, and drop the subject for good and all. Instead, one recommends to the neophyte, say, Hazlitt's *Economics In One Lesson*, and other elementary books, and then works one's way up to the more advanced and complex material. This, indeed, is true of any course of study. Yet, if I were to recommend the "wrong book at the wrong time" to this person, the fault would not be Mises' or Hayek's but mine, for failing to gauge properly the level of comprehension of this person at the present time. To require that a book be strategic instead of an individual's use of that book in any given situation, verges on thought control and the suppression of scholarship and is, to boot, itself a bad strategic mistake.

Furthermore, it is by no means always true that intellectual "shock treatment", such as offered by the Block book, is counter-productive. It worked on Hayek, and it works on others as well. Block reports that he has had a far greater success in converting his students to libertarianism via *Defending the Undefendable* — via this seemingly counter-productive "shock treatment" — than he did in all of his previous years of teaching, and of recommending more cautious and sober libertarian works. Students, in particular, often admire consistency and "extremism" in the defense of any cause, including liberty. Extremism is not only consistent,

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## Recommended Reading

Robert Paul Wolff, *In Defense of Anarchism* (Revised edition, paper, New York: Harper & Row, 1976, 118 pp., \$1.95). In 1970, the hardcover edition of this book by a distinguished political philosopher not only pioneered on behalf of anarchism in academia but also made the entire topic, for the first time, academically respectable. Wolff's slim book developed the case for anarchism from a grounding in the Kantian principle of the autonomy of the individual. This edition is far superior to the original, for it includes an excellent 30-page rebuttal by Wolff to the attack on his previous edition by Jeffrey H. Reiman, in his apologia for the state, *In Defense of Political Philosophy: A Reply to Robert Paul Wolff's In Defense of Anarchism* (Harper & Row, 1972). Must reading for the libertarian.

Carl Watner, *Towards A Proprietary Theory of Justice* (published by Carl Watner, 7250 Washington Boulevard, Baltimore, Maryland 21227, July 1976, 47 pp., \$3.00). Watner's pamphlet is an excellent introduction to the basic philosophy of libertarianism—to its axioms and corollaries, to the principles of self-ownership, homesteading, justice, and free exchange. Relies heavily on Rothbard and Spooner.

Joseph Stromberg, "Non-Intervention: Foreign Policy for Americans," *L. P. News* (July-August, 1976), pp. 3, 9. If there is anything that the libertarian movement is weak on it is foreign policy, so this makes particularly welcome the scintillating article by Joe Stromberg which is also a Libertarian Party position paper for this campaign. Solidly anti-interventionist and anti-imperialist.

Rothbardiana. The biggest news on the Rothbardiana front is an interview with Rothbard in the October *Penthouse*, written by James Dale Davidson. There is also a picture (not the centerfold!) Thus, libertarianism gets beamed out to *Penthouse's* five million or so readers. In the last few months, Murray Rothbard has authored one book, and contributed to three others. The new Rothbard book is Volume III of *Conceived in Liberty, Advance to Revolution, 1760-1775* (Arlington House, 1976, \$12.95, 373 pp.), which treats the origins of the American Revolution until the outbreak of actual war at Lexington and Concord.

Two of the other contributions are to books in the new Austrian economic series being published by Sheed & Ward. In E. Dolan, ed., *The Foundations of Modern Austrian Economics* (Sheed & Ward, 1976, \$12.00, 238 pp.). Rothbard contributes articles on: "On the Method of Austrian Economics," "New Light on the Prehistory of the Austrian School," "Praxeology, Value Judgments, and Public Policy," and "The Austrian Theory of Money." In L. Moss, ed., *The Economics of Ludwig von Mises* (Sheed & Ward, 1976, \$12.00, 129 pp.), Rothbard has an article on "Ludwig

von Mises and Economic Calculation Under Socialism."

The final contribution is a part of an excellent new collection of articles on New Deal foreign policy, edited by Leonard P. Liggio and James J. Martin, *Watershed of Empire: Essays on New Deal Foreign Policy* (Colorado Springs, Col.: Ralph Myles Pub., 1976, 219 pp., available in both hard cover and a \$3.95 paperback.) Of an unusually high quality for a symposium, the book includes: a preface by Felix Morley, an introduction by Leonard Liggio, and the following articles: Robert J. Bresler, "The Ideology of the Executive State: Legacy of Liberal Internationalism;" Murray N. Rothbard, "The New Deal and the International Monetary System;" Robert Freeman Smith, "The Good Neighbor Policy: The Liberal Paradox in United States Relations with Latin America;" Lloyd C. Gardner, "New Deal Diplomacy: A View from the Seventies;" Justus D. Doenecke, "Power, Markets, and Ideology: The Isolationist Response to Roosevelt Policy, 1940-1941," William L. Neumann, "Roosevelt's Options and Evasions in Foreign Policy Decisions, 1940-1945;" and James T. Patterson, "Robert A. Taft and American Foreign Policy; 1939-1945." A superb book!

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it is also exciting, whereas more cautious and gradualist works may well put these eager, budding students to sleep. Liberty, after all, is and should be exciting, and not another typical academic exercise in boredom. In short, "shock treatment" will work for some, and not for others, and both approaches are fine, depending upon the individuals in question. In the 1930's, many people were converted to Communism by the gradual route, through an escalating series of front groups; but others were converted all at once, by the seeming grandeur and consistency of the open Communist position. Are we to deny that rapid and exhilarating route to budding libertarians?

In a letter defending his book, Block points out that whether or not it will "play in Peoria", the most hostile attacks on the book have so far come, not from "Peorians" but from libertarians. It is a fair comment. Strategy and tactics are important; but let us not become so concerned with the opinion of others, so other-directed, that we begin to discourage and stifle our best libertarian writing and scholarship in the name of how we think other people are going to react. The great glory of libertarianism is that we must follow our libertarian star and let the chips fall where they may; if we ever forget this primordial fact, we shall be in trouble indeed. ◻

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## The LP: Retrospect and Prospect

The 1976 campaign is a landmark for our country: for it established the fledgling, newly-born Libertarian Party as the biggest "third party" in America. The LP is here to stay and to grow; and it will have to be taken seriously by the politicians and the media as an important force in American political life. This is a remarkable achievement for any new party, but particularly a party as radical, as uncompromising, as anti-State as the LP; its great success demonstrates that those of us who wanted the party to "go national", to progress from isolated discussion circles to a real force in the country, were right.

At this writing, the detailed votes are fragmentary, but we know enough to assert that the MacBride-Bergland national total will be somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000 votes, in the process beating Lester Maddox's American Independent Party in the vote column. The media are already regretting their Election Day choice to report only the details for McCarthy and Maddox among the lesser tickets. Not only was our vote total third greatest, but in particular states we achieved that great aim of third parties: balance-of-power status between the major parties. We achieved it in the Ohio presidential race (i.e. MacBride received more votes than the difference between Carter and Ford) and almost achieved it in Hawaii. California, our largest state LP, achieved 60,000 votes for MacBride; while the highest percentage for the national ticket was, as predicted, in Alaska, which ran from 5 to 6% for MacBride-Bergland, with the ticket reaching its height in Fairbanks, with a vote of 10% of the total.

Some of the state-wide races brought the LP a higher percentage, as the closeness of the Ford-Carter race shifted many would-be LP voters into one of the major camps. The LP candidate for corporation commissioner in Arizona garnered 25% of the vote, while a state senatorial candidate in Idaho gained 30%. To deduce from this, as a few have done, that the LP should concentrate on local rather than presidential races is absurdly short-sighted: for it ignores the fact that it was precisely the Presidential campaign that energized these local LP races in numerous parts of the country. The two are complementary, not competitive.

Moreover, the LP is the biggest third party for another important reason: it managed, by heroic effort, to get on the ballot in 32 states, more than any other lesser party—more even than Eugene McCarthy (who was a one-man campaign rather than a spokesman for a party).

Even more remarkable than the vote totals was the campaign itself—a campaign that should go down in song and story. In the first place, this campaign was unadulterated, consistent, uncompromising libertarianism—the most explicitly libertarian campaign in over a century and perhaps in all of history. The hard-core libertarian message was beamed to over 70 million Americans: in tireless personal campaigning for fifteen solid months by Roger MacBride, crisscrossing the country many times: in numerous objective or favorable articles in

the local press throughout the land, and in numerous magazines and columns; and in several excellent, professionally done national TV spots. Roger MacBride's lucid and hard-hitting campaign book, *A New Dawn for America*, was distributed to tens of thousands; Young Libertarian Alliance chapters were established on approximately 200 college campuses; and many excellent position papers, as well as the great 1976 LP platform, were distributed far and wide. Here we can only mention a few of the outstanding position papers: by Joe Stromberg on foreign policy; by Roy Childs on Libertarianism; by Ralph Raico on civil liberties and on gay rights; by Walter Grinder on government and business.

Without engaging in invidious comparisons or attempting to enumerate all the people worthy of commendation, I cannot refrain from handing out thanks and accolades to a few of the outstanding people who made this campaign the great event that it was. First, of course, to Roger MacBride, whose tireless dedication and superhuman energy in carrying out a continuous fifteen-month campaign was truly a wonder. Roger MacBride has now been established as our libertarian leader in the political arena, our paladin of liberty. To Ed Crane, whose phenomenal organizing of the LP campaign as national chairman was an indispensable key to its success. To Bob Meier, field organizer extraordinaire, who was the spark plug in putting us on the state ballots. To Bill Evers, whose LP News was the model for all other state newsletters to follow, and who was research director and convention organizer for the campaign. To Ralph Raico, who edited the position papers, and who organized the Scholars for MacBride. To youth leader Tom Palmer, who built up the 200 campus chapters of the YLA. To Linda Webb, scheduler, organizer, and administrative assistant extraordinaire. And, not the least, to state party leaders throughout the country, and to the roving bands of heroic petition-gatherers.

Not the least of the accomplishments of the MacBride campaign was to fulfill the Lib. Forum prediction of fifteen months ago—the eradication of the left sectarian forces within the libertarian movement: both the anti-party cliques outside the LP and the left opposition from within. As the LP campaign grew and burgeoned, as its success became increasingly evident, the left sectarians within the party faded away into well-deserved oblivion, while the outside anti-party cliques saw their influence disappearing within the libertarian movement. The left sectarians are finished, kaput; they have missed the bus; they have managed to sweep themselves into the dustbin of history.

As the campaign proceeded, the "real people" poured into the campaign and the left sectarians faded out; and as they faded, their disgruntled thrashings about became increasingly shrill and ugly. In a sense, the only thing that left sectarians can ever accomplish in the real

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world is to hurl accusations of "immorality" at everyone else, and to wrap the cloak of "morality" around themselves as the parade passes them by. And that is what they did more and more; as the campaign progressed, the smears and calumny, the personal vilification by the sectarians grew ever louder and more fanatical in pitch. But these rabid personal smears merely turned more libertarians off, and increased and made permanent their isolation. The left sectarians are finished.

In a sense, the conquest over the left sectarians was inevitable. The earliest phase of any radical ideological movement is always that of small, local discussion groups, brought together by personal affinity—the "circles". Circles are indispensable in this early phase; but as a movement grows in quantity, quality, and effectiveness, those who wish to put their ideals into practice—to change the real world in the direction of the ideal—begin to organize effectively across the country. It is this national, effective, coherent organization that the MacBride campaign determined to bring to the Libertarian Party, and it has succeeded. For those stuck in the affinity group—circle phase, resistance is inevitable, but in any healthy movement, it will be overcome. And it has.

At the root of the dissension between the left sectarians (any sectarians in any movement, not just the LP) and what we might call the "centrist" or "party building" approach, is a fundamental and basic difference in goals. What the centrists want, simply, is victory, the triumph of liberty in American political life. Refining the pure libertarian principles is great and indispensable; but it is not enough. For precisely because of the beauty and nobility of the libertarian goal, the centrists burn to bring about the victory of liberty in the real world as rapidly as humanly possible. That is our (the centrists') strategic goal. The left sectarians, however, are not interested in victory (whether they think it is hopeless or for some other reason); rather, they are interested in bearing moral witness to their own alleged "purity", and to bear equivalent witness in denouncing everyone else for their alleged "immorality". To put it bluntly, the left sectarians get their kicks out of boasting of their own moral superiority to all others; whereas the centrists get theirs by working to achieve victory as rapidly as possible in the real world. It is no wonder that the sectarians are strategically doomed, and that sectarian dominance would drag down the libertarian (or any other) cause to permanent defeat and despair. Breaking out of the circle mentality and into a professionally run national campaign, then, was the way to slough off the incubus of sectarianism, and that is precisely what happened.

With the left sectarians routed, what are the prospects of the Libertarian Party in the coming historical period? They are excellent. The LP is here: we have a strong national base, in public attention, in media coverage, in party strength, and in a growing and optimistic party cadre. We can all look forward happily to strength, growth, and influence in the coming years. But the movement strategist's work is never done, and a new menace now looms as a possible threat to libertarian success. This is the threat of that opposing deviation from correct centrist policy that has aptly been called "right opportunism." Again, just as sectarianism was an inevitable product of the early "circle mentality", so right opportunism is an inevitable product of the growing success of an ideological movement. When a movement is small and unknown, there is no room for an opportunist to play in, and so it is rare for this heresy to be a problem at that beginning stage. It is growing success that breeds the opportunist, the person who, in search of quick short-run gains, is willing to hide or scrap basic libertarian principle, the very libertarian goal itself, that is the heart, the glory, and the meaning of the libertarian movement (or whatever is the equivalent for any other ideological movement.)

Robert Poole's Reason editorial, aptly criticized by Tom Palmer in these pages, might well be the opening gun of a new opportunist campaign that looms ahead. The idea is to "get elected", not to get elected as libertarians. Predictably, there will be determined attempts by right-opportunists at next July's LP convention to water down the hard-core 1976 platform, to make it allegedly palatable for diffuse blocs of voters. The watchword of opportunists ready to jettison our libertarian goals is "gradualism", a gradual or "Fabian" approach to liberty. First, what the opportunists forget is that Fabianism worked fine when going with the

State, by infiltrating the political parties and the bureaucracies and giving them a discreet push in the direction in which they wanted to go anyway; toward statism. A movement for liberty is necessarily anti-State, and therefore must uphold the basic principles loud and clear. Gradual whittling away of the State will probably have to be accepted in practice, for want of any other course; but it must never be embraced as part of libertarian principle, which must always be radical and uncompromising. For, as the great libertarian abolitionist of slavery William Lloyd Garrison brilliantly warned: "Gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice." We must always be radical in theory, accept gradual advances grudgingly, and always press on as rapidly as possible toward ultimate victory. But that cannot and will not be done unless that ultimate goal is always held aloft by libertarians loud and clear. Otherwise, opportunism leads to surrender, and the opportunist course becomes just as fully self-defeating as the sectarian. For, each in his different way—the sectarian and the opportunist—abandons what should be the great and overriding goal of libertarian victory. Each abandons part of this vital concept: the sectarian abandons victory while the opportunist scraps libertarianism.

Garrison set the difference in wise words which cannot be overstressed: "Urge immediate abolition as earnestly as we may, it will, alas! be gradual abolition in the end (in fact, abolition would be sudden.) We have never said that slavery would be overthrown by a single blow; that it ought to be, we shall always contend."

Ironically enough, opportunism is often self-defeating even for making short-run gains—the great goal of the opportunist. For, even in the Realpolitik terms explicitly invoked by Mr. Poole, why in the world should a "gradual" Libertarian Party receive any media attention, corral any votes, or have any political influence? For a gradual party (e.g. cut taxes by 3%, weaken a few regulations, limit the future growth of government) will sound very much—to myself, let alone to the media or the public—as simply Reaganite Republicanism, and if that is the case, why in blazes should anyone vote for the new, untried LP when they could vote Reaganite Republican to begin with? In short, an LP that adopts the counsels of our right-wing opportunists will simply become an appendage of right-wing Republicanism, and fade rapidly into the woodwork. Neither the media nor the public nor the politicians will or should express any interest in a tiny appendage of the conservative movement or of Reagan Republicanism. Hence, even in Realpolitik terms, let alone on the basis of moral principle, opportunism is a counsel of rapid, cataclysmic defeat.

Continuing in Realpolitik terms, it is well-known in the business world that a new firm or brand must strive to differentiate its product from existing brands, to offer something new, different, and exciting. Consistent libertarianism, as offered so far by the LP, offers precisely this sort of new and exciting creed, different from all others, "extreme right" on some issues, "extreme left" on others, and yet consistent. Hence, the interest of media, intellectuals, and voters. Opportunism is not only thoroughly destructive of moral principle, it also fails, in our context, even to be successful as opportunism, that is, it fails even on the opportunists' own terms. We already have an example in the brief history of the Libertarian Party. The FLP Tuccille campaign for governor of New York in 1974 followed, with high hopes, after the stunningly successful Youngstein campaign for mayor of New York City in 1973. Yet the Tuccille campaign got only 2,000 more votes statewide than Youngstein had gained the previous year within New York City. Surely, one basic reason was, that in contrast to the "hard-core" libertarian Youngstein campaign, the Tuccille campaign, by accident rather than design, came across as opportunist. That is, its major focus was that "taxes should be cut." Since both major candidates also talked vaguely about the need for some sort of tax cut, the FLP failed to become significantly more libertarian that year than the two major parties—and that in a time of growing hostility to crippling taxation. This should serve as a lesson to all future LP campaigns, and to any who wish to take us down the debilitating road to opportunism.

Fortunately, we have at hand a superb means—a means at once highly principled and cannily strategic—to crush the looming menace of opportunism in the bud. For, in the context of the current libertarian movement, opportunism will inevitably be very close to conservatism. It

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will be creeping—or galloping-Reaganism. Therefore, the major strategic task of the Libertarian Party in the coming period is to distinguish ourselves, sharply and continually, day after day, from conservatism. We must set ourselves clearly and sharply against conservatism, rather than build any bridges toward it. We must hammer away, day after day, at the theocracy, the hostility to all civil liberties,—from free speech to personal morals,—the militarism, and the war-mongering of the conservative movement. This will become particularly important in the coming years, as we can expect a disintegration of the Republican Party and therefore a possible tendency of Reaganites to join the LP ranks. This call—to distinguish ourselves clearly and always from conservatism—is not only the strategic requisite for putting the quietus to right-wing opportunism, it is also a matter of high libertarian principle. For, as the Lib. Forum has reiterated again and again, war and militarism—the pet principles of the conservative movement—are in fact the major menace to liberty in today's world. Combatting conservatism is therefore a requirement of principle and of strategy alike.

Happily, the LP leadership have clearly understood this need, as witness the blistering attacks on Reagan and Rusher during this campaign by Ed Crane and Bill Evers, and by MacBride's staunch and unquestioning adherence to such hard-core libertarian (and anti-conservative) planks as: absolute civil liberties (including freedom to sell and use heroin); the abolition of the FBI and CIA; and an uncompromising non-interventionist foreign policy.

In this connection, there is a potential long-run problem which is not at all important in the near future, but which might arise in later years as the LP gains in strength. Namely, that people who are not just opportunists but are simply and explicitly non-libertarians (whether conservatives, Ku Kluxers, leftists, or just plain power-seekers) may try to join the LP in order to capture the organization for their ends. Requirements for joining state LPs are lax to the point of non-existence. And, of course, any party that has permanent ballot status is legally required to have totally open registration, and hence open voting in party primaries. I don't have any clear solution to this; but it is a problem that may eventually require thought and study within the LP.

Interestingly enough, we have a clear demonstration, this fall, of the opportunist versus the radical strategies to a vital libertarian issue: taxes—and in this case totally outside of the LP framework. On the one hand, we have the gradualist and opportunist approach of the National Tax Limitation Committee (Rickenbacker-Friedman-Manion.) Fresh from their defeat in California, the well-financed NTLC worked long and hard for Proposal C in Michigan, bolstered by the determined stumping of Michigan by Milton Friedman. The proposal lost by 1.8 million to 1.4 million votes. What is this tax limitation proposal, for which we are all asked to work hard and contribute our dollars? Merely, to limit state taxes to their current share of the total personal income in the state—in the case of Michigan, 8.3%. Note, this does not mean that state taxes will remain fixed, let alone—God save the mark!—be cut! No, it is simply to allow state taxes to rise only in the same proportion as the total income of the public. Furthermore, to add to the almost ludicrous gradualism of this proposal, local taxes are to have no such limit; this is supposed to emphasize the sobriety and lack of radicalism of the proposal.

Let us see the grave problems of the NTLC approach. In the first place, who in blazes would go the barricades for 8.3%? Certainly, not I; I wouldn't walk across the street, much less devote time, energy, and money, for the holy cause of 8.3%. In short, who cares? Secondly, the economic jargon ("personal income", etc.) is too complex for the average voter to understand. After casting one's eye over the complex and impenetrable jargon of the ballot proposal, the understandable voter response is either indifference or to vote No on general principles. Thirdly, the exemption of local taxation from the limit allows the liberal opponents to warn that local taxes would increase as a result of the measure—a plausible enough objection to ensure that tax opponents will be split on the measure. Reaganite opportunism to the hilt. Proposal C lost, and it deserves to lose, as a similar effort lost in Reagan's California. and as it should lose until anti-tax forces come up with a limit that possesses teeth and excitement.

Far better, though not good enough, was the Colorado proposal, which also lost, sponsored by the Birchers, for an absolute current limit on all

new taxes within the state at any level, state or local, except those voted by the public themselves in a referendum. This is far better surely, but still hardly good enough. What happened to the good old cause of tax cuts? Even the Bircher proposal, let alone the Friedmanite, allows for the current level of taxes, and thereby implicitly agrees that the current level is proper and legitimate. What happened to the old Liberty Amendment, for the outright repeal of the federal income tax? Or how about proposals for repeal of other existing taxes? Sure, they would lose at first, at the polls, but these other piddling and pusillanimous measures lost too; and at least a fight for more radical measures would serve to raise libertarian consciousness among the public, and build the libertarian and anti-tax movements for the future. At the most, the Friedmanite, etc. proposals build only for weak limits on future tax increases; they do nothing to reduce the State and whittle it away. Quite the contrary.

In contrast, let us look at a truly radical anti-tax protest this fall, led by libertarian activists. In New Jersey, after several years of determined resistance by libertarians and taxpayer groups, Democratic Governor Brendan Byrne succeeded in passing a state income tax. On September 18, a mighty mass rally, organized by long-time libertarian activist Ralph Fucetola III and by determined taxpayer groups, convened at Trenton to demand repeal of the income tax. The angry crowd, which garnered large-scale publicity throughout the state, totalled from 10 to 20,000; the crowd arrived in 90 buses and hundreds of private cars from all parts of the state. Furthermore, the organized taxpayers had already gathered 570,000 signatures of New Jerseyites for immediate repeal of the tax. Organizing around this clear-cut, radical, and libertarian central demand, the protesters determined to build an independent taxpayer political movement in New Jersey, and to picket the homes and businesses of legislators who voted for the tax. Frightened mainstream politicians were reduced to pleading with the organizers to allow them to speak at and endorse the rally. At the end of the rally, hundreds of protesters drove to Governor Byrne's mansion in Princeton, where a crate of used tea bags was deposited (echoes of the anti-tax Boston Tea Party), and a call was made for Byrne's immediate resignation.

Furthermore, in another echo of the American Revolution, effigies of Governor Byrne and pro-tax Assemblyman Littell were hung from a nearby tree. Signs such as "Brendan BURN" proliferated. In his speech at the rally, Fucetola took the occasion to escalate the demands: proposing that people refuse to pay November's property tax bill, boycott the state lottery, do Christmas shopping out of state to avoid the state sales tax, join a general New Jersey strike on Dec. 15, and get on juries in order to acquit tax rebels. In addition to his more radical suggestions, Fucetola also called for a freeze on all local property taxes, and for no further taxes in the state without approval at a public referendum.

Already, the result of the anti-income tax protest was to make Governor Byrne so universally unpopular throughout New Jersey that Jimmy Carter cancelled his scheduled pre-election appearance with the Governor; which did not keep Carter from losing New Jersey by a substantial margin.

The anti-tax politics is an example of successful coalition politics built around a clear-cut central libertarian goal; it was a coalition of approximately 45 taxpayer and citizen groups, including the Federation of New Jersey Taxpayers, the National Taxpayers Union, and the Tax Revolt Association; Fucetola, in addition to being a leader of the Taxpayer Federation, is also a member of the Libertarian Party.

Note the contrast between the strategy and tactics of Friedman and Fucetola. In a sense, both are "gradualist"; since this was a coalition movement and not an explicitly libertarian conclave, Fucetola could scarcely have gotten up at the rally and called for abolition of all taxes. But Friedman's gradualism was so piddling as to concede both the present level of taxation and even higher taxes in future; also Friedman's movement was top-down, relying on a few prestigious names. Fucetola's "gradualism" was radical and dramatic, calling for repeal, escalating demands, and using repeal as a central focus for keeping up and escalating pressure upon the state. And the protest was genuinely grass-roots, from below, and directed against the political establishment. It is all too clear, moreover, that while the New Jersey movement is there to stay and grow in the future, the NTLC will now leave no movement behind in Michigan as they try to find some other state where they can make an

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# Kuhn's Paradigms

By Leonard P. Liggio

For more than a dozen years, Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962, 1970) has been calling forth discussions and analyses. Initial response among a few libertarian scholars who saw the significance of Kuhn's threats, such as the late F. A. Harper, were very positive. Kuhn's work seemed to Dr. Harper to expand upon the analysis made by other 20th century thinkers; for example, he would quote the earlier writings of Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization*: "But civilization can only revive when there shall come into being in a number of individuals a new tone of mind independent of the one prevalent among the crowd and in opposition to it, a tone of mind which will gradually win influence over the collective one, and in the end determine its character. It is only an ethical movement which can rescue us from the slough of barbarism, and the ethical comes into existence only in individuals . . . A new public opinion must be created privately and unobtrusively. The existing one is maintained by the press, by propaganda, by organization, and by financial and other influences which are at its disposal." Dr. Harper recognized that in the crisis emerging in America and the world, libertarian theory was a prime candidate to replace the dominant political and economic thought. However, the tasks necessary to build the foundations for a center (the Institute for Humane Studies) to explore such matters did not permit him to pursue in a more developed manner the implications of scientific revolutions for libertarian theory. The growth of libertarianism and the explosion of the contemporary crisis make the topic one that libertarians should address.

For that purpose, I thought that a non-original article presenting a summary view of Kuhn's thesis might stimulate further articles and create an ongoing consideration of the topic and its relevance. I suspect that many libertarians could provide some implications of this thesis for their own areas or from their own consideration of the issues. Although I am not yet clear on the suitable analogy between scientific revolutions and libertarian theory, I imagine that philosophers and scientists have had the most opportunity to consider the Kuhn thesis and I hope that they will write to the broader intellectual audience rather than the specialist. My own philosophical training with John J. Toohey (he was almost ninety years old when I studied with him) emphasized common sense and ordinary language so that the general educated person could understand it.

Kuhn emphasized the role of the Paradigm which provides a model from which springs a particular coherent tradition of scientific research. A dominant paradigm will provide a consensus, because with the same model, research will not lead to open disagreement over fundamental questions. Paradigms define legitimate problems and methods of research because to become dominant it must be able to attract a lasting group of adherents from competing systems of thought or a previous paradigm, and it must be open-ended so that scholars may undertake to solve new problems. Although once the paradigm becomes established it is taken for granted, its necessary open-endedness leaves numbers of problems for solution. However, these problem solving activities create a more precise paradigm. Thus, the problems which the researchers face are: determination of significant fact, matching facts with theory, and explanation of the more precise theory.

However, a paradigm isolates those involved in research in a field from important problems not conceptualized by the paradigm. As problems increasingly become evident which cannot be solved by the paradigm, a crisis emerges which can force scholars to search for a new explanation. At times, the breakdown of the previous paradigm forces recognition on the people involved; or the crisis may merely blur the paradigm. Scholars may be able to ignore the crisis or set it aside for the future. But, the crisis in itself will not lead to replacement of an established paradigm with a new one; the new paradigm must be there, must be articulated, so that it can be available to be selected after comparison with the old paradigm and any other competing candidates. The acceptance of a new paradigm occurs after conflict. The conflict of the old paradigm with the new ones and of the competing ones against each other is an important part of the development of new scientific thought. During the period of crisis there is an appearance of undefined and random searching, and the breakdown may be magnified, and the crisis

made more striking. In the crisis, individuals become estranged from the established system and behave more and more eccentrically in terms of the established system, or else they leave the system entirely. Those who leave the system highlight the crisis and evidence its intensity. Those who opt to fight within the system face polarization and conflict, as persuasion and punishment are applied to maintain the existing system.

Kuhn seems to believe that the role of logical positivism has been to short-circuit the intellectual mechanism which signals the existence of crisis in the scientific world. It appears to involve too little theory and limits research on the precedents of past practice. The meaning of science is limited in the extreme to the single experiment. Thus, there is no pushing against scientific frontiers and no development. Without surprises or crisis there is no mechanism to tell scholars that fundamental change is occurring. This may help us explain the nature of the current crisis: it seems evident to everyone except the specialists in each field because, denying that they are operating on the basis of a theory, they deny the existence of the dominant paradigm, and they do not conceive of the crisis as anything more than a lack of information. It is possible that the contemporary crisis may become much more intense and the ordinary transference of allegiances within a profession from an old paradigm to a new one may be blocked by the refusal of scientists to acknowledge that they are working on the basis (if only implicitly) of a theory.

But one or more persons deeply immersed in the crisis itself will come up with a new way of viewing the data; the legitimacy of the established paradigm is challenged and new meanings are given to the established concepts. Kuhn notes that this usually occurs to someone when he first encounters the field as a profession or to someone who does not become caught up in the accepted ways of defining problems, i.e. the system of professional game playing with the professional rewards and punishments involved. During a crisis, scholars begin doing research as though the previous dominant theory or paradigm was not controlling. Individual scholars begin to change their world view; they adopt new ways of looking at things which they had previously looked at with the old ways. They begin to examine new things. As the change of world view expands, the scholar who is developing the new paradigm must re-educate himself. The new world view is very much at odds with the previous world view and with the intellectual world he previously inhabited.

In view of what seems to me a very important insight about contemporary science — the effect of logical positivism short-circuiting the mechanism signalling the existence of a crisis (which means that to many scholars the current crisis is invisible) — Kuhn's chapter on "The Invisibility of Revolutions" (pp. 136-43) is especially significant. If contemporary science is less equipped than previous scientific epochs (Kuhn does not even raise the question of the role of government control of scholarship as a locking-in mechanism) to recognize crises of theoretical frameworks, this intensifies a problem which Kuhn highlights — the tendency of scholars not to view revolutions in scholarship or science as revolutions at all but as mere additions to knowledge. Kuhn explained why "revolutions have proved to be so nearly invisible." Scientists and laymen take their conception of science from an "authoritative source that systematically disguises — partly for important functional reasons — the existence and significance of scientific revolutions. Only when the nature of that authority is recognized and analyzed can one hope to make historical examples fully effective." Kuhn makes the very grave point that science operates on the model of theology: textbooks act as a source of authority. Textbooks "record the stable outcome of past revolutions and thus display the basis of the current normal-scientific tradition."

Textbooks "have to be rewritten in the aftermath of each scientific revolution, and, once rewritten, they inevitably disguise not only the role but the very existence of the revolutions that produce them. Unless he has personally experienced a revolution in his own lifetime, the historical sense either of the working scientist or of the lay reader of textbook literature extends only to the outcome of the most recent revolutions in the field." (Textbooks thus begin by truncating the scientist's sense of his discipline's history and then proceed to supply a substitute for what they have eliminated.) (Scientists are not, of course, the only group that tends to see its discipline's past as developing linearly toward its present vantage. The temptation to write history backward is both omnipresent

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and perennial. But scientists are more affected by the temptation to rewrite history, partly because the results of scientific research show no obvious dependence upon the historical context of the inquiry, and partly because, except during crisis and revolution, the scientist's contemporary position seems so secure. More historical detail, whether of a science's present or of its past, or more responsibility to the historical details that are presented, could only give artificial stature to human idiosyncrasy, error, and confusion. Why dignify what science's best and most persistent efforts have made it possible to discard? The depreciation of historical fact is deep, and probably functionally, ingrained in the ideology of the scientific profession, the same profession that places the highest of all values upon factual details of other sorts."

This aspect of Kuhn's discussion was especially striking to me as it paralleled my discussion of it regarding history. In an article in the *New Individualist Review* (volume 1, no. 3, November, 1961) on Herbert Butterfield, the Cambridge historian, I sought to introduce to a conservative audience an isolationist approach to international relations. Butterfield was strongly critical of "official history," which would be a paradigm which had strong artificial supports so that its displacement would be a more complex scientific revolution. Contributing to the 1984 atmosphere of resistance to non-official ideas in history, Butterfield noted generalization and abridgment in the writing of history texts. I believe that the common source for Kuhn's discussion and for my own was indeed the writings of Herbert Butterfield-as Kuhn refers to Butterfield's *Origins of Modern Science* (1949). To quote from my earlier article: "Unlike mathematics which begins with the simplest things and proceeds in turn to the more complex, history starts with the most complex things, of broad generalizations, with the result that the mere reading of history, the mere process of accumulating more information in this field, does not necessarily give training to a mind that was initially diffuse. Rather, it initiates all kinds of generalizations, formulas, nicknames, and analogies which answer to men's wishful thinking; and these come into currency without having to be submitted to any very methodical kind of test. These broad generalizations are the result of the abridgment of history . . . Butterfield does not think that it is a coincidence that this abridgment has worked to the advantage of official history, since the total result of this method is to impose a certain form upon the whole historical story, and to produce, a scheme of general history which is bound to converge beautifully upon the present — all demonstrating throughout the ages the working of an obvious principle of progress. Abridgment tends to make our present political system or our country an absolute and imparts an impression of inevitability of the existing system or of a war, since it neglects the alternatives which exist at each point and which indicate the relativity of the existing political system or the foreignpolicy of our country."

Not only does abridgment eliminate important parts of the historical reality (so far as known to the historian) but an implicit unilinear model of progression is introduced. Butterfield dealt with this issue first in his early work, *The Whig Interpretation of History*. That work showed how historians had written history as a kind of necessary progression toward increased freedom through the English parliamentary system. One of the consequences of that historical writing's dominance was that classical liberals believed that, having discovered the truth about economics, it was only a matter of time through the process of education and democracy before society would create the free society: it was an historical necessity. Of course, the abridgment of history involved in the writing of such books meant that the reality of the conflicts which brought additions to freedom and the lost opportunities for even more freedom, among other things, was completely neglected. Worse, the revolutions which are important in history are neglected or misunderstood. The political revolutions with their violence force themselves upon the history textbook. But, the complexities of intellectual and industrial revolutions, the really important changes for mankind, remain undescribed, and for the most part, unexplored. The greatness of the potentials and the extent that they yet are lost both for the reader of history texts and for the historical scholar.

For science, according to Kuhn, "the result is a persistent tendency to make the history of science look linear or cumulative, a tendency that even affects scientists looking back at their own research." There is "a reconstruction of history that is regularly completed by post

revolutionary science texts. But in that completion more is involved than a multiplication of the historical misconstructions illustrated above. Those misconstructions render revolutions invisible; the arrangement of the still visible material in science texts implies a process that, if it existed, would deny revolutions a function."

Scientists may create a crisis but not be prepared to resolve it. Kuhn notes that "scientific training is not well designed to produce the man who will easily discover a fresh approach." The question to be posed: Is the rigidity which is described merely existent among the individual members of the scientific community and locked-in? Kuhn quotes Max Planck's *Scientific Autobiography*: "a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents, and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it." There is a resolution of the crisis and of the revolution it causes when a theory is conceived in the mind of one individual or a few individuals. "It is they who learn to see science and the world differently, and their ability to make the transition is facilitated by two circumstances that are not common to most other members of their profession. Invariably their attention had been intensely concentrated upon the crisis-provoking problems; usually, in addition, they are men so young or so new to the crisis-ridden field that practice had committed them less deeply than most of their contemporaries to the world view and rules determined by the old paradigm."

Scientists, use of a single set of standards increase the efficiency of scientists, but it is a set judged only by members of the profession. Ultimately, poets, musicians and artists are more concerned with public approbation than scientists. In music, art and literature, original and classic works are the basis of education. In history, philosophy and social sciences, increased use is made of textbooks but they also use original sources, classics, and conflicting interpretations so that there is a certain awareness of competing solutions to problems. But, in science there is a very heavy reliance on textbooks: "Until the very last stages in the education of a scientist, textbooks are systematically substituted for the creative scientific literature that made them possible."

Scientific education may be such as to drastically distort the perception of the past: it proposes a straight line of progress. While one remains in the field there are no alternative theoretical frameworks permitted. Kuhn emphasized: "Inevitably, those remarks will suggest that the member of a mature scientific community is, like the typical character of Orwell's 1984, the victim of a history rewritten by the powers that be. Furthermore, that suggestion is not altogether inappropriate. There are losses as well as gains in scientific revolutions, and scientists tend to be peculiarly blind to the former."

The important issue of the relationship of scientific revolutions to fields other than the pure sciences raises issues relating to the nature of each discipline. Kuhn's suggestive discussion on this deserves lengthy quotation: "No creative school recognizes a category of work that is, on the one hand, a creative success, but is not, on the other, an addition to the collective achievement of the group. If we doubt, as many do, that non-scientific fields make progress, that cannot be because individual schools make none. RATHER, IT MUST BE BECAUSE THERE ARE ALWAYS COMPETING SCHOOLS, EACH OF WHICH CONSTANTLY QUESTIONS THE VERY FOUNDATIONS OF THE OTHERS. The man who argues that philosophy, for example, had made no progress emphasizes that there are still Aristotelians, not that Aristotelianism has failed to progress . . . during periods of revolution when the fundamental tenets of a field are once more at issue, doubts are repeatedly expressed about the very possibility of continued progress if one or another of the opposed paradigms is adopted . . . Scientific progress is not different in kind from progress in other fields, but the absence at most times of competing schools that question each other's aims and standards makes the progress of a normal-scientific community far easier to see." (pp. 162-63)

Libertarians must begin to precisely relate Kuhn's insights to the paradigms which they propose to substitute for the dominant theories. It is a difficult task, but it can be done if step-by-step analyses are undertaken.

\*This essay does not deal with certain epistemological implications of Kuhn's work. 

## Toward a Libertarian Movement

Reason editor Robert Poole recently propounded a view of societal change ("Libertarian Realpolitik", Reason, August 1976) which might be classified as the "Infinite Series of Small steps Toward Freedom" viewpoint. However, using the set of definitions originated and popularized by one of history's greatest tacticians and social change theorists, V. I. Lenin, this view should be characterized as "Right Wing opportunism."

While clearly no libertarian (Lenin was about as far from libertarianism as one could get, in fact) Lenin nevertheless conceived and propounded a theory of societal change which can only be regarded as brilliant. His views are cogently presented in "Left-Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder," a tract written to clarify his position on matters of tactics and strategy and to steer the international Bolshevik movement toward the attainment of power. The ends of his Bolshevik party were clearly different from those of the Libertarian Party, yet the grand structure of means can be applied to the attainment of opposing ends. Lenin viewed the "victors" at any stage of a societal struggle as those who created the largest, most effective and highest quality movement. That is, those who ultimately succeeded were those who succeeded in bringing the highest number of influential people to their side, realizing of course, that the first factor (numbers) is difficult to define except as a "critical mass," and the latter (quality) is essentially a subjective determination of those involved in the struggle.

While numerous Marxists would have simply sat back and waited for "the inevitable forces of history" to hand them their utopia on a silver platter, Lenin realized that no such thing would occur automatically. He was, of course, rationalizing this position to fit in with Marxist determinism, utilizing the lame excuse that it was the duty of the revolutionary to "midwife" for the birth of a revolution so as to "ease the pains" and thereby expedite the process. Lenin postulated three kinds of activism designed to change society, each having the same goals in mind but pursuing widely different means. Two of these, "Left-Sectarianism" and "Right-Opportunism," were viewed as destructive of the ends to be attained, while his own position of "movement builder" (my designation) was viewed as the most efficacious for the attainment of revolutionary ends.

Left-Sectarianism, according to Lenin, is the view that no alliances, dialogues, etc. should ever be made with similarly inclined groups, as this would be a "compromise." In their desire to remain purist this strategy would rule out any chance of ultimate success. An example of this viewpoint would be the libertarian who, when addressing a group of business people, rather than "sizing up" his audience and stating the case for liberty in as convincing a manner as possible, would, instead, declare that if you don't want heroin in vending machines, you are an enemy of liberty and the hell with you. A Right-Opportunist, contrarily, would not mention the libertarian arguments for legalization of activities deemed worthy of restrictive legislation and would, instead, speak only to those issues on which he and the audience were in agreement, hoping to enlist their support for one project or another to roll back government. The most effective approach, I believe (following a "flexible" Leninist viewpoint), would run something as follows: government regulation of small business is bad; we should realize that government regulation of drug use is another manifestation of "Big Brotherism;" and if drug users and businesspeople wish to be free, they must adopt a policy of live and let live toward each other, etc.: thus going from specific cases to general principles and then applying these principles to areas which would at first have seemed absurd to those listening, giving empirical analyses of costs and benefits to back up the general principle enunciated by the speaker.

The problems inherent in Right-Opportunism and Left Sectarianism, the necessity for maintaining a proper balance between them and the maintenance of a proper means-end relationship, were questions to which Lenin frequently addressed himself. Libertarians would do well to address themselves to these vitally important issues as well. The problems inherent in Left-Sectarianism should be obvious, i.e., the ends are never attained due to the failure to attract adherents by convincing opponents (or those who are neutral) of the validity of libertarian views through a process of argumentation. The problems with the latter view are less obvious but equally pernicious. For if, as Mr. Poole suggests in

his editorial, we take several of these small steps toward freedom, won't we be freer? And, after all, isn't that the goal of the libertarian qua libertarian? What is the error here, and why do I oppose it so?

If Mr. Poole were able to convince a local government to reduce taxes through application of "business like methods" to governmental action, or to decriminalize drug use (that is, to merely reduce the penalties and not abolish them), or to defuse a few regulatory agencies, or to withdraw a few troops from abroad, or to do any of the things on his short term agenda, each would seem to be laudable and worthy of praise as steps toward freedom. Yet what of long run goals? How do people tie these different steps together so as to establish a case for taking even more of these steps in the direction of liberty? Would it be simply because Mr. Poole would continue to pressure the state to do so? Surely, if Mr. Poole and company met with success of any kind he would immediately meet such concentrated opposition from entrenched parasitic interests (favored businesses and unions, bureaucrats, etc.) that his efforts would be themselves defused before they had any chance to advance further. An example of such failure is to be found in the voucher plans to move education toward the free market. Without extolling the efficacy of the free market and building up public support for "de-statizing" education, an attempt was made to introduce a limited form of competition in this field (somewhat analogous to Oscar Lange's "market-socialism"). Immediately, teachers' unions and bureaucrats led a successful counter-attack which laid the voucher plan to rest permanently.

To reach our goal of liberty, we must establish in the "public mind" the validity of certain general rules. We must strive for acceptance of a theoretical super-structure which demonstrates that market mechanisms are not only preferable in one instance due to better administration by one gifted businessman, but that government botches everything because of the nature of government.

Recently, I conversed with a talented and intelligent economist who took a similar Right-Opportunist view as Mr. Poole. The economist was a libertarian (an anarchist capitalist, in fact) and was arguing in front of a small group of persons that the efforts of the Libertarian Party were ultimately futile, and that the only viable alternative strategy for liberty is to demonstrate empirically that the state ruins whatever it touches. He stated that it was his goal to approach a "small Southern Board of Education" and apply for a grant to manage the schools on a "free market basis." He was sure he and his co-entrepreneurs would run the schools so efficiently that they would then be awarded all of the contracts for public education in the surrounding areas, thereby demonstrating the efficacy of the market (a non-sequitur, for being a private recipient of a state monopoly in no way demonstrates anything about the free market). Yet, assuming he was successful, how would the public tie this occurrence to other instances of government intervention without being presented a coherent body of theory or principles by an articulate and organized movement which would show this to be an instance of the application of a general principle?

If Mr. Poole pursues his strategy of "hiding" his libertarian principles, how will such a movement, capable of pointing out the general nature of state intervention, come into existence? Further, who would then seize the initiative and organize public opposition to the state and start the process of dismantling it? Many a critique of government intervention, both empirical (demonstrating specific cases of state mismanagement) and (presenting a theoretical framework for analysis of state coercion) has been penned, yet who is there to promote these views and organize opposition to the state? Will the "masses" automatically rally around the glorious banner of de-municipalizing sanitation services in Pittsburgh? Clearly they must be presented with a world view in which consistent ties between what in Mr. Poole's strategy would be presented as isolated phenomena would be established, i.e., one which articulates general rules of human action.

Other criticisms which can be levelled against Mr. Poole's Right-Opportunism include his views concerning the purpose of a (libertarian) political party. Mr. Poole states, "The purpose of a political party is to elect people to office. Those libertarians who find this unpalatable should

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leave parties to the politicians and start or support educational libertarian groups." While I do not desire to question Mr. Poole's ultimate libertarian ends, it must be pointed out that electing libertarians to office has a purpose (it is a means to an end) and, if it comes to be seen as an end in itself, will lead to the worst kind of opportunistic-power grabbing. While transitional programs are not being questioned here, I do maintain that one should not lose sight of, or stop enunciating, long term goals. The Libertarian Party platform is, in my view, one of the most dramatic and important projects undertaken by libertarians in recent years, for it is an attempt to apply the corpus of libertarian thought and theory to real world situations and come up with concrete policy conclusions. What long range impact would libertarians have if we were to dilute our policy aims and hide our ultimate goals?

Mr. Poole also states, after arguing for a gradualistic approach (repeal of only federal victimless crime laws, abolishing only some regulatory agencies, etc.), "Notice that the list does not include abolishing income taxes or welfare or the FDS - ideas whose time has yet to come, since people today cannot see how to do without these institutions. Until viable replacements can be researched, developed, and popularized, people's needs and fears must be taken seriously if a candidate is serious about being elected." Has Mr. Poole neglected the important point, enunciated as a major defense of the market by such a long line of libertarians, that the market provides a framework for the attainment of non-coercive ends and that the specific institutions which will arise to satisfy these demands cannot be predicted? One cannot "research, develop, and popularize" "viable replacements" to state institutions and then claim that this particular constellation of human relationships will be that adopted through the market.

In conclusion, I "attack this (Mr. Poole's) approach as compromising or unprincipled" for a number of reasons. The points which Mr. Poole states we should keep in mind in no way compensate for the defects of his abandonment of principles (or at least of enunciating them publicly). The first point, "The purpose of a political party is to elect people to office. . . was attacked for the possibility of leading to opportunistic power-grabbing. The second, that "it is not compromising to face the necessity of evolutionary change and, therefore, to implement a long term plan a step at a time," is a statement with which I am in general agreement but which in no way supports Mr. Poole's particular viewpoint regarding tactics and strategy. The third, that "Libertarians are under no obligation to advertise their ultimate goals every time they make a public statement, so long as they don't misrepresent or conceal their principles.

" is, to begin with, contradictory. Principles in this context presuppose goals and to enunciate your principles (that is, to not conceal them) in an understandable way is of necessity to advertise your goals. Further, it has been argued that this viewpoint in no way advances liberty, for this third point, if followed, would not lead to the most vital ingredient in any recipe for change in a libertarian direction, an articulate and organized libertarian movement.

Of course, all of the above should in no way be construed as a personal attack upon Mr. Poole (who has done a fine job editing *Reason* magazine, providing the libertarian movement with a forum for the exchange of ideas), nor as questioning his devotion to libertarian principles. Rather, my intense love of liberty and desire to see it realized one day lead to attack, with no quarter given, a strategy which I believe would lead to the emasculation of the libertarian movement and which would be its death sentence. Our promise is so great and our goal so noble that stepping on toes (non-coercively, of course!) doesn't cause me a moment's hesitation. For a more detailed discussion of these points, I refer the reader to the following works: *The Intellectuals and Socialism* reprinted in *Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics*; *Principles or Expediency in Toward Liberty: Essays in Honor of Ludwig von Mises*; and *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, Vol. I, p. 56-59, by F. A. Hayek; *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder and What Is To Be Done?* *Burning Questions Of Our Movement* by V. I. Lenin; and historical works on Richard Cobden and John Bright, two of the world's most radical and successful historical figures (leaders of the English radical-liberal free trade movement), particularly *English Libertarians Battled War, Tariffs* by Ralph Raico in LP NEWS issue 30, Jan.-Feb 1976. □

\*Mr. Palmer is head of the Young Libertarian Alliance.

## The LP: — (Continued From Page 3)

impact.

The lesson for libertarians is clear: even on such issues as state and local taxation, where one might think we are close to Reaganite conservatism, conservatism must be forsworn. Even on local economic issues, conservatism is simply a more moderate branch of the statist Establishment. Conservatism is everywhere statist in principle, strategy, and tactics; libertarianism is radical and anti-statist. And never the twain shall meet. □

## Health and Liberty

Ivan Illich is a radical critic of modern bureaucratic statist society often described as a radical libertarian by critics within the liberal and left establishments. Yet he is still comparatively unknown among libertarians whose forebears were Tucker, Nock, Mises and Rand. The reason may be that Illich's credentials do not seem promising to such libertarians: he is a Catholic priest, albeit not in the good graces of Rome; he is a Middle European critic of American materialist society; he rarely indicates any specialized knowledge in economics; he has been a missionary educator in Latin America; and as a sociologist and Christian he tends to see man holistically rather than as producer, consumer, owner, worker or partial actor. He does not indicate in his writings familiarity with the Old Right, objectivism or Austrian economics.

Yet Illich is often identified by his critics as one who "attacks even modest liberal strategies for change, such as national health insurance, . . . and nowhere does he argue for a major redistribution of resources or public control of the process of industrialization". Illich is rightly accused of rejecting "political and economic solutions in favor of a sterile (sic!) individualism. These are the politics of life style and the economics of Milton Friedman"!

The same critic, reviewing *Medical Nemesis* in the NY Times, calls Illich the leading Luddite of the 20th century. Another critic, writing in the Nation, after echoing the Luddite theme, pinpoints the real evil of Illich: "it is the 'recuperation of personal responsibility for health care' - not society, not an equitable system, but personal responsibility he advocates. A very attractive theory for the libertarians and laissez faire proponents, to whom all social engineering of any kind is anathema. At the extreme end, the Illich panacea attacks the concept of man as a social animal capable of, needful of, planning and organizing efforts for mutual help and support".

Pretty horrible, but there is worse yet. This monstrous Friedmanite, Luddite, libertarian priest is "intensely religious" and "celebrates suffering". Proof? Illich says: "Man's consciously lived fragility, individuality and relatedness make the experience of pain, sickness and death an integral part of his life. The ability to cope with this trio autonomously is fundamental to his health". Yes, Illich believes in coping with reality face to face in manly and womanly fashion, retaining self-awareness, and self control, asserting to the end one's self-esteem and autonomy as a free, rational and responsible human being.

In *Medical Nemesis* Illich argues that modern medical practice with its enormous investment in technology has reached a stage at which it becomes itself a menace to human health, a process he calls iatrogenesis: he denounces the imperialism of the medical monopolists in constantly medicalizing all sorts of social, personal and cultural problems with a consequent reduction of individuals to a new kind of dependency, a serfdom based on the control of one's health by the medical lords. Finally, he points the way to liberation through destruction of the monopoly by abolishing state licensing, and personal reassertion of control of one's health, personal autonomy over one's body and mind, through the practice of self care.

Illich's works are polemical, provocative, disturbing; they raise as many questions as they answer; they compel the reader to demand more clarity than is available: his style reminds one of Proudhon's, often paradoxical, and tending to give special nuances to commonplace terminology. Illich challenges his readers to step aside and outside the normal intellectual channels. If you like mental exercise, read this book.

(J.R.P.) □

## Metric Mania

One of the biggest rip-offs now in the making is the planned forced changeover to the metric system being engineered by a small group of elitists despite a century of opposition from Congress and the American public. If Congress goes along with their plans, every American will have to foot the bill for the changeover and will have to put up with the confusion and frustration of a dual system for the rest of his lifetime.

The "metrication" of the United States is a bizarre undertaking. There is no popular demand for a change in our system and there is much latent opposition that should be apparent to even the least prescient politician.

The culprits in this wasteful economic and social drama are a few professional engineer and educator groups. They are supported by tool makers, scale manufacturers and others who would profit immensely from a forced changeover.

Under a barrage of propaganda, some Congressmen have weakened and Congress has agreed to a study and to fund an "educational" campaign.

Proponents assert that the inch-pound-gallon system which is functioning so well for us is obsolete and that we ought to substitute the European metric system. They claim metrics is simple and logical, being built on blocks of 10, 100 and 1,000. In contrast, they say, our present English system is characterized by complexity and illogic.

Almost every news item and feature article on the alleged desirability of the metric system mentions the "drive" or "fight" to establish the system in the United States, presumably against some formidable opposition. Yet, there is nothing to stop anyone from using the metric system. It is not illegal. Congress legalized the use of metric measurements in 1866. But in the 110 years since, no major U. S. manufacturer has seen fit to standardize on the metric system—knowing that Americans don't want it.

Since the 1866 legalization, more than 100 bills have been introduced in Congress to force a mandatory metric system on the United States. All have failed to pass. In 1968 Congress authorized a study. Later, a bill was passed that stated it was national policy to "go metric." The bill authorized spending \$10 million a year for four years to publicize the metric system. In 1975 Congress passed the Metric Conversion Act which was signed by the President. Under the Act, a U. S. Metric Board has been set up to "coordinate" efforts to convert the United States to the metric system during the ensuing ten years.

The proponents try to create the impression that all businessmen are for the metric change. Actually, large segments of American industry are opposed.

If the metric system had the benefits that proponents claim for it, it would have been adopted by American industry and business long ago. But it hasn't. And, it would be used widely in world commerce. It isn't. Just look in the business pages of your daily paper. You will see that the

world of commerce uses measures that by and large originated in England.

World petroleum production is measured in U. S. barrels of 31-½ gallons—not in any metric liters. World gold and silver production and sale are measured in troy ounces—not in grams or kilograms. Copper, lead, zinc and tin are sold by the pound. World trade in lumber is carried on in board feet. (A board foot is a cubic measure, one foot square by one inch thick). Trade in wheat, corn and soybeans is in bushels. A bushel of wheat is 60 pounds. Live cattle and hogs are traded by the hundredweight. Shell eggs are marketed by the dozen.

Most of the world's wines and liquors such as Scotch whiskey, Irish whiskey, and American whiskey (bourbon), are bottled in fifths—a fifth of a gallon. Occasionally quarts (quarter of a gallon) are used. Most domestic liqueurs (cordials) are put up in fancy bottles that are labeled by federal law "¾ quart"—or 24 ounces.

Foreign wines and liquors generally come in odd sizes ranging from 24 to 30 ounces. The non-metric sizes dominate the smallest as well as the largest containers. A "split," holding 6 ounces is marketed as well as the "magnum" holding two quarts, or 64 ounces. There's even a non-metric "jeroboam" (used mainly for champagne) that holds a hefty 7/10th of a gallon, or 90 ounces.

There is not a single industry that would not be adversely affected by a mandatory change to go metric. The building industry, for example, is based on the inch, pound, and pounds-per-square-inch system. Architects, engineers, building contractors, and building inspectors must all talk the same language. They do now, in the present English system.

The auto industry, despite announcements that nuts and bolts may go metric, will remain on the old system. The wheels will remain 13, 14 or 15 inch because the entire world uses these non-metric sizes. Thus, you can buy tires to fit your car anywhere in the world.

Most Americans did not pay attention to the early efforts to saddle the country with a metric system because they didn't believe that Congress would seriously consider such a move. But now that Congress has given the green light (another indication of the deterioration of Congress), opposition is mounting.

In all the torrent of words issuing from the proponents, nothing has been told to the average American what benefits the changeover will bring him. The reason is, there are no benefits to the homemaker, home owner or other citizen. Only confusion. John Rozmital, head of the National Viewpoint Society, says the promised benefits of bigger foreign trade are promises only and like promises of politicians, will not be actualized. "The only apparent gainers will be the makers of measuring equipment," he says.

In a satirical denunciation of the efforts to "metricate" us, the critics say that the government that brought us Vietnam, the gasoline shortage of 1973-74 and Watergate, is now about to foist on us another disaster—the confusing and frustrating dual measurement system. ■

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## Carter & Co. — Back at the Old Stand

Nearly eight years ago, the *Lib. Forum* was founded, at the beginning of the first Nixon administration. One of the reasons for our birth was to combat rightist illusions about Nixon which permeated parts of the then embryonic libertarian movement. Now eight years of Republican rule are ended, and we are left, during this transition period, to examine the political signs and portents to try to discern the outlines of the new Carter regime. Such augury is all the more tempting because of the meteoric rise from nowhere of Jimmy Carter. So that everyone has been wondering: who is J. C. and what will his administration be like?

Well, we can stop wondering. We can put our uncertainties to rest: Carter will neither be a wild-eyed McGovernite leftist nor a southern war-monger. No, we are back at the old familiar stand, at the corporate liberalism and the centrist Democracy of the Johnson, and to some extent the Kennedy, administrations. For the Carter Cabinet has been chosen, and they are old Johnson-Kennedy warhorses, with a bit of admixture of Georgia cronies representing the corporate elite of Atlanta. And there is another key force, which will become clear as this article unfolds.

First, let us consider the appointment of good grey Cyrus Vance as Secretary of State. Vance is the living symbol of the Eastern Establishment, of the tight-knit foreign policy old-boy network known to the members themselves as "The Community." So "in" is Vance that the knowledgeable Marxist muckraker Alexander Cockburn predicted his accession to the post in the *Village Voice* last February, long before anyone knew that Carter would gain the nomination.

Cyrus Vance was Deputy Secretary of Defense during the Johnson Administration, and as such supported Johnson's Vietnam War—as did Carter's new Secretary of Defense, Dr. Harold Brown, who was Secretary of Air in the Johnson Administration, and as such whooped it up for the massive bombing of North Vietnam. Does this mean another "Democrat war" in the near future? Perhaps, but probably not. For Vance and his Establishment allies seemed to have learned the lessons of Vietnam, at least as they extend to the perils of fighting a counter-guerrilla war in the Third World. At this press conference, Brown conceded that the Vietnam War was "catastrophic", and that he has learned that "we must become more cautious about such interventions."

Fortunately for the prospects of peace, Vance, Brown, and the "Community" are generally committed to the pro-peace *detente* line with the Soviet Union, which means a rough continuation of the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger foreign policy. Most important, both Vance and Brown have already expressed themselves strongly in favor of the SALT talks with Russia, which must mean an agreement to scrap or restrain the highly dangerous American development of the cruise missile. The danger of the cruise missile is that it would upset the current balance of

"mutually assured destruction" in which both superpowers confine themselves to overwhelming second-nuclear-strike capability against each other; for the cruise missile might give the U. S. a first-strike capability that would scare the Russians silly and thereby heat up the cold war again in a provocative and menacing manner.

Already, Carter has been sending messages to Moscow to the effect that he is eager to conclude a SALT II agreement limiting strategic arms. Carter informed Brezhnev that he would move "aggressively to get the SALT talks off dead center"; moreover, in a meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Nov. 23, Carter expressed his view that it was the United States that has stalled the SALT talks since last winter, "because of a disagreement between the Defense and the State departments (presumably because of the hawk Rumsfeld), and because of the fact that this was an election year." Carter also told Brezhnev that he shared the latter's desire for peace, nuclear disarmament, and a reduction in conventional arms. Cyrus Vance has also expressed his belief in a reduction in conventional arms and limits on military spending as a vice-chairman of the United Nations Association's American panel on conventional arms control.

So the prospects for peace, and therefore for a more libertarian foreign policy, look good for the new Administration. The key issue to watch was whether or not the leader of the American pro-war hawks, James Schlesinger, would be selected as Secretary of Defense. A furious struggle took place between the pro-peace liberal Democrats, including Anthony Lake, head of the Carter foreign policy transition team, and the conservative and Social Democrat hawks, the latter headed by AFL-CIO bosses George Meany and Lane Kirkland. The struggle took place over Schlesinger as possible Secretary of Defense. Schlesinger is not only the leading hawk, advocate of the cruise missile, and of ever-higher military spending, but he even went so far as to organize a pressure group designed to heat up the Cold War: the Committee on the Present Danger, including Kirkland, David Packard, Nixon's deputy secretary of defense, Henry Fowler, Johnson's secretary of the treasury, Paul Nitze, Eugene V. Rostow, Nixon's CIA Chief William Colby, Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, and Generals Ridgeway, Lemnitzer, Goodpaster, and Taylor. Schlesinger made a deep personal impression on Carter (something that is apparently quite easy to do), but, fortunately, the centrist pro-peace forces finally won the upper hand. The final defeat of the drive for Schlesinger was signalled by comments made by former Johnson Defense Secretary Clark Clifford after a meeting with Carter on Dec. 9. Clifford told the press that Carter would choose a defense secretary and cabinet officials who would join with Cyrus Vance (the first cabinet member chosen) to carry out a

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## Carter — (Continued From Page 1)

policy of detente with Soviet Russia. Said Clifford: "I think there will be a general understanding that the country will maintain the necessary strength, but within that framework we will find a way to live at peace and with some equanimity with the Soviet Union."

It now looks as if Schlesinger will be energy czar in the new administration. This may have a two-fold use. In the first place, Schlesinger has a quasi-Friedmanite economics background (he began his career as professor of economics at the University of Virginia), and so he might serve to decontrol energy a bit, a field that sorely needs it. And secondly, as a member of the cabinet, he would have to keep his mouth shut about foreign and military policy, this robbing the hawks of their leading spokesman.

The other cabinet appointments all spell out "corporate liberal", as well as Johnson and Kennedy. Secretary of Treasury Werner Michael Blumenthal, president of Bendix Corp., is a leading corporate liberal, and advocate of large-scale government spending. Rep. Brock Adams (D., Wash.), Secretary of Transportation, is a virtual tool of the railroad cartellists, consistently favoring cartellizing regulation and federal subsidies to the railroads and airlines. Secretary of HEW is purported to be Joseph Califano, a Johnson liberal. Rumored to be the new head of the CIA is Ted Sorensen (Kennedy). The Secretary of Labor was supposed to be Professor John T. Dunlop, the "first, second and last" choice of Meany and Kirkland, whose economic "conservatism" simply adds up to being a virtual tool of the construction unions; however, severe leftist pressure by pro-affirmative-action quota blacks and feminists blocked the appointment, which went instead to labor economist F. Ray Marshall. The black female appointee for head of HUD, Patricia Harris, a veteran Johnson Democrat, touches all bases by being the law partner of Sargent Shriver (Kennedy).

Then, of course, there is the inevitable quota of Georgia cronies of the President-elect. The point to be made here is that these cronies are not peanut farmer-populists, but leaders of the substantial Atlanta corporate community. Perhaps the most amusing appointment is Carter's old friend, the banker Bert Lance, as head of the Office of Management and Budget. For the press blandly reported that Carter is personally into Lance's bank for a loan of no less than \$5 million! If Tricky Dick had made such an appointment, the legitimate cry of "corruption!" would have filled the land; but for the heavily pro-Carter media, no comment seemed necessary. Then, as Attorney-General, Judge Griffin Bell, partner of the top Atlanta law firm of King and Spalding, and partner at that firm of Charles Kirbo, Carter's oldest friend and chief counsellor. Why Bell's middle-of-the road record should be a source of shock and amazement to leftists and blacks is a bit of a wonder; what in the world did they expect? As it was, the blacks showed considerable clout in the Carter appointments: Mrs. Harris, Rep. Andrew Young at the UN, and the blocking of Dunlop. More clout indeed than Meany and the AFL-CIO, who lost out on Dunlop and Schlesinger.

Another corporate Atlanta appointment is the new Deputy Secretary of Defense. Charles Duncan, Jr., a multi-millionaire holder of Coca-Cola stock, and former President of that company. Coca-Cola, of course, is the leading corporation in Georgia.

But there is another crucial element which we have promised to unravel: an element that penetrates and stands behind such concepts as "corporate liberalism", the "Eastern Establishment", and "The Community." And that leitmotif is none other than the Rockefeller political-economic empire, headed by David Rockefeller, head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and financial leader of the Rockefeller empire just as brother Nelson has been its political capo. Let us examine the threads.

The leading arm of David Rockefeller is the powerful, semi-secret group, the Trilateral Commission, founded by Rockefeller in 1973 to propose and coordinate policies for Western Europe, the United States, and Japan. The Commission was launched under the benign auspices of the more secret Bilderbergers, which have been meeting annually for thirty years, and which is headed by Dutch Prince Bernhard of Lockheed bribe fame. The fascinating point about the Trilateral Commission is that this organization of big businessmen, academics, union leaders, and politicians from the three regions contains a relatively small number of

## Nobel Prize for Friedman

The granting of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1976 to Milton Friedman, head of the Chicago School, is a happy portent; for this is the second Nobel prize to a free-market economist in the last three years (a 1974 prize having gone to F.A. Hayek, the living Dean of the "Austrian School"). Coming from a Swedish prize committee that had consistently given its awards to left-liberal Keynesians, this must mean that the recent general failure of intellectual nerve among the Keynesians has penetrated to the Swedish committee. For the Keynesians, arrogantly dominant in economics for the last forty years, have been increasingly rocked by a series of theoretical and empirical blows that have left them uncertain and confused. Surely, the Swedish committee is hedging its intellectual bets. The Keynesian paradigm is in disarray, and the time is becoming ripe for new paradigms to assert themselves. Among the competing paradigms, the Chicago and the Austrian schools are the free-market ones, with the latter much more rigorously so. The future course of the economics profession is brighter than it has been since the inauguration of the Keynesian Dark Age. □

people, a few dozen from each region. And yet, the following prominent leaders, and prospective leaders, of the coming Carter administration are members of this exclusive Trilateral Commission:

Jimmy Carter himself, selected in 1973 as a rising politician of promise.

Vice-President Mondale, hand-picked by Carter.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown.

National Security Adviser Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, of Columbia University. Brzezinski was, until recently, the executive director of the Trilateral Commission.

Paul Warnke, former Johnson official, and a leading dove, mentioned for Secretary of Defense.

J. Paul Austin, head of Coca-Cola.

Robert Roosa, who had been mentioned for the Treasury post, partner of the powerful investment banking firm of Brown Brothers, Harriman, and executive director of the pro-collectivist Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning.

Anthony Lake, head of Carter's foreign policy transition team.

Henry Owen, formerly of State, now of the liberal think tank, the Brookings Institution.

Richard Cooper, economist from Yale, mentioned for a high post at State for economic affairs.

In addition to the Trilateral Commission, another influential arm of the Rockefellers is the Rockefeller Foundation. And we find that Cryus Vance is head of the executive committee of the Rockefeller Foundation, while W. Michael Blumenthal is also a member of the executive committee, as is also Mrs. Jane Cahill Pfeiffer, who was Carter's first choice for Secretary of Commerce.

To those interested in the old Rockefeller-Morgan rivalry that used to play such a large role in American politics, there is a fascinating embodiment of the Rockefeller-Morgan alliance (with the former taking the lead) which has been active since World War II. For it turns out that Cryus Vance's father died when he was very young, and Cryus was virtually brought up by his father's close friend and cousin, "Uncle" John W. Davis, Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1924. A touching story no doubt, but made more interesting by the fact that John Davis was the lawyer for J.P. Morgan & Co.

And so we have it: a Rockefeller administration with a few Georgia corporate allies. Foreign policy has been shifted from Nelson Rockefeller's personal foreign affairs advisor, Henry Kissinger, to David Rockefeller's Cryus Vance, Harold Brown, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. So we can cease our puzzlement about Jimmy Carter. Plains, schmainns; the Republic is in familiar hands. □

# Kropotkin's Ethics and the Public Good

by Williamson M. Evers

(Editor's Note: Oddly enough, even though the social philosophy of Communist Anarchism and its most distinguished theoretician, Prince Peter Kropotkin, have been around for a century, there has been little or no systematic critique of Kropotkin's ethical theory, from individualist anarchists, libertarians, or anyone else. Williamson Evers' article is of vital importance in finally providing us with that long-missing critique.)

Prince Peter Kropotkin, the communist-anarchist theorist, sought to place his political and ethical doctrine on a scientific basis. Specifically, Kropotkin sought to develop an ethics that was in accord with the theory of evolution and with the findings of biological science. Most important for Kropotkin was freeing ethics from the sanction of religion.<sup>1</sup> But he also adhered to the methods of natural science in wanting to base ethical law on empirical data gained from observation of the life and activities of humans, rather than basing it, as he contended Kant had, solely on abstract reasoning.<sup>2</sup>

In Kropotkin's pamphlet on *Anarchist Morality*, he applauded the empiricist philosophers of the 18th-century Enlightenment for rejecting religious interpretations of human action and adopting an account that made the quest of pleasure and avoidance of pain the source of human motivation.<sup>3</sup> Kropotkin joined with Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Chernischevsky in affirming that the desire for pleasure was the true motive of all human action.<sup>4</sup> Kropotkin not only maintained that in their conscious, deliberative acts, human beings always seek out pleasure; he saw this motive operating throughout the organic world. Recognition of this truth, Kropotkin argued, placed ethics on a materialistic, naturalistic basis. Furthermore, Kropotkin thought reliance on the findings of science and on evolutionary theory gave to ethics a philosophical certitude, in contrast to the uncertain intuitionism on which transcendental philosophers like Kant relied.<sup>5</sup>

Yet it should be noted that in Kropotkin's final work *Ethics*, he wrote that Kant was correct to reject utility as a basis for ethics. Like Kant, Kropotkin pointed to the elevating character of morality.<sup>7</sup> In fact, Kropotkin came to argue that the Russian revolution had gone astray primarily because "the lofty social ideal" of the early Russian revolutionaries had been superseded by "teachings of economic materialism emanating from Germany."<sup>8</sup>

Kropotkin located the source of morality in a natural attribute of all animals: the instinct of sociability and mutual aid within a species. He described this instinct as having arisen via the transmission to subsequent generations of a habit developed in animals and humans to cope with the changing environment in which each species lived.<sup>9</sup> Biologists today would almost unanimously reject Kropotkin's Lamarckian notion of the heritability of acquired characteristics. But the instinct of sociability and mutual aid can be explained in terms of standard Darwinian natural selection. According to this view, mutual aid behavior contributes to the survival of a set of genes.<sup>10</sup>

The origin of moral sentiments then, according to Kropotkin, lies in the appearance of the instinct of mutual aid. From then on, moral sentiments can be said to be the product of a moral sense that operates like the sense of smell or touch.<sup>11</sup> Mutual aid becomes a permanent instinct, always present and developing in social animals (especially in humans) in the course of their evolution.<sup>12</sup>

In Kropotkin's pamphlet *Anarchist Morality*, he seemed to blend the instinct of mutual aid (aimed at preservation of the species) with the feeling of sympathy. He contended that Adam Smith had discovered the true origin of moral sentiments in sympathy.<sup>13</sup>

However, in Kropotkin's *Ethics*, he modified his stance after re-reading Kant. Kropotkin did not throw out sympathy as a support for morality. But sympathy no longer had the decisive role it had in the theories of the Scottish moralists and in Kropotkin's own earlier moral writings. In *Ethics*, Kropotkin agreed with Kant's demonstration that morality cannot be based solely on sympathy.<sup>14</sup>

Instead, Kropotkin distinguished between sympathy and mutual aid. He described sympathy and mutual aid as elements in the moral make-up of human beings. But he recognized that even for a person with a well-developed sympathetic character, there would arise situations in which his sympathies were at war with his other natural tendencies.<sup>15</sup>

In case such conflicts arose, what course was a moral person obligated to follow? Kropotkin said that obligation derives its force from the recognition by instinct and reason of the course to follow.<sup>16</sup> Whereas Kropotkin says that Kant leaves his readers completely ignorant of the origin of the sense of duty, Kropotkin is able to point to the mutual aid instinct as the driving force behind the sense of duty. As social life gets more and more complex, reason plays an ever more important role in moral decision-making. But, for Kropotkin, reason is always in harness with instinct.<sup>17</sup>

One of the dictates of reason is the human conception of justice.<sup>18</sup> A sense of justice only develops once the foundations have been laid by the institutionalization of mutual aid in human society and the internalization of mutual aid (via Lamarckian processes) in human nature. The basic core of the concept of justice, according to Kropotkin, is equal rights or equality of self-restraint.<sup>19</sup>

The sense of obligation to uphold justice stems not so much directly from instinct as from the rational recognition of necessity. Kropotkin adopts Hume's position that there are certain rules of action which are absolutely necessary, so long as one wishes to live in society.<sup>20</sup> Equal rights are necessary to social life.

But Kropotkin means by justice not simply political and civic equity, but also economic equality. Hence he applauds the appearance of egalitarian thinkers and philosophers at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century.<sup>21</sup>

Kropotkin never provides a full-blown defense of equality as a political goal. However we can discern some slight indications of four possible arguments about equality in Kropotkin's writings.

First, Kropotkin undertakes a criticism of religious morality of aspiration. Such morality begins by postulating human equality and brotherhood. But either natural inequalities or original sin make full equality unattainable.<sup>22</sup> It is still morally imperative that one share with the poor. But it is not possible to carry this to its logical conclusion. Such morality of aspiration rejects the rule of moral reasoning that ought implies can. One is left with a duty to be charitable that is based on reasoning that is acknowledged to be unsatisfactory by the proponents of the duty. Kropotkin is correct in pointing out the "deadly contradiction" here.<sup>23</sup> But he has not thereby established the possibility or desirability of equality.

As part of this discussion of charity, Kropotkin is arguing that mercy and beneficence are not enough.<sup>24</sup> Although he does not spell it out, Kropotkin is correct in saying that these sentiments are not enough to establish the justice of economic equality.

In a societal situation, mercy, charity, and generosity are dependent in practice (and dependent logically as concepts) upon the assignment of rights and entitlements. Mercy, for example, can only be the relinquishment to somebody of something to which one is justly entitled. One needs a rationally-defensible theory of justice in entitlements before one can say that some case is a case in which mercy could be exercised.

Since Kropotkin does not wish to develop a theory of entitlements more elaborate than the (incompatible) notions that everyone is entitled to equal shares and that everyone is entitled to his needs, Kropotkin does not dwell on charity or compassion.<sup>24a</sup> (Proudhon, who unlike Kropotkin is an individualist-anarchist, stresses charity and generosity and shows that communism is essentially opposed to them.)<sup>25</sup> When Kropotkin criticizes Herbert Spencer, Kropotkin does so not on the basis that Spencer opposes charity (which in fact Spencer considers a second-order duty). Kropotkin contends that thefts by the powerful and economic exploitation by the

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## Kropotkin's — (Continued From Page 3)

capitalists have taken from the poor what is due to them. Like Spencer, Kropotkin sees the validity of separating that which is rightfully due to people from that which may be given them out of beneficence. They simply disagree about what is due.

In a second discussion of equality, Kropotkin contends that we ourselves would want to be expropriated, if in some case we took material goods that fell like manna from heaven and used such goods for material gain:

We ourselves should ask to be dispossessed, if...we seized upon an inheritance, did it fall from on high, to use it for the exploitation of others.<sup>27</sup>

The problem with Kropotkin's account is that goods do not fall like manna from heaven.<sup>28</sup> Instead goods have a history of relationships to human beings. Goods do not arrive magically on the scene. Instead goods were originally taken under someone's control somehow and then, perhaps, transferred to others. Whether justice was adhered to in the original acquisition and in the subsequent exchange is something that deserves critical examination. But one cannot pretend that the case of the falling of economic goods from on high is a usual case. Hence it seems extravagant to argue from a case in which goods have no history of attachments to human beings (the case of goods falling from on high) to the usual case in which goods have a long history of attachments to human beings.

The notion of windfall gains which may be what Kropotkin is appealing to, is as misleading as the idea of goods falling from heaven. If an apple falls out of a farmer's tree, it is still the farmer's. To take what may be Kropotkin's example, if a gift (or an inheritance, which is a kind of gift) is unexpected, that does not make it illegitimate. If the giver was entitled to the goods and then transferred them, there is no reason to be found in the gift's unexpectedness for dispossessing the recipient.

Perhaps the decisive point for Kropotkin is that the goods are to be used for the exploitation of others. Since Kropotkin's notion of exploitation seems to rely on a neo-Ricardian labor theory of value, any claims that exploitation is taking place depend on the very questionable validity of that value theory.<sup>29</sup>

In a third discussion of equality, Kropotkin argues that the goods and services that we enjoy today are the product both of past generations and of present-day collective labor. Hence, according to Kropotkin, it is wrong that individuals benefit personally from what are in fact not their own creations.<sup>30</sup>

But there is nothing immoral about benefitting personally from things which one does not create. If one benefits personally from something one has been given as a gift (or even benefits personally from something one sees somewhere), one may be benefitting from something one has not created oneself, but there is nothing inherently immoral about it.

Things made in the past are either gifts or items received in just exchanges or stolen goods or items taken via fraudulent exchanges. In cases of theft or fraud, there should be rectification. There is no other special problem about products made in the past.

In general Kropotkin believes that he has found a major flaw in the justification of property rights and economic inequality. What Kropotkin is focusing on is the somewhat muddled notion that one is entitled to the fruits of one's labor. In more refined natural-rights liberal theory, one owns one's own personal capacity to labor, one's own energy. If one owns an article and transforms it further using labor on it, well, one still owns it. In addition, a prospective employee may make a contract in which an employer agrees to transfer money to the employee on the condition that the employee do certain work. In this case, the employee is working on articles that belong to the employer. What the employee is entitled to is not the transformed article that he worked on. That still belongs to the employer. The employee is entitled to the wage or salary that was contractually agreed upon. (It should be noted that the theory that one has a just claim to any article one works on seems to leave out service workers, like teachers, who do not work on physical products.) Labor contracts are made every day without the parties worrying about Kropotkin's false problem of an indistinguishably collective product.<sup>31</sup>

The parties simply make a conditional contract: wages are transferred to the employee, if work is done for the employer.

In Kropotkin's fourth commentary on equality, he says that communist anarchists will not "tolerate" persons using their natural assets and attributes (physical strength, mental acuity, beauty, and so forth) in any way that other persons would find annoying or upsetting to have such attributes used.<sup>32</sup> The idea of not tolerating persons' making use of their own lives, bodies, and minds in ways they prefer implies either that some persons have rightful control over others or that all persons have rightful control over all persons.

Since Kropotkin is a self-proclaimed communist, we can assume that he rejects slaveholding, in which some persons own others. Since he is a self-proclaimed anarchist, we can assume that he rejects the state by which some people control others, or in effect own them. But the pure communist alternative in which by right all decisions about all acts of or pertaining to any person are made by all persons, is impossible to conceive of and impossible to put into practice.

Inevitably, decision-making power is delegated to others or others claim it has been delegated to them. What Michels called the "iron law of oligarchy" takes over in the life of organized activity in the communist society.<sup>33</sup> The core of the political state has then been reintroduced in the anarchist commune, and some persons again control others, or in effect own them.

The only other conceivable alternative is that of natural-rights liberalism, in which persons own themselves in the sense that women are said by feminists to own their own bodies.<sup>34</sup> Persons are entitled to their natural assets and attributes. These assets and attributes are not something that was stolen from someone else or obtained through some other illegitimate process.<sup>35</sup>

Kropotkin himself stated that the most important criterion in the evaluation of all modern ethical systems is the presence or absence of fetters on individual initiative. He explicitly ruled out fettering individual initiative for the welfare of the society or the species.<sup>36</sup> It seems at least likely that Kropotkin's prohibition on communist grounds of persons making use of their natural assets in ways that others find upsetting will not survive scrutiny according to Kropotkin's own standards for judging ethical systems.

In contending that justice is equal rights, that justice is necessary to social life, and that equity includes economic equality, Kropotkin was discussing what one was morally obliged to do. But like Spencer, Kropotkin distinguished between moral duty and supererogatory acts.<sup>37</sup>

While maintaining that recognition of equal rights is a duty and a necessity, Kropotkin also maintained that "if each man practiced merely the equity of a trader, taking care all day long not to give others anything more than he was receiving from them, society would die of it."<sup>38</sup>

Packed away in this assertion of Kropotkin's are two notions which deserve to be brought out and examined closely. First of all, Kropotkin assumes that in trade, equivalents are exchanged. But since the Marginalist Revolution of the late 19th century, economists have rejected objective value theories in favor of a subjective one in which each party to an exchange trades because he believes he will get something more valuable to him in return. In terms of each party's own preferences, inequivalents are being exchanged.

Secondly, Kropotkin seems to be saying here that if all persons in a society traded with each other nonfraudulently, this would destroy society. Over the long run, nonfraudulent trade will lead to the suicide of society.

Let us try to spell out what Kropotkin may mean. According to Kropotkin's objective theory of value, traders are exchanging only equivalents. Hence, no gain in welfare comes from trading. According to Kropotkin, society can make progress only when some persons magnanimously devote themselves to discovering new ideas, inventing new techniques, or helping others above and beyond the call of duty. If only honest trade occurs, society will die, for in the face of challenges from a changing environment, society can succeed, progress, and develop only through acts of self-sacrifice. However, Kropotkin never shows satisfactorily why economic development and the handling of new

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## Kropotkin's — (Continued From Page 4)

challenges cannot be accomplished in the marketplace, as they seem to have been historically.

We have seen that Kropotkin's account of what constitutes the public good depends heavily on what the supposed instinct of sociability and mutual aid tells us, on the moral duty to institute equality across the board, and on the desirability of making sacrifices to meet the needs of or bring improvements to others. There are problems with each of these elements.

Kropotkin has trouble distinguishing between the role of reason and the role of instinct in ethical discourse. Also he tells us to look to instinct as the basis of obligation and for answers to what seem to be ethical dilemmas. In fact, the voice of instinct is not unambiguous on ethical questions. If it were crystal clear and compelling, we would not have the ethical problems we do.

Furthermore, Kropotkin's ideas about man's natural inclinations toward socially compatible and mutually co-operative behavior can support more than one ethical system. For example, *laissez-faire* liberals have made use of the same notions.

Modern-day classical liberal Ludwig von Mises writes:

The core of liberal social theory is the theory of the division of labor....Society is the union of human beings for the better exploitation of the natural conditions of existence; in its very conception it abolishes the struggle between human beings and substitutes the mutual aid which provides the essential motive of all members united in an organism. Within the limits of society there is no struggle, only peace. Every struggle suspends, in effect, the social community. Society, as a whole, as organism, does fight a struggle for existence against forces inimical to it. But inside, as far as society has absorbed individuals completely, there is only collaboration. For society is nothing but collaboration....The only theory which explains how peace is possible between individuals and how society grows out of individuals is the liberal social theory of the division of labor.<sup>39</sup>

Another modern-day classical liberal Murray N. Rothbard writes:

The free market...is precisely the diametric opposite of the "jungle" society. The jungle is characterized by the war of all against all. One man gains only at the expense of another, by seizure of the latter's property. With all on a subsistence level, there is a true struggle for survival, with the stronger force crushing the weaker. In a free market, on the other hand, one man gains only through serving another, though he may also retire into self-sufficient production at a primitive level if he so desires.

It is precisely through the peaceful cooperation of the market that all men gain through the development of the division of labor and capital investment. To apply the principle of the "survival of the fittest" to both the jungle and the market is to ignore the basic question: Fitness for what? The "fit" in the jungle are those most adept at the exercise of brute force. The "fit" on the market are those most adept in the service of society...

The free market...transmutes the jungle's destructive competition for meagre subsistence into a peaceful co-operative competition in the service of one's self and others. In the jungle, some gain only at the expense of others. On the market, everyone gains. It is the market—the contractual society—that wrests order out of chaos, that subdues nature and eradicates the jungle, that permits the "weak" to live productively, or out of gifts from production, in a regal style compared to the life of the "strong" in the jungle.<sup>40</sup>

Not only are there alternative notions of what socially co-operative behavior is in man, but, as we have seen, there are major difficulties with Kropotkin's sketchy discussion of equality. At times Kropotkin seems to

believe that superabundance and the abolition of economic scarcity will solve the problem of remuneration of labor.<sup>41</sup> But prices have not yet fallen to zero so we know that resources are still scarce.<sup>42</sup>

Kropotkin wanted to build a stateless society on equality of possessions, mutual service, and a morality of increased self-sacrifice. But it can be argued that Kropotkin failed to be clear about the concepts he used and failed to avoid self-contradiction in his theory of communist-anarchism.

What can be said about the institutions of Kropotkin's communist society? Kropotkin proposed a society of small-scale territorial communes. Yet Kropotkin's goal of across-the-board equality may easily be undermined by separate decision-making in each township on distribution of goods.<sup>43</sup> Communes will be in different locations and find themselves with different assets. Do they have a property right, in some sense, to these assets? Kropotkin himself accepts temporary inequality between town and country after the revolution.<sup>44</sup> What is the proper territorial size for communes? What is the proper population size for communes? We receive no answer from Kropotkin.

We can only guess from Kropotkin's admiration for the medieval city-states that he has something like them in mind when he talks about free communes.<sup>45</sup> But these medieval cities had governments. The guilds that Kropotkin admired and that dominated the commercial life of these cities were adjuncts of the governmental apparatus.<sup>46</sup>

Surely there is at least some danger that Kropotkin's free communes will follow the iron law of oligarchy. The utopian dream of participatory decision-making by consensus seems unlikely to survive the harsh realities of organizational life. In short order, the commune, which has expropriated all land, factories, dwellings, food, and clothing, will be run in practice by a few persons.

This situation in which social ownership of all capital and goods is combined with oligarchical rule will turn the free communes into communist states. The illegitimacy of private property makes it very costly to secede and makes independent life outside a commune well nigh impossible. Perhaps at the point of transformation of free communes into communist states, the communist-anarchists will harken to the prophetic words of Proudhon's critique of communism:

Private associations are sternly prohibited, in spite of the likes and dislikes of different natures, because to tolerate them would be to introduce small communities within the large one, and consequently private property; the strong work for the weak, although this ought to be left to benevolence, and not enforced, advised, or enjoined; the industrious work for the lazy, although this is unjust; the clever work for the foolish, although this is absurd; and finally, man—casting aside his personality, his spontaneity, his genius, and his affections—humbly annihilates himself at the feet of the majestic and inflexible Commune!<sup>47</sup>

### Appendix on the Libertarian Notion of the Public Good

Contemporary natural-rights liberals would begin any discussion of the public good with prior consideration of the highest good for man. The highest good (*summum bonum*) is an end which all men share in common. This end is leading a truly happy life. Real happiness can be a goal common to Robinson Crusoe shipwrecked on a desert island and to an inhabitant of London.

The public good is, according to natural-rights liberals, that which all men have as an end while they live in the company of others.<sup>48</sup> The highest good is happiness (Aristotle's *eudaemonia*); in society, the primary public good is liberty. Liberty is below happiness in the hierarchy of values. But when one is living amongst other human beings, liberty is necessary to the achievement of happiness. Without liberty one cannot live virtuously, one cannot strive for the highest good. Natural-rights liberal Tibor Machan writes:

In so far as political liberty is something which is a universal condition (if it were to exist), it does seem to be common to all those within a social organization or community. Political liberty is the absence of interference with one's efforts to lead one's life in peace. It is not being free of interference when one is himself attacking others or otherwise violating their human rights to life, liberty, and

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## Kropotkin's — (Continued From Page 5)

## FOOTNOTES

property. Thus the claim really amounts to holding up freedom from aggression as something that is of value, benefit, and interest to every person, even to one who would rather not enjoy it....

But, then, no one is claiming that political liberty is recognized as a universal, common, collective good; if it were so, the political systems throughout the world would be very different. The point is simply that, in fact, the appropriate condition of social existence is political liberty: it is something which can be secured for everyone without discrimination and all people have an implicit stake in it for purposes of running their lives. While bread and butter, or Cadillacs, or golf courses, or men's clubs are not good for everyone—since not all people are interested in them or talented or situated so as to make use of them—political liberty is the condition which permits each member of society to pursue his own interests to the best of his will and ability. Political liberty is a real possibility because people can refrain from interfering with another's life. It is the fact that people are ultimately free to choose their way of living (within physical limits) that makes political liberty more than just an empty ideal. It makes possible, when legally instituted, the flourishing of each man as a self-responsible being; this in turn renders it of value to everyone without exception.<sup>49</sup>

Other supposed public goods, such as conservation, simply do not have the universal character that liberty has.<sup>50</sup>

The only institutional arrangement which is appropriate to liberty is property in one's own will, body, life, and honestly-acquired material goods. One's liberty is based on one's self-ownership and on property rights. Thus liberal James Tyrrell argued in the 17th century that there was no reason to believe that "a man either could, or ought to neglect his own preservation and true happiness." The policy which Tyrrell then deemed necessary was the institution of property rights: "The constitution of a distinct property in things, in the labor of persons (was) the chief and necessary medium to the common good."<sup>51</sup>

With the institution of property rights securing liberty, all attacks upon the public good manifest themselves as attacks on particular individual's rights. Society is simply a relationship among persons. Society *per se* does not have an interest or a good. Relationships cannot possess interests.<sup>52</sup> Only persons (including persons in relationships) can possess interests, goods or rights. Liberty is the primary and overriding public good. No one can legitimately attempt to advance any other possible public or private good by violating liberty and property rights. Force can legitimately be used to defend liberty.

Hobbes argued that the public interest was best served by a monarch whose private interest lay in securing the public interest.<sup>53</sup> Individualist-anarchists, whose anarchism is derived from the natural-rights liberal tradition, argue that private law enforcement agencies have the unity of interest that Hobbes thought the king would have.

In brief, once the requisite critical mass of persons accepts libertarian ideas of justice, individual rights will be defended against those who would violate them. Persons will make use of the division of labor in protecting rights. Private law enforcement agencies will arise. These private agencies gain customers in proportion to their reputation for upholding the public good of liberty. Furthermore, there is a more direct link between the income of private law enforcement agencies and their performance than there is between the income of dynastic monarchs and their performance. Finally, kings may well gain from war against other kings, but private agencies are subject to the discipline of the market where violence and turmoil are considered bad business. Violence breaks up the socially cooperative network of market transactions. Thus private enforcement of public law is led as if by an invisible hand to strive for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

While this sketch by no means exhausts what could be said about the libertarian notion of the public good, it shows that there is available an approach to the public good which allows for the individual initiative that Kropotkin wants to preserve without falling prey to the contradictions in Kropotkin's communistanarchism. 

1. Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origin and Development* (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1947), pp. 26-27, 333; Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets* (New York: Dover, 1970), pp. 83-84.
2. *Ethics*, p. 214.
3. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 84.
4. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 84.
5. *Ethics*, p. 88.
6. *Ethics*, p. 20.
7. *Ethics*, p. 218.
8. Kropotkin, *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, 1970), p. 39-40; see also pp. 338-339.
9. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 96. *Ethics*, p. 164.
10. See Arthur Caplan, "Ethics, Evolution, and the Milk of Human Kindness: A Review of the Reviews of E. O. Wilson's 'Sociobiology'," *Hastings Center Report*, vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1976), pp. 20-25.
11. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 98.
12. *Ethics*, p. 15 and 219.
13. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 94; Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington), pp. 5-24, 33-44, 52-65. See also Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees* (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin, 1970), pp. 264ff; Rousseau, *First and Second Discourses* (New York: St. Martin's, 1964), pp. 130ff; Spencer, *Social Statics* (New York: Appleton, 1878), pp. 114ff; Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1888), pp. 575-581; Hobbes, "Human Nature," in *English Works*, ed. by Molesworth (London: 1839-1854), vol. 4, p. 44; Nicholas Rescher, *Unselfishness* (1976).
14. *Ethics*, p. 218.
15. *Ethics*, pp. 218-219.
16. *Ethics*, p. 175.
17. *Ethics*, p. 234. See also p. 252.
18. *Ethics*, p. 146.
19. *Ethics*, p. 30. See also p. 221.
20. *Ethics*, p. 24 and p. 200.
21. *Ethics*, p. 266.
22. *Ethics*, pp. 26-27.
23. *Ethics*, p. 26.
24. *Ethics*, pp. 26, 218, 320.
- 24a. On the difference between equal shares and distribution according to needs, see Hugo Adam Bedau, "Egalitarianism and the Idea of Equality," in J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman, eds., *Nomos IX: Equality* (New York: Atherton, 1967), pp. 11-12. At times, Kropotkin seems to believe that distribution according to needs would receive unanimous approval. See *Selected Writings*, p. 185. This unrealistic assumption allows him to neglect a detailed defense of this mode of distribution.
25. Proudhon, *What is Property?* (New York, Dover, 1970), p. 261.
26. *Ethics*, p. 320.
27. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 100.
28. Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 198, 219.
29. Nozick, pp. 253-262; George J. Stigler, "Ricardo and the 93 Per Cent Labor Theory of Value," *American Economic Review*, vol. 48 (June 1958); Eugene von Boehm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of his System* (New York: Kelley, 1949); Eugene von Boehm-Bawerk, "The Exploitation Theory," in *Capital and Interest* (S. Holland, Ill.: Libertarian Press, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 241-321; Alfred Zauberman, "Revisionism in Soviet Economics," in Leopold Labedz, ed., *Revisionism: Essays in the History of Marxist Ideas* (New York:

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## From the Old Curmudgeon

### Trivial Libertarian Controversy of the Month Dept.

In a recent issue of the *Libertarian Review*, Walter Grinder took some healthy swipes at the profession of philosophy, especially as that profession is often exercised in the libertarian movement. The burden of his charge was that philosophers are addicted to trivial nit-picking and semantic word-play, rather than focussing on real world issues. Humorless as always, Tibor Machan then rushed in to defend the honor of philosophy and to accuse Grinder—rather ludicrously—of being “anti-intellectual.” But there is an important point here, a point inherent in the sociology of the philosophy profession itself. All academic disciplines suffer from excesses of Ph. D-manship and the requirements of “publish or perish.” But the discipline of philosophy is in the worst shape of all. In contrast to other specific sciences or to history, there can be little genuine innovation in philosophy from one decade, or even century, to the next. Philosophy deals with eternal problems through rational discourse, and it cannot come up with new electronic gizmos every year or so. Moreover, genuine philosophy is only refined common sense, which is in no greater supply now than in ancient Greece. So there is nothing much new that philosophers can legitimately say; but yet, in contrast to previous centuries, philosophers are now invariably academics who must publish continually to get promoted and win brownie points in the

profession. How can mere common sense fill the academic journals? As a result, the temptation is almost irresistible for the academic philosopher to abandon common sense posthaste, to write impenetrable jargon for its own sake, to nit-pick *ad infinitum*, and to fill the air with dazzling paradoxes and affronts to mere common sense. Unfortunately, libertarian philosophers have been at least as prone to these fallacious methodologies as any of their colleagues. Hence, the justice of the Grinder jibe.

There is no more striking example of the tendency of libertarian philosophers to pay rapt attention to worthless trivia than a discussion that fills the letters column of the November-December 1976 *Libertarian Review*. In the previous issue of LR, Roy A. Childs, Jr. had given short shrift to a privately published pamphlet by one Michael Emerling attempting to refute some tapes by one John Kiefer purporting to derive Christianity, or at least theism, from Objectivism. The main burden of Childs' critics is that he dealt with the Emerling tome too brusquely, dismissing it without due attention to its sources, its wording, etc. The trouble is that Childs' critics seem to have little appreciation of the problem of judgments of importance, judgments which necessarily

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- Praeger, 1962), pp. 268-280; Philip H. Wicksteed, *The Alphabet of Economic Science* (New York: Kelley & Millman, 1955), pp. 116-124; M. M. Bober, *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 182-199.
30. *Ethics*, p. 306.
  31. On supposed joint social products from which no individual's contribution can be disentangled, see Murray N. Rothbard, *Power and Market*, (Menlo Park, Calif.: Institute for Humane Studies, 1970), pp. 183-184; Nozick, pp. 187-188.
  32. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 99.
  33. Michels, *Political Parties* (New York: Dover, 1959).
  34. Murray N. Rothbard, “Justice and Property Rights,” in *Egalitarianism as a Revolt against Nature* (Washington, D. C.: Libertarian Review, 1974), pp. 58-60. For a similar division into three exclusive alternatives, see Brian Barry's discussion of the law on assaults, in “The Public Interest,” in Anthony Quinton, ed., *Political Philosophy* (London: Oxford University, 1967), pp. 118-119.
  35. Nozick, p. 225; Rothbard, *Power and Market*, p. 187.
  36. *Ethics*, p. 27.
  37. *Ethics*, pp. 102, 176-177, 278-279.
  38. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 106.
  39. Mises, *Socialism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951), pp. 316, 318.
  40. Rothbard, *Power and Market*, p. 168.
  41. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 172. Compare *Selected Writings*, pp. 183-184.
  42. Rothbard, “Anarcho-Communism,” in *Egalitarianism*, p. 123.
  43. *Selected Writings*, p. 187.
  44. *Selected Writings*, p. 204.
  45. *Selected Writings*, pp. 211-264.
  46. *Selected Writings*, p. 239. Compare Ronda Larmour, “A Merchant Guild of Sixteenth-Century France: The Grocers of Paris,” *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., vol. 20, no. 3 (1967), pp. 467-481; Charles Gross, *The Guild Merchant* (1890; London: Oxford University Press, 1964), chap. 3; Sylvia L. Thrupp, “The Guilds,” in M. M. Postan, ed., *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1963), vol. 3, pp. 232, 233, 242; M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (Baltimore, Md.:

Penguin, 1975), pp. 241-242; Abbott Payson Usher, *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1920), pp. 78-79, 173.

47. Proudhon, pp. 260-261. Proudhon is talking about state communism here, but if all communist societies necessarily generate governmental rule, then Proudhon's description applies to Kropotkin's communism too.
48. For a similar view, see C. W. Cassinelli, “Some Reflections on the Concept of the Public Interest,” *Ethics*, vol. 69, no. 1 (October 1958), pp. 49-50.
49. Tibor R. Machan, “Some Considerations of the Common Good,” *Journal of Human Relations* (Fall 1970), pp. 989-990.
50. See Edwin G. Dolan, *TANSTAAFL* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 85-96.
51. J. A. W. Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 289. Kropotkin writes, “When (Locke) attempted to define justice, he quite needlessly limited this conception, reducing it to the conception of property: ‘Where there is no property there is no injustice, is a proposition as certain as any demonstration in Euclid.’” *Ethics*, p. 167.
52. Cassinelli, p. 50; Benjamin R. Tucker, quoted in James J. Martin, *Men Against the State* (Colorado Springs, Colo.: Ralph Myles, 1970), p. 214.
53. Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, n.d.), pp. 122-123. ◻

## 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.

**Curmudgeon** — (Continued From Page 7)

govern how much time, energy, and printed space one should devote to any particular book. For not every book is worth a sober and detailed critique. I can think of few subjects of less intrinsic importance than the burning question of whether Christianity can be derived from objectivist premises—a question of approximately the same moment as the philosophic problem of how many John Galts can dance on the head of a pin. Rather than criticize Childs for devoting only 400 words to a review of this mighty question, one can raise the more transcendent issue of why this claptrap was reviewed at all. Grinder vindicated!

**Sleeping on the Couch.**

The New York Times (Dec. 17) carries a story from the annual meeting of the American Psychoanalytic Association. It seems that there is a growing problem of patients falling asleep on the psycho-analytic couch. To orthodox psychoanalysts, practiced in jargon-filled smear and one-upmanship over their harassed clients, the "meaning" of this event is clear: the patient is "resisting" the great truths that the analyst is about to unearth. (The theory of "resistance" is a superb example of a question-begging non-falsifiable method for always putting the onus of failure on the poor patient.) The typical patient's defense that he was "tired and bored" was quickly dismissed by the psychotherapeutic gurus. A couple of heretical analysts, however, conceded that falling asleep can mean that the patient had not "gotten enough sleep the night before"; moreover, one added that "what happens more often is that the analyst falls asleep." Added another: "The one thing I've never heard of is both of them falling asleep."

Well, why not? Think of the charming image this conjures up: both parties, the patient and his intrepid analyst, snoozing away in peaceful contentment in that office. For a moment one might be tempted to think in a last, both analyst and "analysand" are even—Steven, all power-plays forgotten: until we realize that the two are not fully at par. For while both snooze on, a lot of the Long Green is being transferred from the bank account of the patient to that of his "therapist." But, after all, isn't this simply casting aside the veil of what really goes on, of "letting it all hang out"? In that immortal phrase of "Deep Throat" in the Watergate saga, "keep your eye on the money."

As a matter of fact, I have an excellent suggestion which will both increase the "productivity" and the income of the analyst, while saving both the time and trouble of coming to the office and the couch. Why not skip the office visits altogether and just have the "patients" mail their checks regularly to their analysts? Analysts will be even richer, and patients will be able to brag about lifelong analysis by their famous

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Two important critiques of mathematical economics, published for the first time in English: one by the late Ludwig von Mises, and a second by the Misesian political theorist Bruno Leoni and mathematician Eugenio Frola.

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therapists indeed, far more could now be theraplized by the big shots. And the bother of schlepping down to the office would be eliminated. Of course, there is another thing that the patients could do: save their money, and send some of it to the Libertarian Party. Maybe, if common sense should ever make a comeback. ☐

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## A Monthly Newsletter

**THE**

# Libertarian Forum

Joseph R. Peden, Publisher

Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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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
<b>Total</b>	<b>51.66</b>	<b>183,187</b>	<b>0.35</b>
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

(Continued On Page 2)

## 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 "unflinching 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-Establishment 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? LJ

## 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 ultra-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 the 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 disenchanted 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 convulsion 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 convulsion 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-ridden 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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## The War Over Foreign Policy

A titanic conflict is now raging over the soul of the Carter Administration in the vital realm of foreign and military policy. The outcome of that struggle will affect each and every one of our lives: for the consequence will either be aggravated militarism and a possible nuclear holocaust, or a cutback in militarism and a significant step toward international peace.

Since the Carter Administration is new and still unformed, it is understandable that a war for its soul is taking place at its very birth, to try to shape the course of the next four years. In effect, what is being attempted is a massive counter-revolution against the wise if halting steps toward *detente* (i.e. peace) taken by the Nixon-Ford administrations, a counter-revolution mounted by the right-wing in the Pentagon, the intelligence agencies, Congress, and the intelligentsia, the latter focussed on the aggressive Social Democrats who form what Alexander Cockburn has trenchantly labelled "the military-intellectual complex."

The assault began in force during the necessarily chaotic days of transition between administrations. The war-hawk assault suffered a setback when their hero, James Schlesinger, was defeated for the post of Secretary of Defense by the centrist Harold Brown. But then the war-crowd quickly regrouped with the deliberate leak to the press of the rabid "National Intelligence Estimate" led by one of its authors, the febrile outgoing head of Air Force Intelligence, Major General George Keegan. The NIE warns of current Soviet military "superiority" over the U. S.; the egregious Keegan, who has been predicting an imminent Soviet attack for many years within the corridors of power, then went public with an update of his old hysterical warnings. Keegan and the hawks had been able to outflank the moderate realists within the intelligence services by wangling an agreement to bring in a group of leading warhawks, the "B Team", to write their own estimates and to override the moderates. The war-hawk B Team was able to bludgeon their way into framing the NIE.

The Keegan-NIE concerns are, to put it bluntly, dangerous hogwash. It is irrational to prate about nuclear "superiority" when both the U. S. and the Soviet Union have the invulnerable second-strike capability, guaranteed by existing nuclear submarines if nothing else, to destroy one another many times over ("overkill.") The aims of the Keegan-NIE-warhawks are manifold and pernicious. One is to push for such wasteful and expensive military boondoggles as the pointless B-1 bomber. As Newsweek reports: "some extreme hard-liners in the Pentagon are talking of budget increases that could add up to nearly \$40 billion a year." Another aim is to sabotage any success of the SALT agreements in pursuing President Carter's announced goal of reductions in nuclear and conventional arms. A final, and most pernicious goal of the war crowd is to prepare for the United States a "counterforce" first-strike nuclear capability, that is, a capability of launching a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. As the astute and knowledgeable *International Bulletin* puts it:

"the hawks favor development by the U. S. of a credible counterforce capability to fight and win a limited or even all-out nuclear war. Such a capability would give the U. S. strategic superiority and thus the ability to use nuclear weapons for coercive, political purposes in a crisis—the very goal they attribute to the Soviet Union." (*International Bulletin*, Jan. 14, 1977).

The fate being prepared for us and for all of humanity by the war-hawks is, thus, the insane goal of a nuclear holocaust. Contrast to that the rational views of such "doves" as Carter, Vance, and Brown: "that nuclear war is unwinnable—that both sides would sustain unacceptable damage—and that limited nuclear war would almost inevitably escalate to all-out war." Former hawk Harold Brown joined the rational dove view in the early 1970's: in a speech in Moscow in 1975, Brown called for both the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. "to reject counterforce strategy aimed at attaining the ability to win and fight a nuclear war or to use nuclear weapons for coercion in a crisis." (*Ibid.*) It should be noted here that the United States has persistently refused to accept the Soviet proposal for both sides to refrain from being the first to use nuclear weapons in any crisis.

The war crowd achieved its first big victory with the virtual mugging of Theodore Sorensen as head of the CIA, in Carter's ignoble and pusillanimous surrender to the right-wing smear campaign against his nominee. Sorensen's record is hardly one of all-out devotion to liberty or peace, but the point is that the smear campaign was directed against Sorensen's virtues not his vices: for the fact of his conscientious objection during the Korean War, his announced intention to dismantle the massive invasions of privacy and aggressions of the CIA, and his support for massive cuts in the military budget. The main hypocritical handle used by the smearbund was Sorensen's affidavit in support of Daniel Ellsberg's heroic disclosure of the Pentagon Papers to the public, and his admission that Sorensen used "classified" papers in preparing his biography of President Kennedy. The hypocrisy is manifold: particularly in the knowledge by the smearbund that every thing in government is "classified", that countless ex-government employees have used such information in their memoirs without remark or censure, and that their own hero Keegan and his colleagues deliberately leaked their own classified NIE to the press in support of their war drive. The hypocrisy was compounded by Senators who expressed their deep concern for the "integrity" of an agency (the CIA) that has engaged in systematic invasions of liberty, ranging from wiretapping to assassinations to secret "experimental" plying of LSD to unsuspecting and innocent people. Particularly prominent in the smear campaign were the American Conservative Union and the Birchite Rep. Larry McDonald (D., Ga.), whose office has been the headquarters for the investigation and smearing of dissidents from the U. S. government military and foreign policy line. (A celebration of the right-wing campaign against Sorensen

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## Foreign Policy — (Continued From Page 1)

can be found in *Human Events*, Jan. 29). As the columnist Murray Kempton concludes, "And so Theodore Sorensen departs; followed by unresolved suspicions that his moral sensibilities are too tender to make him a fit director of the Central Intelligence Agency." (*New York Post*, Jan. 18).

The next looming battle is over Carter's selection of Paul C. Warnke, the most dovish of the foreign policy Establishment, as chief SALT negotiator and director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Warnke was Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, as well chief counsel of the Defense Department, in the Johnson Administration, and was probably the leading opponent of the Vietnam War in the Johnson government. Warnke has been pressing hard for the abolition of all further nuclear testing, and for joint reduction in nuclear arms by the U. S. and Russia.

No sooner was the Warnke nomination announced (*New York Times*, Jan. 31) when the smear campaign began again, this time in the form of a widely circulated anonymous memo trying to link Warnke with the devil-figure George McGovern, and as a believer that "it is primarily American actions which have spurred the arms race." (Tsk, tsk.) (AP dispatch, February 2).

The nefarious B Team included such prominent war hawks as Paul Nitze, former Deputy Secretary of Defense; Lt. General Daniel Graham, head of the powerful Defense Intelligence Agency until he was forced out along with his ally Schlesinger in late 1975; Thomas Wolfe of the RAND Corp.; and Harvard professor Richard Pipes. But behind the B Team is the newly reformed pro-war pressure group, the Committee on the Present Danger, three of whose members were on the B Team.

In an incisive analysis of the CPD, Alexander Cockburn (*Village Voice*, Jan. 31), points out that, of the 141 members of the committee, no less than 48 academics are affiliated with 22 universities which last year received a total of \$170 million in defense contracts from the U. S. government. Fourteen other members are current or retired directors of arms-making companies. Thus, a CPD co-chairman is Henry Fowler, former Secretary of the Treasury, now a partner of the powerful investment banking firm of Goldman Sachs; another co-chairman is David Packard, head of Hewlett Packard and Nixon's Under Secretary of Defense; still another is war-hawk union leader Lane Kirkland, heir apparent to George Meany as head of the AFL-CIO. Three of the corporations scheduled to do work on the B-1 bomber if the CPD's goals are achieved are represented on the CPD: William McC. Martin, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, is a director of IBM; John T. Connor, former Secretary of Commerce, is a director of General Motors; and Hobart Taylor, former director of the Export-Import Bank, and Karl Bendetsen, former Under Secretary of the Army, are both directors of Westinghouse. Also a member of the CPD is Harold Sweatt, honorary chairman of the board of Honeywell, which will help make the advanced ICBMs if their production should be approved.

Cockburn also writes: "Those cold-war intellectuals worried about the future of Israel are also represented: Saul Bellow, Nathan Glazer, Norman Podhoretz, and Midge Decter—all veterans of the military-intellectual complex."

Also a key figure on the CPD is its treasurer and co-founder Charls Walker, Under Secretary of the Treasury in the Nixon-Ford cabinets. Walker, former chief Washington lobbyist for the banking industry, is now a powerful corporate lobbyist whose clients include Bechtel and the Ford Motor Company. Among his corporate clients who are also represented on the CPD are Eastern Airlines, Proctor and Gamble, and General Electric.

Such is the unholy alliance (what Cockburn calls "Dr. Strangelove's Children") of pro-war intellectuals and corporate and academic defense contractors who help to form the greatest single threat to all of our lives and liberties.

Flash: As we go to press, it turns out that the anonymous memo was written and the anti-Warnke smear campaign directed by Penn Kemble, executive director of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, and by Joshua Muravchik, ex-CDM staffer and aide to Senator Patrick Moynihan (D., N. Y.), the thinking man's Scoop Jackson (Mr. State). The CDM,

## Recommended Reading

- Leonard Liggio, "English Origins of Early American Racism," *Radical History Review* (Spring 1976). A lengthy and brilliant article, which traces early American racism and brutal treatment of the Indians to the English treatment of the Irish.
- H. J. Eysenck, "The Case of Sir Cyril Burt," *Encounter* (January 1977). A sober treatment of the late English psychologist, pointing out that he committed error rather than fraud, and that in any event the case for inheritability of IQ still stands.
- The Freeman, December 1976 issue. This venerable monthly, which is generally confined to ultra-elementary articles on freedom, has three excellent brief articles in this issue: two on governmental responsibility for monopolies and cartels—Brian Summers, "Cartels: Conspiracies in Restraint of Trade,"; and David Osterfeld, "The Free Market and the 'Tyranny of Wealth'," and one by Henry Hazlitt on "Lessons of the German Inflation."
- Alan Crawford, "Richard Viguerie's Bid for Power," *The Nation*, Jan. 29. A chilling expose, by a pro-free market conservative, of the drive for power by the Viguerie-Phillips-Rusher clique, and its willingness to jettison the last remnants of the pro-freedom rhetoric of conservatism in the process.
- Athan Theoharis, "The Origins of the Cold War: A Revisionist Interpretation," *Peace and Change*. (Fall, 1976). A fine summation and bibliographical analysis of the origins of the Cold War by a leading Cold War revisionist scholar. While Theoharis is firmly in the revisionist camp, he probably errs by reverting to an earlier revisionist view that puts the blame on the Truman Administration, while letting FDR off the hook. □

which prominently includes the same Commentary crowd joined in the CPD, is a group of right-wing Social Democrats within the Democratic Party that aim to move the party in a Jackson-Moynihan direction.

### FOOTNOTES

- The provos, short for provocateurs, are a group residing in Holland many of whom "own" white bicycles. These white bicycles, when not being used, are by common consent, left for anyone else's use with the proviso that this secondary user, will, in turn, allow a third person to use it when he himself finishes.
- For a discussion of why "non-used" things like inventory, vacant apartments, and "non-used" people such as frictionally unemployed people are not really wasteful, see Alchian and Allen, *University Economics*, pp. 496-503.
- Always assuming that his property rights do not conflict with the equal property rights of others, eg. he cannot shoot his gun anywhere he pleases.
- External economies are said to exist when not all production costs must be met by the given producer: he is able to "shift" some of the costs onto others.
- R. H. Coase's work in the *Journal of Law and Economics* is a pleasant exception.
- More exactly, he will choose the alternative that nets him the highest present discounted value: the most valuable future income stream in accordance with his time preference.
- "Redwood trees" may be substituted for lakes. In this case the dispute would be between consumers who want to use redwoods for recreation and those who want to use redwoods as furniture, etc. It is not "rational" to completely prohibit either use. Clearly, an allocative mechanism must be found.
- Although ineffective, indirect, slow-moving, political opposition to pollution is still possible. Political opposition, where the corporations, whose total incomes are at stake, find it profitable to bring overwhelming pressure to bear, and where the "recreationer" standing to lose only small conveniences, by comparison to the corporation, finds it hard to oppose the pollution.
- My treatment is indebted to Milton Friedman's essay question on page 284 of his "Price Theory", Aldine Co. 1962, Chicago.
- Substitute for books: magazines, newspapers, movies, records, paintings, pornography in whatever form. □

# Libertarianism and Property Rights

by Walter Block

## I Objections To Property Rights

1. First, the "human rights versus property rights" bogey must be laid to rest. There is no real conflict between human rights and property rights. This is almost as silly as the "conflict" between people and cars that rages from time to time, centered around the assertion "Cities are for people, not cars". Clearly, the conflict is between **people** (in cars) and **people** not in cars (pedestrians) as to access on roads. What type of beast, may one ask, do proponents of "people" and opponents of "cars" think inhabit cars, for goodness sake?

In like manner, what type of beast is thought of as having property rights, if not human beings! Clearly, again, the conflict is between different human beings, each pressing their own claims as to rightful ownership.

Historically, a conflict between "human rights and property rights" arose over unionization. The libertarian view on this fiasco is, briefly, that workers have every right to associate voluntarily together in order to bargain for better wages and to quit in unison as a tactic. Anti-trust legislation should not apply to unions (nor to business, or anyone else for that matter); any use of detective agencies like Pinkertons to aggressively bust up unions is clearly contrary to libertarian strictures against the initiation of force against non-initiators.

But workers, too, have no right to beat up other workers who are willing to work for the employer at wages equal to or less than the wages that the union has rejected. I refer to the quaint practice of "beating up scabs". This, too, is in violation of libertarian prohibitions of aggression.

2. Secondly, let's consider the "Property is theft" claim. If by this is meant that presently, property is theft, or that the present distribution of property has resulted (largely) from theft, conquest, etc., then this could be a perfectly legitimate claim. That theft and aggression have resulted in illegitimate property titles is a focal point in much libertarian writing. (There is some evidence that the statement "Property is theft", made famous by Proudhon, was meant in exactly this way.)

But "Property is theft" might well (and oftentimes has) been interpreted as "Property, by its very nature, is theft" or "Property, of all kinds, always has been, is, and always will be, theft". To this claim, two objections must be made:

Property rights give their holder the right to dispose of or use that which is owned: the property. If property rights are, by their very nature, theft, then mankind would be prohibited from using objects on this earth and would soon die. More unintelligibly, man would also seem to be prohibited from using his own body, since his body is his property, and he would presumably have to deliberately commit suicide even before he could starve so as not to use his body that he has "stolen" (from whom?) one second longer than necessary. But how could he commit suicide? He couldn't use a rope or a gun because use of such property would be theft. He couldn't even strangle himself because, in order to do so, he would have to use "his" fingers, and he has no right to do this!

This position cannot be saved by recourse to the following argument: "Mankind can use objects on this earth (and his own body as well) and this need involve no recourse to so-called property rights: use of objects (and one's body) can be based on the need for survival, or the attainment and preservation of human life."

But what this argument translates into is that **property rights** can be based on survival, human life, etc. This is because **all** that is meant by property rights is the right to use objects (and one's body). Referring to property rights by any of its synonymous phrases like right to use objects does not and cannot invalidate this point. Property by any other name is still property.

Why this tie to the terminology of private property on the part of libertarianism? Surely there is nothing holy about the word "property" and maybe it would be better to drop it like "capitalism" seems to have been dropped. (With "friends" like the conservatives, these words

haven't needed enemies.) But "ownership" has a bad tinge of its own and "right to use objects" is rather awkward.

The second objection that must be made to interpreting "Property is theft" to mean that property, by its very nature, is theft, is that this interpretation involves the acceptance of a logical contradiction. For what is theft but the taking of something that is rightfully owned by another (another's property)? It is not theft if what is taken is unowned or is owned by oneself! But if there is no such thing as a valid concept of rightfully owned property, then there cannot be a valid concept of theft, and property cannot be theft, because there cannot be any such thing as theft in the first place!!!

3. Let us now consider the view that private property is theft (or at least quite suspect) whereas **commonly** owned property is not theft (and is not even suspect). This view can be interpreted in a "weak" and in a "strong" sense. In the "weak" sense, this view merely voices concern as to whether communes, cooperatives, kibbutzes, or provo<sup>1</sup>-white-bicycle systems would be allowed to function under libertarianism. The answer is a very definite, yes. There is nothing in libertarianism inconsistent with any type of voluntary commune nor is there anything in libertarianism that gives preference to communal over individual forms of ownership. All that need be done is that each member of the commune contribute his own possessions with any (or no) agreement as to how the commune is to divide "its" property if or when "it" decides to break up. As long as no recalcitrant prospective member is forced to join or contribute, there is nothing about a commune inconsistent with libertarianism.

In the stronger sense, this view would hold that only communal ownership claims (and not private or individual ownership claims) can have validity. This group would thus allow all that follows from the property rights doctrine (exclusive right to use), but would substitute "communal" property rights for private property rights.

One argument against this doctrine is that it breaks down when human beings are considered as property. If only groups of two or more are allowed to determine people's actions, instead of each person deciding what he himself shall do, all sorts of problems crop up. How would the commune consisting of Mr. A, Mr. B, and Mr. C decide what actions to take? It would seem that if Mr. A and Mr. B vote that Mr. C should commit suicide, Mr. C would be morally obligated to do so, since Mr. C, by himself, could have no property rights over his own person whatever.

If people can be owned "in common" but not by themselves then Mr. A can own Mr. B but not himself and likewise Mr. B can own Mr. A but not himself. There is a contradiction here because Mr. A, the owner of Mr. B, can order Mr. B to order himself (Mr. A) in a manner pleasing to himself. Mr. B can also do this. But then, except for the inconvenience of having to order one's slave to tell one what one would have done in the first place anyway, each man really owns himself! So communal ownership breaks down into individual ownership.

There are troubles for "strong" communal ownership in the case of objects. By what magic can a group of "miserable" individuals, who separately cannot own the smallest thing of value, be transformed into a group, who can? A group, after all, is no more and no less than a mere collection of individuals. If no one in the group can have any property rights at all, how can the group have property rights?

Alternatively, consider a group of homesteaders who legitimately own the land, according to this doctrine. Suppose they decide to disband and divide their territory among the individuals comprising the group. They would be rudely shocked to learn this would not be permissible since "no individual or private ownership claims can have validity." But if a group cannot give its property to whomever it pleases (themselves as individuals, in this case) in what sense can they be said to have really owned the property in the first place? Thus we see that strict communal ownership implies no ownership at all.

The value of private property is that it allows "rugged individualists"

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and hermits as well as the more socially or cooperatively minded to "do their own thing": the "strong" communal property doctrine allows scope only for those who wish to own property in common.

4. A doctrine which I have dubbed "the no hogging theory" allows for private property rights, but transforms the idea behind the provo white-bicycle system in an interesting way. The idea behind the provo white-bicycle system, it will be recalled, was that anyone else can use the white bicycle when the "owner" isn't using it. The "no hogging" theorist transforms this into the view that no one can fully establish ownership rights in a piece of property because property rights were only established in the first place, as based on use of the piece of property in question, and no one can continuously use any piece of property, if for no other reason than that he must fall asleep eventually. In other words, private property rights are valid, all right; they are just of a very temporary nature. They last until the owner stops using the object and when he goes to sleep he loses all property (except perhaps his pajamas and his bed).

At this point the "no hogging theory" breaks into two schools of thought: According to the first, all people can use the object when the owner is no longer using it, free of charge, of course, but they have to bring it back to the "owner" when he wants to use it again. This may be called the "no hogging but strong property rights" school. According to the second school, the "owner" completely loses his rights to an object when he ceases to use it and may only regain possession when others cease using it and his turn to reuse it comes around again...This may be called the "no hogging and weak property rights" school.

How will it be defended just which people are "next in line" to receive the soon to be unused property? Money prices could not be used to ration these scarce goods because no case can be made out for giving the money to third parties and, anyway, according to the "no hogging theory" the ex-user of the object is hardly entitled to financial remuneration (rent) for it.

It is easy to see that there would be little incentive to produce anything of lasting value under the "weak" school. If anyone could come along and take all one's hard-earned possessions the minute one ceased continual use of them, it would be a miracle, indeed, if much were produced (and hence many people kept alive). The "strong" school fares little better. Suppose, under the "strong" school Mr. B used Mr. A's property while Mr. A was not using it and damaged it before returning it to Mr. A. Would Mr. B have to pay for repairs? If no, then the "strong" school supplies no more incentive to produce than does the "weak" school. If yes, the whole "strong" system is unworkable, because every wronged "Mr. A" could always justifiably claim psychic income loss when his property was taken out of his possession. After all, physical, visible breakage of objects is not the only kind of damage that can be incurred by the aggrieved property owner. If the "strong, no hogging theorist" then claims that Yes, payment must be made, but that this is akin to a rental, the no hogging position is reduced to a rule that all unused property must be rented out (presumably to prevent wasteful non-usage). What will the rental price be? If it is to be non-arbitrary it must be a rental price willingly agreed upon by both rentor and rentee. But this is precisely what would occur under libertarianism, where "hogging" is allowed.

Another advantage of permanent private property rights over temporary private property rights is that under "permanent" property a group of people may voluntarily band together to try to apply the "temporary" property theory to whatever "permanent" property they may happen to own. Under "temporary property" a group of people could not voluntarily band together to try to apply the "permanent" property theory to whatever "temporary" property they may happen to "own". They cannot do this with their "temporary" property because under "no hogging" or "temporary" theory, it can be taken from them when they cease to use it.

5. Some people might be disposed to agree with the libertarian concept of absolute property rights, so far, but would insist upon an exception for inheritance. Property rights are all right, according to this line of thought, but the right to dispose of property after death through

inheritance ought not to be allowed. There are, commonly, two reasons given for this: inheritance leads to large concentrations of wealth; inheritance is unfair because those who receive it get an unfair "start" in life. There are two objections to this:

There are large concentrations of wealth and then there are large concentrations of wealth. Some men amass large fortunes because of munificent creativity. If the benefactor who brought the world the light bulb, the telephone, etc. or the benefactor who brought the world the automobile, or the benefactor who brought the world the airplane, became fabulously wealthy through production, trade and voluntary exchanges, the libertarian can do nought but wish him well and rejoice that such men make his life easier. Any attempt to relieve these men or their heirs of their fortunes would violate libertarian strictures against the initiation of violence against non-initiators.

The large fortunes of the Rockefellers, Morgans, Lyndon Johnsons, etc. stolen of, by and through government depredation, should be "taxed" away by an irate citizenry, even before there is a chance for them to be passed on to heirs.

Many large concentrations of wealth would be reduced in one fell swoop by the institution of the principles of libertarianism. All subsidies, tariffs and privileges, government supported monopolies and cartels would immediately cease. There would be much less concentration under libertarianism with no prohibitions of inheritance than presently with so called progressive taxation on income and inheritance.

There is a natural limitation in concentration due to production and trade that is absent under governmental "transfer" programs. Under production and trade a fortune can only be made when the mass of people become enriched—a positive sum game, in game theory terminology. The benefactor becomes very rich in absolute terms, but less so in percentage terms because the poor get richer too. Under archaic depredation, fortunes can only be made at the cost of impoverishing the mass of people—a zero sum game. (If the costs of the transfers in terms of collection costs and inefficiencies imparted to the whole economy are counted—a negative sum game). The thief becomes very rich in absolute terms, but even richer in percentage terms because the poor becomes more impoverished.

Secondly, if we really took objections to unfair starts in life and "unearned" wealth seriously, we'd be involved in all sorts of unpleasantries. To begin with, some children are born with more happy dispositions, healthy bodies and better minds. Should the all-loving state step in and redistribute health, happiness and talent from those who have too much to those who do not have enough? A thoroughgoing opposition to unearned "wealth" would also include opposition to all gifts, not just gifts to heirs. Birthday presents, wedding and anniversary gifts, the whole bit. Also parents' gifts of their time and love to their children (and to each other) would have to be prohibited out of "fairness" to those without loved ones.

### II Incomplete Vestiture of Private Property Rights

Complete vestiture of property rights means that the property rights of the owner are absolute: he can sell, lease, rent, his property at any mutually agreeable price; he can give his property away, or allow it to lie fallow, or completely destroy it, or make improvements in it. And at no time are there any "strings attached", any governmental prohibitions or encouragements impinging on these privileges.

Incomplete vestiture of private property rights occurs when any or all of these privileges are abrogated; and whenever this occurs, grief is sure to follow. Conservation is a case in point. A hue and cry is frequently made about "our" polluted lakes and streams. Politicians make fiery speeches: conservation groups mobilize irate citizens; corporations who pollute lakes and streams with industrial waste tell of their efforts, economists give fancy names to the phenomena: external diseconomies; Capitalism is blamed in all beautification projects; and hardly anywhere is it realized that the cause of all the problem is not property. The cause is the lack of private property rights in bodies of water; the fact that "our" lakes are really no one's lakes at all.

Let's suppose that all lakes were privately owned in much the same way that much of the land mass is owned. The owner of the lake now has to make a choice: should he let his lake be used as a site for the dumping of industrial waste? Or should he save his lake for "recreational" uses:

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boating, fishing, swimming, etc.? He will, of course, choose that alternative which is most profitable to him; but he will realize that once a lake is polluted there is little possibility of conversion to recreational uses, while conversion from recreational to industrial uses is always open to him: that, in view of this, if his lake, presently, would be just slightly more profitable for industrial than for recreational uses, he might well be better off saving it for the latter use.<sup>4</sup>

The number of lakes saved for recreational purposes will depend on the valuations set on the alternative uses of the lake by consumers. A given lake will be "saved" if more dollars are forthcoming from consumers interested in recreation than from consumers (indirectly, producers) interested in industrial products.

Under the present system, pollution of a lake is completely free to the industry: a lake will be polluted if alternate methods of disposal cost as much as one cent even though recreational uses might be willing to pay far more. Producers are able to "push" the costs of disposal onto potential recreational users of lakes in the form of pollution. They do not have to pay for pollution, because no one owns the lake. If someone owned the lake and charged them for pollution they would have to bear all the costs of production. External diseconomies would disappear with the advent of property rights.

If lakes were owned, industry would have a cash incentive to explore alternative disposal methods such as land refill or conversion to fertilizers. Lakes would not be polluted at all, unless alternative methods

proved more costly.

Let it not be objected that under private property in lakes, swimmers, boaters, etc., would have to pay for their use of the lake, whereas lakes were free before. To make this objection is to misunderstand the allocative function of prices. According to this objection it presumably would be better to have maximum prices of zero on food and housing, for instance. People would then be able to have these commodities for "free". If this program were carried out in earnest very few resources indeed would be allocated to the production of food and housing. People would then starve and be homeless.

If land had a maximum price of zero, it could not be allocated in any rational way; and this, as we have seen, is exactly the problem associated with "free" lakes.

Another area of grief due to incomplete property rights is that vast wasteland, television. "Owners" of T.V. stations are not allowed to charge anything to their customers, the viewers. They depend upon advertisements for their revenue. As a result T.V. programs are banal, dull and pitched to the lowest common denominator.

Suppose the ever-loving government were to decree that book<sup>5</sup> publishing follow this rule? That henceforth no price could be charged for a book? That all publications must depend upon advertising for their sole source of revenue?

Surely book publishing would come to resemble T.V. in its dedication to the lowest common denominator! The answer is not to emasculate property rights in these areas. The answer is to institute full absolute private property rights in the area of T.V. □

## One Man Against OSHA

There is no agency more despotic, more totalitarian, in the United States than OSHA (the Occupational Safety and Health Administration of the Department of Labor.) OSHA has been terrorizing small businesses throughout the country by conducting lightning raids without a search warrant to impose "safety" standards that are usually absurd and idiotic, and impose impossibly high costs on their small business victims. OSHA is bureaucratic regulation run rampant, implicitly aiding large business by imposing mammoth fixed costs on their smaller competitors. Moreover, by conducting these raids without a warrant, OSHA has been in clear violation of the Fourth Amendment prohibitions against search and seizure without use of a court warrant.

Now one heroic small businessman has risen up to challenge the dread power of OSHA, and is so far succeeding! In September 1975, OSHA inspectors tried to enter the small plumbing-heating-electrical supply house of 61-year-old Ferrol "Bill" Barlow, of Pocatello, Idaho. Barlow refused to allow the OSHA gestapo to enter, whereupon, as usual, the Department of Labor brought suit against the resisting Barlow. But Barlow pulled a dramatic switch, filing a counter-suit in Federal court charging OSHA with violation of the Fourth Amendment.

On December 30, a three-judge federal court in Idaho stunned OSHA by finding in favor of Mr. Barlow, declaring that the warrantless inspections of OSHA are unconstitutional, that the inspection provisions of the OSHA law are null and void, and issued an injunction prohibiting the Secretary of Labor or any underling from sending an OSHA inspector to any business without a warrant. OSHA was particularly stunned at the ruling on constitutionality, since it had maintained that Barlow was obliged to admit the inspectors and then appeal through its own administrative processes for relief (Ha, ha!)

Barlow was aided in his fight by the fact that his fabricating shop has a spotless safety record, and by the admission of OSHA that its visit was a "routine" one and that it had no probable cause for complaint against Barlow's business.

The reaction of the lawless OSHA is typical. Its lawyer declared that "We construe the order as applicable only in Idaho where that three-judge court has jurisdiction"; and so OSHA will continue its gestapo

tactics outside of Idaho while it appeals to the Supreme Court for a stay of the court injunction. And so the Supreme Court will now rule on the matter.

Meanwhile, we may hail, not only Mr. Barlow (on whose office there hangs a framed copy of the Bill of Rights), but also the decision of Judges Keolsch, Anderson, and McNichols, which declared: "Our only concern is the alleged affront to the Fourth Amendment .... Expediency is the argument of tyrants, it precedes the loss of every human liberty."

(See the New York Times, Jan. 17). □

## From the Old Curmudgeon

Solar Baloney. For some reason, it is now fashionable left-liberal faith to plump for solar power — as against the bad old oil, coal, gas, etc. sources of power. Maybe the solarites feel that they are then more in tune with mystic vibrations from On High. In his desire to swing with the fashion, President Carter ordered solar heating for his stand at the Inaugural — but, fortunately for his health, hedged his bets by adding a supplementary old-fashioned oil heater, just in case. The case happened, and the bitter cold and snow this winter routed the solar forces with ease.

Not being a technologist, I'm not going to take a stand for or against solar energy. But I do know that it is highly uneconomic in relation to other energy sources, and that its wide-eyed advocates are hoping for the blessings of federal aid to offset the disadvantage. Thus, a letter to the New York Times (Jan. 31) by Mr. Gerald M. Schaflander, president of Idaho Solar Power, Inc., lets the cat out of the bag. While claiming that his own version of solar power is better and more economic than the standard EFG-method, his solution is to call upon President Carter and other government agencies to "bite the bullet" and "back" his version of solar power. The case for the prosecution rests. □

## The Natural Gas Caper

As everyone knows, the bitter winter in the Northeast and Midwest has aggravated a grave "shortage" of natural gas in those parts, with attendant calls for government rationing and hysterical denunciations of the natural gas companies for allegedly deliberately creating a shortage and perversely refusing to sell oceans of natural gas. In actual fact, as virtually all economists have proclaimed, the "shortage" is a pure creation of Federal Power Commission maximum price controls, which have been in effect since 1954, and which have been increasingly below a free-market price that has been rising through general inflation in the decades since. The severe price controls have dried up incentives for natural gas producers to explore and discover new gas reserves. The culminating inanity is that since FPC controls inter-state shipments but not shipments within the major producing state of Texas, that it has become a losing proposition to ship the gas out of state.

Even the New York Times has recognized this fact; it points out the example of Antonio R. Sanchez, Jr., a Texas gas producer, who sits on an ocean of natural gas, but which is only sold to fellow Texas buyers. Why? Because Texas buyers are paying about \$2 per thousand cubic feet for gas, the market price, while federal price controls prohibit out-of-state buyers from paying more than \$1.42. As Sanchez states: "What amazes me is why people in the East cannot understand the simple economics of it. Why should I sell my gas out of state for \$1.42 when Texas buyers are waiting in line to pay \$2 for it? For \$1.42, I wouldn't even go out and drill the holes. We wouldn't even consider it. It's simply not commercial. We'd divert our funds somewhere else." (New York Times, Jan. 31)

In its fumbling attempts to deal with the problem, the Carter administration has indicated that the emergency is so great that it might be necessary to relax the price controls. Which, of course, is an implicit acknowledgement that the controls are the major culprit in creating the shortage. The controls themselves were imposed by an unholy alliance of left-liberal intellectuals and monopoly utility companies, who as buyers lobbied for government aid to give them cheap gas. They are now reaping the whirlwind.

It is usually under color of "emergency" that totalitarianism rears its ugly head. The most blatant example is the reaction of Governor Byrne of New Jersey to the natural gas shortage. From price controls comes shortage and then despotic rationing, and Byrne has decreed that all buildings, commercial and residential, must ration gas (and indeed, all other heat sources) by holding down their thermostats to 65 degrees by day and 60 at night. How is this universal decree to be enforced? While Byrne and New Jersey officials claim that they will avoid such mass-gestapo tactics, their denials are scarcely convincing. Under the 1941 Federal Civil Defense and Disaster Control Act, and under Byrne's declaration of a state of emergency, violators of the 60-degree mandate will be convicted as guilty of being "disorderly persons" and subject to fines of \$175 and up to a year in jail. Already, state and local Jersey police have cruised neighborhoods in squad cars and knocked on doors to remind residents of the fines and jail sentences in store for those who prefer warmer homes. The governor's office admitted that the police would make "spot checks" of homes and businesses to enforce the edict. When asked whether violators would be arrested, Robert Comstock, an aide to Byrne, replied, "damn right we're going to arrest people."

Defiance of the decree quickly built up across the state, especially among poorer people who can't afford the extra warm clothing, and churchmen who balk at the decree that churches must lower their thermostats to 50 (!) degrees.

All this is reminiscent of the artificial meat shortage of 1946, created by federal maximum price controls on meat. Before removing the controls in the summer of 1946 (and thereby quickly ending the "shortage"), President Truman declared that he had seriously considered mobilizing the army and National Guard and going to the farms and seizing the livestock, but that "practical difficulties" forced him to abandon that plan, so that he was then forced to remove the controls. (Again, implicit acknowledgement that the controls were responsible in the first place.) No better example can be found of how we are always faced with a sharp alternative: free markets and abundance on the one hand, or shortages

and totalitarian despotism on the other.

In the meantime, in an unrelated natural gas caper, Cockburn and Ridgeway (*Village Voice*, Jan. 31) have uncovered a mammoth taxpayer bailout-boondoggle granted to certain elements of the natural gas industry. Just before leaving office, outgoing Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson approved a \$730 million U. S. government loan guarantee to the big defense contractor General Dynamics, to build a fleet of enormously expensive tankers to convey liquid natural gas from Indonesia to Japan. Of all U.S. corporations, General Dynamics is perhaps the most tied in with the government, and the least able to fend for itself on the free market. General Dynamics had been suffering severe losses in its shipbuilding operations, and now the \$730 million U. S. guarantee of its loans enables it to go ahead with this uneconomic operation.

As in all government operations, we must ask *cui bono*: who benefits, at the expense of the taxpayers and of the economic use of resources on behalf of the consumers? First, of course, General Dynamics. Second, Elliot Richardson himself, for the shipyards are located at Quincy, Massachusetts, and this would be a talking point for his prospective race for governor of that state. Third, the British government, and its inefficient and uneconomic bailee, Burmah Oil. Burmah Oil, on the point of collapse, was saved two years ago by the British government, which stepped in to guarantee its heavy debts to American and foreign banks. Of these, no less than \$500 million is in hard-to-come-by dollar loans. Burmah Oil will be using the ships constructed by GD to haul the liquid gas from Indonesia to Japan. Failure of the U. S. government to kick in the \$730 million guarantee would have probably caused the bankruptcy of Burmah Oil and a default on its loans; and where would staggering, inflation and deficit-ridden Britain have found the \$500 million to fulfill its guarantee? The British government and British banks, therefore, put intense pressure on the U. S. government to come across.

A fourth beneficiary of this deal (which totals \$3 billion in all) is the corrupt, uneconomic state-owned Indonesian corporation, Pertamina, which could easily have gone under without its share of the swag. And finally, there is the huge Bechtel corporation, the American construction company which will build the Indonesian facilities to liquify the natural gas before shipment. Bechtel stands ready to make no less than \$1 billion out of the transaction (General Dynamics get another billion, and the remainder goes to Japanese equipment companies.) Bechtel had close ties to the Nixon administration: its current president, George Shultz, was Secretary of Treasury under Nixon, and was highly touted as a "free market" economist.

To make the whole deal bipartisan, incipient Congressional resistance to the guarantee collapsed when Juanita Kreps, the new Secretary of Commerce, signified her agreement to the deal.

In addition to all this, liquid natural gas is apparently highly flammable: if any severe explosions occur, we can also chalk the human and property losses up to the same crew—the crew that so many libertarians like to think of as misguided "altruists." □

### 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.

# Anarcho-Capitalism and the Defense of the Nonstate

by Dave Osterfield

Anarcho-capitalists believe that it is possible to defend the non-state in the same way that they see other problems being handled: the market. Jarret Wollstein argues that private defense companies could raise capital by selling "defense bonds" and repaying the principle and interest from revenue obtained by the sale of either products or rights to invention resulting from technological spin-offs.<sup>1</sup> Even granting that private companies would operate more efficiently than governmentally operated defenses, it seems doubtful that the number of technological spin-offs would be enough to cover the required costs, much less to leave enough left over for profit. The same problem would probably apply to David Friedman's suggestion that all or part of the costs of national defense be funded by such devices as tipping and charitable contributions.<sup>2</sup> Another proposal is that "Because of the close natural connection between insurance companies and defense agencies, it would probably be most feasible to sell defense against foreign aggression in the form of insurance policies.<sup>3</sup> The insurance company or companies would then provide for defense out of the proceeds from the sale of their policies. But the problem with this is, as David Friedman points out,

Since people living in the geographical area defended would be protected whether or not they were insured by the particular company, it would be in their interest either not to be insured or to be insured by a different company, one that did not have to bear the burden of paying for defenses and could therefore charge lower rates. The national defense insurance company would lose all its customers and go bankrupt, just as it would if it were simply selling national defense directly to individuals who would be defended whether or not they paid.<sup>4</sup>

The same problem exists in the proposal that national defense could be provided by the agreement of local police companies to pool part of their resources to finance the developments, for any agency concerning itself solely with local police protection could avoid the additional costs and force the other agencies out of business by charging lower rates. The fatal flaw in these proposals is that national defense is a collective good. It cannot be divided into marginal units and this, in turn, makes it difficult to see how it could be supplied by any of the market-oriented alternatives.

Moreover, the very concept of "national defense agencies" is difficult to reconcile with libertarian morality. Libertarians argue, of course, that these defense companies could never be used aggressively since "No army could grow beyond what the market would support, and the market would never support an army larger than was actually necessary for defense, because force is a non-productive expenditure of energy."<sup>5</sup> Yet, as Murray Rothbard has pointed out, "the old cliché no longer holds that it is not the arms but the will to use them that is significant in judging matters of war and peace. For it is precisely the characteristic of modern weapons that they cannot be used selectively; cannot be used in a libertarian manner."<sup>6</sup> Since the destruction wrought by modern weapons is so devastating that it could not be restricted to the aggressors, a national defense company would inevitably murder innocent individuals if it utilized such weaponry. But it would probably be unable to defend its clientele if it did not. Thus, national defense agencies are probably not only impracticable but just as immoral as the state. Would there be any means to defend the nonstate if the concept of national defense companies were abandoned?

Two means by which defense against invasion might be effected are nonviolent civilian defense and guerrilla warfare. Nonviolent civilian, or non-military, defense is defined as a strategy which "aims to defeat military aggression by using resistance by the civilian population as a whole to make it impossible for the enemy to establish and maintain political control over the country."<sup>7</sup> As such it is not contingent upon the defense of physical terrain from enemy occupation but on passive resistance to enemy rule by the civilian population. It is based on the belief that all governmental power must ultimately come from the consent of the governed; that "so long as the citizens remain firm and

refuse to cooperate and obey, the real power lies with them."<sup>8</sup>

Gene Sharp points out that an invasion is not an end in itself but a means to a higher purpose. This purpose must be one of two things: (a) to eliminate the fear of invasion by striking first or (b) to occupy the invaded territory for economic or political purposes. Since it would be impossible to use the civilian defense for aggressive purposes, it would not only dissolve the belief by another nation that a country employing a civilian defense could constitute a threat, but it would also eliminate the possibility of a nation, desiring to wage an aggressive war against such a country, using the time-honored excuse of defending itself from an imminent attack by striking first. Consequently, any nation invading a country employing a civilian defense would brand itself as the clear aggressor for both its own citizens and all the world to see.

While a civilian defense would have no means to stop an invasion from taking place, it is designed to prevent the invader from obtaining the objective(s) for which the invasion was made. This would ostensibly be done by the refusal to cooperate with the invader and/or by the use of such obstructionist tactics as mass strikes in such occupations as communications and transportation, the blocking of highways and airports with thousands of abandoned automobiles, the refusal of police to make political arrests, etc.<sup>9</sup>

This would have a number of ramifications. First, it would force the invader either to abandon the invasion or to crack down on the resistance. If he chose the latter he would lose even more support in the world community. But more importantly, the increasing use of repression and violence against individuals who were clearly innocent and nonviolent could well provoke a moral and psychological disorientation among the invader's soldiers charged with executing the repressions against the civilian population. This could not only cause the soldiers to question the justice of their cause and, ultimately, to refuse to carry out their orders, but also prompt others, perceiving the clear immorality of the invasion, to join the resistance. Second, the cost of the massive numbers of soldiers required to contain and crush the resistance could well outweigh the economic or political benefits of the invasion, particularly if the population refused to work for the invader. In such a case, the invader could be faced with no alternative but going home. This is not to suggest that nonviolent defense is easy. On the contrary, death tolls could be considerable, although no doubt well below those wrought by a conventional military defense. And the fact that all of the casualties would be suffered by the civilian population would no doubt take a heavy psychological toll on the members of the civilian defense. This is a problem unique to nonviolent defense and one that must be taken into account by any proponent of such measures. But, as Gene Sharp has noted:

There are many instances of effective non-violent action, including: the early resistance by American colonists, 1766-1775; Hungarian passive resistance vs. Austrian rule, especially 1850-1867; Finland's disobedience and political noncooperation against Russia, 1898-1905; the Russian 1905 Revolution, and that of February 1917 (Before the October Bolshevik coup); The Korean nonviolent protest against Japanese rule, 1919-1922 (which failed); the Indian 1930-1931 independence campaign; German government-sponsored resistance to the Franco-Belgium occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

Later examples include: resistance in several Nazi-occupied countries, especially Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark; governmental and popular measures to nullify anti-Jewish measures in several Nazi-allied and Nazi-occupied countries, such as Belgium, Italy, France, and Denmark; the toppling by popular noncooperation and defiance of the dictators of El Salvador and Guatemala in 1944; the 1963 and 1966 campaigns of the Buddhists against

(Continued On Page 8)

## Anarcho-Capitalism —

(Continued From Page 7)

the Saigon regimes in South Vietnam.<sup>11</sup>

While civilian defense has no guarantee of success, it should not be cavalierly dismissed. It has, unfortunately, been given scant attention by the anarcho-capitalists although it could prove the most practical means of defending the nonstate, as well as the method most in accord with their moral principles.

A second possibility, guerrilla warfare, should also be considered. While guerrilla forces seldom win military battles they are capable of winning wars and ousting invaders, provided they are at least able to retain the support of the community. Guerrilla wars are not won militarily but, as Andrew Mack has observed, by means of the progressive attrition of their opponent's political capacity to carry on the war.<sup>12</sup> This is accomplished by means of a protracted war, in which the insurgent's goal is to provoke the invader into escalating his military commitment. As the war drags on and increases in cost, both human and material, the fact that the war would not only not provide any additional material benefit but could actually force cutbacks in the production of consumer goods at home, together with the fact that it was being fought against a country that posed no threat, could result in the emergence of political divisions in the invader's home country. These political divisions could not only hamper the war effort but, in time, sap the invader's will to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. The guerrilla has a fairly good chance of winning provided he is able to fight a protracted war for, as Henry Kissinger has aptly put it, "the guerrilla wins if he does not lose: the conventional army loses if it doesn't win."<sup>13</sup>

This too might prove to be a method for defense of the nonstate. While in contrast to civilian defense guerrilla warfare would employ violence, the fact that it would be limited and could be directed against the actual invaders would mean that it could be justified as self-defense and thus reconciled with the anarchists' moral code.

Which of the two, if either, the anarcho-capitalist might choose to adopt would depend on their practicality, which in turn could vary from situation to situation. It seems unlikely, however, that the two could be combined. Nonviolent civilian defense is designed to sap the will of the invader by forcing him to use violence and other repressive measures against nonviolent and clearly innocent people, thereby unmasking the immorality of his actions. Guerrilla warfare, on the other hand, is designed to sap the will of the invader by dragging out the war and therefore making the accomplishment of his task seem hopeless. The attempt to combine the two would probably prove unsuccessful for assassinations, sabotage, and other guerrilla tactics would seem to

provide just the excuse the invader would need to justify, at least to himself, his repressive measures against the population. Thus, on the surface at least, the two seem mutually exclusive.

The problem of national defense presents a most difficult problem for the anarcho-capitalist. The belief in some sort of national defense company is not only difficult to reconcile with the libertarian moral code but is also based on the misperception that national defense can, like any other good, be broken down into marginal units. Some hope does seem to lie in reliance on either nonviolent civilian defense and/or guerrilla warfare. But there is the additional problem of choosing and coordinating a defense policy in the absence of a state. Presumably, this could be handled prior to an invasion by such methods as community meetings, newspaper articles, and radio and television appearances by respected members of the community, and after an invasion by underground newspapers, wireless radios and the like. Whether either civilian defense or guerrilla warfare could provide a viable mechanism for defense of the nonstate is an area that requires additional research.

It is time that we came to grips with this serious issue and it is hoped that this article will help to stimulate that research.

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

**Bogdanovich's Nickelodeon**, dir. by Peter Bogdanovich, with Ryan and Tatum O'Neal and Burt Reynolds. Movie critics tend to run in packs, and critical approval or hostility in cycles. His personal arrogance, combined with such disastrous films as "At Long Last Love" where his infatuation with Cybill Shepherd overrode his critical judgment, has gained Bogdanovich the enmity of the movie world. And so **Nickelodeon** is duly roasted by one and all.

And yet, **Nickelodeon** is a fine, funny picture, keenly directed and fast-paced, a joy to behold. Yes, it is true that Bogdanovich is derivative, that his love for the classic movies of the 1920s and 1930s is far greater than his admiration for the far inferior culture and films of today. **Nickelodeon** is indeed evocative of **The Sting** and his own **Paper Moon**, and it is also true that Bogdanovich is hardly a tragedian. But so what? One can do worse things than emulate the motion pictures of the old days with a fine comic sense and a swift directorial pace. **Nickelodeon**, a story of the adventures of the early days of film-making, is a heart-warming and funny comic valentine to the original movie era. □

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## The New End of Ideology?

Back in the complacent 1950's, many ex-radical intellectuals were busily and happily proclaiming the "end of ideology" in America. Led by such right-wing Social Democrats as Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Nathan Glazer, the "consensus intellectuals" were sure that hard-edged ideology, whether of right or left, would no longer appear in America, and that we would all move forward in a new consensus of piecemeal, ad hoc, pragmatists, all accepting the current Welfare-Warfare State consensus. Since the End of Ideology theory immediately preceded the remarkable eruption of the New Left and a decade of stormy ideology, the End of Ideology theorists had to quietly dump their wishful prophecies into the well-known dustbin of history.

Now, in the peaceful 1970's however, a new form of the end of ideology—in practice this time—has emerged, both on the Right and the Left, and few analysts have described or examined this new trend. To sum up our analysis, both Right and Left are experiencing a scuttling of their ideologies, and a reversion to the Establishment Center.

On the Right, a process is being completed which began when Bill Buckley and *National Review* seized control of the Right-wing in the late 1950's, and accelerated since the Goldwater defeat in 1964. In brief, from the mid-fifties to the mid-sixties, Buckley and N.R. ran a conservative movement that was militant and hard-edged: in favor of war and imperialism abroad, militarism and the repression of "subversives" at home, but also inconsistently combined with adherence to the free-market and to a limited libertarian rhetoric in social philosophy. Since the failure of Goldwaterism, however, Buckley and NR have accelerated their drive toward Establishment respectability, being more and more willing to jettison any trace of libertarian rhetoric, and to accept grave compromises on the question of a free-market economy.

While the Viguerie-Rusher-Phillips "New Majority" movement did not succeed last year in taking over the American Independent Party, and remain conservative Reaganite Republicans, the New Majority begins to appear more and more as point men for the direction that the conservative movement is going to take. Put briefly, it involves abandoning the free market and liberty completely, in order to put together a "right-wing populist" (read "neo-fascist") coalition of Southern racists and urban Catholic "ethnics", a coalition devoted to the following programs: militarism at home and war abroad, repression of dissent in the name of "anti-Communism" and "national security", moderate repression of racial minorities, especially blacks, and State enforcement of "morality" in the form of the outlawry of drugs, prostitution, pornography, and abortion, and the support of prayer in the public schools. Inherent in the coalition is the frank acceptance of a permanent Welfare State, except that it be "moderate" and "efficient" (read: "the cutting of welfare aid to blacks.")

That the New Majority may be the wave of the future for conservatism is indicated by the fact that, since the defeat of the Reagan movement, former Senator Buckley has already called publicly for the permanent acceptance of the New Deal welfare state. Already, in fact, there seems to be very little difference between the Buckleyites and the Right-wing social democrats who now call themselves "Neo-conservatives"—the

Kristols, Glazers, Moynihans, et al.

In the meanwhile, a similar process of adaptation and self-emasculatation has been occurring on the remnants of the old New Left. One of the best things about the New Left was its angry critique of the policies and strategies of the Old Left (symbolized by the Communist Party): namely, to function as the loyal left-wing of the Democratic Party, of modern liberalism—to push for ever more government spending, welfare measures, health insurance, minimum wages, etc. The New Left had presumably broken with all that; they levelled trenchant critiques of the Welfare State as State Capitalism oppressing the dependent masses, they attacked centralized bureaucracy, and called for radical opposition to the Welfare and Warfare States. They scorned coalition with Establishment Democrats as a "coalition with the Marines" (in Staughton Lynd's felicitous phrase.) But now, after over a decade in the wilderness, the New Left "revolution" dead and gone, the remnants of the New Left have sheepishly found their way back into the Left-wing of the Democrat Party, calling once more for more government spending, welfare payments, health insurance, minimum wages, etc. The New Left, now physically older, has, to all intents and purposes, rejoined the Old Left. Former New Left firebrands are running for office in the Democratic Party, or have joined the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, which is frankly in that party formerly scorned as hopelessly State Capitalist. The New Leftists assure us that they have not sold out, that times have changed, that their old opponents have now abandoned the Cold War, but it's still the Old Left coalition with the Marines.

And so there is no distinguishable Right and Left anymore, no hard-edged ideology for either side; they now form the right and left wings of the Establishment, differing still, to be sure, on foreign policy and militarism, but really part of one overall, mish-mash consensus.

If the Right and Left are disappearing as ideological forces, what about the liberals, who still dominate academia, the media, and opinion-moulding groups? The liberals are, as they have been for a long time, in a state of total intellectual confusion. There have been no new liberal answers for a long time, and more and more liberals realize that their old ideologies have broken down, that they are not working. More and more liberals—as well as members of the public in general—are realizing that the system of statism has been breaking down. But, human nature being what it is, they will not give up their crumbling paradigm until a better one comes along to replace it. They have to see an attractive alternative.

All this provides an unusually favorable opportunity for libertarians. For we are functioning in an intellectual climate where there is no longer any real, determined, militant ideological competition. Ideological decay and confusion are everywhere. But, in this miasma, we libertarians have that alternative; we have a new and intellectually stimulating and fascinating ideological paradigm, and one that explains the collapse of modern statism better than anyone else. We have a new and systematic creed, and we are just about the only ones who still believe in our ideology. In contrast to the Left, Right, and Center, our ideology hasn't ended; it is just beginning. □

## In Defense of Gradualism

by Robert Poole, Jr.

My REASON editorial, "Libertarian Realpolitik," has generated controversy, most recently an article by Tom Palmer (*Libertarian Forum*, Nov. 1976). In what follows I would like to respond to my critics, especially Mr. Palmer, and in so doing perhaps make clearer what the original editorial was attempting to convey.

The argument concerns means, not ends. Both Palmer and I seek to achieve a libertarian society. The question is: how best to achieve this goal. Palmer appears to be arguing that the way to do it is to create a large-scale libertarian movement, "capable of pointing out the general nature of state intervention," and that this can best or only be done by publicizing a radical, theoretical position. Palmer appears to believe that the "masses" will then rally around a world view "which articulates general rules of human action," if presented to them by such a movement.

I totally disagree. Palmer's view assumes a great deal more about people than appears warranted. Most people (probably even most academics) care very little for theory and don't view the world in terms of general principles or integrated world views. They think in terms of here-and-now specifics and concrete, practical examples. It is for this reason that I think a gradualistic, empirical approach is essential. We need to give people case after case of actual instances in which freedom, decontrol, deregulation work, i.e., produce observable, positive results. Once such a set of empirical demonstrations exists, then we can tie them together and begin to teach people that it's not just coincidence that freedom is the common element in each case.

Palmer takes me to task for urging that viable replacements for such institutions as income taxes, welfare, and the FDA must be "researched, developed, and popularized" before we can responsibly urge their abolition. He asks if I have "neglected the important point, enunciated as a major defense of the market by such a long line of libertarians, that the market provides a framework . . . and that the specific institutions which will arise . . . cannot be predicted?" I am not neglecting the point; on the contrary, I am taking it into account as a dangerously misleading cop-out, one that is responsible for the relative lack of success of much libertarian efforts to date.

A case in point: For about 25 years Paul Poirot of the Foundation for Economic Education, an adherent of Palmer's view, has been writing articles attacking the Social Security system. Not once (to the best of my knowledge) has he suggested any kind of transition program for dealing humanely with the millions of people now dependent on Social Security and the millions who have paid into it for decades, expecting to receive benefits. His articles simply say that Social Security is morally wrong, economically inefficient, potentially bankrupt, and ought to be abolished. The market, "somehow," will provide. But unless the "somehow" is dealt with seriously, people will not even consider abolition. And of course, over the past 25 years, they haven't.

The same applies to taxation, welfare, the FDA, and a variety of other State institutions. Merely saying "The market will provide" is akin, for most of the public, to saying "Take it on faith." The public will be swayed far more readily by specifics. It violates no principles of praxeology to do careful, detailed thinking about how the market could provide solutions to the problems of paying for and providing defense services, dealing with poverty, and protecting people against unsafe food and drugs. In doing so, one does not prescribe what must or will happen; one merely helps people to see what could happen, so they can accept the prospect of change without fear of chaos.

We simply cannot presuppose that the bulk of our listeners begin where we do, with a basic commitment to freedom and the principles of the market. They don't, and giving them theory or "take it on faith" prescriptions is not going to change that. The only way I can see to give them a lasting appreciation of freedom is to (1) demonstrate it in action by accomplishing step-by-step reforms, (2) tie these together to illustrate general principles, and (3) work out extrapolations to new areas in terms of specific, practical illustrations of the probable market mechanisms that will develop.

It will take a strong libertarian movement to do all this, one with an appreciation of long-term, strategic thinking. Attracting and motivating the leaders of this movement requires, as Palmer, Rothbard, and others suggest, the fostering of radical libertarian principles and the ongoing development and refinement of theory. But I still maintain that developing this leadership is primarily a job for educational organizations—such as the Cato Institute, the Center for Libertarian Studies, Institute for Humane Studies, Society for Individual Liberty, etc.—and small, hard-core publications such as *Libertarian Forum*. Our broad-based political action arm, the Libertarian Party, must deal with "the masses" as they are. And for this task, I can see no viable alternative to the kind of gradualism I've outlined above. □

## The Fallacy of Gradualism: A Reply

by Tom G. Palmer

"By the street of by and by, one arrives at the house of never."  
—Cervantes

While I find the points raised in Poole's rebuttal to my rebuttal more reasonable than those in his original editorial, I still believe them to be off the mark. Poole defends the use of examples of competitive free enterprise vs. State management as tools of persuasion for libertarians. I see nothing wrong with this, though I believe it inefficacious to give this tactic center stage in our arsenal of arguments, as Poole seems to want to do. If the "masses" won't rally around a movement of principles, then Poolean opportunism certainly won't rally them around anything.

It's true that we can't sell people simply on "theory" - we can't ask someone to take it on faith that they should desire freedom. A reasonable man demands arguments, and we should be prepared to give them. Poole's arguments, however, would convince few people of the morality of freedom and would hardly motivate anyone to join a movement to end infringements upon freedom. It is absolutely necessary, when approaching the public, to keep one's principles flying high, for therein lies our strength. If the efforts of movement activists and cadre were to be devoted to carrying out Poole's game plan, then we could forget about exercising any kind of long term influence. After all, one of the most important steps toward our goal is to "Create" more libertarians. We must expand our ranks or be doomed to failure. How would this be brought about if our broad-based political arm, the Libertarian Party, were to be emasculated and reduced to proposing crank schemes for enlarging the diameter of government fire hoses (thereby saving taxpayer's dollars) and turning government enterprises over to Bell Telephone via statist grants of monopoly? Not only does this have no relation to the market, but it will never get off the ground. How far did the cranky Friedmanite voucher plan, backed by forces considerably more powerful than the Libertarian Party, ever go? It was swiftly laid to rest, and justly so. Also, I would like to ask an embarrassing question. When has this scheme of creeping conservatism ever worked? Did the American revolutionaries demand private collection of English taxes? No. In fact, such tax collectors were the objects of intense popular hatred. Their homes were pulled down by patriots inflamed by a passion for liberty and a desire to escape the depredations of the English monarchy.

Poole contents himself with leaving development of leadership to such organizations as the Cato Institute and the Center for Libertarian Studies. Yet, from what field will they reap if the Libertarian Party is restrained from proselytizing and attempting to expand the ranks of libertarians?

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## Gradualism: Reply —

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Further, what are these leaders to do if they have no movement to lead?

In a criticism of left-wing sectarianism aimed at the Bolsheviks of Europe, Lenin claimed that the political differences between the "Lloyd Georges and the Winston Churchills of the world" was immaterial during the developing stages of a movement (where we are now) and that these differences became important only after a movement had developed popular political muscle and a public constituency. At that point, differences and conflicts within the ruling political establishment become ripe for exploitation. Poole, on the other hand, wants to climb in the sack with the ruling class and the State before we have any power whatsoever to change its actions. To be successful, we must expand our influence with the public and "create" from the masses a constituency of "fellow travelers". From these we draw out membership, and from our membership we draw the cadre. Poole seems to think we can increase the cadre without sowing and reaping among the public. His lack of understanding of the political process and the nature of "politicking" is monumental. Even "gradualistic" lobbying would meet with little success if it utilized Poole's strategy, for the lobbyist who is neither rich nor the leader of a motivated public constituency will be swept into the dustbin of history. His influence, regardless of his intentions, will be zero.

As to Poole's specific proposals, I refer the reader to my review of his *Cut Local Taxes* booklet (*Libertarian Review*, January 1977) for a view of what he has actually proposed. Coercive grants of monopoly and tips on how to run an efficient State comprise the bulk of Poole's literally worthless opus. The last section is an uninspired chapter from an NTU organizer's manual which is hardly worth the time to read. Poole seems to look upon the State as a benevolent institution which has "our" interests at heart. "We" really are the government. Show a politician or a bureaucrat how to run his "business" better and he will lower his "fee" for the service. In reality, his fee is coerced extortion and his "service" is to hound us from cradle to grave with one arbitrary edict after another.

Poole challenges me to come up with a "plan" to help those who have been bamboozled by the statist sleight of hand known as social security. Despite the fact that Poole himself offers no such plan, I accept his challenge. Roger MacBride's campaign book, *A New Dawn for America*, proposed that government assets be sold off to compensate claim holders who have been robbed of their earnings (note that this is not financed through further State plunder) and that, as an immediate and ("non-negotiable") minimal step, all persons 60 years of age or older be exempted from all taxes. If Poole can come up with another idea, I'd like to hear about it. As is typical of Poole's shoddy and superficial research in other areas (e.g., tax rates in local communities) he has no understanding of the enormity of present social security liabilities. At the present time they stand at well over 3 trillion dollars. No plan, no matter how humanitarian we may be, there is nothing that can save the social security system (by this I mean fully compensate those who have been cheated and robbed). It is bankrupt financially as well as morally. If Poole thinks that a private company will want to take over a program with no assets and over \$3 trillion in liabilities, I suggest that he read David Hume and J. S. Mill on miracles.

Poole's rebuttal is a significantly more "soft core" defense of gradualism than his *Reason* editorial or his *Cut Local Taxes*. It is no less incorrect, however. If we follow Poole, we will go the route of the classical liberals, though with one important difference. For many years the best of the liberals kept their principles at the fore, and achieved remarkable success. It was when the gradualists gained ascendancy within liberalism that the liberal movement faltered and collapsed. Poole going further, would rob us of our principles before we had a chance to exert any appreciable influence at all. We would then become an insignificant oddity in the history of political movements. At best, our example would serve to warn libertarians of the distant future of the dangers of compromise.

I have not mentioned another difficulty inherent in Poole's strategy. If we reduce our public platform to a series of "short term" cost-cutting programs and left our principles at home, what would halt the corruption

## Human Rights at Home: the Flynt Case

While the Carter administration prates hypocritically, and conservative and Social Democrats point the finger, about human rights in lands where they can't do anything about it, human rights here in the United States continue to dwindle, with none of these gentlemen raising a voice in protest. In particular, the First Amendment rights of freedom of speech and of the press are endangered in a new wave of repression of pornographic freedom. While Mayor Beame of New York City tries to revive his happily sagging political fortunes in this election year by grandstanding and unconsitutional closing down of porno shops and massage parlors, Harry Reems is convicted for appearing in an obscene movie, and—in a direct attack on the freedom of the press—Larry Flynt, publisher of *Hustler* magazine, is convicted in Cincinnati of pandering obscenity and "conspiring" to do so. For this crime, Flynt was—in a truly obscene sentence—sentenced to a total of 7 to 25 years in prison. In contrast to muggers, rapists, and thieves, no one was apparently worried about Mr. Flynt's possible broken-home upbringing or his lack of playgrounds as a youth. In a superb full-page ad in the *New York Times* (Feb. 20), the *Americans for a Free Press* (40 West Gay St., Columbia, Ohio 43215) protested the Flynt conviction as an "infringement of Mr. Flynt's rights under the First Amendment" and as a "threat to the right of all Americans." The ad urged President Carter "to take a closer look at the restrictions of freedom of expression in America itself." The writers who signed this ad constitute an honor roll on this issue, despite our disagreement with many of them on other ideological questions. Some of their names follow:

Woody Allen, Michael Arlen, Noel Behn, Vincent Canby, Robert Christgau, Ramsey Clark, Harry Crews, Judith Crist, John Dean, Joan Didion, Daniel Ellsberg, Bruce Jay Friedman, Allen Ginsberg, Ralph Ginzburg, Herb Gold, Al Goldstein, Jim Goode, Gerald Green, Dan Greenburg, David Halberstam, Pete Hamill, Hugh Hefner, Joseph Heller, Warren Hinckle, A.E. Hotchner, Arthur Knight, Paul Krassner, Arthur Kretchmer, John Leonard, J. Anthony Lukas, Peter Maas, Norman Mailer, Rudy Maxa, Federic Morton, Phillip Nobile, Eric Norden, Gerald Piel, Nicholas Pileggi, Dotson Rader, Rex Reed, Harold Robbins, Ned Rorem, Barney Rosset, Robert Sherrill, Geoffrey Stokes, Gay Talese, Gore Vidal, Nicholas Von Hoffman, Irving Wallace, Jann Wenner, Clark Whelton, Bruce Williamson, Sol Yurick.

These writers, at least, did not fall for the line snapped up by many others—that the First Amendment is all very well, but that *Hustler* was too much. □

and "take over" of the libertarian movement, specifically the Libertarian Party? If the LP becomes simply a short-term tool, and we welcome those who want to "go part way" as comrades, what will stop us from becoming simply a wing of another political ideology? After all, our stand against censorship is palatable to liberals, except that we go "too far." If we just watered our stands down a bit, why, we could coopt them too. And so on with the conservatives, the anti-war (except for brave little Israel) crowd, etc. In fact, our greatest danger would come from the conservatives, for the liberals are already ensconced in power and need no political alliances.

In short, Poole has presented nothing new. It is warmed over Ford Republicanism and McGovern liberalism. If he can motivate people to support and work for such a compromising platform, then I might reconsider what he has to say. As it stands, his schemes have never worked, and I doubt that they ever will. Principled and radical in content - reasonable and palatable in form. This is the key to triumph over the State. □

## The New L.R.

Libertarian Review, the esteemed libertarian bimonthly, has been floundering for a long time. Beset by financial troubles, it has been on the point of closing its doors for quite a while. Its basic problem has been its original *Books for Libertarians* format, which was based on the idea of emulating the highly successful *New York Review of Books*. There were several grave flaws in such an admittedly noble attempt from the very outset. In the first place, the *New York Review of Books* was able to draw on several hundred of the finest left-liberal scholars in every conceivable field of expertise; secondly, it operated within a climate of dozens of left-liberal general magazines to instruct their readers in the political and intellectual issues of the day. Drawing on such a large resource and appealing to a readership made knowledgeable by other publications, NYRB could and did flourish. But the libertarian movement has been in a very different situation. For we have very few scholars to tap for articles, very few worthwhile books, and a readership which is not being instructed on the political issues by general-purpose magazines. That was and has been the basic problem with the "Books for Libertarians" concept. A second problem was that for many years BFL was tied to a book-selling operation, so that the reviews necessarily began to concentrate on the favorable aspects of what libertarians might like, rather than, as in the case of NYRB, on free-swinging critiques of all important books, good and bad. Attempts to shift out of the book-review format since the divesting of the book-selling service—the L.R. format—have been unsuccessful. As witness the current Jan.-Feb. issue of L.R. which is almost completely a book-review issue. Thirdly, there has been the incongruity of the ads: NYRB, as befits a book-review publication, has all of its ads taken by book publishers; in the current issue of L.R. by contrast, there is not a single ad by a book publisher. Finally, there has been a certain lack of strength and clarity of focus in L.R. a lack of strong focus on what precisely the magazine is trying to accomplish.

We are happy to report, however, that these problems are in the process of being solved. *Libertarian Review* has now been purchased, and has received a considerable inflow of new funding. Its offices are being shifted from Washington to New York City. Its new editor, in charge of content, is Roy A. Childs, Jr., once an editor of the old *Books for Libertarians*. The new L.R. will not be a book-review publication but a regular general-purpose magazine, with book reviews and other arts material confined where they should be: in the "back of the book." There will be editorials, general articles, the continuing "Libertarian Cross-Currents" column by Walter Grinder, and a regular column by the editor of the *Lib. Forum*. The focus of the new L.R. will be twofold: on ideas and activities within the libertarian movement, but, even more, on applying libertarian principles to the important events of the outside world: to vitally important domestic and foreign issues. In this way, the new L.R. will be instructing the libertarian movement, which tends to be relatively strong on libertarian theory but weak in its knowledge and insights into the facts of the real world, upon those real world events. There will be articles on such important issues as Angola, the Carter administration, and the defense budget, and, I venture to predict, precious few articles on how many John Galts can dance on the head of a pin, or on how many packages of dried beans one would need to hole up in a retreatist cave. Articles on libertarianism will be focussed more on such questions as the proper strategy for the movement rather than on such burning issues as whether or not Objectivism implies the Trinity.

The format of the new L.R. I am glad to say, will be magazine-magazine rather than either newsletter or the current tabloid quasi-newspaper size.

And, perhaps best of all, the new L.R. will be able to pay a decent sum for articles and reviews, which automatically makes it a rare gem among libertarian publications.

Roy Childs is uniquely qualified to be the editor of a general-purpose libertarian magazine. At a very young age, Childs established a deserved reputation as a brilliant theoretician of the movement. His famous "Open Letter to Ayn Rand" did more to convert objectivists to anarcho-capitalism than any other single cause; a former instructor at Robert LeFevre's Freedom School, Childs has converted more people out of LeFevre's ultra-pacifism than anyone else by forcing LeFevre to admit that he considers it immoral for a kidnapping victim to break the chains

that bind him because it "violates the private property of the kidnapper." Steeped in philosophy, Childs was almost unique among neo-Randian philosophers in coming early to the conclusion that, to achieve the victory of liberty and the dismantling of the State, such philosophic precepts as "A is A", the reality of existence and consciousness, and even the libertarian non-aggression axiom are **not enough**: that it is necessary to learn about the historical and contemporary facts of the real world, to find out what the State has been doing and who has been doing it. Hence, Child's passionate interest in history and in contemporary social and political issues. Well-versed in both theory and the facts of reality, and experienced in magazine editing, Roy Childs comes to his new and important post armed with all the qualifications for success; and, furthermore, he comes to his new post armed with a clear and determined focus and vision of what such a magazine needs to accomplish. But, in addition to all that, Childs, in his own writing as well as in the writing he seeks for the magazine, believes in articles that are clear, hard-hitting, and high-spirited. If it is anything, the struggle for liberty against the State should be dramatic and exciting, and never boring; a Childs magazine will never fall into the pitfall that other libertarian publications have slipped into: of being plonky and boring. In the Childs L.R. we can look forward to an excellent and exciting magazine.

A personal note may be in order here. Ours is a movement where the word "sacrifice" is often in bad odor. But it needs to be said that of all the libertarians I know, Roy Childs has, up to now, sacrificed more than anyone else, in income and status foregone, in his absolute determination to make a lifelong career as a professional libertarian. Until now, all that he has reaped for his pains has been a smear campaign of calumny and deceit unprecedented in our young movement, in which the anti-party sectarians have continually ripped a few words of his totally out of

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### Errata

The following are the footnotes that were inadvertently omitted from David Osterfeld's article, "Anarcho-capitalism and the Defense of the Non-State", in the February, 1977 issue.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Jarret Wollstein, "Society Without Coercion," *Society Without Government* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1972), pp. 24-27.

<sup>2</sup>David Friedman, *The Machinery of Freedom* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 192.

<sup>3</sup>Morris Tannehill and Linda Tannehill, *The Market for Liberty* (Lansing, Mich: Private Publisher, 1970), p. 128.

<sup>4</sup>Friedman, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup>In *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

<sup>6</sup>Tannehill and Tannehill, pp. 132-33.

<sup>7</sup>Murray Rothbard, "War, Peace and the State," *Egalitarianism, As a Revolt Against Nature, and Other Essays* (Washington, D.C.: Libertarian Review Press, 1974), p. 73.

<sup>8</sup>Gene Sharp, "National Defense Without Armaments," *Peace and War*, eds. Charles Beitz and Theodore Herman (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co., 1973), p. 352.

<sup>9</sup>Gene Sharp, quoted in American Friends Service Committee, *In Place of War* (New York: Grossman, 1967), p. 44.

<sup>10</sup>Sharp, p. 352; also see Gene Sharp, *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971), p. 64.

<sup>11</sup>Sharp, "National Defense Without Armaments," pp. 354-55.

<sup>12</sup>See the excellent article by Andrew Mack, "How Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* (January, 1975), pp. 175-200.

<sup>13</sup>In *ibid.*, p. 185.

## A Black Writer's View of 'Roots' \*

by Anne Wortham

In a newspaper interview, Alex Haley recalls a moving incident at an autograph session in a Harlem church. An elderly woman was purchasing several copies of "Roots" but obviously needed the money to buy shoes. When Haley glanced at her shoes, she looked him in the eye and said: "Son, don't mind. I'm not just buying books, I'm buying our history."

Alex Haley is a historical novelist, a popularizer of history. He may qualify as a genealogist, perhaps, but he is not a social and political historian - no more than is James Michener, whose historical sagas, "Hawaii," "The Source," and "Centennial," have all been best-sellers. And I think Haley was less than responsible when he failed to point this out to the woman. He owed her a disclaimer: that "Roots" is not HER personal history, but the history of HIS ancestors seen through his eyes. He should have told her that if she wants her history, she'll have to write it herself. And if she wants a history of Negroes, she should read John Hope Franklin's "From Slavery to Freedom," or Herbert G. Gutman's "The Negro Family in Slavery and Freedom," or Eugene D. Genovese's "Roll Jordan Roll," or Ira Berlin's "Slaves Without Masters," and many more.

But no, Mr. Haley goes from one media interview and college lecture to another leaving the impression that he has given Negroes a great gift of history and racial identity. Americans of all races seem to have gulped down the dramatization of the novel as history as carelessly as they take "Final Days" as the factual account of the Watergate crisis, or "The Adams Chronicles" as the history of the young American nation. But the worst cases of the "Roots" fever are among those Negroes who have accepted the collective racial identity presented in "Roots" as a substitute for their own self-identity and those whites who feel compelled to apologize for the sins of their ancestors.

A black psychologist appearing on a panel analyzing "Roots" said: "Roots" gave blacks roots from which to make a personal evaluation (of their identity)." To which I say: NOT THIS BLACK. Eric Sevareid said the audience for "Roots" had been waiting for it for 300 years. To which I say: NOT THIS BLACK. Haley has himself called the "rootlessness" of Americans an "affliction," and his philosophy is expressed with conviction by the character Kizzy when she tells her son, Chicken George, why she would not marry the slave Sam: "Sam ain't like us. Nobody ever told him where he come from so he didn't have no idea about where he ought to be going." To which I say: NOT SO FOR THIS ROOTLESS BLACK.

Apparently Alex Haley has a compelling need to base his self-identity on his cultural and racial ancestors. Thus, for this and other reasons, he has written an account of his family's history and of the social times during which they lived. It is a singular, autonomous, unattached individual and so far it covers only 35 years. It is not my mother's story which ended when I was 9; it isn't even my sister's story, who is only 3 years younger than me. I share certain aspects of my story with members of my family, peers and others, but its sum total belongs to me alone.

Unlike Alex Haley and other nationally-racially-or ethnically-determined people, I stand not at the end of a tradition but in the midst of an exciting life-process that is my own. The social history of my ancestors does not flow through my psyche as a domesticated animal carrying the instincts of its ancestors in its genes. I am a person, and persons are self-determined individuals - even when they deny the fact and behave contrary to it. I am not some sociological construct that has stepped out of the last chapter of Alex Haley's novel. I am me - myself - and I. There has been no one like me in existence before and there will be no one like me in the future. I am the sculptor of my soul's spirit; I am the carpenter of my self-esteem; and that is my pride.

I accept that wretched chapter of American history smeared, most likely, by the blood, sweat and tears of my ancestors, but it cannot teach me how to deal with the present. I am not a slave, but a free individual. My white friends and associates are not my oppressors but also free and independent individuals. When we face each other we do not confront the souls of our ancestors. When we share our lives and times we do not

consult the life and times of our forefathers. We are ourselves and it is ourselves that we present to one another - the selves each of us has created. Our love and comradeship are not a contrived vignette of "race relations" in microcosm. We are involved in friendship - that precious commodity of interpersonal relations that can be achieved only between individuals of like minds, values and purposes.

Entailed in man's identity is the natural imperative that he shape his identity. And when he doesn't, he goes against his nature. Slavery is immoral because it is unnatural; and collective identity is irrational because it is unnatural. Both defile man's natural identity and negate the laws of reality. The only answer to slavery and discrimination is

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## A Great Day For Freedom

Usually the Lib. Forum does not believe in expending its energy agreeing with most of world opinion on a given ideological issue. But the recent smashing defeat to the evil Indira Gandhi dictatorship in India is such a red-letter day for world freedom that we must add our small voice to all the others. Obviously, Mrs. Gandhi had gravely miscalculated; confident that the submerged Indian masses did not care a hoot for free speech or free assembly, Mrs. Gandhi was sure that she could gain a large plebiscitary vote to perpetuate her monstrous regime. There were two leading motifs in the stunning electoral defeat for Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party, which had ruled India as a virtual one-party regime ever since Indian independence. One was the fact, as the New York Times correspondent put it, that the average Indian "likes to talk", and didn't like the government's taking away that right. And second, was the truly monstrous compulsory sterilization program that the regime was beginning to implement, spearheaded by her son and heir-apparent, Sanjay Gandhi. Again, this invasion of the fundamental right to have children was deeply resented by Indians throughout the country.

But we should be clear about the major significance of the ouster of the Gandhis. The important fact is not that the new Desai government will be "pro-Western", or even that the vote was a "vindication of democracy." The important point is that human freedom against dictatorial statism has taken a mighty step forward.

We refuse to temper our joy about the ouster of the Gandhi regime by the knowledge that there will be a number of sectarian nitwits in the libertarian movement who will accuse us of "compromising libertarian principle" by our "endorsing" the new Desai regime. As the great Congreve once wrote, "I hear a great many of the fools are angry at me, and I am glad of it, for I write at them, not to them." □

## New L.R. — (Continued From Page 4)

context as a stick with which to belabor the Libertarian Party. Childs' new post as editor of an expanded Libertarian Review comes as a welcome vindication to one who deserves the gratitude, instead of the vilification, of every libertarian.

While we are celebrating the new L.R., we are happy and honored to pay tribute to Bob Kephart, the founder and publisher of Books for Libertarians and L.R., who has for years struggled valiantly, and against great odds, to keep the magazine afloat. Kephart has given unstintingly of time, money, energy, and his great entrepreneurial ability, to launch the magazine and to keep it going. Bob has paid a great price in ease and comfort for his intellectual conversion from conservative to libertarian; he has been a splendid and much-needed addition to our ranks. May he prosper and flourish! □

## From the Old Curmudgeon

### The "Libertarian" Church

The latest fad in the Movement is the "Libertarian Church", which originated and mainly flourishes in (guess where?) California. It started, I suppose, as a legal tax-avoidance gimmick, since church income and property are exempt from taxation. Taken strictly as a means of tax-avoidance, the scheme is unexceptionable, and it poses intriguing constitutional questions for the government. (How, for example, does the government go about proving that Religion A is a "false" or "pseudo" religion, which, in contrast to "real" religions, is not exempt from taxation? And how does it do so without violating the First Amendment?) All this granted, however, the "Libertarian" Church strikes me as a peculiarly silly way of going about tax-avoidance. If one really wishes to use a church as a tax-avoidance device, then the thing to do is to join a church with a neutral-sounding name (some of my best friends are ministers of the "Universal Life Church") and then to shut up about the tax-gimmick. Using a political-ideological name, and then going around proclaiming the gimmick to one and all is precisely the way to ruin one's proposed tax-exemption.

And so the Libertarian Church as a tax-gimmick is silly enough. Far worse is the fact that the California communicants are beginning to take the whole nonsense seriously, and are beginning to blather about libertarianism as "really" a "religion". LC members are beginning to talk in hushed tones of reverence about "the church", and are seriously intoning whatever "church" ritual has been cooked up. The human mind, as we all know, has an infinite capacity for insanity and folly, but the

libertarian movement seems to have far more than its duly allotted share.

Reason magazine, has recently published an article from a "libertarian church" founder. (Richard Wood, "Why Not A Libertarian Church?" Reason (December, 1976). The Rev. Wood's basic defense of the libertarian church concept is that libertarianism is more than a political or economic idea, "it is fundamentally an ethical concept." Granted. But whatever the legal niceties, an ethical concept is scarcely enough to qualify philosophically as a "religion" and therefore as leading to a "church" organization. "Religion" requires an ontological affirmation of the existence of a certain type of supernatural Creator. Whatever ethical concepts may flow from such ontology, it is the ontological concept—the affirmation of the existence of a certain type of God—which must be dominant and axiomatic in the religious system. Since the libertarian ethic is not necessarily grounded in ontological supernaturalism, it is not a religion; furthermore, the "Libertarian Church" is silent on the ontological issue.

Apart from the invalidity of libertarianism-as-religion, the Libertarian Church is bound to be offensive to two broad groups of people, and to alienate them from the libertarian cause. These are, first, the atheists, who feel contaminated by any sort of inclusion in a "church" or "religion"; and, second, religious believers—whether Jews, Christians, Moslems, or whatever—who will be deeply offended by elevating an ethical concept into a competitive alternative to their own religious beliefs. Since most people are either theists or atheists, this means that the Libertarian Church starts out as needlessly alienating almost the entire population, and as reading out of the libertarian movement theists and atheists alike. Come on, gang, back to the old drawing board! □

## Kidnappers at Large

There are kidnappers at large, roaming throughout the land, and the government of the United States, or rather of the several states, has taken a very ambivalent position on their dastardly deeds—in some cases even aiding and abetting them! We are not talking about the despicable deeds of terrorists seizing hostages, for they are generally reviled, and the government generally proceeds against them as best it can (despite repeated nonsense about how these gangsters are "gentle people" who are only trying to gain attention for their assorted grievances.) No, what we are talking about are professional kidnappers employed by parents who seize their children in order to "deprogram" them from a religious faith which they have adopted; since these religious cults are abhorrent to the parents, who are often repudiated by their offspring, and since the parents cannot persuade their children out of such religions, the parents have been turning to force and violence to kidnap and brainwash their children back into the "true" faith.

Sometimes, these despised cults are Christian sects; in other cases, they are Asian-inspired cults such as Hare Krishna or the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Whichever, the parents—often Christian—seem to have conveniently forgotten that Jesus called on his early followers to leave infidel friends and families in order to follow Him.

In any case, if children who leave their parents to make their own way in the world and to adopt their own values, are all to be kidnapped by force and coercively brainwashed back to their parents' arms, we will have a lot of kidnapping and a lot of home-prisons for American youth. The path of personal independence and freedom for all men will be wiped out by a theocracy that has no place in a land founded in a dedication to religious freedom. Parents do not own their children, and this return to the idea of divine right of parents must be combatted by all Americans, let alone those of us who are dedicated libertarians.

Neither has the excuse been used that these errant children are underage, and therefore—in the eyes of the State—below the age of volition and consent. The kidnapped children are generally over the age of 18, sometimes even over 21, and therefore have full legal rights in this

country—except, apparently, to join a religious group of which their parents disapprove.

At first the black Christian conservative, Ted Patrick, was hired by many parents for the task of kidnapping and coercive "deprogramming." When Patrick ran into difficulties with the law, the parents formed the Freedom of Thought Foundation (grisy ironic title!) to use the courts to force their children back under their coercive control. While efforts in New York have not been successful, the Foundation has now succeeded in California, where a Superior Court judge ordered five adult members of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church into the "conservatorship" custody of their parents, to have them coercively "deprogrammed" for a full month. (New York Times, March 25, 1977).

The parental argument is that their offspring have been "brainwashed" by the Church into becoming "robots" believing in the Church authority.

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## Roots — (Continued From Page 5)

individualism, not Kunta Kinte's tribalism, not Alex Haley's familism.

In the end, it was not the tribalism of Kunta Kinte that enabled Haley's family to triumph over slavery but the ingenuity, skill, tenacity, courage and sense of humor of Chicken George - an individual. And this is how it has always been. Individuals have kept man civilized - not races, tribes, nations, or families. But in their rush to stalk the graveyards of their genealogical past, Americans take flight from the present and from themselves, abandoning this hard-won moment in modern times to the primitivism of whatever ethnic gang manages to impose its will on the rest of us. It happens today when individuals are sacrificed to quotas and thus shaming everything the slaves - AND white abolitionists - struggled so hard for. □

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## America and 'Human Rights' — East Timor Division

The Carter administration's widely trumpeted devotion to "human rights" may be gauged by its support for the conquest and oppression of the country of East Timor by the brutal "pro-American" dictatorship of Indonesia. After Portugal abandoned its former colony, it was invaded by Indonesia (read Java, which in the late 1940's had coercively invaded and conquered the outlying islands). Since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in December, 1975, the Indonesians—in the course of suppressing the East Timorese desire for independence—have murdered 100,000 civilians, amounting to no less than 15% of the East Timor population. It is as if an external military force had invaded the United States and slaughtered 32 million Americans! A recent (Feb. 11) report on the East Timor situation, prepared for the Australian parliament by the former Australian consul in East Timor, calls Indonesia's actions there "the most serious case of contravention of human rights facing the world at this time."

The report points out that Indonesian soldiers have indiscriminately murdered civilians in the major towns, wiped out entire mountain villages, engaged in systematic raping and looting, regularly used torture to gain information, and bombed villages with napalm. This report, prepared by James Dunn, confirms a similar account gathered by the Indonesian Catholic Relief Agency operating in East Timor and smuggled into Australia last December.

In a shocked reaction to the Dunn report, Australian members of Parliament urged the U. S. Congress to hold hearings on these abominable actions by America's ally and client state. Hearings have been held during March by Rep. Donald Fraser (D., Minn.)

subcommittee on International Organizations and by Rep. Lester Wolff's (D., N.Y.) subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific, including testimony by Dunn himself.

Particularly interesting is the testimony of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert Oakley before the Wolff subcommittee in mid-March. Oakley revealed that the Ford administration had indeed suspended U.S. military aid to Indonesia after its invasion of East Timor (an invasion denounced by the UN, a vote on which the U.S. abstained), because its use of U.S. weapons contravened U.S. law. But, added Oakley, "in May or June, we reviewed the situation on the ground and found it was stable so we decided to resume military shipments to Indonesia." Besides, said Oakley, East Timor "has effectively become part of Indonesia." So, as long as the aggressor and butcher has become "effective" and "stable", everything is OK; what price "human rights" now?

But, even on his facts, Oakley is wrong, for while Indonesia formally annexed East Timor last July, it still controls less than one-fifth of the land, and only half the population, the rest being controlled by Fretelin, the East Timor independence movement. And yet, as Oakley stated, the tacit support by the Ford administration for Indonesia's conquests "is not being contested by this administration." On the contrary, the Carter administration is asking for an increase in annual U.S. military aid to Indonesia from last year's \$40 million to over \$58 million, along with another \$148 million in economic aid. Oakley maintained that if Indonesia should now use U.S. military aid in East Timor it would be merely defending its "own" territory.

(See *International Bulletin*, March 28, 1977. An excellent bi-weekly newsletter on international affairs, available for \$8 a year from P.O. Box 4400, Berkeley, Calif. 94704). □

## Kidnappers — (Continued From Page 6)

Yet in no case has any parent proven that his children have been coerced by the religious cult; the admission and training in the cult has in all cases been strictly voluntary. To apply the term "brainwashing"—as the parents have done—to this process is highly dangerous; for then, any conversion to any set of beliefs, whether Sun Moon or Randian, distasteful to one's parents, could also be called "brainwashing". If individuals have free will, as at least the Christians among the parents must believe, how dare any voluntary process be labelled as "brainwashing", and the free convictions of the children dehumanized in this repellent manner?

But while the procedures of the various cults are all admittedly free and voluntary, the "deprogramming" procedures of the parents are all admittedly dependent on kidnapping, on force and violence. Hence it is the parents and their hirelings who are the "brainwashers", and not the religious cults.

In the California case, the lawyers for the young adult Moonies argued that conservatorship is an infringement on their freedom of speech and religion and denounced the procedure for what it is: legalized kidnapping and browbeating. The young Moonies also read poetry and performed music in an attempt to convince the court that their creativity had not been diminished by membership in the Church (as if judges are proper determiners of creativity!)

Yet, in a truly outrageous and monstrous decision handing the Moonies over to the violence of their parents, Judge S. Lee Vavuris ruled: "We are talking about the essence of civilization—mother, father and children. There's nothing like it. I know of no greater love than parents for their children, and I am sure they would not admit their children to harm." Vavuris added that "The child is the child even though a parent may be 90 and the child 60."

And so we are back to the absolute rule of the parent—backed by the State—in a decision which even old Filmer (the theorist of the State-as-parent) might have balked at. Is everyone to be subjected to the absolute ownership of their parents, in the name of "love", even unto the age of 60? We hold no belief for any of these cults; but the issues at stake are no less than the First Amendment, and personal liberty for every American. □

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

The Oscars. About the TV show, the less said the better. It was dull, grim, boring, ugly, the least cinematic of the Oscar award programs. One longed for good old Bob Hope and his repetitious one-liners. As to the awards themselves, they were a titanic struggle between *Rocky* and *Network*, so close that even the knowledgeable Sidney Skolsky flubbed on three of his six major predictions on the winners. If justice had triumphed, *All the President's Men*—by far the best movie of 1976—would have won in a walk, and Alan J. Pakula would have won for his excellent direction. But the producers of APM had made the grave tactical error of opening the film at the beginning, instead of toward the end, of the year, and Hollywood forgets. As it is, we should be thankful that Jason Robards won the Best Supporting Actor award for his role as Ben Bradlee in *APB*, the most subtle acting performance of the year.

Given the freeze-out of APM, the victory for *Rocky* was something to be cheered, not only for the film's own substantial merits, but also because a victory for the disorganized and unfocused *Network*, would have been a disgrace. While Paddy Chayevsky's dialogue was crisp and often funny, deserving of his Best Original Screenplay award, the picture was inchoate and disorganized—to the extent that the mad rantings of the Peter Finch character alternated between acknowledged lunacy and the supposed searing "truths" hurled at the audience by Chayevsky. Basically, *Network* was Old Liberal Chayevsky turned indiscriminate rant against the contemporary world. Faye Dunaway, on the other hand, deserved the Best Actress award for a role that was cartoony and one-dimensional but still funny and abrasive, although Beatrice Straight's victory as Best Supporting Actress for a nothing role in *Network* was only the triumph of a big propaganda campaign in the Hollywood trade journals. John Avildsen's Director award for *Rocky* over Sidney Lumet for *Network* was certainly well-deserved, but the brief clips from some of Pandro Berman's glorious films of a Hollywood long gone only highlighted the enormity of Hollywood's decline in recent years.

Fun With Dick and Jane, dir. by Ted Kotcheff. With George Segal and

(Continued On Page 8)

## Zaire — Katanga Rises Again!

According to the American press, it's another "Commie" invasion of a friendly "pro-Western" African country, Zaire, based in pro-Communist Angola, and led by Cuban "advisors", making for Zaire's southernmost, "copper-rich" province of Shaba, once called Katanga. True to the traditions of contemporary American imperialism, the Carter administration flew in \$2 million of unauthorized "emergency" military aid—a rather odd request, considering that the U.S. has been giving the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire \$30 million per year aid for the last several years.

But the story is, in truth, far more ironic. For these very "Commie" Katangese troops are the last holdouts of a great secessionist rebellion that was the darling of the American right-wing all during the 1960's. How men forget!

In the first place, as in all of Africa, Zaire, formerly the Congo (Leopoldville), and formerly still the Belgian Congo, is not really a country in any sense, but a vast geographical region carved out as an administrative creation of Belgian imperialism in the late 19th Century. When Belgium was forced to vacate the Congo in 1960, various conflicting political forces stepped into the breach, both centralizing and secessionist. Most heroic was the Katanga secession movement, which carved out a tribal-based republic in that indeed "copper-rich" nation, headed by Moise Tshombe. The American right-wing, not usually prone to aiding secessionist movements (to say the least) latched on to Tshombe because the Tshombe regime was one of the very few authentic black nationalist movements in Africa that was pro-capitalist, being allied to the Belgian capitalists of Union Miniere, largest owners of Katangan copper. The Communists and their allies latched on to the centralizer Patrice Lumumba, while the United States, the CIA, and its allies in the U.S. capitalist-Rockefeller ambit put its money, aid, and support on the centralizing forces of Joseph Kasavubu and particularly on the Congolese army commander, General Joseph Mobutu. It took many years of maneuver and heartache, but, finally, with the aid of the U.S.-run United Nations army, and—as has recently been revealed—putting General Mobutu on a long-term CIA payroll, United States imperialism finally won out, succeeding in murdering both Lumumba and Tshombe, crushing Katangan independence, and uniting the Congo (now called Zaire) under President Mobutu.

The heroic remnants of the Katangese legion, headed by their general M'Bumba, fled to Portuguese Angola, where they first fought—as rightists naturally would—against the left-wing rebels and alongside the Portuguese. But the Katangese, as is even more natural, were less interested in the murky regions of ideology, or in the U.S.-Russian Cold War, than they were in their continuing long-range goal: the redemption of Katanga. Their main enemy was and is always Mobutu's "Angolan" brother-in-law Holden Roberto, also a long-term CIA agent, and head of what, in the 1975-76 civil war in Angola, became the "pro-American",

"free-world" National Front for the Liberation of Angola. The crushing defeat of Reberto was, for the Katangese as well as the "Communist" Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, a great victory. The several-thousand man Katangese army then proceeded on their next step—their goal of the last decade: the re-entry into "Shaba", where they were, inevitably, greeted by the Katangese as liberators, and where they hoisted the old Katanga flag. Katanga has risen again!

But oh how men forget! Read the conservative press, and you will find not a peep of recognition, much less of justification of why the heroic Katangan "conservatives" are now supposed to be lackeys of Cuban communism. And we find that even Belgium—whose capitalists have long since integrated into the Rockefeller ambit—has rushed military aid to the corrupt dictator Mobutu, sitting a thousand miles away in the Zaire capital of Kinshasa.

And the Carter administration, so hypocritically vociferous about "human rights", when they happen to be violated by Russia, where does it stand on the admitted systematic invasions of those same rights by the CIA stooge, the dictator Mobutu? Silence, or rather, mumbling about U.S. "national interests". And so the Cold War heats up once more, as the old Katanga cause goes down the right-wing Orwellian memory hole. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who admitted before Congress on March 16 that there was "no hard evidence" of Angolan or Cuban involvement in the Katangese incursion, called the fighting "dangerous" because loss of the Katangan copper mines "would be a very serious blow to the government of Zaire." No doubt; but the State Department spelled out the U.S. concern the next day by complaining that the Katangan fighting would "jeopardize nearly \$1 billion in American mining investments." Who said that there is no economic groundwork to contemporary U.S. imperialism? □

### Arts — (Continued From Page 7)

Jane Fonda. The critics have been billing this as a comedy in the grand old Grant-Lombard-Hepburn tradition. The very idea is a desecration. This is witless rubbish, crude and unfunny, apparently redeemed in the eyes of left-liberal critics because it is yet another ham-handed attempt at satirizing bourgeois American values of thrift, success, and affluence. It starts as a sort of mildly funny Jack Lemmon comedy about an upper-middle class couple trapped by a sudden dismissal from employment, but it then deteriorates into a boring crime caper movie, with Segal & Fonda obtaining money through holdups. I guess the point is supposed to be that business and crime are really identical. Segal is kept under wraps by the director, which is all to the good, but Miss Fonda walks through the role with no distinction or flair—a long come-down from her excellent acting in *Barbarella* and *Klute*. □

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## At The Summit

On the first weekend in May, the top leaders of the Western World, ranging from Carter to Giscard d'Estaing to Callahan, met in London for an "economic summit conference" that was supposed to cure all Western economic ills. The conference has been properly derided as a "non-summit" or "non-conference", with almost nothing accomplished except some more world-wide inflation and aid to undeveloped countries.

But an interesting note on the Conference was caught by Flora Lewis in the *New York Times* (May 9.) For the sum and substance of her article was that the Western leaders know darn well that the international economic and monetary order had collapsed, and that they haven't the foggiest idea of what to do about it.

Miss Lewis begins her article by stating that the summit meeting was another step in what all the countries concede to be the "necessary reorganization of the world's economic system." Bold words; why "necessary"? Because, "slowly, painfully, the leading economic powers have begun a stage-by-stage effort to reconstruct what they concede is the shattered format of a generation of prosperity that had no precedent in history". What she is referring to is the Bretton Woods format, imposed by the U. S. in 1944 and collapsed by the same U. S. in 1971.

Of course, the current international monetary system that Miss Lewis and the world's leaders are referring to in such despondent terms is virtually the Friedmanite Valhalla: a world of absolutely fiat paper moneys issued by each nation-state, with no common international money such as gold, and with exchange rates of all the moneys fluctuating in relation to each other. If it is a Friedmanite Valhalla, and there are no longer balance of payments crises, why are the world leaders upset? Because, as Miss Lewis points out, "the government leaders recalled the 1930's and the economic warfare provoked by the Depression, conflict that not only worsened that Depression's effect for all countries but also brought the social and political upheavals that led to World War II."

The government leaders are correct. The fluctuating exchange rates and national fiat money blocs of the 1930's indeed led to economic warfare, to competing devaluations, to protective tariffs and quotas, to exchange controls, to regional blocs, that lead directly to World War II, in Europe and Asia. U. S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull asserted as much shortly after World War II began.

In the same vein, Miss Lewis adds that, mindful of the "long-term dangers of life in a world of economic disorder," the government leaders "revealed how acutely aware they have grown of the need to replace a system that worked marvelously for nearly thirty years and then broke down." Well, here the acumen of the leaders and Miss Lewis slips a bit. Surely, no system works marvelously and then suddenly collapses like the one-hoss shay; the seeds of any collapse must have been prepared before, from some major flaw in the workings of the system itself.

In addition to the breakdown of the monetary system, the leaders recognized that something has happened to invalidate the old Keynesian diagnosis and nostrums, particularly on inflation and unemployment. Contrary to the Keynesians, growth and employment are no longer correlated, and inflation is no longer a tradeoff for unemployment, permitting liberals to opt for more inflation as an alleged cure for unemployment. For the London summit meeting has learned one vital lesson—or rather happily unlearned a false lesson of orthodox macroeconomics "Inflation does not reduce unemployment," the meeting's communique said. "On the contrary, it is one of its major causes." But if inflation is seen to cause unemployment rather than relieve it (a long-standing insight provided by "Austrian" economics), then the major excuse for the expansionary, inflationary activities of government is gone forever.

But, so long as the Friedmanite world of fiat paper moneys remains, there remains one great temptation if not excuse for monetary inflation: what was called in the 1930's the "beggar my neighbor" policy of inflation accompanied by depreciating exchange rates, which can offset a major effect of inflation by stimulating a nation's exports and injuring its imports.

While the summit leaders congratulated themselves on the absence of 1930's economic warfare, Miss Lewis points out the "gathering pressures to do just that." Increasingly, the governments—including the U. S.—have been pressured to block the flow of cheap, efficient imports through tariffs and import quotas: note, for example, the mass business—union pressure on the Carter administration to coercively restrict the imports of shoes, textiles, and TV sets from Japan and Taiwan. And, most ominous for the future is the program of the highly dangerous right-centrist French politician Jacques Chirac, the new Gaullist Mayor of Paris who has his own paramilitary force. As a supposed counter-weight to the Communist-Socialist left bloc, Chirac proposes to combat unemployment by inflating wildly, and then allowing the franc to devalue—in short, the very beggar-my-neighbor devaluations that so characterized the economic warfare on the 1930's.

Miss Lewis concludes that the leaders have no idea about what to do about all this: "they have not yet been able to figure out the new institutional arrangements that could replace the worn-out system and assure renewed well-being and political stability....Nobody has been able to devise a simple overall formula. So the leaders have taken to groping, experimenting with one measure at a time..."

While the bigwigs are groping, we can offer a solution, but of course no attention will be paid. The solution, of course, is a return to the pure gold standard, the cessation of government expansion of money, and purely free trade between nations. And that's for openers. □

## The Death of General Hershey

The headline sprang out at me on the morning of May 21: "General Hershey Dead at 83". Somehow I had thought he had died long ago, this man whom I have hated with a purple passion since I was a young lad. Let it be said right away that there will be in these pages no pious wish for a requiescat in pace for this monster in human form, this butcher, this mass murderer, this lifelong head of a mass kidnapping and enslaving organization.

Butcher? Mass murderer? Who was this man? Was he a Communist spy, or, perhaps, some old Croat or Latvian who was a guard at some Nazi concentration camp in World War II, pursued relentlessly by Simon Wiesenthal and Bella Abzug? No, dear reader, General Lewis Blaine Hershey was neither a Communist nor a Nazi; he was a 100% red-blooded American; so red-blooded that he served as head of the infamous Selective Service System for what seemed forever and ever—but was actually long enough: no less than thirty years.

My passionate hatred of Lewis Hershey remains to this day because justice was never served on this man; there was no catharsis, no Aristotelian purgation. No lightning ever struck the general as vengeance from on High; instead, he died peacefully in bed while about to attend graduation exercises in Indiana at his alma mater, Tri-State University.

It wasn't just that Lewis Hershey served as the eternal head of the draft; it was that he loved it so. Hershey couldn't have used the Eichmann excuse; the draft was clearly his life work, his monument. If, in all those three blood-stained decades (1941-1970), any murmur arose for a slight slackening of the rigors of the draft, Old Reliable Hershey could be depended upon to come roaring out, calling for what seemed to be the permanent draft of everyone, everywhere. The Hershey philosophy may be summed up quite simply as: "if it moves, draft it!" Or, we can take a look at one of Hershey's own favorite statements, where he perceptively linked up the draft, the income tax, and statism in one pithy package: "Outside the income tax," Hershey liked to say, "there aren't many things to make the male citizen feel much responsibility to his Government any more. The Selective Service is one of them."

Hershey's reaction to the anti-war protestors during the Vietnam Era was all too predictable, in keeping with the man's life work. His suggestion on how to deal with anti-war demonstrators: Draft 'em! Hershey's order to local draft boards for swift conscription of anti-war dissidents was too much for the American judicial system. The U. S. Court of Appeals called Hershey's action a "declaration of war against anti-war demonstrators" having a "chilling effect on free speech", which was a mild way of putting it.

But if the courts and anti-war dissidents were sometimes churlish in their appreciation of General Hershey, others were more forthcoming. President Truman awarded Hershey a medal for "administrative excellence during World War II", and similar medals were conferred on our Kidnapper-in-Chief by the American Legion and by Governor George Wallace, which somehow seems appropriate. But it was all the Presidents during this long era that bear the responsibility for Hershey's seemingly eternal place at the seat of Leviathan. Like his fellow tyrants and "conservatives", J. Edgar Hoover, chief represser of dissent, and Harry Anslinger, chief persecutor of drug users, special dispensation was granted Hershey from the usual age requirement in government, so that he could just linger on, and on, and on.

Actually, Hershey's career as Mr. Draft was even longer than thirty years. It began in 1936, when he was appointed to an Army-Navy war preparedness committee by an administration already yearning for war, and he was sent to travel round the world studying the draft in other countries (nothing like expertise, is there?) When the draft came in 1940, Hershey was named deputy director of SSS, and achieved his true niche as director the following year. Even after Hershey was finally relieved of command of the draft, cut down prematurely at the age of 76 in 1970, he lingered on still longer as adviser to President Nixon on—what else?—"manpower mobilization." Finally, at long, long last, the American public was relieved of the "services" of General Lewis Hershey when he was retired in 1973 at the age of 79 to the tune of a 17-gun salute given him by the Pentagon. We are supposed to be admiring, I imagine, when his obit writer tells us that from that time to this, Hershey "spent most of his

time at his Bethesda, Md. home, reading and writing about manpower questions." And so there he was, active to the end, ringing the changes on his beloved lifelong theme: "if it moves, draft it!"

But I should not give the impression that there was only one facet to this man's character, one string to his bow. For Hershey was also quick to try to anticipate war, and to fill the draft ranks accordingly. Thus, during the Berlin crisis of 1961, President Kennedy was surprised to find that old Hershey, without having to be told, on his own initiative had drafted a sizeable new group of men.

So what are we to say of a world where a Lewis Hershey is saluted, be-madalled, and enshrined in life-long power? Shall we join Homer and say that

Injustice swift, erect and unconfin'd,  
Sweeps the wide earth, and tramples oe'r mankind. □

## The Great Felker Caper

Oh, such sobs, such wails, such gnashing of the teeth! From the barrage of curses and tears, you'd have thought that Manhattan had just been H-bombed, or that Joe McCarthy had risen from the dead, or even that Zabar's, the gourmet delicatessen beloved of New York's West Side intellectuals, had just padlocked its doors. I wouldn't have thought that the Murdoch-Felker tempest in a teapot would interest our non-New York readers, but the affair made the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*, and they must know something, right? Or perhaps they, too, were caught up by their New York environment that has made this the greatest cause celebre since John Lindsay failed to sweep up the snow in Queens.

First, the bare facts: in early January, Rupert Murdoch, Australian-born newspaper tycoon in his home country, England, and the U.S., fresh from his purchase of the *New York Post* (which, by the way, caused little comment), bought control of the *New York Magazine Company* (NYMC), publisher of *New York*, the *Village Voice*, and *New West*. The sale came over the opposition of Clay Felker, founder and editor of *New York*, and head of the NYMC.

Next, the interpretation of the hysterical left-liberal clique in New York: Rupert Murdoch, evil capitalist, ruthlessly and despicably ousted the noble Felker, hellbent to replace Felker's sublime creation by tawdry and sensationalistic journals devoted to sex and violence. Cast in a Judas role for this transaction was left-liberal aristocrat Carter Burden, young Vanderbilt heir, whose sale of NYMC stock to Murdoch made the latter's takeover possible. The curses and sobs were punctuated by a two-day strike at *New York*, and by indignant resignations from the magazine by Felker himself, managing editor Bryon Dobell, and several leading writers.

The true story is considerably different from the Felkerian Morality Play. Only a year ago, a similar event occurred with Felker cast in the role of "bad capitalist", having purchased the *Village Voice* and ousted the seemingly beloved founders Dan Wolf and Ed Fancher. Indeed, Felker's loss of support began when he acquired the *Voice* and publicly humiliated Bartle Bull, who had been publisher of the *Voice*, and who, as part of the purchase, was now a major stockholder in NYMC. The main significance of Felker's arrogant treatment of Bull is that Bull was a close friend of Carter Burden, formerly the major owner of the *Voice*, who had now become the leading stockholder of NYMC. Bull and Burden had now become determined opponents of Clay Felker.

Furthermore, Felker compounded his problems by treating his own board members with disdain and contempt. But the underlying personal problems brought on by his nasty treatment of board members and stockholders was only the substratum; the main problem was Felker's gross entrepreneurial error in sinking a lot of money in two losing propositions: a national edition of the *Village Voice*, and especially *New West*, a West-coast version of *New York*. Felker began *New West* last April with an authorization by the NYMC board to spend \$1 million on

(Continued On Page 3)

## The Historians' Betrayal

### I: ROOTS

From the very beginning, Alex Haley's "Roots" was a suspect work, for it was described by Haley himself as a "novelized amalgam" rather than accurate history. But to justify fundamental errors in the books as being a "historical novel" is to miss the major point: namely, that the enormous audience and millions of dollars reaped by Haley would not have been attracted by yet another historical novel on the slave question. For the point that caught the popular imagination was the alleged success of Haley's search for his specific, concrete ancestors. If Kunta Kinte, Haley's alleged African ancestor, turns out to be a myth, in whole and in its parts, then "Roots" achieved its great success on false (even if not deliberately false) pretences.

The backlash against the "Roots" myth has already begun. There are two authors of historical novels who claim extensive plagiarism. But, most important for the basic Kunta Kinte myth, the extensive researches of Mark Ottoway, of the Sunday Times of London, has effectively exploded the legend that Kunta Kinte, alleged ancestor of Mr. Haley, was seized by white slave traders in the remote African Eden of Juffure, while chopping wood. Briefly, Juffure was not a remote Eden but a white trading post near the coast; no African was enslaved in places like Juffure, and none was enslaved by whites; instead, the whites purchased slaves shipped to coastal villages from inland by African tribal chiefs, who had enslaved members of rival tribes; the Kunta Kinte who disappeared (not enslaved) from Juffure, must have done so later than 1767 and was therefore not Haley's ancestor; and, in particular, Haley's alleged "griot", or native oral historian, did not tell him the story independently; the native had apparently heard Haley's grandmother's tale from a seminar of native tribal experts called together by the Gambian government. In short, the "griot" presumably told Haley what the latter wanted desperately to hear: allegedly "independent" confirmation of his grandmother's story. And finally, the alleged griot was a "notoriously unreliable" character who apparently was not a griot at all.

The interesting part of this story is how it has been handled by America's leading historians, supposedly committed above all to a search for historical truth. For "Roots" was, to most historians' ideological perceptions, a "good" book, taking the pro-black, pro-slave side, and furnishing blacks with pride of ancestry. In a conflict between historical truth and partisan ideology, which would win out? Need we ask?

Thus, Harvard Professor Bernard Bailyn wrote, astonishingly, "I don't think its importance rests on whether or not such and such a ship was in such and such a place. I don't give a damn if they don't find the ship he names.... This account is the author's perception of the meaning of slavery, and the account is one of sensibility. I don't think it turns on details. It turns on a state of mind...." It is true that Bailyn tried to cover his tracks by stating that "Roots" "is a work of fiction", but, as we've said, the public doesn't so perceive it; and, furthermore, what in the world is the stuff of history but details? Bailyn's statement comes dangerously close to saying that if the "sensibility" is good, then who cares about the facts?

And Yale Professor Edmund S. Morgan, after casually dismissing the problem by saying that historians always make errors, added that "errors about the location of the village are not very important—nobody will deny there was a slave trade." But of course the point of Haley's books, and his acquisition of millions, was not simply to point out that the slave trade existed. Again, as in the case of Bailyn, Morgan stated that "Roots" was someone's "search for an identity", which would retain a great deal of impact "no matter how many mistakes the man has made. In any genealogy there are bound to be a number of mistakes."

A particularly interesting admission was made by both Morgan and allegedly "scientific" historian, Harvard Professor Robert Fogel. Morgan put it that even "if they can prove wilful mistakes in 'Roots'", I guess I wouldn't draw very many conclusions, because I don't think the book will have a great impact on historians anyway." Or, as Fogel put it, after stating astonishingly that it would be wrong "to diminish the book" by pointing out many errors, and asserting that "the burden of proof is on those who bring the charges(?)", and admitting that there were many mistakes, concluded that "Roots" was a good historical novel, and that

"I never applied to it the standards I would have if it had been written by (historians) C. Vann Woodward or Oscar Handlin."

In short, what Morgan and Fogel are saying is simply this: "Roots" won't influence historians, who know that the whole thing is a novel, so who gives a damn if the dumb public laps it up as accurate history?

Probably the most candid apologia for "Roots" in a triumph of ideology over truth came from Yale Professor David Brion Davis, who weighed in with the following:

"One could take almost any history and go over it with a fine-tooth comb and come up with errors or points that are debatable. To be scholarly or pedantic, you can make all kinds of qualifications. The problem is we all need certain myths about the past, and one must remember how much in the myths about the Pilgrims or the immigrants coming here has been reversed."

Davis concluded with this shameful giveaway: that "Roots" had done much to redress the balance on people's views of slavery. "If it's on the right side...."

(All quotes and statements from historians are to be found in the New York Times, April 10.)

To their credit, a few historians stand out from the mire of gross betrayal of the historian's function. Harvard Professor Oscar Handlin sniffed at the Fogel-Morgan double standard: "A fraud's a fraud." Handlin added that:

"Most historians are cowardly about reviewing history books. The

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### Felker Caper — (Continued From Page 2)

getting it started; instead, Felker spent from \$3 to \$4 million, and compounded his sins by running up lavish expense accounts by himself and his staff, at which point Felker tried to obtain a raise in salary and added perks from his stunned board. To top it off, the harried "evil capitalists" on the NYMC board had seen their stock sin, in recent years from \$10 to between \$2 and \$3 a share. Is it any wonder that they had had enough?

And yet, despite these provocations, it was Felker, anxious to get the board off his back, who initiated a search for a buyer for NYMC. He wanted the Washington Post to buy the company, but the Post was only willing to go as high as \$7 a share, while Murdoch now came in to offer \$8.25, something like three times its "true" worth. Is it any wonder that Burden, Bull, and the other shareholders were happy to accept Murdoch's offer?

As for Murdoch's allegedly despicable treatment of Felker, he offered to retain Felker as editor, but the latter angrily refused. Furthermore, after the hullabaloo, Felker walked off with a personal settlement from Murdoch of approximately \$1.5 million—so that, in the immortal phrase, Felker was crying all the way to the bank.

Neither does the "journalistic integrity" argument against Murdoch cut much ice. Oohing and aahing about Murdoch's journalistic propensity for sex and crime news sits badly from a New York magazine that has indulged in plenty of sex and crime stories, and a Village Voice that is far raunchier than any of Murdoch's publications. Furthermore, the quality of articles at New York has sunk in the past year, for the previous New York-orientation of the magazine had been replaced by vague articles about the national scene—presumably a reflection of Felker's new preoccupation with New West. As Pete Hamill writes, in one of the few sensible articles about the affair ("Clay Preached Power, Flunked Practice," New York Daily News, Jan. 10): "In short, in the time of its decadence, New York Magazine had started to look as though it were edited in the Polo Lounge of the Beverly Hills Hotel."

As for bad guy Murdoch, we don't know what will happen to the magazines in the new situation. But one thing is clear: he was the only one to act calmly and sensibly, and to keep his cool in the whole kooky l'affaire Felker. And that's saying a lot. □

## The Tuccille Defection

Every ideological movement, large or small, successful or unsuccessful, has had its share of defections, and so it should be no cause for alarm or dismay that libertarianism now has another one to chalk up on the historical record. Our latest defector is Jerome Tuccille, who has chosen to announce his renegacy in the pages of *National Review* ("The Failure of Libertarianism", April 29)—roughly the moral equivalent of an ex-Communist announcing his defection in the pages of the self-same magazine.

In this brief, condescending, and poorly written article, Tuccille takes the line that libertarianism is "utopian" (a word repeated no less than eight times in a short piece) and fails to be "realistic" (also repeated eight times.) We are allegedly utopian and unrealistic in failing to embrace as well as accept the alleged permanence of the public school system, government fiat money, the income tax, and a pro-war foreign policy. We have failed because we are only a "utopian fringe group".

A particularly odd feature of the new Tuccille position is that when he himself joined the libertarian movement eight years ago it was far more of a "failure" on his own terms than it is now. The movement consisted of a tiny handful of people, a small fraction of its present quantity and quality. What is more, the very institutions that he now wants us to embrace in the name of "realism" are in much shakier shape than they were when Tuccille first converted to the cause of liberty. The public schools, formerly sacrosanct in the eyes of almost everyone, are now under general and widespread criticism, even among liberals; the income tax is facing intensifying and diverse forms of tax rebellion, from outright and organized refusal to pay to turning down of school bond issues; the gold standard is finding far more adherents among economists and in the Western world as a result of the intensifying world-

wide inflation since fiat money was totally established in 1971; and the pro-war foreign policy suffered a permanent wound from America's loss of the war in Vietnam. And yet now, in 1977, at a moment when the statist institutions he now calls upon us to favor are in a more tottering shape than at any time in fifty years, and at a moment when the libertarian movement is stronger than at any point in a century, Tuccille wants us to scrap it all in the name of "realism."

The most curious note of all is Tuccille's insistent charge that we are all hopelessly "utopian". The charge comes with peculiar ill-grace from a man who, only a couple of years ago, was writing books proclaiming that in a few years we would all be immortal, and that the whole world would soon be a vast Disneyland run by private corporations. Tuccille's vaunted "realism" may be gauged by the fact that he is now returning to a movement (conservatism) which has few adherents under the age of sixty. We may also consider the realistic fate of the Ford-Buckley ticket which Tuccille publicly endorsed in a speech before YAF last November.

And so Tuccille returns to the bosom of a magazine whose editor he had denounced years ago as an "authoritarian" while Buckley had dismissed him as a "semi-literate gentleman." Perhaps Tuccille and N. R. deserve each other, after all.

Meanwhile, the Tuccille case serves as a warning about the inner dynamic of right-wing opportunism. For beginning with a purely strategic difference, with an alternative way of arriving at shared libertarian goals, the right-wing opportunist all too often goes on to give up the principle as well, and ends up as...a writer for *National Review*.

Tuccille repeats throughout his article that libertarians denounce  
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## Betrayal — (Continued From Page 3)

whole idea of being factual about material has gone out the window. Historians are reluctant—cowardly—about calling attention to factual errors when the general theme is in the right direction. That goes for foreign policy, for race and for this book. I think it's a disgrace."

More specifically on "Roots", there have been honorable reviews by Professor Eric Foner in the leftist bi-weekly *Seven Days*, where Foner pointed out the prettified absurdity of "Roots" portrayal of African life. And, above all, Professor Willie Lee Rose, writing in the left-liberal *New York Review of Books*, demolished the errors of the African part of "Roots", as well as such anomalies as Haley's claiming that Kunta Kinte was sent to a cotton plantation in Spotsylvania County, Virginia at a time when there were no cotton plantations there (tobacco was the crop); and talking about wire fencing of the plantation when wire fence was not to be in use for a century. Professor Rose summed up these criticisms by pointing out that "these anachronisms are petty only in that they are details. They are too numerous and chip away at the verisimilitude of central matters in which it is important to have full faith."

It is good to see that a few historians, at least, can still preserve their integrity even when lured by the blandishments of a good cause, and even when assured that "only" the public is in danger of being duped.

### II: PROFESSOR ALBRO MARTIN, CONSERVATIVE

If one form of historians' betrayal is to jettison the truth on behalf of ideology, another, equally shameful, form, is to discriminate against explicit ideological commitment on behalf of a spurious "objectivity." Facts cannot present themselves. No historian can select or interpret facts without putting them in an interpretive framework which is implicitly ideological. Historians who scorn any ideology, and uphold the von Ranke goal of "writing history as it really was", ignore the fact that, in that case, written history would have to be an endless chronicle of undigested events, in fact an unselective Andy Warhol-type filming of everything, which of course would take at least as long to present as the original events themselves. In actual fact, the "value-free" von Rankeans who proclaim their own lack of ideology really have an implicit one: namely, support for the whatever status quo is being studied.

All this emerges from the fact that Professor Albro Martin has just

been made editor of the prestigious *Business History Review*, which under the editorship of Alfred Chandler and others has become by far the best scholarly journal in American economic history. Martin, while fiercely proclaiming his own alleged von Rankean "value-freedom", is actually a pre-revisionist conservative, in other words, someone who believes that the railroads were badly regulated by interfering bureaucrats rather than cartellized by the railroads themselves through the use of government. Martin's book on the railroads was eviscerated by the Friedmanite economic historian and expert on railroad history, Professor George W. Hilton.

Appearing at the recent annual convention of the Economic History Association, Professor Martin, in a workshop on the task of a business history journal, flexed his muscles. After saying that the *Business History Review* would be broad-based, Martin flatly declared that certain approaches would be "included out" of his scholarly journal. These comprised Marxist articles, and papers by "the Chicago School and the followers of Ayn Rand." Clearly, for Martin, pursuing his alleged dream of von Rankean history, Marxists, Friedmanites, and Randians are to be censored a priori, because, as "extremists", they violate the von Ranke criterion of valuelessness. On the other hand, it is apparent that, for Martin and his legion of colleagues, liberals and regular conservatives, being non-"extremists" and within the mainstream consensus, are by definition free of values (that is, of values that disturb the Establishment and the status quo).

In short, Professor Martin has brazenly and openly declared that, in the free and open marketplace of ideas, of the unfettered search for truth, certain approaches which stem from ideological frameworks with which he disagrees, are a priori verboten, regardless of what insights they may fruitfully deliver. Thus, despite his obeisances to von Ranke, Martin, in his own way, is eager to suppress historical truth on behalf of his own implicit ideological position.

In the discussion period, interestingly enough, one Mary Yeager felt "that it was unwise to rule out Marxist studies". Apparently, no one was there to put in a good word for those other extreme ideologists, the quasi-libertarian Friedmanite or Randian approaches. And so, the search for historical truth marches on!

(For Martin's views, see Glenn Porter, in the *Journal Of Economic History*, March 1977, pp. 236-237). □

## Carter on Inflation

by Richard M. Ebeling

One of two conclusions can be drawn from President Carter's anti-inflation program: either Carter's economic advisors forged their credentials and have never opened an economics book in their entire lives or they have purposefully put together a plan that ignores the causes of inflation and unemployment for political motivations.

Both conjectures seem to gain easy substantiation from a simple analysis of the main proposals for combatting inflation. In his news conference of April 16th, Carter declared that his package of anti-inflation proposals "directly address the roots of inflation and at the same time permit us to have expansion in our economy and a simultaneous reduction in unemployment."

What are the "roots of inflation" that his plan is to cure? Firstly, it is to see that the "combined total of private and public demands on the economy must not be allowed to exceed our productive capacity ..." It seems difficult to understand how "private demands" can exceed the productive capacity of the economy. For every "private" individual can only consume or invest what he himself has earned and acquired from productive activity, or what others are willing to lend out to him by foregoing present use of the resources themselves. It is only "public" individuals who have the ability, through the printing press, to increase the number of monetary claims to the existing amount of goods and services.

Carter appeared to perceive this by declaring "a firm commitment to have a balanced budget in a normal economy by ... 1981 ..." Why must a balancing of the budget wait until four years hence? Because the economy has been recovering, we are told, from the worst recession in 40 years and as "the recovery proceeds, the deficits must shrink and eventually disappear."

This is, of course, the old Keynesian remedy. The solution to depressions is an increase in "effective demand" via government deficit spending sufficient to induce full employment, at which point the taxes received from a fully-employed work force will be enough to cover all governmental expenditures.

The fundamental error in this approach lies in the fact that the types of stimulus induced by the deficits lay the seed of future unemployment. The goal of the monetary expansion via the deficits, in the first place, is to increase demand for output, thereby raising the prices of goods offered on the market. The increase in prices, assuming the prevailing money wage and other costs remain constant, enlarges profit margins for producers, acts as incentive for hiring additional workers for expansion of output, and, hence, increases aggregate income and employment.

The error in the analysis comes forward once we ask, what demands and which prices will increase? The added monetary expenditure due to the deficit does not immediately affect all firms and all incomes in the economy. The increased demand is for the particular goods produced in particular sectors of the economy upon which the government has decided to spend the money. It is true the enlarged government expenditure increases the demand for certain products and also, possibly the prices of those goods right away. It is equally true that at the existing money wages earned by those workers will enable them to increase their demand for various goods and services and enhance employment opportunities for others who come then to produce them.

What must not be lost sight of, however, is the specific chain of causality. It is only for as long as the government-induced demand through monetary expansion continues at a sufficiently high level that the subsequent results are forthcoming. Once the government demand for these particular goods was to diminish, the demand for those goods would decrease, the profitability of producing them would decline and the workers drawn into their production would find themselves facing future unemployment. If, at this point, money-wages are rigid downwards, there would develop a decrease in earned income that would have its "multiplier" repercussions in decreasing demand and employment in other sectors of the economy after a certain amount of time.

If the government, after having drawn labor and other resources into particular productive activities through increasing the relative demand

and price for that output, does not want these subsequent depression "symptoms" to develop, it must once more increase its spending for those products.

If the sector of the economy the government initially spent the deficit money upon had been experiencing unemployment and "idleness" because consumer demand had slackened off for those products, but wage and price rigidity had prevented necessary adjustments, then the same situation will once again appear after the increase in the money supply has "percolated" through the economy. For as the incomes of consumers come step-by-step to be affected through the inflationary process, they will spend their higher money incomes in a manner that reflects their preferences for the relative amount of goods and services on the market. Though all prices will tend to be nominally higher due to the inflation, consumers will again demonstrate their preferences by buying relatively more of some things and relatively less of others. Thus, while temporarily, increased monetary expenditure by the government via a deficit could increase the demand for a product for which consumer demand had slackened off, once the additional money passes into the hands of the consumers as higher money income they will spend it in a way that reflects their choices and which will again show that some products are now evaluated lower than others. That is why inflationary expenditures, for those products that have come to be relatively less valued by consumers, would have to be increased if those sectors of the economy are not to suffer from unemployment in the face of rigid money wages.

Does the Carter plan incorporate an understanding that unemployment is caused by rigid money wages in the face of changes in consumer demand for alternative products on the market? Does it perceive that inflationary processes in the economy are caused by monetary expansion by the government and that the misdirection of resources do to the inflation only makes the unemployment problem later on even worse?

Not one word appears that even gives an inkling that the causes and consequences of inflation are understood.

What is offered is a beefing up of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, with the purpose of "providing detailed and timely analysis of economic conditions in those industries and markets which are important to price stabilization." The Council will send "early warning" signals about "emerging bottlenecks, capacity shortages and other problems that; if left unattended, would lead to significant effects on domestic supply."

Changes in prices and wages due to monetary expansion must be seen not as the cause but as the effect of inflation. To provide "detailed and timely analysis" on the movement of prices and wages is to direct attention towards the symptoms of the problem alone. It indiscriminately lumps together those changes in prices due to monetary expansion with those that would have occurred anyway even without inflation because of changes in consumer preferences, and labels both as "inflation." It also assumes away the extremely difficult problem of determining which of these two causes has brought about the observed change, when, in fact, both materialize as changes in money prices.

To have "significant effects" on the supply side, the Carter plan suggests the establishment of commodity reserves under the sponsorship of the government. "When prices of raw materials and food fluctuate upward, the effects tend to spread throughout the economy, raising prices and wages generally," we are told. In periods of high production and low prices, commodity reserves would be expanded; then, at other times,

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## Tuccille — (Continued From Page 4)

everyone who disagrees with them as simply "statists" and "collectivists". This leads me to wonder whether Tuccille ever understood the subtlety of libertarian categories. Surely the above categories are too systematic and intellectualized to apply to Tuccille at this juncture. Rather the proper self-explanatory labels to apply to him are: "conservative", and "sellout." □

## Jesus and Marx

by Justus D. Doenecke

Review of Dale Vree, *On Synthesizing Marxism and Christianity* (New York: John Wiley, 1976; \$14.95)

Supposedly, if rumors are accurate, Harvard's most famous pop theologian, Harvey Cox, once had an audience with Pope Paul VI. The bearded and genial Cox was beaming, delighted to share his theology of joy with the Vatican. The Supreme Pontiff immediately scowled, looked up at Cox, and commented sardonically. "Young man. We have read your entire work and we are not amused."

Neither, it seems, is Dale Vree. A Berkeley-trained political scientist, Vree is currently a fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities at the Hoover Institution. He is an extremely versatile scholar—a social theorist who grounds his methodology in Wittgenstein, an anti-Communist who once sought the secular kingdom in East Germany, an Anglo-Catholic who reviews for Calvinist journals, a socialist (if a rather eclectic one) who finds God's actions in secular history mysterious, and a man of compassion who is not afraid to claim that heresy—by distorting the Christian faith—imperils one's salvation. His book not only is one of the most important political analyses of the decade; it is a work that, given our current foibles, absolutely had to have been written.

Why? Because some prominent Christian theologians not only search for points of agreement with Marxists; they baptize the class struggle and dialectical materialism as divine authority. Indeed, far more than the Marxists, Christians zestfully enter a "dialogue" that—because of its frequent one-sidedness—is really a monologue. Perhaps their seminary training has been deficient; perhaps they bear a sense of guilt for living in an affluent nation; perhaps they are acting out of the sheer hellish joy of it. For whatever reasons, they misconstrue the nature of their heritage and the tenets of the faith.

Of course we should not really be surprised. Christianity has often adopted the trapping of a culture-religion, and in our own time we have witnessed the ordination of lesbians, "God-is-dead" theologians, "freedom"-seders, and—that old standby—the power of positive thinking. Hence, in one sense, the Christian-Communist dialogue is more sober than much that goes under the name of religion, for the participants have to wrestle with some relatively sophisticated concepts. On another, however, it betrays Christianity at its deepest level.

Chesterton once wrote that "The Church is the only thing that saves us from the degrading slavery of becoming children of our time." Vree strongly concurs, declaring that the radical Christians are more interested in listening to "modern man" than in proclaiming anything to him. These "o.k. believers," involved in developing a religious form of radical chic, find God's action in "progressive" secular events ranging from environmentalism to the integration of pro baseball, and at times it appears as if the mark of real prophecy is to continually condemn the military, university bureaucrats, and all entrepreneurs. As the orthodox Methodist theologian Paul Ramsey has caustically remarked, the work of a "true" prophet is to continually castigate the right wing.<sup>2</sup>

Such hip theology, Vree claims, is rooted in a variety of ancient heresies, although we moderns—if we be whimsical enough—might find some of the revived belief-systems rather charming. There are the confident Montanists, whose founder—one Montanus—regarded himself as the Paraclete, or Holy Spirit incarnate. There are the ardent Pelagians who conceive that man is unstained by original sin, and the learned Gnostics who find in hidden knowledge the liberation of good people from an evil world. There are such soothsayers as Joachim of

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### Carter — (Continued From Page 5)

when production was low they would be made available "as a means of providing a more stable supply of farm commodities." There is a promise of a similar program for industrial raw materials and for negotiations to "stabilize" prices of internationally traded goods.

The belief that an increase in the price of a few goods must necessarily result in an increase in all prices is completely fallacious. With a fixed quantity of money in the economy, an increase in the price of a good and a consumer preference to maintain the same level of consumption of that good, simply means that demand for some other good declines and its price tends to fall. If the decrease in demand is not matched by a decrease in price and wage, unemployment would soon follow. What does cause a tendency for all prices to rise under these circumstances of price and wage rigidity is if the money supply is expanded so the fixed money wage can be paid.

Commodity reserve stocks are not a solution to inflation. Instead, they are a perpetuation of a particular vested interest. An increase in farm prices will be mitigated through the selling off of stocks but it doesn't consider the basis of that price rise. If it is because the demand for food has gone up the price should be allowed to go up and act as an allocative signal for farmers. On the other hand, if the price increase is due to monetary expansion, the selling off of the reserves merely hides temporarily the monetary effects at work. But the intention of placing a floor on commodities, as well, means that the income of that group is to be protected from adverse changes. The purchase of commodities for reserves during periods of falling prices would have two consequences. Firstly, increases in productivity and harvests would not be reflected in cheaper products for consumers. Secondly, the cost of buying up the surplus would be borne by the taxpayers for the benefit of the farm population and producers of raw materials.

Two other proposals in Carter's plan concern incentives for increased investment and expanded capacity and employment and manpower programs. The plan states "the rate of expansion of productive capacity must be stepped up to head off possible shortages." This would be achieved through tax reforms. The real key to investment expansion is not whether to have investment per se, but rather to insure that the right kind of investment tends to be carried out. Tax brakes or reforms that

subsidize or cut the cost of certain types of investment and plant expansions are not necessarily of the type that represents anticipations of what consumers will want at different points in the future. If taxing policies, instead of consumer preferences, guide investment activities the outcome will only tend to be distortions and misdirection of scarce resources.

Surely the same principle should apply to manpower programs as well. To say that we "can reduce both unemployment and inflation by measures which improve job skills, increase efficiency of the labor market and target job opportunities to groups suffering from very high unemployment rates" does not represent an awareness that what matters most is not job skills per se, not efficiency per se and not just jobs per se for those "groups suffering from very high unemployment rates."

What is wanted are job programs and apprenticeship openings in those areas that would be most likely to offer a stable working opportunity. Yet, where these opportunities are cannot be known unless the market is allowed to operate and show where the most profitable situations lie. But a successful working of the market in this area would require an elimination of minimum-wage laws and union restrictions that limit the ability of non-members to compete on the labor market. The Carter plan does not suggest reforms along these lines.

One heartening section in the anti-inflation plan pertains to government regulatory policy. "In the past," the Carter plan states, "Federal regulations have often done more to protect regulated industries than to promote efficiency and cost reductions ... The redirection or elimination of regulations that no longer serve national needs can lower prices for consumers."

No matter how pleasant one may find this possibility of movement towards at least some deregulation of the economy (assuming Carter actually means it and assuming those industries who would now have to face the cruel and harsh world of competition would not fight it), this has nothing to do with inflation. In fact, every one of Carter's proposed actions has nothing to do with inflation.

This becomes "perfectly clear" when we come to consider the common denominator behind the entire program. It is seen in the proposed role for

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## Jesus — (Continued From Page 6)

Flora, the Cistercian monk from Calabria who heralded an age of perfect freedom, angelic perfection, and total bliss, and Thomas Muentzer, the Protestant reformer who established his own secret vanguard, the League of the Elect, to slaughter those who opposed his revolutionary ideas.

There heresies, so claims Vree, are merely updated in certain theologians prone to dialogue. To his credit, Vree does not attack such straw-men as William Coats's *God in Public: Political Theology Beyond Niebuhr* (1974), in which an Episcopal priest proclaims that the Viet Cong was a "dynamic force in history" and one linked to the Word of God. However, Vree's treatment of far more formidable thinkers is so trenchant that the reader sometimes feels that the Mayo Clinic has been summoned to dissect a mouse.

Vree covers in detail the thought of the American Harvey Cox and the German Juergen Moltmann. He calls them both "modern Gnostics," for they find revelation outside church and scripture, deny original sin, and see God's Kingdom erected solely by human efforts. "The Coxian God," as Vree calls him, always helps, and never constrains, people; he is "whatever it is within the vast spectacle of cosmic evolution which inspires and supports the endless struggle for liberation." In fact, Cox's deity is not "a presence" but "presence" (deep! deep!), and the Messiah is "always the one who will come" (equally deep). The true Christian, writes the Harvard scholar, finds out "what this politician-God is up to and moves in to work along with him." Not only does this savant rejoice that God has become man's "junior partner," but he calls for a new appreciation of lunatics and deviants. "Some," he writes, "may be full of God." Little wonder that Vree writes with understatement, "Cox is profoundly confused."

The thought of Moltmann, professor of systematic theology at Tuebingen, is equally unclear. Vree notes that his "theology of hope" reads like a New Left version of Norman Vincent Peale, for Moltmann's God (if he exists, a point about which Moltmann is uncertain) lives only in the future. There is, however, one exception: God shows up wherever there is "godforsakenness" and remains so long as the "godforsakenness" is around.

It is hardly surprising that an editor of an Anglo-Catholic journal finds certain Christian theologians abandoning their heritage: what is astounding is that Vree sees some Marxists doing the same. For example, one revisionist Czech Marxist calls "reality a creative process for which people are responsible"—a rather un-Marxist notion. Another, the French Marxist Roger Garaudy, seeks a "capitalism that has human goals," "a purposeful capitalism." Most such revisionists either leave the party or are expelled; Garaudy, for example, was thrown out of the French Communist Party in 1970 because he protested against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Such apostate Marxists are far removed from the mainstream of the movement, and any dialogue that centers on them does authentic Marxism an injustice.

Vree is extremely perceptive in his analysis of contemporary theology. He correctly notes (along with Herbert Marcuse, by the way) that the two belief systems are incompatible, for both Christians and Marxists in dialogue place greater weight on concepts of human freedom than their ideologies can sustain. He sensibly comments that Christians can cooperate with Marxists in building a better society, indeed even become Marxists, provided that they do not proclaim that they are involved in redemptive activity by so doing. His sections on the young Marx, the Marxist revisionists, and the nature of revelation deserve wide reprinting.

Some of Vree's historical comments could use reworking, although his observations here are not essential to his main points. The doctrine of the Apostolic Succession can be interpreted far more comprehensively than Vree attempts, as shown by the arguments of such diverse scholars as Daniel J. O'Hanlon, S.J. and Robert McAfee Brown. It remains doubtful, the general comments of Franklin H. Littell notwithstanding, that it was theological liberalism, rather than class anxieties, that Nazified many German Protestants. H. Richard Niebuhr's *Kingdom of God in America* (1937) is hardly a "non-orthodox source."

Over-reliance on political theorist Eric Voegelin can present problems, both in Voegelin's sweeping claim that "the essence of modernity is the growth of gnosticism" (emphasis mine), and in the attention given to Joachim of Flora, this peculiar twelfth-century monk who so influenced

the Franciscans. Vree goes beyond any college survey of western civilization or of medieval history, in finding Joachim a "pivotal figure" in all Western thought, and even makes a parallel between his thought and that of Charles Reich—he of "greening of America" fame and *Consciousness III*. One also wonders how central self-deification was to the teachings of Feuerbach, Pelagius, and Montanus, and the degree to which Vree turns minor themes into major ones. Yet these are all scholar's quibbles. For the most part, Vree has done his homework and done it well.

The book is clearly written, with only a few lapses into jargon. One could still do without such terms as "dialogical phenomena," "earthly futurity," and "a fallacious immanentization of the Christian Eschaton." Explaining the causes of this peculiar dialogue, and of the strange turn it has taken, still awaits us. One hopes too that Vree would work on formulating a Christian social ethic, or at least indicate the norms that go into developing one, for he is obviously well qualified to take up the task.

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## Carter — (Continued From Page 6)

the Council on Wage and Price Stability, the plan for the commodity reserves, the push for investment activities and job training and in the call for deregulation of some industries. For the Carter administration, inflation simply means rising prices. Make workers more efficient and the cost influence on prices will be dampened; expand plant and equipment and supply will outpace or keep even with demand; collect food and raw material reserves to throw on the market when necessary and these prices will remain stable; deregulate industries and the new competition will keep a check on price increases in important sectors of the economy.

The central weakness of the whole argument is seen if we assume that all of Carter's ideas have been implemented. What would be happening to prices if workers were as efficient as could be given the existing knowledge and technology, if investment were at its limit given the amount of savings available in the economy and if all regulatory restrictions on markets were eliminated, but there continued to be increase in the money supply, either to cover government deficits or merely from the Federal Reserve System continually expanding the monetary reserves available to the banking system? Surely, one of two things would be happening, depending upon the extent of the monetary increases: either prices would be prevented from falling to the level they would otherwise have reached due to the increases in productivity and output, or prices would be rising in absolute terms. In either case, it would be the monetary expansion, and that alone, which would have pushed prices to a level above what they otherwise would have been. All the Carter plan could ideally achieve would be to influence some of the effects of the monetary increases. And even these, as proposed, would only, most likely, intensify the misallocations and malinvestments already being created by the monetary influences themselves.

If this analysis of Carter's program is correct, what purpose will be served by his call for industry-by-industry labor-management committees? What ends will the National Labor-Management Committee pursue when it meets secretly in Washington with its membership that includes George Meany of the AFL-CIO, Reginald H. Jones, chairman of General Electric, representatives of all the other major unions and executives from U.S. Steel, General Motors, Mobil Oil and Citicorp.? What will this "collaborative planning" between Labor, Business and Government bring about?

Well, perhaps, we should just remember how the Fascist Mario Palmieri explained the purpose behind Italian Corporatism:

"Within the Corporations the interests of producers and consumers, employers and employees, individuals and associations are interlocked and integrated in a unique and univocal way, while all types of interests are brought under the aegis of the State ... through these corporations the State may at any time that it deems fit, or that the need requires, intervene within the economic life of the individual to let the supreme interests of the nation have precedence over his private, particular interests, even to the point where his work, his savings, his whole fortune may need to be pledged, and if absolutely necessary, sacrificed ..."

## Arts And Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

Defense of Dirty Harry. Andrew Sarris, in a review of *The Enforcer* in the *Village Voice* (Jan. 24), presents a fine, insightful defense of Clint Eastwood and his Dirty Harry persona. Sarris asks how it is that New York left-liberals, while exulting in films of violence starring such actors as Dustin Hoffman and Robert DeNiro, balk loudly at the "violence" in the far less violent films of Clint Eastwood. There is, of course, the "right-wing individualism" of the Dirty Harry series, "directed both at vote-grubbing politicians and thrill-seeking punks." (An ideology that Sarris disapproves of but is willing to overlook). But Sarris perceptively sees that there is something more going on: namely, that as an actor, Eastwood is a strong, decisive, private person, while in contrast the anti-heroes of the films approved by the liberal intelligentsia exude their neuroses all over the screen. It is not that Eastwood "doesn't act", but that he acts brilliantly in the old heroic Cooper-Wayne tradition, only more so: by remaining firmly a private person, Eastwood as hero rises to the status of a truly heroic, almost mythic figure.

As Sarris writes: "The problem with his (Eastwood's) personality on screen is that he always seems primed for trouble, without any plot contrivances. He thus operates, outside his genres, in a world in which one trusts neither institutions nor individuals. From time to time, he tries to reach out to people, but he is never truly vulnerable. He always withholds something of himself from potential betrayers. It is the way the world is and the way it has been since he has known it .... It could be said that the Hoffman, De Niro ... action characters appeal to Manhattanites because these characters evoke psychology whereas Eastwood evokes mythology. There is something intransigently irreducible in Eastwood, some corner of his soul that no shrink can ever penetrate. And there is in this sense of mystery a very exciting presence on the screen."

What a great phrase: "some corner of his soul that no shrink can ever penetrate!" Into our neototically "open", psychology-ridden culture, Clint Eastwood comes riding as a glorious reminder of our pre-psychological era — both in movies and in the real world. Clint Eastwood is the Non-Psychological Man, a return to the days when "individualism" meant not only freedom, moral principles, and defense of property but also the guardianship of the individual's precious moral right to emotional privacy. May his tribe increase!

*Twilight's Last Gleaming*, dir. by Robert Aldrich. With Burt Lancaster and Richard Widmark. As an old-time adventure movie buff, I expected this to be a suspenseful, action-packed movie melodrama. It isn't! Instead, it's that well-known subspiece of a bad movie, an Unconsciously Funny picture. Burt Lancaster plays a nut, pro-peace general, who, along with two non-political things, breaks out of prison and takes over a missile base, Lancaster then threatens to blow up the world unless the U.S. government gives him \$10 million (to satisfy his comrades), and

reads over nationwide TV a secret document purporting to tell the truth about the war in Vietnam. Part of the unconscious humor of this film comes from the fact that the movie-makers, incredibly, are on Lancaster's side, seem to regard his lunatic actions as the work of an Old Testament prophet *redivivus*. Aside from the fact that the much dreaded secret document (which launches the Vietnam War only for purposes of "credibility") is hardly hot stuff compared with the real McCoy (e.g. the Pentagon Papers), as dedicated as I am to the cause of Vietnam War Revisionism it is scarcely worth threatening to blow up the world to advance the revisionist cause.

## Jesus — (Continued From Page 7)

In the meantime, Vree has given us an able account; the "Christian Marxists" will be hard put to answer him.

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# Libertarian Forum

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## Begin Begins

The recent Israeli election breaks all the tablets by changing the previous unbroken rule of Israeli politics since the inception of the state by the Labor party (or, more specifically, by the Mapai wing of the Labor party coalition). While Israel has a multi-party system and no one party has ever gained an electoral majority, Labor party rule came to seem almost eternal. That, at least, has been shattered.

It should first be pointed out that the election was no particular triumph for the Likud party and its probable new prime minister, Menahem Begin. There was no particular surge of votes for the Likud; rather, there was a collapse of Labor support, brought about no doubt by an accelerating annual inflation rate of 40%, extremely high taxes, and especially by a Watergatchish rash of financial corruption in high Labor places. General disgust with Labor led to the formation of a new party, the Democratic Movement for Change, headed by the archaeologist Yigael Yadin. The DMC's program is extremely cloudy, presenting an anti-corruption image, a push for a two-party type electoral system, and fuzz on the rest of the issues. The DMC took away enough votes from Labor to give the Likud the victory, though, once again, Begin will only be able to govern with coalition support.

The Likud is a coalition of parties, the heart of which is the Herut, headed from its inception by Mr. Begin. The Herut party is the successor of the Zionist terrorist organization, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, responsible for the massacre of Arab civilians at Deir Yassin and the dynamiting of the King David Hotel. To go back further, Begin is the heir of Vladimir Jabotinsky, the founder and lifelong leader of the Zionist Revisionist movement. Zionist Revisionism had two major planks: insistence on a Jewish State when official Zionism was still only committed to a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine; and insistence that the boundaries of that State be the maximal extent of Biblical Jewish territory—that is, on both sides of the Jordan, and roughly from the Euphrates to the Nile. Zionist Revisionism, then, is Jewish-exclusivist, militarist, and aggressively expansionist. That is the essence of the Herut program. It cares virtually nothing for domestic issues, and so it hopes for inter-class Jewish unity on some foundation while the eternal war against the Arabs is being pursued. Before World War II, Jabotinsky formed an alliance with Mussolini, and was enchanted with the class-collaborationist potential of the fascist corporate state.

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## Liberty and the Drug Problem

by Roy Childs

In discussing anything as controversial as the legalization of the production, sale and use of certain drugs, it is important to determine just what the problem is in the first place. For in recent years, the so-called "drug problem" has gotten unprecedented publicity. We are told, by intellectual, medical and political leaders alike, that we are in the midst of a crisis situation, that a phenomenon they call "drug abuse" is, to quote one national authority, "spreading like a plague," and that, therefore, it is incumbent upon us to take still further steps to stem the tide of rising drug use.

Few people in recent years have bothered to examine the problem down to its roots, and the result has been that few people—particularly those who determine national policy—are aware of the true nature and dimensions of the problem, let alone its all-important origin. The concept of a "drug problem," of course, refers to several interrelated things. First, it stands for what some people do with certain disapproved substances. Secondly, it refers to what other people think about their actions, and what these other people try to do about it. Finally, it refers to what happens to the first group of drug-takers when this group of drug-prohibitors act, and how they respond.

We shall quickly take up these questions. But first, some facts about the severity of the problem, why it concerns us. We have taken a special interest in the "drug problem" since 1960, or thereabouts. Since then, our ancient anti-narcotics laws have been modified and made much more severe. Studies have been done. Publicity given to both the use of drugs and punishment of drug use has risen to mammoth proportions. Yet since 1960 the number of "drug addicts" (referring here to the number of heroin addicts) has increased from 54,000 to about half a million. (Last year nearly 450,000 persons were arrested on charges connected with marijuana alone.) In New York City today, several thousand "addicts" are serving prison terms for drug related offenses, several hundred of them serving potential life sentences under the Rockefeller Drug Law of 1973. There have been hundreds of drug-related deaths in the last few years. An increasing number of young women have been driven into prostitution to provide for a steady supply of drugs. Many young men, particularly blacks, are now professional criminals, stealing from \$200 to \$500 worth of merchandise every day, to maintain a \$50 to \$75 daily heroin habit. Billions of dollars are being spent yearly to cope with "drug

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The other major party in the Likud coalition is the Liberal party, which is also hawkish on Arab affairs (though not as fanatically as the Herut), and tends to be diluted free-marketish in economic affairs—perhaps the best simile to American affairs would be to call them Javits Republicans.

How hawkish in the concrete the Begin regime will be it is impossible to say, but the idea bruited about in the American press that Begin's views will be "tempered by the responsibilities of power" seems to us like New York Times-ish pap which will not work for a dedicated ideologue like Begin. One thing is pretty clear: the major effect of the Begin regime will be to scuttle, for a long time to come, the dove plan that has been assiduously pushed by various elements in the State Department, by moderate anti-Zionists, moderate pro-Zionists, and moderate Arabs. Briefly, the dove plan is for Israel to return to its pre-1967 borders, with a Palestinian state to be established in the returned areas (the West Bank and the Gaza strip), in return for which the Palestinians would acknowledge the "right of the new Israel to exist". Presumably, the borders would be guaranteed by the UN and/or United States. But in all the mixed public/private dickering on the dove plan, it became clear to us that the whole idea was a will o' the wisp. There were too many ifs: thus,

Israel would probably not give up all of the post-1967 territories, but would insist on military bases and retaining all of Jerusalem, and Israel, while remaining armed to the teeth, would insist that the Palestinian state be demilitarized. It is hard to believe that the Palestinians, even if they could bring themselves to swallow the recognition of Israel, would ever sit still for being demilitarized while abutting on a militarized foe.

Be that as it may, we will probably never know, since the Begin regime undoubtedly will not agree to the scheme. We can expect in future years, then, a polarization of politics both within Israel and between Israel and the Arabs. Internally, the accession of the Likud might lead to a breaking up of the Labor party, whose main strength, after all, was its perpetual status as ruler, and perhaps move the leadership of the Left over to the Mapam party, which is far more dovish than the centrist-hawkish Mapai. The fading of dove hopes in the 1967 plan will bring to the fore hawkier groups on both sides; and we may expect a growth in the Palestinian militants of the Rejection Front.

Meanwhile, the big movement news is that the incoming Liberal Finance Minister, Simha Ehrlich, has asked Milton Friedman to come to Israel to be his economic advisor, and that Friedman has accepted. My own view is that the chance of Israel adopting Friedmanite policies is somewhere near zero. At any rate, things should be lively in the Middle East for quite a while. □

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abuse." Over 85,000 people have, over time, been given at taxpayer's expense, free methadone in a "maintenance" program.

Violent crime has risen incredibly; some experts estimate that at least 70% of violent crime, theft, muggings and the like, are drug-related. The United States government has become intricately involved in the internal politics of other nations, such as Turkey in addition to Southeast Asia and South America, to prevent the growth of one plant, which is seen as being at the root of the problem, namely, the poppy. Government corruption, particularly among police, has also skyrocketed, largely because huge bribes are offered by organized crime to allow traffic in "hard" drugs to continue. Our courts are clogged. Our city budgets are strained. Our streets are not safe, certainly not at night, and increasingly, not during the day, either.

All of this barely touches on the dimensions of the problem. It is no wonder, then, that the response of many people is to advocate harsher laws, to increase the punishment of those who use, or traffic in, drugs.

My contention is that this concern is unjustified, and the punishments unjust as well. To state my position plainly, there is no drug problem, which should cause political concern, except that created by the law. The only way to solve the existing problem is to abolish the drug laws, period. Indeed, every fact points in this direction.

There never was a valid reason to have had the drug laws in the first place, and there is no reason for continuing them. The only reason for their continuance which seems to make any sense at all is that the State is afraid to admit how wrong it has been, to face its victims squarely and honestly, and to turn away from a grievous error which has cost so many lives. The State, in short, has made our lives, and the lives of those who wish to use certain drugs, unnecessarily hard and trying, piling obstacle upon obstacle on the road to satisfaction and a content human life.

Long ago, we came to see that perpetual war between different religions would only lead to increasing pain and suffering for all concerned. The doctrine of religious toleration was born from that sorry experience. Today, tolerance of what different people choose to consume is next in line for re-examination. If only religious tolerance and peaceful coexistence could save us from religious wars, then only tolerance and peaceful coexistence between those who wish to ingest different substances can stop the drug war, a violent conflict between those who wish to use certain substances, no matter what obstacles are placed in their paths, and those who wish to prohibit their use of certain drugs, no matter what the cost.

To see why the problem has become as serious as it has, let us take a brief look at the evolution of our drug laws, and their connection with the problem.

In the 19th century, the century of individualism, individual responsibility, the century of great achievements and great personal liberty, there simply were no drug laws. And neither was there any drug problem. Indeed, as Edward Brecher writes in his comprehensive survey, LICIT AND ILLICIT DRUGS, "drugs (speaking here of the opiates, of opium, morphine and heroin) were not viewed as a menace to society and...they were not in fact a menace." Drugs were "as freely accessible as aspirin is today." Opium, of course, had been known for centuries. It was regarded as a virtual panacea, as was morphine, the chief ingredient of opium. In fact, the opium wars waged by Britain in the Far East in the mid-nineteenth century were waged to spread the marketing and use of opium.

In saying that opium and morphine were freely available during the 19th century, one is not exaggerating. They were sold over the counter in drug stores; dispensed directly by doctors, and with prescriptions; they were sold openly in grocery and general stores; they could be ordered by mail; and they were the ingredients for countless patent medicines, used for treatment of everything from diarrhea to dysentery, from "women's problems (as they were called), to teething syrups for babies. "One wholesale drug house (alone)," writes Edward Brecher, "distributed more than 600 proprietary medicines and other products containing opiates." Opiates were regularly used in most communities throughout America, and by some of the most prominent people—including noted temperance advocates, who fought the use of whiskey.

In England, for example, "Godfrey's Cordial" was especially popular; it was a mixture of opium, molasses for sweetening, and saffras for flavoring. Dr. C. Fraser Brockington reports that in mid 19th century Coventry, ten gallons of Godfrey's Cordial—enough for 12,000 doses—were sold weekly, and it was administered to 3,000 infants under 2 years of age.

In America, it was much the same thing, with up to 1% of the members of small communities using opiates regularly; today, they would be called "addicts," and imprisoned for several years. But there was no disruption of family life, or society, no crime because of the use, no pushers, and, far from making people indolent or lazy, as is so often charged, it apparently made it easier to work, to bear the stress and strain of everyday life.

Doctors favored opiates regularly. An 1880 textbook listed 54 diseases which could be treated by morphine. Doctors prescribed opium as a cure for alcohol addiction. As Dr. J. R. Black wrote, "It calms in place of exciting, the baser passions, and hence is less productive of acts of violence and crime; in short...the use of morphine in place of alcohol is but a choice of evils, and by far the lesser."

It is interesting to note at this point a certain cycle which has developed. Alcoholism was viewed as the major "drug problem" in the

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19th century, and opium was prescribed as a cure. Later, morphine was advocated by doctors as a cure for opium addiction. Still later, heroin was defended as a cure for morphine addiction. Today, of course, methadone is seen by everyone as a cure for heroin addiction, and an interesting thing has happened in recent years: in attempting to break out of methadone maintenance, many young blacks have turned instead to...alcohol.

But there was, in the 19th century, at any rate, essentially no problem. Today, with the dubious help of hindsight, people are fond of thinking that "they were all becoming hooked," without knowing it. But this merely causes us to cast a suspicious gaze at the vague concept of "addiction," which has never been adequately defined in the literature. Babies who used heroin and morphine in teething syrups did not become addicted, and there are too many cases of occasional users who did not become dependent, either. In our own time, qualified doctors insist that withdrawal, and therefore "breaking away" from heroin, is at least as much a psychological phenomenon as it is a physical one, and that many of the problems result from going "cold turkey," in any case.

If the opiates—opium, morphine, and heroin (which was only synthesized from morphine in 1898)—were no problem in the 19th century, then why the laws?

There is a very interesting story here, one which we cannot, unfortunately, tell in any detail. Edward Brecher writes:

Opiates taken daily in large doses by addicts were not a social menace under 19th century conditions, and were not perceived as a menace. Opium, morphine and heroin could be legally purchased without a prescription, and there was little demand for opiate prohibition. But there was one exception to this general tolerance of the opiates. In 1875, the City of San Francisco adopted an ordinance prohibiting the smoking of opium in smoking-houses or "dens".

The roots of this ordinance were racist rather than health-oriented, and were concerned with what is today known as "life-style." Opium smoking was introduced into the United States by tens of thousands of Chinese men and boys imported during the 1850's and 1860's to build the great Western railroads. The Chinese laborers then drifted into San Francisco and other cities, and accepted employment of various kinds at low wages—giving the rise to waves of anti-Chinese hostility.

Here, as elsewhere, we see the insidious effects of labor unions, as we do in the case of the first immigration laws. The unions wanted to inhibit competition and exclude Chinese altogether from emigrating to America. The 1875 San Francisco law failed to achieve its purpose. Instead, the habit was merely indulged in "underground," less openly, in unsanitary conditions.

In 1883, in an attempt to discourage Chinese use of opium, Congress raised the tariff on opium from \$6 to \$10 a pound, but even this failed to curb the use of smoking opium. So in 1887, Congress prohibited the importation of smoking opium altogether, and prohibited the importation of any kind of opium by Chinese, but not by Americans. In 1890, it prohibited the manufacture of smoking opium by anyone who was not an American citizen.

The result, of course, was that massive smuggling developed, and that opium dens—favored by Orientals over the other ways of imbibing opiates favored by Americans, were driven gradually underground. From then until 1914, 27 states and cities had passed laws against opium smoking—but only smoking.

Thomas Szasz, in his magnificent work *CEREMONIAL CHEMISTRY: THE RITUAL PERSECUTION OF DRUGS, ADDICTS AND PUSHERS*, tells us a bit more about the racism and union-involvement in prohibiting smoking opium.

At its first meeting in 1881, the first act of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was to condemn the Chinese cigarmakers of California and to urge that only union-label cigars be bought. Nor were the leaders of the Federation, which became the American Federation of

Labor in 1886, content merely to sanction the movement against the Chinese. They became, in the words of Herbert Hill "the most articulate champions of the anti-Oriental cause in America." The general who led this wave of the American working man against the Chinese coolie was Samuel Gompers, the president of the AFL except for a single year, from its founding in 1886 until his death in 1924. Although an immigrant Jew who espoused socialist ideals and spouted the rhetoric of the solidarity of the toiling masses, he became a major spokesman in America for concepts of racial superiority, especially in labor.

In 1902, Gompers published a pamphlet, co-authored with Herman Gutstadt, another official of the AFL, entitled *SOME REASONS FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION: MEAT VS RICE, AMERICAN MANHOOD AGAINST ASIATIC COOLIEISM - WHICH SHALL SURVIVE?* The pamphlet was written at the behest of the Chinese Exclusion Convention of 1901, its purpose being to persuade Congress to renew the Act, which was due to expire the following year (it was renewed). In this document, Gompers declares that "the racial differences between American whites and Asiatics would never be overcome. The superior whites had to exclude the inferior Asiatics by law, or, if necessary, by force of arms...The Yellow Man found it natural to lie, cheat and murder and 99 out of every 100 Chinese are gamblers."

The opium issue was raised by Gompers in the service of his racist goals. He used it as a spectre to try to scare Americans into prohibiting Chinese immigration and competition for jobs. There is, in fact, no other reason for the passage of our major narcotics law than this.

Even though between the 1890's and 1914, there was evidence of a decline in "opium addiction," in 1914 Congress passed the infamous Harrison Narcotics Act, which established stiff government controls over the marketing of opiates, and which was, Edward Brecher tells us, subsequently interpreted in a prohibitionist fashion.

For the first time, we had a real narcotics problem, along with the first reports of crimes committed by "addicts," to obtain the drugs.

The Harrison Act went into effect in 1915. Here are two medical journals describing its effects:

The really serious results of this legislation...will only appear gradually and will not always be recognized as such. These will be the failures of promising careers, the disrupting of happy families, the commission of crimes which will never be traced to their real cause, and the influx of many who would otherwise live socially competent lives, into hospitals for the mentally disordered.

(from *NEW YORK MEDICAL JOURNAL*, May 15, 1915)

This next quotation is from *AMERICAN MEDICINE*, November 1915: Narcotic drug addiction is one of the gravest and most important questions confronting the medical profession today. Instead of improving conditions the laws recently passed have made the problem more complex.

(This report goes on to stress the breaks which occurred between addicts and their doctors, the crimes to which they would be forced to turn—including prostitution, in the case of women—to secure a supply of the drugs. It spoke of the types of places and people which the addicts would be forced to deal with, concluding, among other things, that "afflicted individuals are under the control of the worst elements of society". All this in less than one year.)

The problems became so readily apparent that in 1918, the Secretary of the Treasury appointed a committee to look into the newly-created problem. To combat the numerous new "problems," it called for sterner enforcement and recommended more state laws patterned after the Harrison Act. Congress responded by tightening up the Harrison Act. The importation of heroin was prohibited altogether, even for medical purposes. "This legislation," writes Brecher, "grew out of the widespread misapprehension that, because of the deteriorating health, behavior and status of addicts following passage of the Harrison Act and

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the subsequent conversion of addicts from morphine to heroin, heroin must be a much more damaging drug than opium or morphine." The truth, of course, is that heroin morphine heated in the presence of acetic acid, and the body reconverts it back into morphine after it has been ingested. The deteriorating "health, behavior and status" of an addict should, then, be considered a consequence of the law, rather than of particular drugs. More, precisely it was and is a consequence of the habitual use of drugs in a particular legal-political-economic situation.

Another result of the Act was that by 1938, 25,000 physicians had been arraigned on narcotics charges, and 3,000 served prison sentences. This may very well have been what changed the mind of the medical profession on the opiates. For even as late as 1926, the Illinois Medical Journal said that:

The Harrison Narcotics law should never have been placed upon the statute books of the United States...As is the case with most prohibitive laws...this one fell far short of its mark. So far, in fact, that instead of stopping the traffic, those who deal in dope now make double their money from the poor unfortunates upon whom they prey...As to the Harrison Narcotics Act, it is as with prohibition (of alcohol) legislation. People are beginning to ask, "Who did that, anyway?"

As in the case of liquor prohibition, certain people fought very hard to prevent that question from being asked too often, too publicly. But by 1936, an outstanding police authority, August Vollmer, had, as Brecher points out, "reached the same conclusion."

Stringent laws, spectacular police drives, vigorous prosecution, and imprisonment of addicts and peddlers have proved not only useless and enormously expensive as means of correcting this evil, but they are also unjustifiably and unbelievably cruel in their application to the unfortunate drug victims. Repression has driven this vice underground and produced the narcotic smugglers and supply agents, who have grown wealthy out of this evil practice and who, by devious methods, have stimulated traffic in drugs. Finally, and not the least of the evils associated with repression, the helpless addict had been forced to resort to crime in order to get money for the drug which is absolutely indispensable for his comfortable existence.

Nonetheless, by 1970, Congress had passed 55 federal laws to straighten out and strengthen the Harrison Act. The punishments were continually stiffened: in 1909, 2 years was the maximum for violation of any narcotics law; by 1914, it was 5 years; by 1922, 10 years. Subsequently, with state laws, the number grew from 20, 40, and 90 years; with the death penalty and life imprisonment coming in during the 1960's and 1970's. Minimum sentences, too, were continually raised. Every form of treatment has failed, including methadone maintenance. There are more problems today than ever before.

Surely, then, to have gone to such trouble, Congress must have had some profound insight into the harmful affects of heroin, morphine and opium. Nothing could be further from the truth. And one of the things which surprised me most in doing my research for this, was that I found it impossible to precisely identify any significantly harmful effects of the opiates per se. A 1962 decision of the Supreme Court maintained that:

To be a confirmed drug addict is to be one of the walking dead...The teeth have rotted out, the appetite is lost, and the stomach and intestines don't function properly. The gall bladder becomes inflamed; eyes and skin turn a bilious yellow; in some cases membranes of the nose turn a flaming red; the partition separating the nostrils is eaten away - breathing is difficult. Oxygen in the blood decreases; bronchitis and tuberculosis develop. Good traits of character disappear and bad ones emerge. Sex organs become affected. Veins collapse and liver purplish scars remain. Boils and abscesses plague the skin, gnawing pain racks the body. Nerves snap; vicious twitching develops. Imaginary and fantastic fears blight the mind and sometimes complete insanity results. Oftentimes, too, death comes - much too early in life...Such is the torment of

being a drug addict; such is the plague of being one of the walking dead.

Brecher concludes, however, that "the scientific basis for this opinion...is not easy to find." He quotes a key study, that made by Dr. George H. Stevenson and his British Columbia Associates.

When we began this project, it was immediately apparent to us that the actual deleterious effects of addiction on the addict, and on society, should be clearly understood...To our surprise we have not been able to locate even one scientific study on the proved harmful effects of addiction.

They searched through THE TRAFFIC IN NARCOTICS, written by the United States Commissioner of Narcotics, Harry Anslinger, who began his career as a prohibition agent. Yet that study only had one reference to the alleged harmful affects, a quote from another authority who referred to a "decrease in the potential social productivity of the addict." But even this was not supported by any scientific evidence. So Stevenson and associates wrote to the key authorities in the field:

They indicated, in their reply, that there was no real evidence of brain damage or other serious organic disease resulting from the continued use of narcotics (morphine and related substances), but that there was undoubted psychological and social damage. However, they made no differentiation between such damage as might be caused by narcotics and that which might have been present before addiction, or might have been caused by other factors. Moreover, they were unable to direct us to any actual studies on the alleged harmful effects of narcotic drugs.

Neither the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs nor the Canadian Government's Department of Health and Welfare were able to produce such studies, either. In fact, each seems to have taken the alleged harmful effects for granted, even though all the evidence points to one conclusion, and one conclusion alone: that nearly all of the deleterious effects which are attributed to opiates, such as heroin, indeed, as Brecher writes, "seem to be the effects of the narcotics laws instead."

Hepatitis and other diseases were caused by the use of unsterile syringes in injecting heroin—a practice, incidentally, made necessary only because American heroin is only 3 or 4% pure. Diseases were transferred from addict to addict by the same method. Teeth were rotted, when they were, because of inadequate dental care, usually caused by the addicts' spending their money on heroin, instead. Skin discoloration apparently is caused by the unsanitary surrounding of most addicts, and by malnutrition, which is again caused by the expensiveness of the habit. Addicts cannot usually hold jobs, because of the uncertainty of not knowing where the next fix is coming from. Similarly with the other claims. In rare cases when addicts have been able to obtain a regular supply, at modest prices, there are no apparent harmful effects.

Dr. William Halstead, for example, often called one of the fathers of American surgery, and a founder of the Johns Hopkins Medical Center, was a morphine addict throughout most of his adult life—more than thirty years. And yet, during this time, not only did no one, except a few close friends, know that he was an addict, he performed some of his most brilliant operations, dying only in his late 70's. Similarly, with American soldiers in Vietnam, commanding officers could not tell who was addicted to heroin and who was not; it took a urine test to find out. The evidence is overwhelming: in the absence of scientific tests, or the familiar heroin "tracks", it is virtually impossible to tell an addict from a nonaddict in terms of physical appearance or behavior. Controlled tests have shown that there is no organic damage when opiates are used over a long time, and that there is no intellectual deterioration, either. Some cases, in fact, point to the opposite conclusion! Prominent doctors, lawyers, politicians—a great many people—have been addicts for most of their lives, with no impairment of functioning capacities.

As Edward Brecher concludes: "There is general agreement throughout the medical and psychiatric literature that the overall effects of opium, morphine, and heroin on the addict's mind and body under conditions of low price and ready availability are on the whole amazingly bland." These conditions are what our proposed remedy to the problem would allow to flourish.

The subject of price should be briefly taken up. In the 19th century, an "addict" paid an average of 2.5¢ per day for 2 or 3 grains of morphine.

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## Drug Problem — (Continued From Page 4)

Until recently, because of the narcotics laws, a typical "bag" contains 10 milligrams, or 1/6 of a grain of heroin. The cost per day: \$30-\$50. But lately the prices have been rising. In England, last year, the pharmacy cost of heroin was 4¢ per grain (60 mg.), while in the U. S., because of the narcotics laws, the street price is \$30 to \$90 per grain.

This indeed shows us part of the reason why the narcotics traffic is not likely to be stopped. For the raw materials cost of a \$5 bag of heroin is roughly a quarter of a cent. This is what it can be purchased for overseas. The markup is, of course, several thousand percent, all of which goes to importers, processors, wholesalers, cops, and pushers. It is big business indeed, amounting to several billion dollars a year. Moreover, import controls are completely ineffective. To supply half a million addicts with 40 milligrams apiece per day takes less than 50 pounds of heroin a day—less than ten tons a year. But, as Brecher notes, there are 100,000,000 tons of goods imported into the U. S. every year, and more than 200,000,000 people entering the U. S. through customs every year. Trying to find such a small amount is very improbable, indeed. Those who get caught are usually those outside of organized crime, who are informed on by competitors, who know every inch of the heroin market inside out.

Let's summarize what we have seen so far. We have seen that opiates were no problem in the 19th century, and that the problem began with the drug laws; before the laws, opiates were freely available, over the counter, by mail, *ad infinitum*. Moreover, the first laws were racist in origin, which motivation was quickly forgotten. The laws created the problem with addicts and crime, and the response over the years to this problem has made matters still worse by escalating punishments.

We have seen that the drugs themselves are apparently not terribly physically harmful, and that people can function on them normally, without difficulty, when they have the drugs. On a free market, they would be readily available, and a habit could be maintained for probably less than 50¢ a day.

The problem with price comes when the drugs are illegal, which makes the drugs difficult to obtain, causing skyrocketing prices. This in turn disrupts the addict's life, making it hard for him to function normally and, with the high prices, pushes the addict towards a life of crime, and even prostitution in the case of women. Because fencing stolen goods brings a return of only a fraction of the cost of goods, to support a \$50 a day habit an addict must steal \$200 worth of loot a day. The high risk caused by intensive legal penalties, leads to an increased possibility of violence, as does the addict's fundamental anxiety and uncertainty about finding a way to obtain the drugs. This high risk in turn guarantees high profits for those who deal in drugs, and increases the probability of massive police corruption. The laws lead to both an increase in violent crime, and in the costs of maintaining a large police force.

Now when we combine all this with the widespread destruction of addicts' lives, both in jail and out, one might think that we have a pretty good case for abolishing the drug laws. We have seen, after all, that it is probably unlikely that the drug traffic can be stopped; we know that the attempt to stop it has entangled the American government, including the CIA, in the internal affairs of other nations; we know that all policies have merely made matters worse. But still some people are not convinced.

First, they tell us that we must stop it because the addicts are harming themselves. This an odd position; drugs harm people, we are told, but prison doesn't? We are told that we must get pushers off the streets. But pushers are on the street acting like salesmen, only because of the incredible profits that are there to be made. Moreover, the biggest pusher in terms of the biggest advertiser of drugs, is certainly the U. S. government, which creates the illusion, with its frantic concern, of drugs being a "forbidden fruit." Moreover, the media will continue to advertise drugs as long as they are illegal, by publicizing arrests, and thereby making people wonder "why would they risk so much just to use those

drugs?" Ergo the laws provide two sources of free advertising. Free advertising, and enormous profits...

In discussing the issue so far, I have purposely steered clear of the major libertarian argument for legalization of drugs. That is because I wanted to look at the evidence, first. Now to the most basic question; what is the libertarian solution to the problem? It is, in brief, to legalize drugs, not merely the use, but the production and sale of drugs—all drugs, including heroin—without prescription, so long as they are correctly labelled. (And not to tax them, besides. There is something obscene about the government attempting to gain revenue by looting those whose lives it has made miserable in the first place, by prohibiting precisely those drugs which it now proposes to tax.) Libertarians advocate such a position for a reason having nothing to do with the effects of such drugs. For libertarians, every man owns his own body, and no man owns the body of any other man. Everyone, by this view, is a self-owner, and should be permitted to do whatever he wishes, so long as he does not use or threaten force against others. If a man owns his own body, then he has the right to put in it whatever he chooses, and must be held responsible for the results.

In the area of drugs, this is nothing more nor less than what Thomas Szasz calls the "right to self-medication." If a person is harmed by a substance he chooses to consume, then at least that harm is the direct result and consequence of his choices and actions. This is part and parcel of a natural law ethic. To substitute the harm of the State for self-harm is grotesque, indeed. Everyone, then, has the right to use drugs, even though it may be unwise or unhealthy to do so. This, in brief, is the libertarian position. It is nothing more than *laissez-faire* capitalism in the realm of the production, exchange and use of chemical substances. It is fitting, therefore, to quote from the late Professor Ludwig von Mises, who wrote in his masterwork, *HUMAN ACTION*:

Self-styled "realistic" people fail to recognize the immense importance of the principles implied. They contend that they do not want to deal with the matter from what, they say, is a philosophic and academic point of view. Their approach is, they argue, exclusively guided by practical considerations. It is a fact, they say, that some people harm themselves and their innocent families by consuming narcotic drugs. Only doctrinaires could be so dogmatic as to object to the government's regulation of the drug traffic. Its beneficent effects cannot be contested.

However, the case is not so simple as that. Opium and morphine are certainly dangerous, habit forming drugs. But once the principle is admitted that it is the duty of government to protect the individual against his own foolishness, no serious objections can be advanced against further encroachments. A good case could be made out in favor of the prohibition of alcohol and nicotine. Any why limit the government's benevolent providence to the protection of the individual's body only? Is not the harm a man can inflict on his mind and soul even more disastrous than any bodily evils? Why not prevent him from reading bad books, and seeing bad plays, from looking at bad paintings and statues and from hearing bad music? The mischief done by bad ideologies, surely, is much more pernicious, than that done by narcotic drugs.

These fears are not merely imaginary spectres terrifying secluded doctrinaires. It is a fact that no paternal government, whether ancient or modern, ever shrank from regimenting its subjects' minds, beliefs and opinions. If one abolishes man's freedom to determine his own consumption, then one takes all freedoms away. The naive advocates of government interference with consumption delude themselves when they neglect what they disdainfully call the philosophical aspect of the problem. They unwittingly support the case of censorship, inquisition, religious intolerance, and the persecution of dissenters\*.

In short abolish the drug laws. Give Liberty her head. She will solve our problems aright if anything can. □

\* Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action* (3rd Rev. Ed., Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1966), pp. 733-734.

# Power, Obedience and Education: a Review Essay

by Joseph R. Stromberg

Free Life Editions of New York has emerged to meet a growing interest in libertarian and anarchist literature, classic and contemporary. As shown by the three works reviewed below, Free Life is not guided by narrow, sectarian criteria of what is "libertarian."

## The State, the Negation of Humanity

The republication of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State* makes an important study available to students of politics and history. In stark contrast to most imperial German scholarship Oppenheimer looked skeptically into the origins of the state itself. His approach shows the influence of the conflict school and that of Marx and Weber.

For Oppenheimer sociology clearly has the character of "universal lessons of history" (to use Ludwig von Mises' phrase). His chief dictum is that every state originates in conquest—"begotten in and of aggression" as Spencer said. The state has never sprung up by free contract or to meet social needs; nor is it the quasi-divine means of holding anarchic "civil (bourgeois) society" together (after Hegel).

On the contrary, the state typically begins with the conquest of peaceful peasants by warlike nomads. The conquerors retain the tillers of the soil as serfs or slaves, parcel out the land amongst themselves, and become an aristocracy "sovereign" over the territory they control by arms. As a "materialist" student of history, Oppenheimer was a realist and no romancer of the "idea" the state supposedly embodies. He defines the state as a territorial institution for "the economic exploitation of the vanquished by the victors." Every state is thus a class state. The state is the "organization" of the "political means" to wealth (seizure of what others have produced), fundamentally opposed to the peaceful "economic means" (production and exchange).

Oppenheimer carries forward a radical reading of the physiocratic and

natural law distinction between "natural order" or "society" and "artificial order" or "state." But unlike Locke, Smith, Turgot and Rousseau, whom he severely criticizes, Oppenheimer denies that modern society's grossly unequal distribution of property, especially in land, could have come about through the "natural" working of economic laws. The Enlightenment thinkers had chosen to draw this unnecessary conclusion.

The "political means" disrupted and undercut liberal dreams of peace, freedom and prosperity since the state preceded liberalism and was only partly modified by the liberal Revolutions of 1776 and 1789. Extra-economic coercion, not some "primitive accumulation of capital," led to the imperfect, monopolistic "capitalist" present. In so arguing Oppenheimer breaks with both "bourgeois" (Establishment) apologists and Marxists. The latter admit, even stress, the role of force in "primitive accumulation"—force which crucially altered the outcome of economic process—but save themselves by reducing force to a mere reflex of "economic" activity. To Oppenheimer, "economic" reductionism is a dangerous half truth; his "sociological" interpretation distinguishes economic motives from economic means and reestablishes power as a major variable in human history. Here he is close to the anarchist critique of Marxism, especially Bakunin's. Hegemonic bonds do forcibly alter economic evolution. (As Tom Paine put it "when the robber becomes the legislator he believes himself secure".) Oppenheimer, a radical liberal, sought to eliminate coercion from civil society.

Using conjectural history, Oppenheimer establishes legal "scarcity" of arable land as the root of class society. Since enough good land has always existed to support mankind as free farmers, extreme inequality

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## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

**Nostalgia and the Big Bands.** There are a lot of special junk record offerings on TV: "The Heart of Music" for only . . . brilliantly satirized by comedian Robert Klein as, "Every record ever made . . . for only \$9.98." So one might not be tempted to take very seriously Nostalgia Book Club's offering of "Rare Big Bands Gems, 1932-1947". But that would be a big mistake, for the big band gems are lovingly selected by Neil McCaffrey, head of Nostalgia Book Club, and one of the country's great experts on jazz and big band recordings of the Golden Age.

Everyone who has the privilege of knowing Neil personally knows that one of his special delights is in uncovering rare, unknown records and songs that are truly first-rate; and in "Rare Big Band Gem", McCaffrey performs this feat for you, the listener. Many of these 48 performances (on 6 LP sides) are previously unissued takes; many are unknown recording, often of unknown songs. But they are all a surprise and a delight.

Typical of McCaffrey's creative approach is his offering of Benny Goodman's band, who is represented more than any other. For most of the recordings are from the virtually unknown post-war Goodman period, and they are rare gems indeed. Listen, for example, to the previously unissued "That's All That Matters to Me", with vocal by Liza Morrow, or to the instrumental "Lucky", or to "I Wish I Could Tell You", with Miss Morrow again on the vocal. Marvellous! Then, there is the first of the great bands. Glen Gray and his Casa Loma Orchestra; the McCaffrey album offers us a brace of recordings from 1932-33. I particularly liked "Why Can't This Night Go On Forever?", with vocal by Kenny Sargent. Particularly fine on these records is Pee Wee Hunt on trombone and Clarence Hutchenrider on clarinet, for the Glen Gray orchestra.

Other splendid records feature Harry James, Red Norvo and Mildred Bailey, Gene Krupa, Artie Shaw, Will Bradley, and Jack Teagarden. The James records, again, feature the almost unknown post-war band. My own favorites are such superb vocals by Mildred Bailey as "There's a Lull in My Life," "More Than Ever," and "Have You Forgotten So Soon?"; Artie Shaw's "Sugarfoot Stomp", "Take Another Guess," and "Goodnight, Angel", and Will Bradley's band with Will on trombone and Carlotta Dale on vocal in their rendition of that wonderful show tune, "I Don't Stand a Ghost of a Chance."

A particularly remarkable aspect of these records is the acoustics. The clear and mellow sound would grace any recording; considering that these come from often tinny and scratchy old 78's and masters, the feat is even more praiseworthy. For this we must thank Art Shifrin, the engineer, who is an expert on 78 sound recording.

On buying "Rare Big Band Gems" there's good news and there's bad news. The good news is that this splendid album is priced at only \$1.98. The bad news is that you can't rush out and buy it; this album is not available except to Nostalgia Book Club members. If you're not a member, the price is membership + \$1.98; if you're already a member, it's \$12.95. But, on second thought, that's really not bad news at all; for joining the Nostalgia Book Club can only be a delight for anyone at all interested in the popular culture—the optimistic, rational, life-affirming culture—of the pre-World War II era.

So join the Nostalgia Book Club; for information write to them at 165 Huguenot St., New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801. And happy reading and listening! □

## Review Essay — (Continued From Page 6)

indicated political pre-emption of vast land areas. This he proves from the historical record.

Oppenheimer sees the state as normally passing through six stages, from pillage to bureaucracy. The modern stage rests on the urban money economy which made possible regular payment of functionaries; the monarch's officials broke the territorial magnates and curtailed free cities which as market centers were the highest expression of the economic means. Oppenheimer's treatment of feudal psychology, which approved "honest thievery," helps explain why many of our contemporaries admire those brigands and murderers who commit crimes on a grand (state) scale.

Unfortunately, the remedies Oppenheimer offers us for the evil diagnosed by the Levellers, Paine, Thierry and Oppenheimer himself seem laughably weak; agrarian colonies (shades of John Denver) and faith that History is bringing on an epoch of well-behaved, (reformed) states. As Charles Hamilton notes in his able introduction to the new edition, Oppenheimer suddenly chooses to forget all he has taught us about states. Hamilton's introduction catalogues the support for Oppenheimer's theses in contemporary anthropological and political science literature.

Oppenheimer provides us with an important set of insights into political behavior and a corrective to the "economic" dogma of the Marxists. Oppenheimer was a radical liberal who sought fulfillment of the bourgeois Revolution towards individual liberty, free exchange and virtual statelessness, a Revolution temporarily arrested by liberal failure to criticize the state—the negation of humanity with radical tools of analysis.

### The Mystery of Civil Obedience

If the state is indeed the exploitative apparatus Oppenheimer describes, why do people put up with it? A classic answer is Etienne de la

Boetie's *The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, reprinted as *The Politics of Obedience*. In a brilliant introduction Murray N. Rothbard, economist, historian, and theorist of free market anarchism, covers the background and place in political thought of La Boetie's essay of 1552.

La Boetie asks, Why do men obey a tyrant? Clearly, force alone is not the answer since the citizens far outnumber the tyrant and his retinue. As posed by Rothbard the question is, Why do men obey a government? La Boetie's modern-sounding conclusion is that habit, miseducation and the penetration of vested interests into the broader society render men blind to their physical superiority over the oppressors.

Thus all governments ultimately rest on tacit "consent"—or better, acquiescence. Rothbard observes that David Hume and Ludwig von Mises laid particular stress on "opinion" as the basis of government, including so-called "totalitarian" regimes. La Boetie, a political humanist and a libertarian Machiavelli, makes the point eloquently.

La Boetie's remedy is radicalization of the masses by a cadre of those who retain the love of liberty and see through tyranny, followed by nonviolent civil disobedience. Because of this strategy some would claim La Boetie as an anarchist or Gandian. Rothbard cautiously suggests that the author does not take his logic as far as he could.

La Boetie writes that tyrants corrupt society so that "there are found almost as many people to whom tyranny seems advantageous as those to whom liberty would seem desirable." This certainly applies to our own Keynesian welfare-warfare state (neo-mercantilism or state monopoly capitalism). We can hope with the author that God "has reserved, in a separate spot in Hell, some very special punishment for tyrants and their accomplices."

Liberal contract theory holds that government does rest on voluntary agreement. Radical social contract after Paine, Jefferson and Alexander Stephens holds that when government doesn't rest on true contract, revolution is justified. Natural law anarchism after Thoreau, Lysander Spooner and Stephen Pearl Andrews holds that since the state in principle

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## Who are the South Moluccans?

We are getting used to terrorists and kidnapers in this world; generally, it seems that they are Arab, or Commie, or Black Muslim. But who in hell are the South Moluccans? And if they want independence of the South Moluccan isles from Indonesia, then why in blazes are they harassing and terrorizing the Dutch?

Herein lies a fascinating tale. Like the Katangese, though a decade earlier, the South Moluccans were freedom-fighter heroes in the lexicon of the American Right: authentic, dark-skinned Asian heroes for their national liberation. Why did American conservatives, back in the 1950's, take the South Moluccan fighters to their bosom? Because (1) the South Moluccans were battling against an imperialism that was Asian and dark-skinned rather than European and white, and were therefore permissible; (2) the imperialists were Javanese expansionists who, after the Dutch were forced to leave, conquered all the other islands in the area and called them "Indonesia", and, in those days, Java was pro-Communist; and (3) the South Moluccans, in contrast to the Muslims in the rest of the region, were authentic Christians, and therefore the good guys.

But of course that was yesterday, and now the Indonesians are governed by a fascistic military dictatorship, and are therefore now "bastions of the free world." The noble cause of South Molucca, like that of Katanga, has been allowed to drop down the right-wing memory hole. (For an older work on the South Moluccan cause, which takes the early anti-Communist line, see J. C. Bouman et al., *The South Moluccans: Rebellious Province or Occupied State* (Leyden, Holland: A. W. Sythoff, 1960)).

Okay, so the South Moluccan cause has been forgotten by the world, and the young Moluccan hotheads, chafing for action, have scorned the advice of their conservative Christian elders and have taken the terror route as a method of getting attention for the cause. That much is all too familiar. But in this case, there is something wrong with the picture: Why are the South Moluccans harassing the Dutch, who pulled out of Indonesia a generation ago, instead of going after their real tormentors, the Indonesians?

And herein is a lesson for our time. It is true that the Moluccan terror actions make no sense whatever, even from their own point of view. But the Dutch were amiable enough to allow many emigre Moluccans to emigrate to Holland, as a haven from their oppressors. And there they sit, brooding about their homeland and about the cause of Moluccan independence. All well and good, from a libertarian point of view, but then—again—why pick on the Dutch? Why not leave Holland, go back to Indonesia? That's what a serious national independence movement would do. But no: it is easier and more pleasant to lounge around a free Holland then to return to the Indonesian muck, and it is easier to pick on the tolerant Dutch than it is to tangle with a fascist dictatorship.

The lesson for all of us is that emigres are often poison to the host country that kindly takes them in. Regardless of how just the emigre cause may be—and nine times out of ten it is just indeed—there is still no excuse for the emigres trying to involve the host country in their battles, or for the host country to allow itself to become involved. □

## Review Essay — (Continued From Page 7)

cannot be contractual and voluntary it must go. La Boetie's view, an age ahead of its time, hovers between the radical and anarchist positions. His universal, "abstract" radicalism looks forward to the bourgeois Revolution of liberty and equality; in reintroducing La Boetie, Rothbard looks forward-with Oppenheimer-to the completion of that Revolution in statelessness.

### Revolutionary Smorgasbord

If miseducation reinforces the hegemony of the Leviathan state (even in the era of Vietnam, Watergate and CIA revelations), what can be done? Joel Spring's *A Primer of Libertarian Education* is a provocative, broad and often irritating summary of radical approaches to education.

The author begins with the anarchist critique of public schooling. It was a major error of early liberals to think that substituting state schooling for haphazard private arrangements would promote a free society. William Godwin, the first thorough anarchist, emphasized the danger to peace and liberty from the state's teaching of "patriotism" to naive children. Further, "laws" contrary to natural reason would be inculcated.

After Godwin, Spring touches on Francisco Ferrer and Ivan Illich. He dwells on Max Stirner, the anti-Hegel, who tried to show how individuals could become "self-owners" capable of criticizing and adopting ideas. This was the alternative to domination by "wheels in the head" and a "gendarme in the breast."

Ivan Illich underscores the alienation of people "from their learning." His colleague Paolo Freire, a Brazilian activist, links education directly with revolutionary praxis. As presented by Spring, Freire's belief is that education can focus directly on the key contradictions between social forces, leading to change. Unfortunately, Freire appears to rely on Marx's "materialist" reduction of ideas to the reflex of economic forces (despite a Leninist voluntarism in other respects). Both Freire and Spring seemingly overlook the ambiguities of how "man" acts, is conscious, and "makes" society in the Marxian view. Focusing on social forces doesn't help if the wrong contradictions are isolated or if they are misconceived.\*Here the work of Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek and British anarchist Colin Ward on spontaneous versus artificial order could provide a better way of getting at social forces and social change. \*\* Otherwise, the legitimate humanist goal of fighting oppression subverts itself, and education linked to a misunderstood goal becomes propaganda (which has its place) and not libertarian education.

Spring proceeds to Wilhelm Reich's theories of the connections of sexual frustration and fascism and the link between authoritarian family and authoritarian state. Stripped of Marxist accretions, there are some sensible ideas here (rigidity versus self-regulating character, armoring,

self-reproduction of authoritarianism). Concerning a somewhat Reichian school in Moscow in the 1920's, Spring writes that "embaracing and kissing the child" were forbidden, lest adults "live out their own unsatisfied sexuality." So Puritanism still reigns on the Left—even among sexual reformers! Spring's discussion of A. S. Heill covers familiar ground, though the reader will learn a lot about Neill's political naivete.

Spring summarizes Philippe Aries' thesis that childhood itself is a relatively modern invention. He deals at length with the kibbutz since it was originally intended to free women through collective childrearing. Mercifully, he spares us any starry-eyed kibbutz propaganda, admitting that peer group pressures produce truly conformist individuals with little private experience and few emotions. Perhaps this supposed cure for the evils of the nuclear family is worse than the disease. (And perhaps private experience, as Proudhon said of property, is liberty.)

Spring's final chapter is interesting but full of inconsistencies. He connects individual autonomy with individual "control of the social system," another instance of Rousseauian social engineering attitudes or what F. A. Hayek calls "constructivist rationalism." Many of Spring's proposals conjure up a Chicagoite-hippie approach (picture conrade Friedman in long hair and a beard) and throughout Spring can't even choose between state socialism and anarchism. Pursuing the late 19th century will o' the wisp of unalienated labor, blurring the distinction between education and revolution (both of which have their uses), he soars above many issues raised by the state's aleination of learning from individuals and voluntary associations. While the schools go on destroying learning, getting children ready for the next war-to-end-war, teaching nationalism, testing and drugging, the author worries about immediately guaranteeing the psychological wellbeing of every last individual. This quest, at once individualist (after Rousseau) and totalitarian, gets in the way of seeing what can be done: separation of education and state. (Especially, since the state is probably the most important source of the kinds of alienation that can be eliminated.) On two points it is easy to agree with Spring: he affirms "faith in individual actions" and suggests changes to allow children to take part in real life. On this path, from which he often get sidetracked, Spring might find himself in the company of some distinguished 18th and 19th century libertarians—Paine, Godwin, Spencer. Spencer's natural law position on children's rights is radical and relevant even today. □

\*You can understand all the social forces some of the time, you can understand some of the social forces all of the time, but you can't understand all the social forces all the time. I think Bob Dylan said that. See especially Gordon Leff, *The Tyranny of Concepts and History and Social Theory*.

\*\*In Law, Legislation and Liberty and Anarchy in Action, respectively.

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## The Water 'Shortage'

As everyone knows, the West, and especially northern California, has been suffering from a year-long drought, leading numerous statist and busybodies to leap in to control, ration, and ordain. The water "shortage" may not be exactly blamed on the private sector, but it is there, supposedly, and surely government must leap in to combat it—not, of course, by creating more water, but by mucking up the distribution of the greater scarcity.

The first thing to be said about this is that on the free market, regardless of the stringency of supply, there is never any "shortage", that is, there is never a condition where a purchaser cannot find supplies available at the market price. On the free market, there is always enough supply available to satisfy demand. The clearing mechanism is fluctuations in price. If, for example, there is an orange blight, and the supply of oranges declines, there is then an increasing scarcity of oranges, and the scarcity, is "rationed" voluntarily to the purchasers by the uncoerced rise in price, a rise sufficient to equalize supply and demand. If, on the other hand, there is an improvement in the orange crop, the supply increases, oranges are relatively less scarce, and the price of oranges falls consumers are induced to purchase the increased supply.

Note that all goods and services are scarce, and the progress of the economy consists in rendering them relatively less scarce, so that their prices decline. Of course, some goods can never increase in supply. The supply of Rembrandts, for example, is exceedingly scarce, and can never be increased—barring the arrival of a Perfect Forger. The price of Rembrandts is high, of course, but no one has ever complained about a "Rembrandt shortage." They have not, because the price of Rembrandts is allowed to fluctuate freely without interference from the iron hand of government. But suppose that the government, in its wisdom, should one day proclaim that no Rembrandts can be sold for less than \$1000—severe maximum price control on the paintings. We can rest assured that, if the decree were taken seriously at all, a severe Rembrandt shortage would promptly develop, accompanied by black markets, bribery, and all the rest of the paraphernalia of price control.

If the water industry were free and competitive, the response to a drought would be very simple: water would rise in price. There would be griping about the increase in water prices, no doubt, but there would be no "shortage", and no need or call for the usual baggage of patriotic hoopla, calls for conservation, altruistic pleas for sacrifice to the common good, and all the rest. But, of course, the water industry is scarcely free; on the contrary, water is almost everywhere in the U.S. the product and service of a governmental monopoly.

When the drought hit northern California, raising the price of water to the full extent would have been unthinkable; accusations would have been hurled of oppressing the poor, of selfishness, and all the rest. The result has been a crazy-quilt patchwork of compulsory water rationing,

accompanied by a rash of patrioteering ecological exhortation: "Conserve! Conserve! Don't water your lawns! Shower with a friend! Don't flush the toilet!"

Well, the amusing aspect of all this is that these imbecile exhortations were as manna from heaven to the wealthy liberal elitist ecofreak population of the San Francisco Bay Area. The California water authorities were hoping and shooting for a decline of about 25% in 1977 water consumption as compared to 1976. But, lo and behold, in late June, the figures rolled in and it turned out that Bay Area communities had responded by voluntarily cutting their water consumption by 40-50%.

The "morality" of the Bay Area masses had exceeded everyone's expectations. But what was the reaction to this onrush of patriotic altruism and self-sacrifice? Oddly enough, it was mixed and ambivalent—thereby pointing up in a most amusing way some of the inner contradictions of statism. For suddenly, many of the local governmental water districts, including San Francisco's, realized that dammit! they were losing revenue! Now, water shortage is all well and good, but there is nothing more important to a bureaucrat and his organization than their income. And so the local California water districts began to scream: "No, no, you fools, you've 'over-conserved.'" (To a veteran anti-ecologist such as myself, the coining of the new term "over-conserving" was music to my ears.) The water districts began to shout that people have conserved too much, and that they should spend more, for which they were sternly chastised by the state water authorities, who accused the municipal groups of "sabotaging" the water conservation program.

Meanwhile, other local ecologists and statist got into the act. They grouched that the over-conservation had induced people not to water their lawns, which led to the "visual pollution" "unsightly" lawns, and also caused the dried leaves to become fire hazards, which is apparently another ecological no-no.

I can see it now: a debate within the wealthy liberal ecofreak community: Mr. A.: "Dammit, you've over-conserved water; your lawns are visual pollutants, and your dry leaves are endangering the environment through fire." Mr. B.: "You're a blankety-blank no-good sellout water waster. You guys have been urging me for years to conserve, and now I'm doing it and all I get is hassle."

The culminating irony has been the reaction of the local water districts to the "threat" of "over-conservation" of water and the consequent loss of revenue to the governmental water districts. The response of the Bay Area districts was: "Sorry folks, we have to raise the price of water in order to maintain the beloved revenue of the water district (us.)" So, "over" conservation has led to an increase in the price of water. It is intriguing that raising the price of water in order to ration increased scarcity is universally considered to be reactionary, selfish, and

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# The State and Education

By Austin W. Wright

(In our continuing efforts to present forgotten but excellent and relevant writings of the past, we are happy to reprint, for the first time since its original publication, Austin Wright's "The State and Education", which appeared in Benjamin Tucker's great journal *Liberty* in January 1897. In contrast to the usual, more raffish contributors to anarchist publications, Austin W. Wright was a well-known businessman of Chicago. He was a provision broker and was considered one of the most daring speculators on the Chicago Board of Trade. Wright often spoke on the currency question, which dominated political debate in the 1890's. He favored full financial liberty in banking and in coinage. Tucker, the leading individualist anarchist of the era, published several of Wright's addresses on banking and currency problems in the middle and late 1890's, as well as this essay on Education. He did not always endorse fully Wright's opinions, but apparently he found them sufficiently sound.)

In May 1899, *Liberty* reprinted an interview with Wright originally published in the *Chicago Chronicle*. In it we find that Wright identifies himself explicitly as an anarchist—a very courageous act in Chicago at that period!) He states that his friends have known of his views for years but that the general run of citizens of Chicago knew him as a reputable citizen and not as an avowed anarchist.

Austin Wright's true character was revealed when he was called for jury duty and, upon being examined by a judge, replied that he did not believe in laws made by men or in their enforcement, and that he would not take any oath to uphold or enforce them. He was so polite and obviously respectable that the judge dismissed him without penalty.

Wright is described in the interview as short—no more than 5 feet tall—, sturdily built, cool, nervy and imperturbable, plain spoken and dignified. He was at that time somewhat over 50 years old, a resident of Chicago for about twenty-five years, and a native-born American. Wright began his career in a hog market, weighing and buying for a large meat packing concern. Later in life he began speculating in commodities—and soon gave up his job and entered full time into commodity trading. He was soon a millionaire but lost the bulk of his fortune in the "Cudahy corner." But he remained prosperous and active in his business.

Wright began systematic reading in philosophy and political economy after his business reverse, and this reading broadened and deepened his anarchistic tendencies. Originally he had been active in Democratic politics, and his adoption of anarchist philosophy was a gradual process of mental development. He began by reading Herbert Spencer. As Wright stated: "I maintain that people which is least governed is the best governed. I don't believe in laws made by men. There is only one kind of law, and that is the law of nature. All others are mere expressions of belief. Why they should bind me unless I accept them I cannot conceive." Wright added that he agreed neither with Tolstoy and his ultra-pacifist followers nor with Parsons, Sipes, and other violent so-called anarchists.—J.R.P.) □

## The State And Education

Since the time that we have had organized government in this country, our schools have been operated and controlled by State agencies. These conditions have so long obtained that it has become fashionable to speak of our public schools as the great bulwark of American institutions, and most people look upon our public school system as the palladium of republican ideas. Therefore any criticism directed against our schools is heard with small patience, and serious opposition to the system always excites among those who hear it something akin to "connoption fits."

Nevertheless there have been in the past numerous instances where popular opinion was as firmly fixed, and seemingly as securely entrenched, in a position subsequently proven erroneous, and from which it was easily dislodged, as it is now in the matter of public schools.

The principal reason for the strong hold that our public school system has upon the public is the fact of a popular misconception as to its character. We call it a free school system. It is the word free, and the

apparent free intermingling of the children at school, that give the system its popular strength.

If it was denominated as its real character demands, and called what it is,—a compulsory school system,—it would not appeal so strongly to unthinking, but real, liberty-lovers.

Our public school system is wrong because its establishment and maintenance are an invasion of individual freedom. It takes away from parents the free exercise of rightful control over their children by obliging them to make use of school facilities which they do not approve, and to which they are opposed.

Parents are responsible for the existence of their children, and nothing should be done by the State that interferes with, or impairs, that natural responsibility. Therefore every parent should be left free to use such educational agencies and methods as are by him deemed fittest for the education of his children. No one should be encouraged in the belief, or practice, of the idea that, however many children he may bring into the world, society is bound to see to it that they shall be provided, at public cost, with an education. Personal independence should not be weakened by the cultivation of any such idea; every man should feel that the position of himself and family in society, and the education fitting them for proper occupancy of that position, are due solely to his own efforts, limited only by the natural independence incident to our social organization.

Love of offspring is the strongest affection with which we are endowed, and, if left free, its natural promptings will be sufficient incentive to impel the provision of better educational facilities than are possible in any other way. For instance, a child shows that it possesses faculties indicating a fitness for certain vocations; now these faculties need only cultivation to insure proficiency in certain special ways. The public school affords no opportunity for special training, and the enforced contributions exacted from parents in support of the public school so weaken the family resources that they are unable to expend their money in the direction that gives the best promise.

The very nature of the system limits opportunity in the public school to the established curriculum. With schools such as would naturally spring into existence everywhere in response to what was demanded, there would be opportunity to buy the kind of mental cultivation and training that was wanted; nor would time and money be wasted in the acquisition of knowledge not deemed useful by the recipients and those most interested in them. With free voluntary cooperation there would be great diversity in the kind and character of schools, and the competition and emulation incident to such a state of things would be conducive to a more rapid growth and a higher efficiency than are possible with the uniform conditions prevailing in our public schools.

No man should be deprived of that which he wants and to which he is justly entitled, by being obliged to expend his energy for things that he does not want or the use of which he cannot approve. There are millions of parents in this country obliged to contribute in the shape of taxes to the support of public schools, who are thereby deprived of the pleasure incident to the exercise of the natural right of affording their children the kind of instruction that they deem most beneficial. Those of them who are able to send their children to other schools are unjustly made to pay their money in support of the public school, receiving therefrom absolutely no return whatever. The exercise of any power on the part of the State that is, in its operation, unjust to its citizens is not only indefensible, but should be utterly condemned.

All parents as individuals have an inalienable right to educate their children in accordance with the wishes and desires of the children and themselves, guided and inspired by indications of innate talent, limited only by the exercise of equal freedom on the part of every other parent and child. And, while society may have the power to limit and abridge that right, the exercise of such power cannot justly be defended. Every exaction imposed by society should be founded upon the idea that every member of society is entitled to equal freedom; no other rule can be defended, nor is any other rule justly entitled to observance.

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Why should anybody be taxed, in order that somebody else may have and enjoy benefits at less than cost? How can there be any justification of the taxation of any individual in support of a system in the creation of which they had no choice or which they do not use.

The tendency of civilization is in the direction of homogeneity as pertaining to aggregations of individuals, and in that of a greater heterogeneity as pertaining to individuals themselves. Therefore the public school is entirely inadequate to, and wholly unfitted for, the proper education of those who are to become the citizens of the future. The public school can impart only one kind of education; all must be treated alike, as it would be manifestly improper to give any scholar a higher or more expensive form of education than others receive.

No partiality can be shown in a public school system; yet, because of the diversity of future vocation, and therefore diversity of want, the requirements of society demand different educational treatment, and different school facilities, for different individuals.

If the State has the right to establish schools in which our children are to be educated, it has also the right to compel attendance at those schools. More than that, the State has a right to say when they shall go, how long they shall stay, and what they shall study. The right of the State in this respect once acknowledged, all individual right to the exercise of education liberty is forever surrendered. The State never gives up power once exercised, except at the end of a successful revolution. Is it possible by coercion to change the nature of an unwilling and unreceptive mind, so that it will receive and perceive? You can compel them to come to the educational font, but an unwilling recipient can hardly be obliged to partake. The idea of the usefulness of the mental discipline received in a stuffing process is greatly over estimated. The only discipline that is worth anything is such as acquired by experience in ways that enable the recipient to distinguish the useful from the useless; the mere memorizing and mechanical recitation of rules lacks the essential qualities of experience. Most children can attend school but a short time; the circumstances of their station in life are such that but a limited amount of education is necessary; because of the attempt on the part of the State to furnish everybody with more education than is wanted there has been a failure to furnish enough of the kind that is wanted. Supply will not create desire, but desire that is not satisfied by a supply will soon wither and die. Every scholar should receive the kind of education that he himself wants, subject to no influence other than parental. Any child that has an unquenchable desire for knowledge,—and without desire attainment is impossible—will be impelled to sufficient effort, and will incite the parental aid necessary, to enable him to satisfy that desire.

The arbitrary imposition of a fixed kind of education upon anybody by State agencies should not for a moment be permitted. A system of that kind is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of republican institutions. Institutions out of harmony with individual liberty tend to weaken and destroy those individual characteristics which are essential to the growth and development of a free people.

"Oh! But the poor,—what is to be done for them? They ought to be educated. How is it to be done? They cannot educate themselves. Surely, organized society ought to interfere here, and provide means to enable these people to lift themselves out of their present unfortunate condition."

Well, grant that that is true; how far do you propose going in that direction, and where do you propose to stop? If it is the duty of the State to provide education, it is the duty of the State to furnish the means of getting an education. Of what use are school houses and school teachers without schoolbooks; those being provided, how can children go to school with empty stomachs and without clothes? How far are you willing to go in this direction? Where shall the line be drawn at which you will stop extending the State aid? There is no stopping place, and can be none, once you justify the idea that it is proper for the State to afford education to the poor.

Acceptance of, and action in accordance with, the idea that it is the duty of the State to furnish education to the poor, instead of being an aid to them, will have ultimately an opposite effect. It will encourage improvident marriages, thereby increasing the number to which aid must be extended, and it will lower the conception of parental obligation and duty.

Think of encouraging the preposterous idea that parents need give but little thought to the necessity of educating their offspring!

Think of encouraging citizens in the belief that the education of their own children is of small concern, but that the education of everybody else's children is a matter of prime importance that can in no wise be neglected,—that is, that direct obligations to your own children are secondary to the indirect obligations to children in general!

And so people are to marry when they feel like it, and bring into the world as many children as they may, and society, not they, must assume the burden and accept the consequences! How far is it from this point to the place where the assertion comes in: "Society owes me a living; therefore I must have it." As a matter of justice, why should plenty be taxed in order that want may have? Why should the thrifty and provident be taxed in order that the unthrifty and improvident may live? Is there any justification for the taking from the good for somethings and giving to the good for nothings, thereby impairing the usefulness of the good for somethings and making the good for nothings still more good for nothing?

Oh! they say, but something must be done in the name of, and for the sake of, humanity. Well, grant it. Can human sympathy be properly expressed through the operation of arbitrary law?

Society is not a matter of creation, but it has been, and is, a thing of growth; and its best growth and development are attained in an atmosphere of freedom. From the absence of compulsory measures it does not follow that no provision will be made for those who are worthy, but-unfortunate.

Voluntary actions incited by the sympathy incident to the natural love of man for his fellows will and must be more effective than any coercive effort on the part of the State. Even if not, would the indiscriminate helping of everybody who is poor be a proper exercise of the best humanity?

Let us see. What we all desire is a society composed of strong, self-reliant, self-supporting members; now, will that be soonest attained by obliging the self-supporting to carry the non-supporting, in order that the latter may live and propagate their kind. Or will it not rather come soonest by leaving unthrift and improvidence to suffer from the consequences of their imperfections, in order that the race may the more quickly reach conditions of perfection. The best humanity is action along the line that will achieve the largest and best ultimate outcome.

Conditions of perfection cannot be brought about by governmental regulations, because people must learn to preceive what is good for them because it is good for them; and they can do this only by being allowed opportunity for the free exercise of individual faculty. Experience is the only school, and experience is a thing that, in the very nature of things, must be acquired by personal action; it can in no wise be taught by rule or learned by rote. Do what you will and as much as you may, the pains and penalties incident to the thorough adaptation of man to conditions necessary to life must be gone through with; so the highest and best humanity consists in asserting and insisting that every individual must be self-supporting and non-aggressive. Every action out of harmony with that idea only defers and makes more difficult the object to be attained; so, by helping incompetence at the expense of competence, in order that you may have the proximate seeming benefits, you are not only unjustly burdening the worthy, but you are defeating the very object sought.

Did it ever occur to any who favor aid to improvidence at the expense of providence that they propose exactly the thing that was the cause of the improvident's present condition,—that is, sacrificing the ultimate good in order that present gratification may be enjoyed?

The best humanity does not consist in increasing the evil sought to be cured. Then there are those who say that "the interest and judgment of the people most interested are not sufficient guarantee of the goodness of the commodity." That is to say, they do not know what they want; therefore, it is, and of right should be, given to those of us possessing long heads and high foreheads to prescribe what is to be taken, and oblige the recipients to partake. Now, inasmuch as personal experience is a prime essential to the growth, and development of a discriminating intelligence, how long do you think it will be necessary for the self-esteeming few to act as mentors for the ignorant many before the latter become sufficiently intelligent to act and judge for themselves, but that you do

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not know what you ought to have for yourselves, and should institute schools to their own liking and oblige you to support them and partake thereof.—what would you think of the wisdom or justice of their action? Again: did it ever occur to those of you who believe in the teleological origin and disposition of things that there are millions of people we regard religion as of more importance than all other things put together? Suppose it was insisted that everybody should be obliged to partake of religious instruction and training in our schools,—would not the end justify whatever means might be adopted in enforcement thereof? Is not something which concerns us for all time of more importance than anything that relates only to our limited stay upon earth? It is no answer to say that religious liberty must not be interfered with, for religious thought cannot justly be accorded exclusive privileges as to freedom. If it is right that men should have and enjoy religious freedom, it is so right that they should have and enjoy educational freedom. If the best interests of society demand that men be left free to worship or not worship God, according to the dictates of their own consciences, the best interests of society also demand that men be left free to educate or not educate themselves according to the demands of their own innate desires. Still another thing: love of country and proper respect for its laws are not best subserved or conserved by arbitrarily obliging people who believe religious instruction necessary to support schools in which such instruction is not imparted.

Now, let us look in another direction. Man was not, nor is he, created, but, like everything else on earth, is a thing of growth; smoothing away the rough places and making things easy for him are not conducive to his best growth and highest development. He must learn by experience what is best for his growth and advancement; there is no other way of finding out. Physical nutrition is required, and mental nutrition is required; it is impossible to partake of the latter until the stomach is full; you cannot fill the head before you fill the belly. Now, if it is incumbent on the State to furnish mental nutrition, is it not a greater and more urgent duty that bodily nutriment shall be first supplied?

Without going further, it may well be asked now can the State supply a want that the people composing the State cannot supply? Whatever may be done must be done by the expenditure of energy. The State is without force, except as it gathers it from the people through the tax-gatherer; and, however much the State may gather, the force will always be subject to the loss incident to the collection and distribution thereof. The amount of force to be had can in no wise be increased; and for that reason, whenever government attempts to do too many things, or too much of anything, it fails to properly do the things that it is proper that government should do. We all desire as little government as possible; we may differ as to what is necessary, but we all desire—yes, more, we demand—that government shall be good. Government in this country is the expression of the will of the majority, and whether it is good or bad depends upon the character of the units of which it is composed. Now let us note the probable influence of our public schools citizens.

Strong, self-reliant, self-supporting citizens are essential to the best growth and highest development of society. The influence of the public school upon the early life of the individual at a time when character is being formed is inimical to the growth and development of the right kind of citizens. As children they have been supplied with an education by the State; their natural guardians and protectors have been lost sight of as factors in their education; therefore they do not feel, when they arrive at man's estate, and themselves become parents, that it is incumbent on them to educate the children that have come to them. The State has assumed that duty; they were educated in schools furnished by the State, and their children will be so educated; and so they learn to look to and lean upon the State, which soon comes to be regarded as an entity possessing resources that can, and should, be applied to the alleviation of hardships, the removal of obstacles, and, finally, the providing of the means to satisfying ordinary human needs. People learn to expect things from the State that are impossible of attainment from that source,—things that can be had only as the result of exercise of individual faculty and effort,—a fact which they have been taught to ignore. They look to, and expect from, the State the supply; at first they are disappointed only; then come feelings of dissatisfaction, then murmurs of discontent, then popular manifestations more or less lawless, such as found expression in the demonstration witnessed in 1894, which came to

be known as Coxeyism. That affair was a logical sequence of the past exercise of paternal functions on the part of governmental agencies, and therefore an effect of the cultivation and growth of the idea not only that an exercise of functions of this kind is a governmental duty, but that the people have a right to expect, and demand, aid from the government whenever it to them seems necessary. Anything that aids the cultivation and growth of sentiment of this kind is wrong, and, if persisted in, can end in only one way,—that is, in the destruction and extinction of republican institution.

You cannot have a democratic republic without republicans. Republicans are always independent and self-reliant. Citizens of this character cannot be created; they must grow; and they can grow and develop only in an atmosphere of freedom. Artificial aid in the shape of compulsory schools, instead of being in harmony with what ought to be, and therefore useful, is not only unnecessary and useless, but actually repressive and harmful.

Here are young minds to be trained; how, and with what shall they be trained? Is there a teacher in the world that can tell? Is there an aggregation of teachers in the world, or can an aggregation of teachers be gotten together, that can tell what kind of training is wanted, and how best to supply it? A very wide diversity as to kind and quality is required; here are all kinds of faculty, and all degrees of the same kind of faculty, to be cultivated and trained; these faculties are in the possession of individuals no two of whom are alike; and it is expected that this vast heterogeneous number of youthful individuals can be best developed

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## The 'Humane' N-Bomb

Congress is now struggling over whether to adopt one of the pet weapons of American conservatives: the secret, hush-hush, new Neutron Bomb. Conservatives admire the weapon for two reasons. In the first place, as a precise nuclear weapon it tends to blur the vital line between the nuclear and the "conventional". The blurring means that the U.S. might be tempted to use the weapon in some war while proclaiming it as "conventional", only to have the war escalate into the nuclear range. The Congressional opponents of this blurring were trenchant. Senator Mark Hatfield (R., Ore.) pointed out that "because it is more precise, however, there is more temptation to use it. Once we introduce nuclear weaponry into conventional warfare, we're on our way." And Senator Dick Clark (D., Io.) added that "I find the concept of a 'limited' nuclear exchange extremely dubious. I think it is vitally important to retain the distinction between conventional and nuclear war. I think nations and leaders must be aware that when they go nuclear, they are introducing an entirely new dimension into the conflict."

But the striking feature of the N-bomb, the one that seems to make it more "precise" and "limited", and the one that really endears it to our conservatives, is that it—more or less—kills people without destroying property. Isn't that a wonderful bomb, that "only" kills human beings?

Libertarians know that "human rights" and "property rights" cannot be kept distinct, that, in the fullest sense, neither can be protected and maintained without safeguarding the other. But conservatives are not libertarians, and the conservative penchant for attempting to favor property rights while scorning human rights has never been made so crystal-clear. The joy with which conservatives embrace a weapon of mass murder which will spare material property is damning enough. It also renders particularly grotesque the recent discovery by conservatives of "human rights"—provided, of course, that the prattling of human rights be safely confined to the Communist countries. And what of the human rights of those who will or might be N-bombed?

Senator Hatfield, apparently without irony, pointed out that the proponents of the N-bomb consider it "a more humane weapon because it is more precise in its target." Since its precision consists solely in its confinement to human beings, one is sometimes tempted to question the sanity of our ruling elite. At any rate, at least one Senator, H. John Heinz (R., Pa.) was able to point out the obvious: that they were being asked "to approve a nuclear weapon that is even more repugnant than usual... which is literally dehumanizing... The neutron bomb, after all, singles out people for destruction, choosing to preserve buildings instead." □

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mentally by sending them to schools of uniform character, where the curriculum is fixed, and can be changed only by act of some legislative body. If a man had a horse to be broken, or a dog to be trained, he would hesitate long enough to look around before he sent it to a training school of the kind we have adopted for the education of our children. Compulsory support of the public schools ought to be no longer insisted upon. Oh! but they say, that would amount to the abolishment of the system. Well, if compulsory support is what sustains the system, it certainly ought to be abolished; anything that cannot stand by force of merit upon its own feet is unworthy of a place in a free country, and the sooner it is done away with the better. Abolish schools! No, simply withdraw compulsory support. Open-mouthed astonishment immediately exclaims: "But what would you put in the place?" And, when the reply is, as it must be, "nothing," they turn with a look of contemptuous disgust, as much as to say that it is not worth while to continue the discussion. But wait one moment; is it reasonable to expect that a want, though it may be known and universal,—a want that is not the same in any two individuals, and that by right is entitled to a supply as varied as is the want,—can be anticipated and supplied by a fixed plan. In the abandonment of the public-school system the only thing necessary is to stop right where you are; as soon as desire is left free to act, the ever-responsive faculties that enable us to supply all of our wants will assert themselves, and soon find and develop the best way.

Desire and exertion, not machinery and supply, create appetite. Without purpose on the part of the recipient education is impossible; there must be a will before there can be a way; gratuitous bestowal will avail nothing, and coercion is recognition of unacknowledged defeat. Education, to be appreciated, must not be made cheap and easy of attainment; it is the things striven for and won by force or merit that are esteemed and that become profitable.

The giving away of prized things destroys the incentive for their acquisition. Under such conditions there can be no conquest of opposing obstacles, at the end of which the conqueror may proudly turn to his fellows and enjoy the sweet feelings of satisfaction aroused by admiring approval.

Change is the natural order of things; everything by which we are surrounded and with which we have to do is ceaselessly changing.

Society has ever been, and is now, the result of countless imperceptible changes that have been going on for all times. Nothing is to-day as it was yesterday; nothing will be tomorrow as it is to-day; and so it is that human life is simply a matter of adaptation and readaptation to the constantly changing conditions by which we are surrounded and with which we are confronted. A proper school system must be something that is in harmony with evolutionary law, and such a system is possible only when the people are left free to supply by voluntary cooperation whatever they themselves may feel that they need. Schools that fail to meet requirements will pass away, and their places will be taken by schools that meet and satisfy the demand. These orderly, because natural, changes will take place just as easily as the stage-lines and stage-coaches of a generation ago were superseded by the railroad. And just as the primitive railroad with its puny equipment has grown and developed into the great trunk lines of today, equipped with giant locomotives, immense freight trains, and sumptuous passenger coaches, so will schools, under conditions of freedom, come into existence, and, in harmony with an always pre-existing demand, grow and develop into the highest possible usefulness.

Inasmuch as we cannot under any circumstances create, we should allow the problem to solve itself, as it surely and rightly will, by natural means in natural ways.

The teacher, instead of being circumscribed by the hampering limitations of a rigid system fixed by arbitrary law, would be free to act in an original way, always in harmony with the demand expressed by those entrusted to his care, and, instead of being, as now, a mere part of a huge machine, would, because of freedom of opportunity, become a real, living, forceful member of a noble profession with a power for good that under present conditions is impossible; for, instead of being constantly confined within the limits of prescribed rules, he would be free to adopt hopeful suggestions that must, in the very nature of things, come to him from time to time. He would grow and develop therefore into an enlarged sphere of usefulness, and would be able ultimately to command a recognition fitting this noblest of human vocations. □

## Arts and Movies

By Mr. First Nighter

Star Wars, dir. by George Lucas. With Alec Guinness and Carrie Fisher.

First came the hype. That Star Wars is going to be the biggest popular film success since Jaws means very little. So every season is going to have its oversold smash hit, so what? But the difference, the new hype, with Star Wars was its overwhelming acclaim among the critics. Usually the masses whoop it up for a Jaws while the critics go ape over Bertolucci or Fassbinder. Yet here they were in joint huzzahs, with the critic from Time flipping his wig to such an extent as to call it the best movie of the year and making Star Wars the feature of that week's issue.

But the oddest, the most peculiar part of it was what my fellow-critics were saying: "Hurrah, a fun movie-movie"; "good escape entertainment"; "a return to good guys vs. a happy ending again"; "movie fare for the entire family"; "like Flash Gordon" etc. Here were men and women who have spent the greater part of their lives deriding these very virtues, attacking them as mindless, moralistic, unaesthetic, fodder for the Tired Businessman instead of the Sensitive Intellectual. And yet here were these same acidulous critics praising these mindless, reactionary verities. What in blazes was going on? Had all colleagues experienced a blinding miraculous conversion to Old Culture truths? While I do not deny the logical possibility of such a mass, instantaneous conversion from error, my experience of this wicked world has convinced me that it is empirically highly unlikely. So what gives?

The best thing about seeing Star Wars is that my curiosity was satisfied. The mystery explained! For it was indeed true that Star Wars returns to the good guy-bad guy, happy ending, and all the rest. But there is an important catch, and it is that catch that enables our critical intelligentsia to praise the movie and yet suffer no breach in their irrational and amoral critical perspective. The catch is embodied in the reference to Flash Gordon: namely, that this is such a silly, cartoony, comic-strip movie that no one can possibly take it seriously, even within its own context. No one, that is, over the age of 8. Hence, in contrast to Death Wish or Dirty Harry, where the viewer is necessarily caught up in the picture and must take the viewer is seriously, Star Wars is such kiddie hokum that the adult critics can let their hair down and enjoy it without having their aesthetic values threatened.

To put it another way, our critics, who are bitterly opposed to a moralistic and exciting plot, are scarcely challenged by the plot of Star Wars, which is so designedly imbecilic that the intelligentsia can relax, forget about the plot and enjoy the special effects, which the avant-garde always approves.

Even on the kiddie level, Star Wars doesn't really work. It is peculiarly off-base. The hero, for example, is so young, wooden and callow that he doesn't really come off as an authentic comic-strip hero. As a result, his older mercenary aide becomes a kind of co-hero, which throws off the balance of the story. The hero presumably doesn't get the Fairy Princess in the end, either, although far worse is the casting of the Princess. For, Carrie Fisher is ugly and abrasive, and if one could care very much about the hero one would hope that nothing came of their proto-romance. Miss Fisher is the quintessence of the Anti-Princess, and this ruins whatever may have remained of interest of value in Star Wars. There are more problems; not only does wise Alec Guinness lose his mighty duel with his evil ex-disciple, but the whole duel is pointless and leads nowhere, even within the context of the plot.

Not only is this oversold turkey not the best movie of the year, it is not very good even within the sci-fi movie genre. Some of the critics have proclaimed Star Wars as even better than "2001", but that would be no great feat, since there have been few movies of any genre that have been worse than that pretentious, mystical, boring, plotless piece of claptrap. But Star Wars doesn't begin to compare with the science fiction greats of the past, e.g.: "The Thing"—the first post World War II sci-fi movie; "It Came from Outer Space"; "The Night of the Living Dead"; and, best of all, the incomparable "Invasion of the Body Snatchers". None of these movies needed the razzle-dazzle of "special effects"; they did it on plot, theme, and characters. Back to them! □

## Open Door Imperialism

Review of William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, Dell, 312 pp. and Williams, ed., *From Colony to Empire*, John Wiley, 506 pp. by Robert Dale Grinder.

By R. D. Grinder

The bicentennial has arrived. For the most part we have been enduring a celebration of America's past. Do not be deceived. America's past has not been that of "Man's last best hope." Our history is not so unique as we shall be told. There is an alternative way of looking at American history. People like Charles Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes and Albert Jay Nock investigated America's imperial thrust and its domestic class society. Their works, however, predated America's last great celebration, consensus history. The phenomenon of the early Cold War years stressed America's uniqueness, her mission, the lack of class conflict and how power was "thrust on America."

And then came William Appleman Williams. Largely through his efforts, the celebration of America's past suffered a severe setback. This he accomplished in three ways: through the publication of his own works (primarily *The Tragedy* and *The Contours of American History*) by developing a circle of dedicated students, many of whom became scholars in their own right, some of whom contributed pieces for *From Colony To Empire*; and by starting an *avant-garde* journal of radical history in the late 1950's, *Studies on the Left*. One suspects too that Williams gained importance because he was behind the plow at the right time. Even in the early sixties, Williams was brushed aside as a "crazy" in the historical profession. To be sure, some of his articles made readings books, but they were among the straw men the liberal apologists knocked down. Then, by decade's end, the *Tragedy* became the assigned reading in thousands of college classrooms. Why? Vietnam was what raised Williams to greater professional respect. It was an explanation of what had happened. If Williams is correct in arguing that the *Pentagon Papers* show that the American Empire did not "grow like Topsy," the *Tragedy* offers a plausible explanation why.

The thesis of the *Tragedy* is simple, that American policy-makers have tried, from the 1890's until the present, to build an empire without colonies, an informal Empire based on the Open Door Policy. The Open Door Policy failed because revolutionaries like the Mexicans, Russians and Vietnamese attempted to overhaul their own economies for their own national interest. Other nations, most notoriously Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, attempted to establish autarchic units like the "Greater Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." America's attempts to resolve the problems caused by nationalism, revolution and counterrevolution led to war and intervention. Our attempt to keep the door open to American goods likewise alienated many people. Williams points to Cuba, in the beginning, showing how America laid the groundwork for the ascendance of Fidel Castro.

The Open Door Policy was American policy-makers' response to the Crisis of the Nineties, when it appeared that the frontier had closed, that the economy was in bad shape and that markets abroad needed to be exploited in order that America's political and economic structure survive. Rightly or wrongly, these policymakers tied America's health and well-being to expansion of markets. Any attempt to nationalize one's economy or to create a political-economic "sphere of influence" was viewed as a threat to American security. Hence, the policy was conceived as a way to halt the various imperial powers from establishing "spheres" in China. They did not want China carved up by the various powers. Rather, they demanded equal entry everywhere. Although they gained a foothold in Asia (the Philippines) and helped to quash the Boxer Rebellion to insure that their wishes were honored, clearing the path to the "China market" was never easy—indeed, it led to war between America and Japan in the 1940's. Likewise, American opposition to "spheres of influence" led to the quarrel with all of the Asia powers and to the Cold War with the Soviet Union.

There was, of course, one major exception to all of this—Latin America. This American "sphere" helped to shatter Woodrow Wilson's dream of an institutionalized Open Door Policy, the League of Nations. It also marked the first point of conflict between America and Nazi Germany. Indeed, Latin America caused greater concern over Hitler's moves to revise the Versailles Treaty in Europe (during the mid-thirties). Latin America also saw the greatest extent of American

military intervention. The Mexican Revolution (1910-1940) sparked at least four major crises with her northern neighbor. Only World War II and the Cold War brought Mexico and America together. Wilson had nearly gone to war twice with the Mexican regime. Then the Mexican government moved against foreign corporations, primarily oil companies in 1924. Finally, in 1936, revolution pushed the law back on the books. America responded by cutting off loans. But that was more refined than sending in the Marines, last done for a sustained period in Nicaragua. It was to the credit of Herbert Hoover that he removed the troops and moved toward a Good Neighbor Policy. This was in stark contrast to the Wilsonian policy of teaching Latin Americans "to elect good men"—with the aid of the bayonet, in Haiti and Santo Domingo, while we were fighting the "great war" that would allow "selfdetermination." Intervention did not stop with Hoover. FDR had gunships outside Havana harbor during the year that Grau San Martin held power in Cuba. LBJ sent Marines to the Dominican Republic in 1965. And the CIA participated in the ouster of Arbenz from Guatemala in 1954 and the aborted Bay of Pigs project in 1961.

Of course, intervention was not limited to Latin America. Americans helped to quell the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900); we landed troops in the Soviet Union during World War I; Hoover's activities as "food czar" helped make certain the communists gained no strong foothold in Hungary or Germany. Finally, there was American intervention in all of Indochina, most notably Vietnam. The scale of that intervention was staggering. Attempting time and again to promote our notion of the liberal world order, we created hostile regimes which chose to fight against "open door imperialism." The irony is that "open door imperialism" was based on the assumption that American markets must expand—and that such expansion could never take place in and atmosphere of war and hostility. The policy-makers desired peace and stability, yet the policy itself all too often led to war and revolution.

The policy of "open door imperialism" was by no means gushing American idealism, as critics like George Kennan charged. It was a realistic policy designed to serve the needs of corporate capitalism, as Williams has called our political-economic system. It was fed by the ideology of expansion that had permeated the republic since its inception. In fact, as Walter LaFeber pointed out in his essay on Franklin and Madison, it was pretty much the same argument that Madison used in confronting Montesquieu's theory that a republic could not exist over a vast expanse. Madison argued quite the contrary, that a vast expanse was precisely what a republic needed. Thus the logic of expansion and the national interest were bound together. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, policy-makers reasoned that such expansion need not be territorial. This does not mean that such expansion was, as Williams implied, free-trade imperialism. The very concept is self-contradictory. Hence the argument by Crapol and Schonberger that the "free ships" alternative proposed by Cleveland and others in the 1880's was just another variation of the expansionist theme is incorrect. It failed precisely because the dynamic was in the opposite direction. The dynamic was toward more governmental intervention to gain markets abroad.

Crapol and Schonberger likewise miss the mark when they attempt to bring the agrarian interests into the evolution of the policy of imperialism. Williams makes the same mistake, I believe. The quotes from the Populists and the analysis of the free silver issue from this light are interesting but not terribly important. It was the leaders from the industrial metropolitan East who formulated this policy and it was they who carried it out. Bryan's anti-imperialist campaign of 1900 and his personal campaign to win the south and west for Wilson when the latter was the "peace" candidate ("He kept us out of war.") show that he and his followers were in the anti-imperialist camp every bit as much as LaFollette, Norris and Debs. And where did they all come from but the "colonial" West? It might be argued that the same areas that opposed the plans for a national Federal Reserve System were the same areas that opposed entry into the war (prior to April 1917). Without a doubt, the architects of America's imperial drive came predominantly from the industrial East: the Adamses, Hay, Roosevelt, Root, Lodge, Knox, Stimson, Morgan and Wilson. There was a drive for markets. It was spearheaded by an elite who sought presumed relief for a presumed problem of surplus goods. Agrarians may have called for relief also. But

(Continued On Page 7)

## Open — (Continued From Page 6)

they never held power. They were not the decision-makers. They were not then part of the ruling class.

In spite of these issues of "free trade imperialism" and the role of the agrarians in policy-making, the work of Williams, his students, and of Richard Van Alstyne is valuable. It provides an excellent framework for analyzing territorial imperialism and the foreign policy of corporate capitalism. As much as leaders of the corporate establishment desired that government ensure stability and minimize risk at home, so they did abroad. And just as domestic intervention led to further intervention, so Williams and the others show that foreign intervention opened the door to further intervention. The attempt to hold the door open throughout the world involved the United States in conflict after conflict. And the United States intervened not for starry-eyed idealism, like saving the world for democracy or from communism. Those are merely code-words. Our

policy-making elite desired that America prosper, and they believed that the prosperity of America was intimately tied to its ability to maintain peace and stability (and trade) throughout the world.

Let the reader think that Williams has no heroes in the elite, he has heroes among the enlightened conservatives. These include Herbert Hoover, Dwight Eisenhower and J. William Fulbright. Each, in his own way, attempted to minimize the enlistment of troops to protect the American empire. Hoover initiated the Good Neighbor Policy and refused to engage in saber rattling when the Japanese invaded Manchuria. Eisenhower ended the Korean conflict, made the decision not to support France with men and nuclear hardware in Indochina, and managed to keep the United States out of significant combat during his presidency. Fulbright helped to focus national attention on American policy in Vietnam. Perhaps this is why he calls on the enlightened conservative to lead America to a new policy. But then we are dealing with Williams the philosopher, the communitarian nationalist, not the brilliant analyst of American foreign policy. □

## Racism or Sexism: Which Way?

It is always amusing to see their inner contradictions rise up to smite our strident and vociferous Marxoid left-liberals. Their basic view of the world is that there are the Oppressors, who are, *inter alia*, "racists" and "sexists", and there are the Oppressed, the victims of this selfsame racism and sexism. More specifically, the Oppressors are whites (racists)—and—male (sexists), and the Oppressed are blacks—and—females. But what happens when these neat class divisions somehow get crossed and, for example, racially oppressed black males begin to oppress sexually oppressed white females? Which way does our left-liberal turn? If he sides with the females, he will stand accused by his peers of racism; and if he sides with the black males, he will equally stand accused of sexism. It is enough, comrades, to take to drink (if liquor has not been abjured as too bourgeois.)

Historically, of course, "racism" antedates "sexism" in the left-liberal's catalogue of horrors. Left-liberals, in their long-standing horror of racism, coupled with their coddling-of-criminals ideology, have long been accustomed to excuse and whimper over criminals, be they muggers, bank robbers, murderers, or whatever. Criminals are never at fault; the fault is always "society's" (whoever that is), for not providing high enough incomes, unbroken homes, unconditional love, adequate playgrounds, or whatever. Since "society", in this peculiar usage, includes the victim but excludes the criminal, this means that the criminal is not at all responsible for his evil deeds, but that the victim (at least partially) is. From the stems left-liberal coddling of criminals. Now, in contemporary America there is the added fact that a high proportion of street crimes of violence are committed by black males (generally teen-agers). For left-liberals trained at sniffing out "racism", this adds an extra motive for cooing over the criminals and for denouncing the victims (especially if the victims happen to be white.)

Now this has been standard fare for a long time and not much to remark upon. Except that in the last few years an extra element has been added: left-liberal attacks on "sexism", especially in the ranks of white women. A part of the women's movement has been a justifiably bitter opposition to rape as a violent sexual assault on women. I don't know where left-wing feminists stand on the coddling of criminals generally, but they sure don't want to coddle rapists; on the contrary, they have been talking of taking the "Inez Garcia" route private, maximal retaliation. So far, so good, except that given this new spirit, the conditions are set for the eruption of severe inner contradiction and conflicts among leftists.

It is no accident that this contradiction has emerged in one of the most left-wing communities of the nation, Madison, Wisconsin, home of the University of Wisconsin. On the county bench sits Judge Archie E. Simonson, long-standing left liberal and coddler of criminals, especially young blacks. This May 25 the judge was disposing of the cases of three teen-aged youths (black) who had raped a high school girl (white), and giving them the usual highly lenient sentences. In the course of the sentencing Judge Simonson delivered himself of some *ad hoc* remarks: to the effect, that males were being bombarded with lustful sexual images, including provocative female clothing, and so "should we punish a 15 or 16 year old who reacts to it normally?" The clear implication is that this sexy environment inflames males, and that therefore rape becomes a normal reaction, especially for teenagers searching for their identity.

Apparently the judge had not kept in touch with recent trends in left-liberal opinion, for a predictable fire-storm descended upon his head. Feminists have picketed, and are circulating petitions for a special election to recall Judge Simonson. Instead of apologizing, Simonson added fuel to the fire by reiterating that if women wanted to end the problem of rape they should stop "teasing" men.

We hold no brief for Judge Simonson. Quite the contrary, we hold that the feminists don't seem to realize that the real problem is not the particular judge but the environmentalist-determinist ideology which they undoubtedly share with him—at least, on non-rape questions. For if a criminal is not responsible for his actions, which are determined not by his free choice but by his environment, well then, Simonson has a good case. Then, it becomes plausible to assert that porno, miniskirts, tight jeans, etc. generate lustful impulses and the therefore the rape victim—or at least the class of sexy females in general—is responsible for the rape, rather than the rapist. Instead of opting for free will, the feminists have apparently been trying to dispute Simonson on the facts, that is, to deny that scantily clad females are lust-inspiring sex objects. But since everyone knows that they are, the feminists might be able to win at the polls but not in the broader society.

The correct and libertarian line to take on rape and Simonson would be as follows: Yes, Simonson is right that our sexually drenched atmosphere can inspire lustful impulses in males. But, part of the necessary process of growing up is learning how to curb one's aggressive impulses, to learn self-control (to use an Old Culture word.) He who can't or won't practice such self-control and becomes a criminal aggressor or rapist deserves to be socked with the full majesty of the law. Simonson's implication that women should go back to the veil and the hoopskirt in order to make life easier for young proto-rapists simply won't wash. Why should everyone else's life be made gray and miserable for the sake of coddling proto-rapists? Self-control is their responsibility, not that of females who should be able to dress and act as sexily as they please, without fear of aggression wreaked upon them. If we really wanted to be Old Culture, we could give our young proto-rapists the stern injunction to go and take a cold shower.

Meantime, to return to Madison, the left-liberal community has been predictably sundered along racism/sexism lines. Thus, Mrs. Eloise Anderson-Addison, member of the board of the local Urban League and of the NAACP, complained that "black men were facing immense pressure", including stiffer penalties for rape in the future, "as a result of the heightened tension and white women's fear of rape." Mrs. Anderson-Addison added that "the issue is more black-white than mere rape," and that "my problem with the women's movement is that white women can't deal with their own racism. This is a classical example of that conflict." The reply of the local feminist leader, Mrs. Anne Gaylor, was rather wishy-washy claiming that it's a "controversy over sexism and not racism" because the protest over Simonson's statement arose before the protestors knew that the rapists were black. The fact is that these ism labels only toss a lot of red herrings to a matter that should be looked at simply and clearly as a case of aggression, of coercive crimes against other persons.

(See New York Times, June 15, 1977.) □

# The FLP Goofs Again

The Free Libertarian Party of New York, whose peregrinations we have recorded from time to time in these pages, has pulled another lulu. Within the state party, the New York City party has been the worst (and has garnered a decline in absolute as well as relative number of votes in each succeeding election in the last four years.) And within the city party it is the Manhattan (New York County) party that has been the wackiest. Having taken the lead in challenging the moral purity and honesty of fellow libertarians a year and two years ago, the New York County party, assembled in its massed might of 17 members in the recent annual convention, has endorsed the Liberal Party incumbent for City Council At-large! By a vote of 10 to 4, with three abstentions, the FLP of New York County endorsed Henry Stern, after Mr. Stern had admonished them on the political realities: "your political strength is your line on the ballot. I'm not going to argue that I'm a pure libertarian—I'm not and ... I don't think I ever will be. But you have to decide whether you want to support the city councilman who is closest to you, or whether you want to insist on a level of ideological purity that rejects everyone not gathered in this room." (Geoffrey Stokes, "Libertarian Endorsement: The 75 Per Cent Solution", *The Village Voice*, June 6, 1977.) Duly instructed, the FLP voted to endorse. What price "purity" now?

Mr. Stern was right about one thing: the strength of the LP is indeed its line on the ballot. And what are we supposed to use that strength for? To endorse some cluck who is two millimeters better than some other cluck in an unimportant local election? This is the way to squander whatever strength we may possess; it is to make of organized libertarianism, in Nietzsche's immortal words, "a laughingstock, a thing of shame."

What in the world is the point to running candidates, to having a party, to getting on the ballot? Is it to register our running endorsements of the lesser of two or three evils? Is that what we are draining the energies of libertarians to achieve? This is pointless nonsense, but it is also far worse. For our strength, our only strength, is what makes us distinctive in the political realm, what distinguishes us from all the other colors in the political spectrum. That is our glorious principles, our consistent body of truths which we must hold aloft, apply to the important political issues, and thereby sway increasing numbers of people. But to go the cynical cross-endorsement route of the Liberal and Conservative parties will not only accomplish nothing of practical value for our small party it throws away our only strength, the very point to the whole enterprise. For part and parcel of holding a set of consistent principles is only giving our endorsement to candidates who also uphold those principles—that is only to Libertarians.

For the New York party to pull this stunt is even worse than for other Libertarian Parties. For other LP's, national and state, at least have platforms where consistent libertarian principles and applications are set forth. The kooky FLP has never adopted a platform, confining itself to a few random resolutions. And what is more, in the FLP no party officials are allowed to say anything, since they might be infringing on the opinion

of some party member, and there is no party platform to stand on. The result is that only the candidates in New York can have anything to say, which makes the quality of the candidates even more important in New York State than elsewhere in the country. And now the FLP has dared to endorse a Liberal Party councilman who favors, *inter alia*, licensing and rent control. For shame!

The FLP action points up the importance of the Libertarian Party, nationwide, coming to grips with the potential and now actual evils of sellout cross-endorsements (endorsements of members of other parties) by LPs. Let us hope that at this July's convention at San Francisco, the LP will amend its rules to prohibit cross-endorsements by any constituent state parties. Let us nip this opportunist danger in the bud—right now! □

## Water — (Continued From Page 1)

Neanderthal, while raising the price of water in order to keep governmental water district revenues at their former level is considered perfectly legitimate, and barely worth commenting on. And so, the water price goes up anyway, though for the wrong reason and of course not in order to clear the market.

The most amusing aspect of this California water caper was the argument of a water district apologist on San Francisco television:

Q. But wouldn't the poor be hurt by the water district raising its water prices?

A. No, for since everyone has cut their consumption of water, the total water bill of each poor person will not increase.

In short, the poor are not being hurt by the higher price because, being forced to cut their consumption, their total bill has not increased. Thus, a price rise by a private firm is always selfish and oppressive of poor people; but when a monopoly governmental agency increases its price, the poor do not suffer at all, since if they cut their purchases sufficiently in response to the higher price, their total dollar payments will not increase. It is this sort of nonsense that our statist and busybodies are now being reduced to.

Meanwhile, how is "libertarian" Milton Friedman, now resident in the San Francisco area, taking to the water crisis? Is he advocating privatization, free competition among private water companies? Is he at least advocating the setting of a market-clearing price by the government water company? The answer to all of these is, remarkably, no. In his Newsweek column, Friedman favored keeping government water rationing, but making it more efficient through a typically elaborate scheme for surcharges for consumption over a certain quota of water, to be financing rebates for consuming under the quota. Thus, once again Friedmanism descends to being an efficiency expert for statism. □

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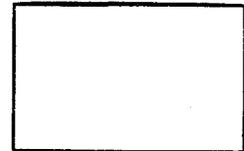
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The Key Question:

## Do You Hate the State?

I have been ruminating recently on what are the crucial questions that divide libertarians. Some that have received a lot of attention in the last few years are: anarcho-capitalism vs. limited government, abolitionism vs. gradualism, natural rights vs. utilitarianism, and war vs. peace. But I have concluded that as important as these questions are, they don't really cut to the nub of the issue, of the crucial dividing line between us.

Let us take, for example, two of the leading anarcho-capitalist works of the last few years: my own *For a New Liberty* and David Friedman's *Machinery of Freedom*. Superficially, the major differences between them are my own stand for natural rights and for a rational libertarian law code, in contrast to Friedman's amoralist utilitarianism and call for logrolling and trade-offs between non-libertarian private police agencies. But the difference really cuts far deeper. There runs through *For a New Liberty* (and most of the rest of my work as well) a deep and pervasive hatred of the State and all of its works, based on the conviction that the State is the enemy of mankind. In contrast, it is evident that David does not hate the State at all; that he has merely arrived at the conviction that anarchism and competing private police forces are a better social and economic system than any other alternative. Or, more fully, that anarchism would be better than *laissez-faire* which in turn is better than the current system. Amidst the entire spectrum of political alternatives, David Friedman has decided that anarcho-capitalism is superior. But superior to an existing political structure which is pretty good too. In short, there is no sign that David Friedman in any sense hates the existing American State or the State *per se*, hates it deep in his belly as a predatory gang of robbers, enslavers, and murderers. No, there is simply the cool conviction that anarchism would be the best of all possible worlds, but that our current set-up is pretty far up with it in desirability. For there is no sense in Friedman that the State—any State—is a predatory gang of criminals.

The same impression shines through the writing, say, of political philosopher Eric Mack. Mack is an anarcho-capitalist who believes in individual rights; but there is no sense in his writings of any passionate hatred of the State, or, a *fortiori*, of any sense that the State is a plundering and bestial enemy.

Perhaps the word that best defines our distinction is "radical". Radical in the sense of being in total, root-and-branch opposition to the existing political system and to the State itself. Radical in the sense of having integrated intellectual opposition to the State with a gut hatred of its pervasive and organized system of crime and injustice. Radical in the sense of a deep commitment to the spirit of liberty and anti-statism that integrates reason and emotion, heart and soul.

Furthermore, in contrast to what seems to be true nowadays, you don't have to be an anarchist to be radical in our sense, just as you can be an anarchist while missing the radical spark. I can think of hardly a single limited governmentalist of the present day who is radical—a truly

amazing phenomenon, when we think of our classical liberal forbears who were genuinely radical, who hated statism and the States of their day with a beautifully integrated passion: the Levellers, Patrick Henry, Tom Paine, Joseph Priestley, the Jacksonians, Richard Cobden, and on and on, a veritable roll call of the greats of the past. Tom Paine's radical hatred of the State and statism was and is far more important to the cause of liberty than the fact that he never crossed the divide between *laissez-faire* and anarchism.

And closer to our own day, such early influences on me as Albert Jay Nock, H. L. Mencken, and Frank Chodorov were magnificently and superbly radical. Hatred of "Our Enemy, the State" (Nock's title) and all of its works shone through all of their writings like a beacon star. So what if they never quite made it all the way to explicit anarchism? Far better one Albert Nock than a hundred anarchocapitalists who are all too comfortable with the existing *status quo*.

Where are the Paines and Cobdens and Nocks of today? Why are almost all of our *laissez-faire* limited governmentalist plonky conservatives and patriots? If the opposite of "radical" is "conservative", where are our radical *laissez-fairists*? If our limited statists were truly radical, there would be virtually no splits between us. What divides the movement now, the true division, is not anarchist vs. minarchist, but radical vs. conservative. Lord, give us radicals, be they anarchists or no.

To carry our analysis further, radical anti-statists are extremely valuable even if they could scarcely be considered libertarians in any comprehensive sense. Thus, many people admire the work of columnists Mike Royko and Nick von Hoffman because they consider these men libertarian sympathizers and fellow-travellers. That they are, but this does not begin to comprehend their true importance. For throughout the writings of Royko and von Hoffman, as inconsistent as they undoubtedly are, there runs an all-pervasive hatred of the State, of all politicians, bureaucrats, and their clients which, in its genuine radicalism, is far truer to the underlying spirit of liberty than someone who will coolly go along with the letter of every syllogism and every lemma down to the "model" of competing courts.

Taking the concept of radical vs. conservative in our new sense, let us analyze the now famous "abolitionism" vs. "gradualism" debate. The latter jab comes in the August issue of *Reason* (a magazine every fibre of whose being exudes "conservatism"), in which editor Bob Poole asks Milton Friedman where he stands on this debate. Friedman takes the opportunity of denouncing the "intellectual cowardice" of failing to set forth "feasible" methods of getting "from here to there." Poole and Friedman have between them managed to obfuscate the true issues. There is not a single abolitionist who would not grab a feasible method, or a gradual gain, if it came his way. The difference is that the abolitionist always holds high the banner of his ultimate goal, never hides his basic

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# Should Abortion Be A Crime?

## THE ABORTION QUESTION ONCE MORE

The abortion question continues to be a difficult one for many libertarians, and hence deserves some extended analysis. The vital point to focus on here, as in all other applications of libertarian theory to the legal system, is simply this: Should abortion be a crime? For at issue is not the morality or the aesthetics of abortion, which are matters of general moral or aesthetic theory or personal judgment. 1. To the libertarian, who must always separate legal from general moral theory, the crucial question is always: shall such and such an action be criminal, shall it be licit in the free society? There are numerous actions, for example, which a libertarian may or may not consider "immoral" (e.g. drinking alcohol or yelling at one's neighbor) but does not consider criminal. The libertarian always concentrates on what is a crime, and for him, the conclusion depends on his general theory that crime (and therefore illegality) must be confined to acts of aggression upon the person or property of others.

The common pro-abortionist argument that anti-abortionists are trying to impose their religious (e.g. Catholic or Orthodox Jewish) values on other people therefore misses the mark. For if the anti-abortionists are right, and abortion is really "murder", then the libertarian, who believes in outlawing murder as a crime, must join in the outlawry of abortion. The "religious" argument, therefore, misses the central point.

Much ink has been spilled on this issue trying to define the exact point at which human life begins. Birth, indeed, seems to be an event of some importance at which we can conveniently demarkate that "human life begins here", but then the anti-abortionists are able to bog the argument down in biological technicalities, and the dispute can continue ad infinitum. As I have written elsewhere, the definition of the begging of human life is actually irrelevant to our central issue. For let us give the anti-abortionists their full argument: let us assume for the moment that human life begins at conception. Let us concede, for the sake of argument, that the fertilized egg, from the beginning, has all the rights of a full, adult human being.

But then, who will maintain that a full, adult human being has the legal, enforceable right to remain enclosed within the body of another human being without the latter's consent? Surely, that is absurd. But if no adult human has such a legal right, then a fortiori, the fetus cannot have such a right either.

To put the case another way: It is axiomatic for the libertarian that every individual has the absolute right to own, to control, his or her own body. But, in that case, a woman has the right to eject any unwanted entity from within her own body, whether that entity be a fetus or a non-human parasite. Hence, a woman has the absolute right to commit an abortion, or, therefore, the right to hire someone to perform the abortion on her behalf.

Abortion, therefore, should be looked upon not as killing the fetus but as ejecting it from the mother's body. The fact that the fetus might well die in the course of the ejection is incidental to the act of abortion. It might be objected, of course, that the fetus requires for its survival a continued lodging in the body of the mother. But this brings us to another fundamental libertarian axiom: that no human being, whether fetus, child, or adult, has the legal right to keep itself alive at someone else's expense. No human being can have a legal claim up on someone else to perform any actions to keep it alive.

In short, the libertarian sees a fundamental difference between murdering someone, and failing to perform an act to keep that person alive. The former is a crime and an aggression, the latter is not and is therefore perfectly licit. For example, A sees B drowning in a pool; if A fails to jump in or perform other actions to save B, this may be morally reprehensible, but it is perfectly within A's rights. Or if A sees B dying in the street, it is not a crime for A to ignore the situation and fail to take action to save him. The same applies to ignoring a baby who might have been abandoned in the street.

Consider, too, the implications of the contrary position. If any sick or helpless human is considered to have a legal claim to be kept alive, (a) upon whom can that claim be enforced? On the first person who comes

along? On everyone? And (b) how many actions, how many resources, should the ill or helpless person be able to command? Suppose that an ill person can only be saved by the use of 2 trillion dollars worth of medical equipment, which would impoverish everyone. Does the legal claim extend this far, and if not, why not?

In her defense of the right of abortion, Professor Judith Thompson put the case very well:

"In some views having a right to live includes having a right to be given at least the bare minimum one needs for continued life. But suppose that what in fact is the bare minimum a man needs for continued life is something he has no right at all to be given? If I am sick unto death, and the only thing that will save my life is the touch of Henry Fonda's cool hand on my fevered brow, then all the same, I

(Continued On Page 3)

## Canadian Breakup

It seemed likely that the electoral success of the separatist Parti Quebecois would inspire other sections of Canada with the happy idea of breaking off from the swollen national Canadian government in Ottawa. Separatism, secessionism, feeds on and reinforces itself in a welcome type of "domino principle."

Now it seems that we didn't have long to wait. For the New York Times (itself violently anti-separatist on principle) reports (April 10) that advocates of an independent state in western Canada "have taken encouragement from the electoral victory of the separatist movement in Quebec Province." The idea is for an independent western state to include the currently western Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Yukon, and the Northwestern Territories.

The major grievances of the west are not linguistic, but politico-economic. There is, for example, the fact that federal taxes are extracted from the comparatively wealthy western provinces and siphoned into welfare payments and other subsidies in the east. Thus, for fiscal year 1973-74, a net of \$632 million was extracted by the national government from British Columbia. There is also a great deal of unhappiness with high federal tariffs, which confer privileges on inefficient eastern manufactured goods, making imports more expensive for western consumers. Nationalized freight rates keep the cost of transportation from west to east and back higher than they would be on the free market. And, finally, there is a minor but visible linguistic irritant in western Canada too: the fact that federal law compels bilingual signs on roads and in stores in an area where virtually no one speaks or understands French.

Who are the budding heroes of the western Canadian independence movement? There are three separatist organizations. One is the Committee for Western Independence, headed by a British Columbian, Douglas Christie. The Committee has 1,500 members, centered in British Columbia, a province which sells most of its mineral and forest products to the U. S. and Japan rather than to eastern Canada. Another such organization is the Western Canada Party, with 5,500 members in British Columbia, and led by Vancouver aircraft-parts salesman Edward G. Fleming. The Western Canada Party plans to field a full slate of candidates in the next provincial elections.

And, finally, further east in Alberta, there is the Western Independence Party, with 800 members, and led by Milton Harradance, former head of the Progressive Conservative Party in Alberta, and by Calgary oil man John Rudolph.

It should be pretty clear that, in the case of western independence, Canadian libertarians will not be able to use the Quebec excuse for not working with the movement that it is "socialist." The swollen nation-state of Canada is getting ripe for being toppled. Are Canada's libertarians going to miss the bus of an exciting and fundamental libertarian issue by not aiding in this historic task? □

## Abortion — (Continued From Page 2)

have no right to be given the touch of Henry Fonda's cool hand on my fevered brow. It would be rightfully nice of him to fly in from the West Coast to provide it . . . But I have no right at all against anybody that he should do this for me."

Professor Thomson continues: "having a right to life does not guarantee having either right to life does not guarantee having either a right to be given the use of or a right to be allowed continued use of another person's body—even if one needs it for life itself."\*

But, if no sick or helpless person, whether adult or baby, can have the right to coerce actions to keep it alive from the body or energy of another human being, if Judith Thomson cannot force Henry Fonda to save her, then, a fortiori, a fetus cannot have such a coercive right either. One person's need, however dire, cannot be used to sustain any coercion over the body or energy or property of another human being. And so the requirements of the fetus cannot take precedence over the absolute right of the mother over her own body.

One suspects that the anti-abortionists have not thought through the logical implications of their own position. If, indeed, abortion is "murder" of the fetus, because the fetus needs the environment of its mother's womb for its continued life, then what are the other obligations that we—can coerce upon the mother? For example, suppose that if the mother does not eat a balanced diet, or drinks liquor, or allows herself to get upset, the fetus will die, or, if not that, the fetus will be in some concrete way, injured? May we send in a Gestapo to coerce the proper diet, to coerce proper behavior, upon the mother? The "murder" thesis logically implies totalitarian control over pregnant women.

But suppose that technology has advanced to the point where the aborted fetus could be kept alive in a "test tube". Should the mother or the parents have a legally enforceable obligation to keep the now separated fetus alive? But, once again, this brings us to the general problem of the sick or the helpless. How much resources are the parents to be coerced into committing in order to keep the fetus alive? Two trillion dollars? We are back, in short, to the important lesson of the Karen Quinlan case—that there can be no legal obligation (though there may be a moral one) to keep "the plug" in place: that is, in short, a vital philosophical distinction—and one particularly vital to libertarians—between murder, a violent act of aggression, and "pulling the plug", that is, deciding not to commit resources—not to engage in further positive actions—to keep someone else alive. Murder is criminal, pulling the plug is licit. Even if, in cases as the fetus or Karen Quinlan, the distinction seems to make little difference to the dying person, it obviously makes a great deal of difference to the alleged "murderer."

Since libertarians often suffer from contract fetishism, there is a peculiarly "libertarian" variant of the anti-abortion argument: that the mother (and the father?), by conceiving the fetus, has made a "contract" with the fetus obligating the mother to carry through with the pregnancy. There are a large number of flaws in this argument. In the first place, it conflicts with the "murder" argument, which it is intended to supplement. For if it can be clearly demonstrated that no "contract" is involved, then the anti-abortionist must approve the right to abort, and surrender completely the claim that abortion is murder. Thus, clearly no "contract" with a fetus was involved if the fetus was conceived by an act of rape; hence, these anti-abortionists will concede the legitimacy of aborting a fetus conceived by rape. Yet, if abortion is "murder", isn't it just as illegitimate to murder a rape-begotten fetus as a voluntarily begotten one?

Secondly, the anti-abortionists don't seem to realize that more exceptions must then be granted than mere rape. What "contract" is involved, for example, in the case of a birth-control mistake? Such a fetus was also not deliberately conceived, but only arrived in error. So is such an abortion legitimate? But, in that case, the anti-abortionist is in bad practical shape, for how are the legal authorities supposed to decide whether a fetus was conceived because of a birth control mistake or whether it had been actively desired? Clearly, enforcement of this distinction is impossible, and our anti-abortionists would have to give up legal enforcement in practice, since the mother would only have to say that the fetus was a mistake, and it would be impossible to prove her wrong.

Thirdly, there are many grave flaws in the concept of "contract" involved in this argument. Surely, the fetus is scarcely a rational, willing entity, engaging consciously in a contractual relationship. Indeed, even the fetus was non-existent at the time when the alleged "contract" was made. And what obligations is the fetus supposed to be incurring in this contract? Any attribution of "implicit contracts" from human actions must be done with great care and circumspection; but here the "contract" is created hog wild, out of the whole cloth. But most important, this conception violates the proper, libertarian, property-rights, "title-transfer" theory of contract, the theory which declares (a) that a contract is only enforceable when it involves the transfer of a property title to another person, and (b) that a person's will, his body, is inalienable and cannot be surrendered in an enforceable transaction. But there is no property transfer in the alleged contract with the future fetus; there is only an alleged enslavement of the mother's body and will, an enslavement which cannot in fact and in right be made. In short, the mother, or anyone else for that matter, has the absolute right to change her mind with her own body and will, for the ownership of them cannot be surrendered. Even if the mother wanted the baby in the first place, she has the absolute right to change her mind, and the moment she does so, the fetus becomes an unwanted, invasive parasite upon the body of the mother. The right of abortion remains absolute.

\*Judith Jarvis Thomson, "A Defense of Abortion," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* (Fall 1971), pp. 55-56. □

## Exciting New Magazine: Inquiry

This fall there will be launched one of the most exciting new magazines in many years. It will be a bi-weekly, professional, real magazine-magazine, that will comment sharply and trenchantly on current political affairs. Its name is *Inquiry*. It will establish itself quickly as a rival of the *Nation*, *New Republic*, and *National Review*.

Politically, *Inquiry* will be non-sectarian, but that does not mean that the magazine will be value-free. On the contrary, *Inquiry*, as it says in its announcement, "will test all person and policies against the liberal and humanist values of peace, toleration and individual rights." Part of the excitement of *Inquiry* is that, in addition to its major focus on analyzing the broader issues, it will also do investigative reporting, exposing the specific wrongs and oppressions being committed by the U. S. government. In short, *Inquiry* will be "revisionist."

But, in addition to this, *Inquiry* will publish humor and political satire, and review books and the arts. In short, it will be broad-ranging enough to make a significant impact on the American scene, and on the opinion-moulders who will read it. A long list of contributors and contributing editors will include Nicholas von Hoffman, Robert Sherrill, Dr. Thomas S. Szasz, and the editor of the *Libertarian Forum*.

More importantly, the editors are distinguished libertarians. Editor is Williamson M. Evers, doctoral candidate in political science, Stanford University, until recently editor of the *L. P. News*, and member of the platform committee of the Libertarian Party. Senior Editor is Ralph Raico, on leave as professor of history, State University College at Buffalo. Raico edited the excellent pamphlet series published by the Libertarian Party in the 1976 campaign, and is also on the *L. P.* platform committee. Both Evers and Raico have been welcome contributors to the *Libertarian Forum*. Publisher of *Inquiry* is Edward H. Crane II, former investment counsellor and outgoing national chairman of the Libertarian Party who piloted the breakthrough campaign of 1976. Crane is publisher in his capacity as president of the Cato Institute, a non-profit public policy research foundation which will publish *Inquiry*.

For more information about *Inquiry* or about the numerous other activities in the works at Cato, write to the Cato Institute, 1700 Montgomery St., San Francisco, California 94111. □

## In Defense of Pirateering

by J. Michael Oliver

On the whole libertarianism has breached the traditional concepts of human social organization. It is a "clean" theory in that little or no effort has been made by libertarians to mold their ideas in such a way as to reflect socially acceptable political concepts and institutions.

However, in one area of libertarian discussion there does seem to be a conspicuous lapse of innovation. When discussing the defense of a free society from an aggressor state, anarchists have come up with a myriad of voluntarist alternatives to the present day armed forces—most modelled on existing and "acceptable" institutions. When asked by the curious how we would "defend the country" there is a tendency to quickly structure an institution along the lines of a voluntary armed force, a large insurance company, community beach patrols, etc. There is another defense option which to my knowledge has not been discussed in libertarian circles. It differs from the above defense measures in two significant ways. The proposal does not rely on the financial support of the population which benefits from its activities, and the proposal will engender the initial negative response of "gangsterism."

Before presenting this alternative let me make a disclaimer. Much of the debate over defense has been unnecessarily compartmentalized into national defense and individual defense. Libertarians have long recognized that the concepts "the people," "public," "nation," etc. are nearly useless concepts at best. It is inconsequential whether my health or property is taken from me by an aggressor who crosses a "national" boundary to get to me or merely crosses the street. Such concrete matters as the size of the population to be defended, the size of the aggressor force and the geographic relationship of the victim(s) to the aggressor(s) are tactical matters—not significant theoretical issues. A discussion of how the non-state society can be defended should be seen solely as tactical speculation. Anarchist principles need not be validated by an endless string of answers to "what would you do" or "what if" questions. Libertarianism is best defended on a higher plane than that of concrete scenarios. Yet speculating about a prospective libertarian society can illuminate the theoretical principles, and therein lies its chief value.

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In his tightly reasoned essay **No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority** (1870) Lysander Spooner makes the case that the Constitution, the U. S. government and "the people of the United States" are all illegitimate concepts from the point of view of law. A summation of his conclusions is worth repeating since it pertains to the issue of defense. (From Section X):

"It is obvious that, on general principles of law and reason, there exists no such thing as a government created by, or resting upon, any consent, compact, or agreement of 'the people of the United States' with each other; that the only visible, tangible, responsible government that exists, is that of a few individuals only, who act in concert, and call themselves by the several names of senators, representatives, presidents, judges, marshals, treasurers, collectors, generals, colonels, captains, etc., etc.

On general principles of law and reason, it is of no importance whatever that those few individuals profess to be the agents and representatives of 'the people of the United States'; since they can show no credentials from the people themselves; they were never appointed as agents or representatives in any open, authentic manner; they do not themselves know, and have no means of knowing, and cannot prove, who their principals (as they call them) are individually; and consequently cannot, in law or reason, be said to have any principals at all.

"It is obvious, too, that if these alleged principals ever did appoint these pretended agents, or representatives, they appointed them secretly (by secret ballot), and in a way to avoid all personal responsibility for their acts; that, at most, these alleged principals put these pretended agents forward for the most criminal purposes, viz.: to plunder the

people of their prosperity, and restrain them of their liberty; and that the only authority that these alleged principals have for so doing, is simply a tacit understanding among themselves that they will imprison, shoot or hang every man who resists the exactions and restrains which their agents or representatives may impose upon them.

"Thus it is obvious that the only visible, tangible government we have is made up of these professed agents or representatives or a secret band of robbers and murderers, who, to cover up, or gloss over, their robberies and murders, have taken to themselves the title of being 'the people of the United States,' assert their right to subject to their dominion, and to control and dispose of at their pleasure, all property and persons found in the United States."

(To fully appreciate these observations the full essay should be read.)

We are aware of course that the state does exist. Its threat is as real as its guns and armies. But the point Spooner makes is that in a legal sense the state has no reality. In the case of the U. S. government, its operatives are ever changing, its alleged principals ("the people") are a secret body which remains always undefined, and the contractual document which presumably stands as the legal basis of the state is of "no authority."

This leaves us with a very interesting prospect—around which our discussion of defense will revolve. The property which has been expropriated by the state (which of necessity includes all government property) is "owned" by a legal nonentity. Spooner makes the following point about government property in **No Treason** when he writes that "this secret band of robbers and murderers . . . have no corporate property . . . They do indeed pretend to own large tracts of wild lands, lying between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and between the Gulf of Mexico and the North Pole. But, on general principles of law and reason, they might as well pretend to own the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans themselves; or the atmosphere and the sunlight . . ." (from Section XVII). Thus if you take "government property," you cannot be said to have stolen it since there is no legally definable entity called "government" and therefore no owner.

Some libertarians contend that government property is rightfully the property of those from whom it was taken (e.g., taxpayers) and that ownership remains with the victims. Perhaps the best known proponent of this view is Ragnar Danneskjold (**Atlas Shrugged**) whom you will recall seized government gold and returned it to Hank Reardon and others on the basis of their previous tax victimization. Ragnar's assumption of course was that Reardon was entitled to only an amount equivalent to that which had been taken from him in the first place. There are problems with this restitutionist view.

1) The process of government expropriation extends over generations and centuries. Do I have a claim to my father's tax victimization? He has willed his estate to me, and property stolen from him is still part of his estate, is it not? And if I have a right to his portion of "government property" does not everyone else have a similar right to his parents' and even ancestors' share?

2) Government expropriation takes many forms—income tax, sales tax, property tax, conscription, eminent domain, etc. My records only cover income tax losses at the hands of government. Do I thereby lose my right to properties stolen by other means? If not, how do I document and calculate what amount of value is to be restituted to me?

3) A large portion of the wealth taken by government is destroyed either directly as in wartime or through inefficiency. This means that if all claimants put in for reparations there wouldn't be enough wealth in government hands to compensate its victims.

4) When an individual(s) is identified as an aggressor then responsibility can be assigned. Damages can be levied against him for his actions. In the case of government aggression, however, responsibility

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## Pirateering — (Continued From Page 4)

cannot be so easily assigned, if at all. As Spooner explains, government is a "secret band of robbers and murderers." Government does not end with the first echelon of IRS agents, police, soldiers and Congressmen. There are also the rank and file government employees, those contracting to government, financiers of government (bondholders) and that invisible mob of voters and supporters. Only superficial responsibility can be assigned. In short we cannot define the aggressor.

The proponent of restitution is faced with the following circumstances. Wealth has been stolen or destroyed by government in so many ways over such a long period of time that any meaningful accounting is virtually impossible. Thus he cannot declare with any certainty how much has been stolen. Further, so many individuals and corporations have been robbed that a list of victims would encompass almost all citizens past and present as well as foreign victims of government wars. His final impossible problem will be to determine the amount of reparations due to the individual who has been both victim and aggressor (taxpayer and taxconsumer), a category which covers a greater number of people than one might at first suspect.

There is an alternative to the restitution theory. The "homestead" or "pirateering" theory holds that wealth in the hands of government is in an ownerless limbo. When stolen by the state it crosses the line from owned to unowned, and like all unowned wealth it is open to being claimed as property. "Government property" may be likened to a gold-laden Spanish galleon on the floor of the Caribbean. The original lines of ownership have been obliterated by time and circumstance. Just as there are individuals who will assume the risks and make the investment to retrieve the sunken gold, it is reasonable to assume that there will also be those who will take steps to claim government wealth. In the process these fortune hunters or pirates will do considerable damage to governments' capabilities for aggression. Their activities will constitute an efficient and "free" defense service.

There is nothing particularly novel about people successfully challenging the power of the state for political or profit motives. Terrorists and guerillas of all political stripes have demonstrated countless times that government's veneer of invincibility and permanence is only veneer. Conspirators in coup d'etats have often toppled regimes overnight through careful planning and timing. On the profit side consider the art thief who targets "national" or "public" (government) art galleries, bypassing electronic defenses, security forces and later government investigators.

International art thieves, insofar as they prey upon government collections, are excellent examples of free market pirates. They remove objects of value from the state and market them to the highest bidders. The risk is very high but apparently not so high as to curtail the profitability of their business.

Any significant emergence of free market pirateering would probably not occur until a market (stateless) society appeared somewhere on the globe. At that point at least one haven for them would exist, and the degree of risk hanging over their activities would diminish. Of course any favorable change in the risk-reward ratio would attract a great number of people to pirateering.

What possibilities for success would pirates have?

1) The unsettling effects accompanying the birth of a stateless society would do much to irritate conditions in political societies. Pirates would undoubtedly find ready-made alliances with radicals inside the unliberated countries, thereby increasing the chances of success for both participants.

2) The pirate's objective is far more limited than that of a revolutionary. The pirate is not primarily concerned with dismantling, overthrowing or supplanting governmental power. He is not a "patriot." His objective is highly limited and the time of contact between the pirate and the state will probably be equally limited. In contrast, the revolutionary, regardless of his techniques, is engaged in a protracted struggle to the death. His objective is to abolish or take over the state, not to pick its pocket; consequently his risks are far greater. Despite these risks we know that revolutionaries often accomplish their goals. Given the pirate's more limited goals and exposure time we can assume a higher probability of success in the pirate's case.

3) In addition, pirates are as subject to the forces of the marketplace as

any business venture. Their operations are financed by investment capital and they must be successful if they are to remain in business. Their failures are not subsidized by a garrisoned population. The pressures for efficiency are very real. However, the governments which they attack are functioning on a typical level of inefficiency. The contest is between a small force(s) tempered to efficiency by market pressures and a large force relying on its size and brute strength.

In what manner does pirateering constitute a defense against state aggression? In the first place a pirate's selection of targets will be relatively unaffected by his conception of whether a government is or is not a threat to a free society. His objective is the largest prize posing the least risk. To him, and to all libertarians, the state is aggressing against someone if it is breathing. There is no such thing as a non-aggressive government. He needs no further justification to seize government wealth than the arguments presented above. The only question which gives him pause is that of accessibility.

Certain government assets are more accessible than others, just as some governments are more vulnerable to attack than others. Idi Amin's gold horde is a more likely target of pirate attack than the gold held by the U.S. government. Obviously the easier targets will be taken first. Pirates will concentrate on the less stable governments with particular focus on mobile and highly valued wealth—precious metals, foreign currencies, etc. News of the first few successful raids will attract many more people and corporations into pirateering. The vulnerability of government will have been demonstrated. As the easy targets fall by the wayside, the better prepared and bolder among the pirates (or pirate corporations) will begin to challenge the larger governments. The governments of the world will find themselves faced with a new type of opponent. Rather than dealing with the state on its own terms by confronting its soldiers and police, the pirate looks for the back way in. Unlike an opposing army or an internal revolutionary organization the pirate corporation is not a definable group. A conventional or a guerilla army must engage the forces of the state to achieve its goals. The first does this directly, usually on a large scale, while the latter is more selective and piecemeal; but both methods result in combat between the rank-and-file on both sides. Conventional and guerilla wars are usually drawn-out affairs involving the waste of lives, resources and time. Pirateering would function much along the lines of organized crime today (excluding of course organized crime's propensity to occasionally be an aggressor). Profit is the objective, and a businesslike approach governs methods. Probably the major difference between pirateering as conceived here and the Mafia is that the Mafia seeks only to operate its black market activities and to avoid the state; the pirate goes after the state.

There are a few likely similarities however. The Mafia is global. Pirate corporations would undoubtedly seek to establish a global network as well. "Going international" would facilitate smuggling of personnel, materiel and booty in or out of various countries; it would lead to a ready-made network of contacts and operatives; and it would better prepare the pirates to act on any unexpected opportunity which might arise in another country.

The Mafia has also been known to pay off government officials for favors or silence. A pirate corporation would also find it necessary to share profits and to offer an umbrella of protection and escape to any government insider who aided it in seizing government assets—such as a few guards and a banking official in the Bank of Uganda who guard or have access to Field Marshall Amin's gold.

Shades of SPECTRE, Goldfinger, Mission Impossible and Ragnar Danneskjold? Is pirateering a far fetched idea? I think not. There is sufficient evidence that widespread pirateering could be successful if preceded by the emergence of at least one free society (and presumably that is the proverbial free society which we are asked "how will you defend it").

From a libertarian perspective the methods of the pirate are not repugnant. He strikes at the heart of the state—its pocket and its undeserved reputation of omnipotence. He bleeds the state of its capability to aggress as well as its mystique. He strikes cleanly, avoiding physical combat as much as possible. (It is uneconomical). Can the same be said of conventional armies, nuclear weapons and guerilla warfare?

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# Seeking the Political Kingdom: A Review Essay

by Justus D. Doenecke

Peter L. Berger and Richard John Neuhaus, eds., *Against the World for the World: The Hartford Appeal and the Future of American Religion* (New York: Seabury, 1976)

Rene de Visme Williamson, *Politics and Political Theology: An Interpretation of Tillich, Barth, Bonhoeffer, and Brunner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976)

Paul Tillich, *A History of Christian Thought* (New York: Touchstone, 1973).

The church was full, indeed jammed, as the young priest began celebrating his first mass in English. When the cleric came to the part of the liturgy where he said, "The Lord be with you," one acolyte whispered to another, "He mean *Dominus vobiscum*."

The problem of updating Christian social teachings is a perennial one, and there has scarcely been an era in which modernization and tradition, prophetic protest and classical doctrines have not been in tension. Such tension was much in evidence when, in January of 1975, a group of theologians met at Hartford Seminary, there to protest against themes in contemporary Christian thought they found both false and debilitating. They represented a variety of schools ranging from Roman Catholic to conservative evangelical, and they included in their numbers such prominent names as social activist William Sloane Coffin, Jr., sociologist Peter Berger, and theologian George H. Tavad.

Their manifesto is formally entitled "An Appeal for Theological Affirmation." Informally it is called "the Hartford Appeal." In direct and hard-hitting language, the signers explicitly denied that the world, and its concerns, could ever set the agenda for the Church. While admitting that institutions are often oppressive, the drafters wrote that "the modern pursuit of liberation from all social and historical restraints is finally dehumanizing."

As the Hartford theologians continue their indictment, they challenge the claim that modern thought can ever be normative for the Christian faith, that God is humanity's most noble creation, and that Jesus himself can only be understood in terms of today's models of humanity. Sin, they assert, involves far more than the failure to realize potential, and salvation cannot be found apart from God. The Kingdom of God, after all, surpasses any conceivable utopia.

If the Hartford Appeal was long overdue in theological circles, it still made national headlines. The drafters received over a thousand personal letters. Some of the response was responsible, some was not, for the framers found themselves having to deny that they stood for a right-wing resurgence in the churches. The Berger-Neuhaus anthology is one effort to meet some of the more thoughtful criticism.

Berger launches this first-rate collection with an attack on secularity. Here the Rutgers sociologist calls upon the Christian community, both Protestant and Catholic, to avoid prostituting its tradition by adopting such fads as "human authenticity," "personal fulfillment," and psychological and political "liberation". Rather it must return to a sense of transcendence, and to the concept of the supernatural, for only then can it radically criticize its society. George A. Lindbeck of Yale Divinity School develops this point, noting that the Appeal reaffirms the possibility of formulating creative theology—this at a time when right-wing Pentecostals and leftist ecclesiastical technocrats have abandoned the theological quest.

Even that old bastion of orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, is no longer immune to forms of culture-religion, a point ably made by Avery Dulles, S. J. of Catholic University. Dulles challenges tenets advanced by the World Council of Churches and by "liberal Catholics," while countering liberal critiques by stressing the Manifesto's attack on racism, war, and economic exploitation. Carl J. Peters, also of Catholic University, covers Roman Catholic responses to the manifesto. Peters notes that while the Catholic press is quite positive, some theologians—such as Gregory Baum—are critical. He calls upon Catholic theologians to seek "a creative alienation," one as rooted in faith and belief as in efforts to confront modernity on its own terms. Turning to Eastern Orthodoxy, Alexander Schmemmann of St. Vladimir's notes that orthodox rites and

theology still remain dependent upon the classical patristic tradition. However, the day-to-day life of both priest and layman is so immersed in American civil religion as to make the Hartford indictment a most telling one.

Just in case anyone doubts who the drafters of the Appeal had in mind, George Wolfgang Forell of the University of Iowa lets the reader know, and know in no uncertain terms. Forell points to such weird phenomena as the "Gospel of Christian Athiesm," comparisons between Jesus and Che Guevera, and endorsement of all left-wing revolutions. And, argues Forell, if the Church's agenda is truly set by the world, the rightist culture-religion represented by Richard Nixon has as equal claim on the believer as the "hip" theology of Harvey Cox. Richard J. Mouw of Calvin College continues in this vein, showing how conservative Protestantism overstates the subjective elements of belief, reduces religious language to mere human experience, identifies salvation with peace of mind, and preaches an "American way of life." Little wonder that Richard John Neuhaus, editor of *Worldview*, calls for aiding the oppressed in a way that neither avoids political action nor baptizes one's cause in a "partisan church."

Since Augustine wrote *The City of God*, there have—of course—been efforts to build a positive political theology. Rene de Visme Williamson, a political scientist at Louisiana State University and Presbyterian layman, has recently attempted this task. Williamson draws upon four of the most influential theologians of our century—Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Emil Brunner, and Paul Tillich—and then attempts his own political synthesis.

Barth, the Swiss theologian famous for stressing the gap between unredeemed man and a saving God, had a low opinion of the state. Indeed, it is Karl Barth, not Murray Rothbard, who called the state "a graceless order . . . in which human possibilities have been renounced."

Similarly it is Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the martyr resistent executed by the Nazis, and not the editorial board of the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, who said, "The concept of the state is foreign to the New Testament. It has its origin in pagan antiquity." Bonhoeffer continually called for a decentralized society, be the system called federalism, pluralism, or checks-and-balances. The present could only be transformed, he went on, by converted individuals, not by theological liberalism or social activism.

The strongest anti-state sentiments of all came from Emil Brunner, an underrated theologian long overshadowed by Barth. Brunner wrote that "Every State represents human sin on the large scale; in the growth of every State the most brutal, anti-divine forces have taken a share, to an extent unheard of the individual life, save in that of some prominent criminals." In fact, it is Brunner, not Joseph Peden, who commented, "The true dominion of Christ, and what we call the State, are fundamentally opposed," just as it is Brunner—not Leonard Liggio—who claimed that "without private property there is no free personal life."

Even Tillich, the most unorthodox of Williamson's four subjects (and the only one who lived much of his life in the United States) is no particular friend of civil authority. The German-born theologian found civil law subject to so much change, and so ambiguous, that it is of little use in formulating decisions. History itself, according to Tillich, "has no aim, either in time or in eternity."

Yet, if Tillich deeply distrusted political institutions, Williamson shows that the positions of Barth, Bonhoeffer, and Brunner were not quite so simple. Although Barth was no admirer of the state, he asserted that it "serves to protect man from the invasion of chaos;" even more, is "is ordained of God, so that those who try to evade or oppose it resist the ordinance of God and the kingly rule of His Son." Barth's thought is a curious mixture: he asserted that "all reformers are Pharisees" but saw real merit in democracy and socialism, and he denounced Nazism as a pagan religion but told East German pastors that taking an oath to their Communist government was permissible. Denying that we can do anything about any crisis except await a divine "command of the hour,"

(Continued On Page 7)

## Political Kingdom —

(Continued From Page 6)

he declared confidently that God was in full control and would turn all evil into good.

Bonhoeffer, while claiming that there is no sovereign but God, reflected Lutheranism's well-known passivity towards the state. In the 1930's, he went so far as to assert that the German Reich was "justified in adopting new methods" in dealing with "the Jewish question," and when World War II broke out, he joined the *Abwehr*, the military counter-intelligence organization established by Admiral Canaris. (It was his participation in the *Abwehr* plot to assassinate Hitler that later led to his execution). Brunner declared that the state needed power over life and death; otherwise society "would become the plaything of those who by no means abrogate their desire to kill, and there are such in every nation."

Williamson notes that the four theologians possessed one political doctrine in common: "a profound distrust of all ideological and political systems." In addition, they proclaimed that the Christian, by his ability to stand outside his culture, can judiciously appraise the strengths and weaknesses of all ideologies and policies, be they racial segregation or participatory democracy. Specific Christian insights, writes Williamson, include vesting ultimate authority in God alone, supporting proposals for decentralization of power, backing constitutional restraints, recognizing that all human faculties are affected by sin, and denying that the good society can come through structural change alone. It is sound advice.

The Williamson work is most valuable, especially those parts showing why the four theologians usually avoided specific policy recommendations. Rather, as Williamson notes, they give us something more valuable, norms to be applied when concrete decisions are made. Williamson could have done more with Barth's early Christian socialism, Tillich's flirtation with Kenneth Leslie's pro-Soviet magazine *The Protestant Digest*, and Bonhoeffer's hope for an entire culture permeated by Christianity. While good comparisons are made to Calvin, far more could have been done with Augustine, Aquinas, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Only primary works are used, except for two Roman Catholic studies on Tillich that stress Tillich's lack of kinship to the Christian faith. Because Williamson strongly concurs, and in the eyes of this reviewer somewhat unfairly, a closer look at Tillich's general contribution is needed.

By examining Tillich's lectures to students at Union and Chicago divinity schools, one finds a far more orthodox and political sophisticated mind at work. These lectures, now collected in his *History of Christian Thought*, compose one of the most significant works in intellectual history offered within the past quarter century. The work is not only essential to understanding Tillich's thought, but it shows with eloquence how Christianity's detractors often misunderstand the faith they attack. It is, in fact, most surprising that some historians still rely upon such superficial surveys as John Hermann Randall, Jr. and Crane Brinton when good and thoughtful writing is now easily available.

Although Tillich was long a Christian socialist, he denies that the Kingdom of God, or the classless society, could ever be established on earth. It is not accidental, Tillich noted, that the word "utopia" stems from the Greek *ou-topos*, or "no place." Once finding that there is "no place" for the Kingdom in temporal time and space, people will curb their "fanatic will toward political revolution and the transformation of society" and hopefully seek reform on more realistic levels.

Moving to Tillich's history, we soon see a master synthesizer at work. He begins by defending the concept of dogma, declaring that it is not "a suppressive power which produces dishonesty" but "a wonderful and profound expression of the actual life of the church." He holds the classical doctrines of the sacraments, the Trinity, and Christ in high esteem, while challenging the conventional myth that the apostolic fathers simply superimposed sophisticated Greek categories upon a primitive New Testament gospel.

Few theologians in fact have a greater appreciation of patristics. Tillich praises Justin Martyr for showing the presence of the Logos, or God's self-manifestation, beyond the boundaries of the Church. Origin for finding God as "being" itself (and here Tillich might be more careful), Dionysius the Areopagite for defining "the God above God," and Augustine for refusing to see God as a mere object besides other objects. Like the drafters of the Hartford Appeal, Tillich warned against the continual recurrence of Pelagianism; despite the teachings of the British theologian, religion is not sheer morality.

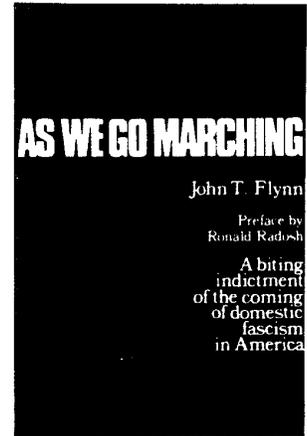
The Middle Ages, Tillich claims, were not the "Dark Ages" and should not be treated with contempt. The medieval church was open to many philosophical directions, bearing little of the rigidity associated with post-Tridentine Catholicism. Tillich shows that mysticism and scholasticism (which he much respects) went hand in hand and that much insight was lost when the realist sense of universals (i.e. the nature of things, the essences) was lost to the nominalists. He praises a variety of

(Continued On Page 8)

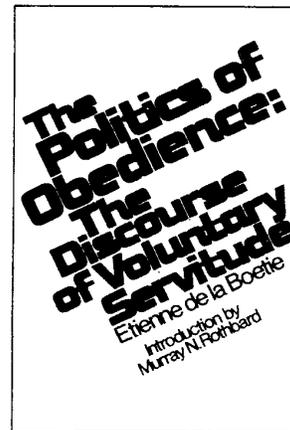
# LIBERTARIAN CLASSICS

"When fascism comes . . . it will appear in the luminous robes of flaming patriotism."—John T. Flynn

Writing in the early 1940's, Flynn analyzed German and Italian fascism and charged that America was developing domestic fascism through a growing dependence on militarism, a merging of economic and political power in the corporate state, and an imperialistic foreign policy. "One of the best and most readable analyses of fascism." —Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. \$3.45



La Boetie's classic 16th century argument that tyranny depends on the consent of the ruled has profoundly influenced the tradition of civil disobedience. The introduction, by Murray N. Rothbard, provides a clear analysis of La Boetie's political thought. "Ought to be one of the central documents in the library of anyone concerned with human liberty."—Stanley Milgram \$7.95, 2.95



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## Political Kingdom —

(Continued From Page 7)

figures: Abelard of Paris for contributing a dialectical method, Bernard of Clairvaux for noting that faith can only become real through experience, Nicholas of Cusa for seeing the presence of the infinite in everything finite, and St. Francis of Assisi—"the father of the renaissance"—for showing God as the Father of nature and of all beings.

Approaching the Reformation, Tillich stresses the contribution of Luther whose "experience of God" literally "transformed the surface of the earth." The German reformer, Tillich writes, entered into an "I-thou relationship" with God; Luther did not speak of intellectual justification by an absurd notion—but rather the openness to divine grace. Luther's stress on total depravity, so Tillich notes, does not mean that there is nothing good in man, but that "man is distorted, or in conflict with himself, in the center of his professional life." Attacking a stereotype still expounded by such writers as William L. Shirer, Tillich denied that Luther advocated an tribal or racial ideology, or was in any sense responsible for the rise of Nazism.

Going on to modern philosophy, Tillich lauds Kant for stressing the finitude of man, Schleiermacher for emphasizing man's unconditional dependence. Hegel, says Tillich, is significant for his stress on God as the ground from which and to which all things exist; those philosophers and historians who stress the dialectic of "thesis-antithesis-synthesis" do him an injustice. Contrary to myth, Hegel never envisioned a centralized economy and government as the culmination of history. Instead, so Tillich claims, he called for a city-state, a Greek polis, that united religion and culture and fostered democratic participation. Tillich praises Kierkegaard for showing the "leap" of faith but sees danger in the kind of rootless existentialism that tells "someone to jump without giving him the direction."

Such a survey only samples the richness of Tillich's thought, just as Williamson only indirectly covers the insights of the four theologians. If Tillich's book has one drawback, it is this: Tillich turns many theologians of the past into progenitors of his own thought, and hence he must continually be checked against primary material. Relating the sacred and secular in ways that are neither glib nor incipid is a task still lying before us. Berger and Neuhaus indicate the problem, Williamson offers a method, and Tillich presents the heritage upon which to build. □

## Pirateering — (Continued From Page 5)

And finally he does not require financial support from the population—only a few willing investors.

The pirate is at once a businessman, a defender and a revolutionary. And if we live to see a trend toward libertarianism in the world it will be he who turns aside to pick apart the remains of the statist order—for profit of course.

## Hate the State? —

(Continued From Page 1)

principles, and wishes to get to his goal as fast as humanly possible. Hence, while the abolitionist will accept a gradual step in the right direction if that is all that he can achieve, he always accepts it grudgingly, as merely a first step toward a goal which he always keeps blazingly clear. The abolitionist is a "button pusher" who would blister his thumb pushing a button that would abolish the State immediately, if such a button existed. But the abolitionist also knows that alas! Such a button does not exist, and that he will take a bit of the loaf if necessary—while always preferring the whole loaf if he can achieve it.

It should be noted here that many of Milton's most famous "gradual" programs such as the voucher plan, the negative income tax, the withholding tax, fiat paper money—are gradual (or even not so gradual) steps in the wrong direction, away from liberty, and hence the militance of much libertarian opposition to these schemes.

His button pushing position stems from the abolitionist's deep and abiding hatred of the State and its vast engine of crime and oppression. With such an integrated world-view, the radical libertarian could never dream of confronting either a magic button or any real-life problem with some arid cost-benefit calculation. He knows that the State must be diminished as fast and as completely as possible. Period.

And that is why the radical libertarian is not only an abolitionist, but also refuses to think in such terms as a Four Year Plan for some sort of stately and measured procedure for reducing the State. The radical—whether he be anarchist or laissez-faire—cannot think in such terms as, e.g.: Well, the first year, we'll cut the income tax by 2%, abolish the ICC, and cut the minimum wage; the second year we'll abolish the minimum wage, cut the income tax by another 2%, and reduce welfare payments by 3%, etc. The radical cannot think in such terms, because the radical regards the State as our mortal enemy, which must be hacked away at wherever and whenever we can. To the radical libertarian, we must take any and every opportunity to chop away at the State, whether it's to reduce or abolish a tax, a budget appropriation, or a regulatory power. And the radical libertarian is insatiable in this appetite until the State has been abolished, or—for minarchists—dwindled down to a tiny, laissez-faire role.

Many people have wondered: Why should there be any important political disputes between anarchocapitalists and minarchists now? In this world of statism, where there is so much common ground, why can't the two groups work in complete harmony until we shall have reached a Cobdenite world, after which we can air our disagreements? Why quarrel over courts, etc. now? The answer to this excellent question is that we could and would march hand-in-hand in this way if the minarchists were radicals, as they were from the birth of classical liberalism down to the 1940's. Give us back the antistatist radicals, and harmony would indeed reign triumphant within the movement. □

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## A Monthly Newsletter

THE

# Libertarian Forum

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## Tax Rebellion in Illinois!

Shout hosannahs! Ring dem bells! A mighty property tax strike is now sweeping the northern suburbs of Chicago, and for once, the ideological and organizational leadership of the rebellion is being provided by libertarians rather than by Birchers or Cartoites.

It all began with a recent massive property reassessment conducted in the northern quadrant of Cook County, Illinois. The reassessments suddenly boosted property taxes by very large amounts; most raises were in the 50-65% range; other tax bills increased by as much as 300%.

When the property tax bills were sent out, the citizens of the North Shore reacted with shock and anger. At first the reaction was outraged but inchoate; phone calls bombarded the Cook County Assessors Office. Complaints also deluged the *Chicago Tribune*, which initiated public knowledge of the firestorm of grievance by printing some of the complaints in a front-page article. Many of the letters were a cry from the heart, asking, in effect, where is the leadership, where is the organization, that can organize and redress my grievances? Thus, one outraged taxpayer wrote: "I bitterly resent the government trying to steal my house from me, and that's what they're doing." Another poured out his frustration in the *Chicago Tribune* article: "I just don't know what to do. It's frustrating as hell. I hear people talk about a revolution, but I don't know how to revolt."

As soon as the article was published, libertarian activists from the Libertarian Party of Illinois and the National Taxpayers United (the Illinois affiliate of the National Taxpayers Union) saw their opportunity and seized it. A meeting was arranged in Evanston between representatives from the LPI and NTU, and an Evanston resident quoted in the *Tribune* article. The meeting formed a Taxpayers Protest Committee, with Leonard Hartmann, the quoted Evanston resident, at its head. James L. Tobin, 31-year old economist and bank auditor and Illinois head of the NTU who was to become the principal leader of the tax rebellion, urged an outright tax strike; he was ably seconded by Milton Mueller, chairman of the Libertarian Party of Illinois.

The committee decided to call a "town hall" type meeting in Evanston to see if the property taxpayers would be willing to go along with an outright tax strike—a refusal to pay the assessed taxes. Notice of the meeting ran only in the early editions of the *Chicago Tribune*; largely, the organizers relied merely on word-of-mouth.

The committee expected about 50 people to appear at the meeting, which was held on the night of August 3 in the Evanston Public Library. Instead, 200 citizens showed up. Hartmann, without a libertarian background, argued for a legal protest: paying the taxes while protesting and appealing the assessments. But James Tobin far better expressed the radical spirit of the meeting by calling for an open tax strike. "We all know we've had big taxes thrown on our backs," Tobin charged. "And now it has come down to what we're going to do about it. Are we going to let city hall control our lives, or are we going to make enough noise for them to listen to us." It is particularly gratifying to the editor of the Lib.

Forum that his *Conceived in Liberty* was brandished aloft by Tobin as he explained why it was not "unpatriotic" to refuse tax payments, giving examples from the book of early American tax revolts. Tobin asserted that "We've gotten to the point where we are afraid of our government, afraid of what it can do to us. It's time somebody stood up and pointed the finger!"

Tobin also presented a well-thought out set of demands for the tax strike. The demands included: (a) extending the Aug. 15 deadline for property tax payments three months; (b) freezing assessments at the old rate, so that taxes do not go up along with government-created inflation; (c) no increase in tax rates without a publicly-announced referendum; (d) allowing small groups of taxpayers to obtain referenda for reducing tax rates; and (e) full amnesty for the tax strikers.

The sentiment of the crowd was overwhelmingly in favor of the tax strike, which was only opposed by two persons. Typical of the sentiment was the charge by a German immigrant in Evanston that when he attempted to challenge his increased assessment, the Assessors told him that he had to wait until he received his bill; but after he received the bill, the office told him that he would have had to challenge the assessment before the bill was sent. "These are Nazi tactics!" the man charged.

The organizers passed the hat at the meeting and raised over \$400 for printing and for an advertisement in a local paper. More important was the excellent publicity generated by the meeting: a *Tribune* article, a page 3 article in the *Chicago Daily News* replete with pictures; and coverage by two TV stations and several radio stations.

Leafleting the rest of the North Shore, meetings burgeoned in other townships, such as Glenview, Palatine, and Wilmette. The *New York Times* gave full coverage, plus photograph, to a later meeting in Evanston, held on August 18 at the First United Methodist Church. The meeting of 350 homeowners "shouted their approval" as Jim Tobin charged that "Taxes are immoral." (Indeed, nationwide TV coverage has shown "Taxation is Theft" placards being brandished at these Illinois tax protest meetings.) Tobin told the cheering throng that "You can never call a tax fair when you are forced to pay against your will. It's immoral to force me to pay for educational facilities when I don't have any children to send to school. It's immoral to force the elderly and retired to pay for schools that are no use to them." In this way, Tobin escalated the analysis, and raised the libertarian consciousness of his listeners by widening the attack to the public school system itself—the "consumer" of the bulk of all property taxes across the country.

In its August issue announcing the strike, the *Illinois Libertarian*, the newsletter of the LPI, concludes its informative article by saying that "How effective the strike will be is dependent upon many unpredictable things. But by any standard, our efforts thus far have been extremely rewarding, and if the politicians aren't paying attention they'll be sorry.

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## Panama Canal Question

The Panama Canal treaty looms as the hottest issue yet in the Carter administration. It is the issue on which Ronnie Reagan almost rode to glory last year. What are the issues at stake here?

In the first place, the Panama Canal question is a splendid way in which to look upon the face of the Right-wing, in all of its pristine purity. For here there are no phony Red Herrings, no anti-Communism, that can plausibly be dragged across the trail. There is no question here of a Soviet threat, no Gulags, there is just naked, unabashed American Imperialism. And yet, or rather, and therefore, here is truly an issue to make Conservative juices flow. Give up sovereignty over the Canal? "Never, sir!" proclaim our home-grown Colonel Blimps.

Not only does the Panama question strip away the anti-Communist camouflage; it also dispenses with anti-socialism and anti-statism as well. For defending the Panama Canal Zone is defending—and does the right-wing know this, I wonder?—an enclave of pure socialism within U. S. territory. In short, not only is the Canal Zone owned by the U. S. government, but virtually all citizens there are employees of the U. S. government-owned and operated Panama Canal Company. So the Conservatives want us to die to the last man not only for naked American imperialism and "sovereignty", but also for an enclave of American state socialism. We should ask ourselves: why don't the conservatives care about that? The answer evidently is that the conservatives are fashioned Imperialists who don't give a hoot about libertarian or anti-statist concerns. One more striking example of the fact that Reaganite Conservatism is antithetical to liberty.

But isn't the Canal Zone "rightfully" the U.S.'s? Didn't we buy it or something? The answer is no, the U. S. stole it, in an egregious power grab by America's first openly imperialist President, the evil Teddy Roosevelt. T. R. engineered a phony revolution in the Panama section of Colombia, a "revolution" fought and paid for by U. S. troops and employees, after which our new puppet regime sold us the rights to the Canal and the Zone. Teddy engineered the coup because the government of Colombia wanted a \$10 million cut from the \$40 million which the U. S. government had agreed to pay the old bankrupt French Panama Canal Co. for its rights to build the canal. The U. S. wanted the Panama Canal Co. to get the full \$40 million. When T. R. made his massive intervention, he conned the American public into believing that he was saving the American taxpayers from an extra \$10 million holdup by Colombia; instead, it was simply a question of division of the spoils.

Why was Teddy Roosevelt so worried about the income not going to the French Panama Canal Co.? Because it was no longer "French." It had secretly been bought up by a coalition of Wall St. speculators, headed by J. P. Morgan, and including Teddy's own brother-in-law, Douglas E. Robinson. The new canal company hired the eminent Wall St. lawyer, William N. Cromwell, to get the American money, and it was Cromwell, sitting in the White House itself, who wrote Roosevelt's dispatches and engineered the entire operation. After the company got the \$40 million, much of it was funnelled by Cromwell into the eager hands of the New York real-estate investments of Teddy's kinsman Douglas Robinson. Is this the process that is supposed to sanctify U. S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal and the Zone until death do us part?

The Panamanians, understandably, are familiar with the history of the Panama grab even if we are not. Hence the continuing agitation, threat of uprising, etc. The libertarian policy on the Canal is clear and simple: to liquidate the U. S. government operation in the form of the Panama Canal Co., and to withdraw U. S. troops from the Zone and U. S. "sovereignty" over the zone. In short, to get the heck out, and the sooner the better.

The New Left weekly, *In These Times*, correctly taunts the Conservatives on the socialism of the Canal Zone:

"Right-wingers are lionizing President Theodore Roosevelt, who had no use for their neanderthal 'free market' ideology. . . . They are less vocal in noting that the Canal represents everything they denounce as 'socialism' and 'welfare statism.' The canal's construction was and remains the largest single public works ever undertaken by the American government. . . . Private enterprise is prohibited from the Canal Zone; and the American residents benefit from subsidized housing, public

transportation, publicly owned retail stores, and 'socialized' medicine: Success and a high standard of living without the profit motive. No wonder the American canal zone residents don't want to come home to capitalist America. They're very happy with their 'socialist' colony." (In *These Times*, August 24-30, 1977).

Of course, the shoe is also on the New Leftists' foot; for according to their own ideology, these Zonians are imperialist and militarist—in short, socialist—exploiters of the American public as well as of the Panamanians. But we should all be able to agree: Get the Zonians off our backs!

In contrast to the Conservatives, the new Libertarian Party Platform for 1977-78 is clear and unequivocal—and libertarian—on the Panama Canal issue: "The United States should liquidate its government-run canal operation in Panama and withdraw all U. S. troops from the Canal Zone." At the beginning of the new "Colonialism" plank in which this sentence appears, we now have: "United States colonialism has left a

(Continued On Page 3)

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

*Annie Hall*, dir. by Woody Allen. With Allen and Diane Keaton.

This is Woody Allen's best film to date. I went to this movie on my guard because of my fellow critics' "assurances" that *Annie Hall*, at long last, transcended "mere humor" to acute social significance. But don't you believe it; *Annie Hall* is a constant stream of hilarious, scintillating wit. The movie is totally ethnic; it sparkles with "in" ethnic references and local references to New York. As a matter of fact, the best way to approach *Annie Hall* is to be a Jewish intellectual from the West Side of Manhattan. But Outlanders seem to enjoy the film, too, although one sometimes wonders how New Yorkers will particularly enjoy Woody's blistering rending of Los Angeles life and culture, and his enthusiasm for New York. Allen sums up the contrast between Jewish and Gentile family eating habits in a few hilarious moments, doing in a short space what it took *Goodbye Columbus* a couple of hours to convey. In sum, see *Annie Hall* by all means; you will find yourself repeating the humorous lines for days afterwards.

*The Spy Who Loved Me*, dir. by Lewis Gilbert. With Roger Moore and Barbara Bach. This is a marvellous new James Bond epic, close to the spirit and verve of the earlier Bond movies in contrast to some of the inferior later films. We are back to high and continuing action, superb gadgets, fascinating villains, and Bond triumphing coolly and elegantly through it all. There are many echoes and resonances of earlier Bond films, such as the great train sequence in *From Russia With Love*, which still ranks as unquestionably the best of the Bond movies. The initial pre-credits skiing sequence is superb and one of the best things in the movie.

Of course, for most of us Bond fans, Sean Connery, in the hokey language of the trade, is James Bond. But Connery was getting visibly over the hill in his last couple of Bond films. In the preceding Bond, Roger Moore had been a quasi-disaster; instead of the tough, competent Connery we had Moore the smirking dandy, who left Bond only with a rather foppish elegance. But this is remedied in *The Spy Who Loves Me*. Moore still does not come close to Connery, but his smirk is gone, and his face, older and a bit more weathered now, is far closer to a plausible Bond.

Unfortunately, Barbara Bach, in contrast to the other gorgeous females in the Bond series, can't act worth a hoot, and wanders around with a peculiarly fixed and wooden expression. (The contrast with the marvellous Daniele Bianchi in *From Russia With Love* is a painful one.) However, Curt Jurgens makes a highly-satisfactory villain. Moneypenny and M are back, and all's right with the movie world—at least for now. □

# Convention Report

by Milton Mueller

(The National Convention of the Libertarian Party, held on July 14-17 at San Francisco, was the most successful LP convention to date. The convention attracted 1200 people, by far the largest libertarian gathering so far, and its proceedings were well and favorably reported by the local media. Unprecedented harmony and consensus reigned, and the LP platform was updated and improved amidst only distant shadows of the often bitter controversy of the past. In this issue we publish your editor's Keynote Address for this convention. Below, we are happy to reprint with

permission Milton Mueller's intelligent and perceptive report on the convention which appeared in the August 1977 issue of the *Illinois Libertarian*, the newsletter of the Libertarian Party of Illinois. Mr. Mueller is state chairman of the Illinois party, and was a member of the 1977 national LP Platform Committee.—Ed. Note.)

Chicago had just decided to "declare war" on pornography. But the City Council was exceeded in its asininity by the weather, which was hot

(Continued On Page 4)

## Panama Question —

(Continued From Page 2)

legacy of property confiscation, economic manipulation, and over-extended defense boundaries....Land seized by the U. S. government should be returned to its rightful owners."

(Those interested in utilitarian arguments may ponder the following: even the Pentagon concedes that the Canal is not now vital to U. S. defense; only 7% of East Coast-West Coast trade passes through the Canal, and only 8% of U. S. foreign trade; and the largest U. S. warships and oil supertankers can't pass through the Canal because of its small size.)

In the light of these principles, where should libertarians stand on the hot issue of the Carter treaty? Does it really "surrender" the canal and the Zone to the Panamanians?

Unfortunately, it does not. The treaty is a cunning and crafty way of adjusting imperialism to the current world, of preserving imperialism while recognizing "that continued naked American occupation of the Canal Zone and control of the canal serve as a festering sore, poisoning American diplomatic relations throughout Latin America." (Michael Bauman, "The New Theft of the Panama Canal," *Intercontinental Press*, August 29, 1977).

In fact, the only thing the U. S. gives up in the treaty is formal sovereignty over the Canal Zone and its seemingly perpetual ownership of the canal. The sovereignty over the Canal Zone the U.S. relinquishes in three years, it is true, but we still retain extra-territoriality in violation of international law: Americans retain U. S. legal rights in Panamanian courts, and Americans sentenced to jail terms will serve them in the U. S. Beyond this, we give up next to nothing. The U. S. gets to keep full control of the canal until the year 2000, and it gets to maintain its military force in Panama until the year 2000 as well. But, even after the year 2000, the U. S. retains the permanent right to intervene militarily in Panama to preserve the continued operation and the "neutrality" of the canal, and it gets to decide when that "neutrality" is threatened. It is important to realize that there are no limits in this treaty on the actions that the U. S. will be able to take after the year 2000 to preserve what it deems to be the Canal's neutrality. And, furthermore, as part of what the treaty considers to be such "neutrality", the treaty explicitly guarantees U. S. warships the permanent right to go through the canal without restriction and without conditions.

In short, the Panama treaty does not at all abandon U. S. imperialism; instead, this imperialism retreats from its naked and offensive older form, to a more sophisticated and hence more effective modern variety of "neo-imperialism". The form of imperialism is abandoned, but the content remains as rabid as ever. To soften the blow to Panamanian dictator General Torrijos, the U. S. sweetens the pot by paying \$50-\$60 million a year until 2000 A.D.—a big increase from the \$2 million per annum we pay now; plus \$300 million in U. S. government aids and credits, and the U. S. will "facilitate" \$1 billion of U. S. investments and loans in Panama.

We hate to hand the right-wing any victories in foreign affairs, even if for totally wrong reasons: but we have to conclude reluctantly but firmly that the Panama treaty should be defeated. It is true that half a loaf is better than none; but this treaty would not be half a loaf; it would not halfway dismantle American imperialism in Panama; it would simply be providing a figleaf (to mix a metaphor) for continued and even increased

U. S. domination (note that we now get Panamanian agreement to the permanent U. S. right of military intervention in the canal.) The treaty, if ratified in both countries, would defuse mounting Latin American opposition to U. S. imperialism and dupe the anti-imperialist movement everywhere.

While it is true that the dumbright (as Lawrence Dennis aptly named it) scents treason in the treaty, let us note the very different responses from far more sophisticated imperialist circles. Thus, Henry Kissinger lauded the treaty and reported that General Brown and negotiator Ellsworth Bunker assured him that "the new treaty marks an improvement over the present situation" for "secure access" to the Panama Canal. (*Washington Post*, August 18). Negotiator Sol Linowitz hailed the treaty as a "good investment" which "enhances the national security interests of the United States."

But most revealing of all is the editorial support for the Panama treaty by *National Review*. NR begins by hailing the history of the Canal, claiming that it was not imperialism because the Canal company did not make a profit (ignoring the big payment to the Morgan speculators and their quick resale of stock to the U. S. government at double the value of their investment.) It also salutes Conservatives' pride in the history of American foreign policy. But then, NR says, we should realize that "our own military men support the treaty on the ground that the Canal can be better defended with the treaty than without it." Why? Because Panama agrees to U. S. defense of the Canal first, by air and sea against any external attack. Moreover, the more important guerrilla attack from within Panama would now be less likely because such a defense "could be done far better together with Panama than without it; or worse, against it." In short, the Panamanian government would now be ranged against such guerrillas rather than for them.

Just as we, as libertarians, should be worried about defusing anti-imperialist sentiments throughout the world on Panama should the treaty be ratified, *National Review* gives such very defusion as one of its major arguments for support of the treaty:

"Let us suppose that the treaty is defeated in Congress—as well it might be. What then? We hardly need Ambassador Bunker to remind us of the predictable consequences in Panama, in Latin America, in the United Nations, in the world. Are we ready to hold the Canal against all possible assaults, political, military, in the guerrilla minefield, in the media, the OAS, and the UN?"

Given these realities, NR concludes that U. S. taking up arms instead of accepting the treaty is unnecessary:

"Based on the outline of the proposed treaty there seems to be no necessary reason to sound the call to arms. We retain what is essential until 2000 A. D. and even then will play an important part as well as some contingent defense role....And what is most important, we would almost surely be in a stronger position to act at some later time in response to an actual threat or violation of the treaty than we would be now in defense of our own refusal to ratify."

(*National Review*, September 2, 1977).

Once again, as it has done so many times in matters of military and foreign policy, *National Review* provides a kind of negative touchstone for libertarians. The Panama treaty should be rejected. Libertarians, in opposing the treaty, must of course make clear our diametrically opposed perspective to the Reaganites and Birchers: that we are worried about preserving U. S. imperialism while they are worried about getting rid of it. □

## Convention Report —

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enough to make the entire city sluggish. For those of us able to go, the National Convention could not have come at a better time.

We flew into San Francisco on the midnight plane, for reasons of economy. The broken coastline around San Francisco is full of islands and peninsulas, such that our descent into the bay revealed an intricate web of lights floating over the dark ocean. The sight erased all thoughts of Chicago and its petty dictators.

National Conventions tend to do things like that: they pluck people out of political reality, and, for a few euphoric days, deceive them into experiencing libertarianism as the center of the political universe. However, I believe that this convention made that experience a little bit more justified than before.

For one thing, despite the important tasks of electing a new National Committee and Party officers; despite rewriting the platform, there were no big fights at this convention, and no lingering factions. Even more notable was the fact that with the exception of Nathaniel Branden, none of the featured speakers were libertarians. Eugene McCarthy, Timothy Leary, John Marks, Tony Sullivan, Margo St. James, Earl Ravenal, even Ron Paul—all are significant figures from the "real world" who share our concern for individual freedom in certain areas, but are not Libertarians with-a-capital-L. Our ability to interact with such people is an important part of entering the political mainstream.

### Libertarian Parnassus, or, the Platform Committee

The first part of the convention to actually convene was the platform committee. We libertarians are unique in the importance we attach to our platform. Since we are the only Party that really stands for anything, this is quite appropriate. However, work on the platform has been getting progressively shorter every business convention. This time, the platform committee actually finished on schedule, in contrast to the A.M. bickerings of 1974, and the post-midnight hassles of 1975. In addition, there were fewer proposals for changes than in any previous year. All this is indicative of a very important point: the platform proceedings have served as an excellent vehicle for arriving at a broad consensus as to what constitutes libertarianism. It is the Party's "consciousness-raising" device: its positions, arrived at after long debate and approved by a 2/3 vote, are the Party's most effective weapon against compromise and opportunism. I urge every Party member who was not at the Convention to obtain a copy of the new platform as soon as it is available—and to read every plank in it.

I served on the platform committee, along with LPI members Joe Cobb and David Theroux. There were big-name libertarians like Ralph Raico, Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs, as well as representatives from the ten states with the largest membership—who ought to be named as well, but we don't have the space. The bulk of our work consisted of adding topical references, rewriting or expanding old planks, and making the language clearer in its implications.

There were only two areas of substantive disagreement. One was foreign policy, as expected. A number of people from the Florida LP criticized the foreign policy section of our platform for leaving doubts in their minds about the Libertarian Party's commitment to a strong national defense. The LP platform, as everyone should know, calls for reducing the overall size and cost of our governmental defense establishment, withdrawal of American troops from around the world, negotiations toward nuclear disarmament, and independence for all colonial possessions, including the Panama Canal Zone.

These things tend to make many former conservatives rather nervous. And the foreign policy debate, far from being a serious challenge to the well-established libertarian policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs, simply reflected this nervousness. The critics' testimony all followed a similar pattern: there were expressions of sober concern about the ability of the U.S. to survive, grave references to the Soviet Union, all leading to a request that the platform give "assurances" that the Libertarian Party believed that the U.S. military defense should be "unquestionably" adequate. When speaking in generalities, these critics of our foreign policy all sounded rather cold-warrish, making references as they did to Soviet dominance of the world, the "struggle between freedom and slavery," and so on. However, when pinned to specifics by questions from members of the platform committee, they generally

acquiesced to the logic of non-interventionism. Their rhetoric and, I think, their feelings, were conservative; their minds were libertarian. The only specific changes they proposed for the platform were 1) a plank condemning terrorism, which was unobjectionable if the label "terrorism" is not used to slander legitimate acts of rebellion; and 2) a plank calling upon the government to limit trade with an "enemy" in time of war if the government thought such trade would impair our capacity for defense, which clearly contradicts libertarian principles, and had little support on the floor. The conservative foreign policy rebellion turned out to be a real fizzler.

There was another area of substantive disagreement, one with far-reaching implications left unresolved by both the platform committee and the Convention as a whole. These arguments, which arose constantly, centered on applying libertarian logic within the totally non-libertarian context of the existing government. As Murray Rothbard put it; how do we de-Statize society, without violating property rights? Should we sell government property, or turn it over to the heirs of some ancient titleholder, or homestead it? Do Libertarian elected officials have a right to their tax-supported salaries?

One proposal put forth by W. Evers and Rothbard exemplifies the knotty conceptual problems involved in de-Statizing. They proposed a new platform plank on "Government Employees," which would extend the Hatch Act (which prohibits federal employees from running for political office) to all state and local employees, and also advocated prohibiting government employees from lobbying—and voting—due to the conflict of interest involved.

Now clearly, there is a conflict of interest when thousands of government employees vote for legislation which fattens their wallets at the taxpayers' expense. Government employees have been instrumental, for example, in defeating tax limitation referenda. The problem is getting more pronounced as the proportion of public sector employees grows in proportion to the private sector. But the opponents of this measure asked: why stop with government employees? Any individual or group voting for a government program from which it will benefit should, by the same logic, be denied voting rights. But disenfranchisement of anyone is a very, very touchy subject, given the fact that votes can protect people's rights as well as violate them. Whether justified or not, disenfranchisement has ominous, even fascist, overtones to many people; such a plank would be an easy target for a quote out of context seeking to smear the Party. The Convention tabled the issue, after an evenly divided platform committee sent it to the floor.

### New Officers Run Unopposed

As far as dry, old convention business goes, things were changed, but none of the changes make good copy. For example, the country was divided up into new regions; Illinois' new regional partners are Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan and Wisconsin. David Bergland was elected our new national chairman, M. L. Hanson was elected vice-chair, Greg Clark was re-elected secretary, and Paul Allen was elected treasurer. They all ran unopposed.

Bob Meier, former Illinois resident, announced his retirement as Executive Director at the convention. The National Party's loss is our gain, however; Bob plans to return to DeKalb and stay active as a speaker and lecturer.

But the question remains: how do we propose to get rid of the government, its property and its contracts and its power, without being (or appearing to be) as arbitrary and destructive as the government itself was when it grabbed it? Choosing a just and efficacious theory of de-statizing is not an academic question but a tactical one of extreme practical importance for the Party. This issue will have to be faced by libertarian thinkers and future platform committees.

The committee had its lighter moments, too. Some of the more humorous occurrences were not intended to be funny. One person testifying before the platform committee sincerely recommended putting a tribute to Ayn Rand on the first page of our platform. (Nobody would gag at the idea as much as Rand herself, I'm sure.) Bill Evers at one point proposed to replace the word (oysters" with the word "shellfish" in a section on the Law of The Sea. "This," he said, "is my tribute to Ayn Rand—the Virtue of Shellfishness." To top it off, one thoughtful fellow proposed a whole new platform plank—on extraterrestrials. While he was of course sincere in his concern for the rights of visitors from another planet, I think the libertarian platform is bizarre enough to many people already, without making it downright zany. □

# Keynote Address to the LP Convention

by M. Rothbard

I am honored and delighted to be here, and particularly happy that the theme of this convention is Turning Point, 1777/1977. For one thing, it means that the Libertarian Party is, to my knowledge, the only organization in the country that realizes that the Bicentennial does not merely apply to 1776/1976. The official governmental Bicentennial Commission has just shut up shop, convinced that its task is done. The left-wing People's Bicentennial Commission has not been heard from for the entire year. It seems that only the Libertarian Party understands that the American Revolution did not end in 1776; in fact, the Revolution began a year before the official Bicentennial, in 1775, and it ended eight grueling years later, in 1783. We should be celebrating the bicentennial for eight years, and not just for a few months of hoopla.

But there is greater significance to the Libertarian commemoration of 1777 than the mere fact that we are better historians than everyone else. There is something unfortunately symbolic about confining one's celebration to 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence. For as noble, as exciting, as profoundly libertarian as the Declaration was, it was still the necessary but not sufficient first step in the victory of what we have correctly identified as the First Libertarian Revolution. The Declaration was the rhetoric, the ideology, that set the stage; but the American revolutionaries, our libertarian forefathers, were not only interested in setting forth a glorious set of principles; having done that, they were also interested in action, in putting these principles into practice in the real world, in transforming the real world to give those principles life. The American revolutionaries set themselves a goal: to transform reality so as to bring the rhetoric of the Declaration into living practice. The American Revolution was the process of struggle by which the revolutionaries pursued their goal and achieved their victory. It is only because of their dedicated actions that we, their descendants, can celebrate the 4th of July and the Declaration of Independence.

I have long been convinced that the process of becoming a libertarian—whether it happens gradually or in a blinding flash of conversion—is a twofold rather than a single process. If we may use a now familiar rhetoric, we might say that the true libertarian is “born again”, that is, that the process of conversion to liberty takes place in two distinct—though sometimes rapidly succeeding—stages. The first conversion is what we might call the “baptism of reason”—the moment or moments when the person becomes convinced that liberty is the best, and the only just, social system for mankind. He or she realizes that liberty is the true, the good, and the beautiful. But I have become increasingly convinced that this realization is only the first step to becoming a full-fledged libertarian. To be truly “born again”, the libertarian must experience what we might call a second baptism, the “baptism of will”. That is, he must be driven by his rational insight to dedicate himself to the mighty goal of bringing about the victory of liberty, of libertarian principles, in the real world. He must set out to transform reality in accordance with his ideal vision. In short, the truly complete libertarian, the “born again” libertarian, if you will, is not content with recognizing the truth of liberty as the best social system; he cannot and will not rest content until that system, that set of principles, has triumphed in the world of reality. Reason and will are thus fused in a mighty and unflinching determination to carry on the struggle until the victory of liberty over statism has been achieved. The American revolutionaries pledged “their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor” to their struggle for liberty and independence. They were not parlor libertarians; they were determined to settle for nothing less than victory, regardless of how long or how arduous the task. And one thing is certain: they never could have won without that iron determination; for otherwise, they would have wilted very early: after Long Island, or Fort Washington, or Valley Forge. The American revolutionaries would settle for nothing less than victory; can we fail to follow their glorious example?

I am convinced that our primary task, now, as libertarians, is not to hassle with each other on the precise role of the courts or the police in the eventual free society, nor over the proper detailed strategy or tactics of achieving it. As important as these questions are, our most vital task is

for each and every one of us to achieve the baptism of will, that is, to adopt and hold high—forever—the victory of liberty as our primary, overriding political goal. This is what we are all about, we libertarians. To paraphrase a very different ideologist, our task is not simply to understand the world but also to change it. And that is why we libertarians call ourselves a “movement”; Webster's defines “movement” as a “connected and long continued series of acts and events tending toward some more or less definite and...as, the Tractarian movement; the prohibition movement”. Our common end, of course, is the victory of liberty over statism.

I used to think that adopting the victory of liberty as the overriding goal must be almost self-evident to all libertarians—until I began to find those who turned pale and fled when the word “victory” was mentioned. For there are all too many libertarians who apparently believe that the point of the whole enterprise is not triumph in the real world, but all sorts of other motivations, ranging from contemplating the beautiful intellectual edifice of the libertarian system to selling each other dried beans to bearing moral witness to the rightness or righteousness of the libertarian world-view. There is, I suppose, a certain satisfaction in knowing, or even proclaiming, that we are right and that everybody else is wrong and misguided. But, in the long run, this and the other motivations are only frivolous; they are simply not worthy of respect. They are not worthy of being mentioned in the same breath as the American revolutionaries who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the cause.

The major serious objection to holding victory as our goal is that such a goal can only be hopeless and absurd. The State, it is said, is mighty, pervasive, and all-powerful; and who are we but a tiny handful of men and women, dwarfed by the legions of the State? But this sort of thinking is impressionistic and superficial; geared to the range of the present moment, it overlooks the underlying trends of historical events. Here, in particular, we can take hope and inspiration from the Founding Fathers and the American Revolution. For, I can assure you, to the observers of that day, the American cause looked totally hopeless. How could a handful of ragged, untrained soldiers hope to defeat the mightiest State, the mightiest Empire of the eighteenth century? To all knowledgeable people, the American cause seemed hopelessly quixotic and absurd, Utopian and unrealistic. For, think of it: In all of history there had never been a successful mass revolution from below against a strong ruling State. So how could this American rabble possibly succeed? And yet—we did it! We won! We performed the impossible.

The first libertarian revolution succeeded, and we can do the same—but we, too, must have the will to triumph, to accept nothing less than total victory.

Of course, in the immediate present, any existing State may look all-powerful, while opposition movements may seem small and puny. But, in a few short years, how the tables may be turned! State after State has seemed all-powerful almost to the day of its collapse and demise, while numerous successful ideological movements have flowered from a tiny handful to triumph a few short years later.

And no State has seemed more powerful than did the British Empire at the start of the American revolutionary war. It was easy to look superficially at the first two years of that war and conclude that all was inevitably lost. Washington's Continental Army had almost been wiped out in New York; Howe's army had conquered the American capital at Philadelphia. Washington's forces froze and starved through the winter at Valley Forge and St. Leger and Burgoyne were marching down from Canada to meet at Albany and then proceed to New York City and cut America in two.

As everyone knows, the turning point of the war came in late 1777, when Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne's once mighty British army was surrounded and forced to surrender at Saratoga. But what were the factors that brought about this fateful turn and that carried the Americans through

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the rest of the lengthy conflict to victory?

There are many causal facts that we could mention, including the overweening self-confidence of the British, who contemptuously dismissed Americans as a militarily untrained rabble; there is also the determination and dedication of the Americans, civilian and military. But what I would like to concentrate on here is the fact that the American revolutionary leaders adopted and developed what would nowadays be called a "mass line". That is, in contrast to conservatives, whether of 1777 or 1977, the American revolutionaries were not afraid of the mass of the American public. On the contrary, they realized that the great bulk of Americans were being oppressed by the British, and that the public could be brought to see this and to act upon that knowledge.

And sure enough, the great strength of the American armed forces is that they relied upon, indeed blended with, the civilian population. In a deep sense they were that population. The Americans were a people in arms, a mobile people that knew their particular terrain, and who were imbued with a deep sense of their rights and of the iniquity of the British invasion of those rights. When combatting Burgoyne, the Americans, led by British-born libertarian General Horatio Gates, shrewdly avoided, until the very end at Saratoga, direct confrontation with the superior firepower of the highly trained British invasion force. Instead, Gates, aided by influxes of armed civilians who joined the fray as their own counties and districts were being invaded, wore down the British forces by guerrilla harassment. An example particularly heart-warming to libertarians, is the case of General John Stark, who had resigned from the American army and retired to his native New Hampshire in pique at shabby treatment by his superiors. But when a troop sent out by Burgoyne invaded southwestern Vermont, Stark rose up, mobilized the militia and other volunteers from New Hampshire and Vermont, and clobbered the British troops at the Battle of Bennington.

Gates and Stark, and later the victor of the decisive final Southern campaign, General Nathaniel Greene, were following the theories and the vision of their mentor, the forgotten and unsung hero of the revolutionary war, General Charles Lee, second in command of the American army during the first years of the war. Lee was a fascinating character, an English military genius and soldier of fortune and a radical laissez-faire libertarian, who, as soon as he heard of the events leading up to the Boston Tea Party and the developing break with his native country, rushed to America to take part in the revolution. It was Lee who fused the political and the military together to develop the principles, strategies, and tactics of revolutionary guerrilla warfare, which he called "people's war". Every American military victory in the war was fought on people's war, guerrilla principles; every defeat was suffered when America tried to play the age-old game of inter-State warfare between two disciplined State armies marching to meet each other in open frontal combat.

Thus, Lee and his disciples worked out and applied the military implications of a mass line, of a people rising up against the Leviathan State.

There were other vitally important features of this overall mass line. One of its important aspects was that the American revolutionaries blended all the arguments against British imperialism into a harmonious and integrated structure. Historians have argued whether the revolution's thrust was economic, constitutional, moral, religious, political, or philosophic—without realizing that the revolutionaries' libertarian perspective integrated them all. No vital aspect went neglected. The revolutionaries understood—and pointed out—that the British government was injuring the economic well-being of the Americans through taxes, regulations, and privileged monopolies; but they also knew that, in so doing, the British were aggressing against the natural rights of person and property enjoyed by Americans and by all men. For the American revolutionaries, there was no split, no disjunction, between the economic and the moral, between prosperity and rights.

As a corollary to their mass line, the American revolutionaries and their leaders were not afraid to be radical. In current rhetoric, they dared to struggle and dared to win. There were three features of that radicalism that I would like to explore today. First was their willingness, indeed

their eagerness, to desanctify, to demythologize the State, to strip it of its ancient encrusted armor of justifications, alibis, and rationalizations. The last and vital remaining act of this process was desanctifying the King—a revered mystical symbol of State sovereignty which was far more powerful, to Americans and to Britons, than Parliament or the unwritten British constitution. This final act was necessary to any outright American break for independence; it was first launched tentatively, very early in the revolutionary agitation, by Patrick Henry, but the mortal blow was delivered by the unknown, impecunious pamphleteer Tom Paine, another English-born laissez-faire radical who performed this feat in his runaway best-seller, *Common Sense*. Paine realized that this final act of demystification had to be couched radically, in no mincing or uncertain terms, thus cutting the final umbilical cord not only with Great Britain, but also with the age-old established principle of monarchy. And in so doing Paine also pointed out the piratic origins of the State itself. He referred to King George as "the royal brute of England", and to kings in general as "crowned ruffians", whose thrones had all been established by being heads of gangs of "armed banditti."

The king, he wrote, was "nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang; whose savage manners or preeminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increasing in power and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenseless..."

Paine concluded his great work with these stirring words:

"O! Ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted around the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her as a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

I would like to underscore the importance of the line, "Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant..." For here Paine was referring to that two-step, double "baptism" process of which I spoke earlier. That it is splendid, but not enough, to come to the point of opposing tyranny in the abstract, as a general principle; but that it is of equally vital importance to press on to the second stage, to the concrete activism of engaging in struggle against the actual tyrant of whatever time and place we happen to live in.

This brings me to the second, interconnecting radicalism of the first libertarian revolution. It used to be thought that all Americans had read John Locke and were simply engaged in applying his concept of natural rights, of rights to liberty and property, and right of revolution against tyranny. But now we know that the process was not that simple. Even in those enlightened days not everyone was interested in or equipped to read abstract philosophy. What most Americans did read were intellectuals and libertarians, like Tom Paine, who took Locke's abstract philosophy and radicalized it to apply to the conditions of their time. By far the most influential such writings throughout the eighteenth century were "Cato's Letters", written by two libertarian English journalists, John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Trenchard and Gordon not only put Locke's ideas into stirring and hard-hitting phrases; they took Locke's "if...then" proposition: that is, if the government transgresses against rights of person and property, then it is proper to rebel against it, and added in effect this insight: "The if is always here." In other words, they pointed out that it is the essence of Power, of government, to expand beyond its laissez-faire limits, that it is always conspiring and attempting to do so, and therefore that it is the task of the people to guard eternally against this process. That they must always regard their government with hostility and deep suspicion: in short, with what is now disparagingly called, "a conspiracy theory of history." And so, when the British government, after the war with France was over in 1763, began their Grand Design to reduce the virtually independent American colonies to imperial subjection, the American colonists, without access to the memoranda and archives of the British government of the day, suspected the worst, and immediately roused themselves to determined resistance. Now, two hundred years later, we know that the colonists' suspicions were correct; they could not know this, but they were armed with a "conspiracy theory" which always suspects governments of designs upon liberty. They had absorbed the lesson of Trenchard and Gordon in Cato's Letters:

"We know, by infinite examples and experience, that men

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possessed of Power, rather than part with it, will do anything, even the worst and the blackest, to keep it (pace Richard Nixon); and scarce ever any man upon earth went out of it as long as he could carry everything his own way in it...This seems certain, that the good of the world, or of their people, was not one of their motives either for continuing in Power, or for quitting it.

It is the nature of Power to be ever encroaching, and converting every extraordinary Power, granted at particular times...into an ordinary power, to be used at all times.....

Alas! Power encroaches daily upon Liberty, with a success too evident...Tyranny has engrossed almost the whole earth, and striking at mankind root and branch, makes the world a slaughterhouse...."

There is another critical point to make about the importance of such men, such best-sellers as Trenchard and Gordon or Tom Paine. At the last LP national convention in Washington, a friendly journalist, and many others, remarked that it seemed more like a scholars' conference than a political party gathering. And one participant reported that everyone there seemed to be very smart, but if that's the case, how in the world will we ever win the masses of the non-smart?

Well, the first answer is that yes, we are very different from other political party conventions. I don't think that the crucial difference is that we're smart and the others are dumb; after all, if we may let this secret out to the world, we're not all that smart! We are a glorious movement to be sure, but we have hardly achieved perfection. The difference between us and the Democrats and Republicans is not that we are so much smarter than they are, but that we are deeply concerned with ideas, with principles, whereas they are simply concerned with getting their places at the public trough. We are interested in principles, they in Power; and, gloriously enough, our principle is that their power be dismantled.

But how can the masses understand ideas? Well, a quick answer is that they've done so before: notably in the American Revolution and for a hundred or so years afterwards: in America and in Europe. So if they didn't read Locke they read Paine or Cato or their popularizers, or read their followers in the press or heard them in speeches and sermons.

The American revolutionary movement was a diverse and structured one, with different persons and institutions specializing in various aspects of the struggle. The same is and will be true of our movement. Just as not everyone had to read Locke to become a full-fledged American revolutionary, not everyone now has to read all of our flowering theoretical works in order to grasp the essence of libertarianism and to act upon it. The American revolutionaries never felt that every American had to grasp fully the fifth lemma of the third syllogism of the second chapter of Locke before they could take their place in the developing struggle; and the same should be true of our libertarians and our own theoretical works. Naturally, the more that everyone reads and understands the better; and it is hardly my point to deprecate the great importance of theory or of reading. My point is that not everyone has to know and agree to every nuance before we start moving, ingathering, and acting to transform the real world.

There is a third important aspect of the radicalism of the American revolutionaries, and this again underscores the importance of the mass line. In contrast to their polar enemies, the Conservatives, who strove to maintain traditional aristocratic and monarchical rule over the masses, the libertarian revolutionary leaders realized that the masses, as well as themselves, were the victims of the State, and hence they only needed to be educated and aroused to join the radical libertarian cause. The Conservatives knew full well that they were subsisting on privileges coerced from a deluded and oppressed public through their control of State power; hence they apprehended that the masses were their mortal enemy. The laissez-faire radicals, for their part, understood that same fact, and so from the Revolution down through most of the nineteenth century, here, in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, these libertarians led the mass of the public against traditional conservative statism. Where the conservatives rested their case on traditional privileges sanctified by mystical divine command, the

laissez-faire radicals held aloft the banner of reason and individual rights for all people.

Here again is a profound lesson for us today. Too many libertarians have absorbed the negative and elitist Conservative world-view to the effect that our enemy today is the poor, who are robbing the rich; the blacks, who are robbing the whites; or the masses, who are robbing heroes and businessmen. In fact, it is the State that is robbing all classes, rich and poor, black and white, worker and businessman alike; it is the State that is ripping us all off; it is the State that is the common enemy of mankind. And who is the State? It is any group who manages to seize control of the State's coercive machinery of theft and privilege. Of course these ruling groups have differed in composition through history, from kings and nobles to privileged merchants to Communist parties to the Trilateral Commission. But whoever they are, they can only be a small minority of the population, ruling and robbing the rest of us for their power and wealth. And since they are a small minority, the State rulers can only be kept in power by deluding us about the wisdom or necessity of their rule. Hence, it is our major task to oppose and desanctify their entrenched rule, in the same spirit that the first libertarian revolutionaries opposed and desanctified their rulers two hundred years ago. We must strip the mystical veil of sanctity from our rulers just as Tom Paine stripped the sanctity from King George III. And in this task we libertarians are not the spokesmen for any ethnic or economic class; we are the spokesmen for all classes, for all of the public; we strive to see all of these groups united, hand-in-hand, in opposition to the plundering and privileged minority that constitutes the rulers of the State.

It is this task, this march toward liberty, that the libertarian movement has undertaken. That movement was born only a little while ago, and in a few short years it has grown and expanded enormously, in numbers, in the depth of understanding of its members, and in the influence it has been exerting on the outside world. It has grown amazingly far beyond the dreams of its tiny handful of original members. The libertarian movement extends beyond the Libertarian Party, and consists of a broad

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## Recommended Reading

- Cyra McFadden, *The Serial* (Random House). Hilarious, savagely satiric novel on life and manners in Marin County, the cutting edge for California. Ultimately depressing, because chillingly accurate account of how these upper-middle class liberal boobs refract all the experience of their lives through the haze of meaningless, pop-psychology jargon. The women come off much worse in Mrs. McFadden's portrayal, probably because they can devote all their time to this nonsense.
- Thomas Szasz, *Karl Kraus and the Soul-Doctors* (Louisiana State Univ. Press, \$9.95). One of Szasz' best works, a rediscovery (including his own translation) of the witty, Menckenesque, classical liberal Viennese writer, Karl Kraus, and Kraus's accurate and bitter attacks on Freud and psychoanalysis. This brief book contains Szasz's most blistering and hard-hitting attacks on psychoanalysis, its "verbal lynching" of people who disagree.
- Boris Souvarine, "Solzhenitsyn and Lenin," *Dissent* (Summer 1977), pp. 324-36. For many years, anti-Soviet writers have propounded the myth that Lenin was a "German agent" whose victory was fuelled by "German gold." A subsidiary myth was that Lenin was spirited across Europe by the Germans in a "sealed train." One of the most recent propounders of this mythology was Stefan T. Possony, in his biography of Lenin. Possony went so far as to bring back reliance on the notorious forgeries known as the Sisson documents. Now, in response to Solzhenitsyn's purveying of similar stuff, the Grand Old Man of Sovietologists, Boris Souvarine, engages in an elegant dissection and evisceration of the myth in the impeccably anti-Soviet journal *Dissent*.
- Francis Russell, "The End of the Myth," *National Review* (August 19, 1977), pp. 938-41. Francis Russell, whose *Tragedy at Dedham* and subsequent writings have put the boots to the legend of Sacco and Vanzetti as innocent martyrs, here polishes off a long-standing myth of the defense that secret FBI files showed collusion with prosecution witnesses and other hanky-panky of the FBI. Having extracted the files under the Freedom of Information Act, Russell shows that the FBI, for once, did nothing of the sort. □

# Keynote Address —

(Continued From Page 7)

number of people and organizations, ranging from scholarly centers and magazines to lobbying groups to supper clubs to tax rebels. But while the Libertarian Party is not the whole movement, it is a vital part of that movement. We are the institution that garners the publicity, that brings to enormous numbers of people their first knowledge of libertarianism and of the libertarian movement, that educated and ingathers the broad public and attracts and nurtures present and future libertarian activists and cadres. And, on top of all this, we are the only libertarian organization that can use the established institutions of the ballot box and the political party structure to roll back the Leviathan State, to pressure from below for repeal of statist measures, decrees, and institutions.

Our national convention is a time for stock-taking, for judging how well we have been succeeding at our task. Well, let's take a look: since our last convention, we have mounted our first nationwide presidential campaign. We were on the ballot—despite enormous legal handicaps—in almost two-thirds of the states, and we have vaulted into becoming the nation's third largest political party. Now how's that for a party that only began a half dozen years ago? I say that's terrific, and shows that we are truly the wave of the future.

And so we have splendidly achieved Phase I of the hoped for growth and expansion of the Libertarian Party. Phase I was the establishment of our party as the leading nationwide third party, a feat accomplished by the 1976 presidential campaign. Phase II, our task for the near future, our 'turning point, is to use the 1976 results as a springboard for widening and Jeeping the grass roots strength of the Party throughout the states: over this year and next to develop local and state-wide chapters and candidates. Then, if we perform that task well, we will be ready for a great leap forward in the 1980 presidential campaign to make this party into a true mass party at the head of a mighty movement, a movement to complete the original American revolution and to bring liberty to our land.

We hereby put everyone on notice: We are libertarians of the will as well as the intellect, of activity as well as theory, of real world struggle as well as idealistic vision. We are a serious movement. Our goal is nothing less than the victory of liberty over the Leviathan State, and we shall not be deflected, we shall not be diverted, we shall not be suborned, from achieving that goal. The odds against us are no greater than the odds that faced our forefathers at Concord, at Saratoga, or at Valley Forge. Secure in the knowledge that we are in the right, inspired by the vision, determination and courage of our forbears, we dedicate ourselves to the noblest cause of all, the old American cause, of individual Liberty. With such dedication and with such a goal, how can we help but win? □

# Tax Rebellion — (Continued From Page 1)

The strike may not cripple the County government or even come near it, but even so, thousands of people have either taken actions or have been exposed to ideas which question the very legitimacy of government."

But, in a sense, this thoughtful conclusion underestimates the impact of the Illinois tax strike. For the later New York Times article indicates clearly that the politicians have indeed been paying attention, and are scared stiff. The pattern of the New Jersey income tax protest movement of last year is repeating itself, with politicians scrambling to cover their flanks.

Thus, when Tobin and a throng of protestors showed up at the Governor's office in Chicago to demand a special session of the Legislature to redress the grievances, the "discomforted" Governor James ("Big Jim") Thompson promised to consider the request, and "expressed sympathy with the group's aims." At the August 18 Evanston meeting, several government officials showed up to try to explain the tax increase. They were received with "jeers and boos", but despite that, "the officials gave sympathetic responses and some concessions to the taxpayers' demands." Thus, George Dunne, chief executive officer of Cook County, pledged at the meeting to support a move in the Legislature to roll back property taxes. The same pledge was made by the counsel for Thomas M. Tully, the Cook County assessor. The counsel, Dan Pierce, agreed with the protestors that he doesn't understand why the country's budget is so high. "There's no question that the taxes are too high", Pierce conceded; he particularly didn't understand why school district budgets had doubled in the last seven years in much of Cook County, at a time when school enrollments were declining.

Thus, libertarians have leaped in to discover and give voice to the anti-government and anti-war grievances of their fellow-citizens. Not only have they been mobilized for libertarian action and been educated in libertarian ideas (including opposition to the public schools) and in the idea that taxation is theft, but the politicians have begun to knuckle under to the vociferous demands and actions. Politicians, scared of their jobs and of the voters, will buckle under pressure, and this has already been demonstrated in Illinois. Finally, the tax rebellion shows the great importance of libertarian activists and organizations—such as the LPI and NTU—being already in place to take advantage of and take the lead in mass protests and mass movements against statism.

(See the Chicago Daily News, August 4; the New York Times, Aug. 20; the Illinois Libertarian August, 1977. The Illinois Libertarian may be obtained from LPI, P. O. Box 1776, Chicago, Ill. 60690. Anyone interested in obtaining information about the Illinois tax strike, may call 312-525-6231 or 312-763-5122 during the day, or 312-287-0969 in the evenings. □

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## The Bakke Case

Everybody and his brother is getting into the act on the Bakke case. No less than 146 special-interest groups have filed 58 amicus curiae briefs to the Supreme Court which is now pondering Bakke—the largest number of such briefs in Supreme Court history. Generally, leftists are “anti-Bakke” while conservatives are “pro-Bakke”, with liberals split down the middle depending on whether they are black or other “minority” (see Devil’s Glossary below)-oriented (anti-Bakke) or Jewish oriented (pro-Bakke.) “Ethnics” (also see Glossary) are sturdily pro-Bakke.

Briefly, Allan Bakke applied for admission to medical school at the University of California, Davis, but was denied admission because of slots allotted to members of “minority” groups who were admittedly less qualified. If the 14th Amendment requires that governmental bodies be “race-blind” and not discriminate for or against particular races or groups, and if for that reason segregation laws were struck down by the Supreme Court, it is hard to see how the left, which wants government discrimination on behalf of “minorities”, can have a constitutional leg to stand on. Indeed, the left is shivering in its boots on Bakke, since the special slots for minorities in this case seems to be particularly glaring in its unconstitutionality. They are hoping against hope that Bakke is decided very narrowly by the Supreme Court. For a broad, consistent decision for Bakke would strike down all of the affirmative action edicts and pressures of government that have been so dear to the hearts of the left over the past two decades. (For an anguished cry by a leftist that the Court construe Bakke narrowly, see Nat Hentoff, “Which Side Are You On?” Village Voice, Oct. 17, 1977.)

The argument of the left that “affirmative action” does not imply “reverse discrimination” or “racial quotas” is simply silly and puerile. Suppose one investigates the problem and finds that only 3% of physicians are members of Race X, which has 20% of the population. To say that action must be taken (clearly by lowering standards for admission) to bring Race X up to its quotal 20% must automatically push other races and ethnic groups down, and must discriminate against individuals of such groups on grounds that they do not belong to the “right” race or group. Furthermore, pushing up one group to its presumably deserved quota of the population, means that other groups, who are “represented” more numerous than their quotal norm, must of necessity be pushed down to that norm. We are back, then to the notorious governmental discriminatory quota systems of the Central Europe of the 1930’s. Is that what we are supposed to be doing in the name of humanism and progress?

Turning from the Constitution to more specifically libertarian concerns, where should libertarians stand on the Bakke case? It should be clear, from many points of view, that we should be solidly pro-Bakke. Libertarians are individualists, and believe that candidates for employment or admission to schools or whatever should be judged strictly on the individuals’ own merits or demerits. Libertarians believe that government should have no role in coercing private institutions on who to hire, promote, or admit, and therefore we must stand foursquare against the mammoth affirmative action program that government has been pushing for many years. And libertarians believe that governmental institutions, such as schools, where they (unfortunately) exist, should not

be able to discriminate for or against one or another group of taxpayers. On all these grounds, libertarians should be firmly pro-Bakke and opposed to affirmative action. With this caveat: that a private firm or college should be able to discriminate or not on any criterion (rational or irrational) that it wishes, without being coerced by government. If Firm A or College X, for some reason, wants to hire or admit only Masons or blonde-haired Albanians, it should have the right to do so. The Bakke case, of course, deals with a governmental medical school.

The peculiar reparations argument of the left deserves some further scrutiny. Professing to be uncomfortable with quota systems, the proponents declare that they are needed temporarily to compensate for the disadvantages (say of slavery) which the racial group’s ancestors may have suffered a century or more ago. (This, of course, refers to the blacks, a major constituent of “minorities”—see Glossary—but how it could apply to the various groups of “Latinos, none of whose ancestors had been enslaved, passeth understanding.)

The flaws in this argument should be glaringly obvious. Why shouldn’t Ukrainians or Poles be compensated for the “disadvantage” of their ancestors having suffered under serfdom—and for a longer period than the blacks had been enslaved? If the reply be that Americans hadn’t enserfed the Poles whereas they had enslaved blacks, we come to an unsupportable theory of collective guilt. For, in the first place, what about Poles, Ukrainians, Italians, etc., whose ancestors came to this country well after the Civil War and who therefore can’t be stained with any sort of retrospective racial guilt for slavery? Why should they be disadvantaged now? The logic of the leftist case is to place some sort of disability—be it maximum quota or special tax—on descendants of WASPS whose ancestors lived here at the time. Apart from the grotesquerie of this position, how can we place such a burden when the particular ancestor might have been an abolitionist? And even if we could identify current descendants from an authentic slave trader or holder, by what principle can we justify placing collective guilt unto the umpteenth generation, with the sins of the fathers visited upon the sons and daughters? Hobbling a contemporary WASP or Polish-American, furthermore, will in no way right injustice meted out to a black of a century or two ago. This will be particularly clear if we adjure the monstrosity of collective guilts and merits.

Finally, the left has never come up with an answer on how long this compensatory affirmative-and-negative action is supposed to go on before we can all get back to individual merit. How long are we supposed to be punished for the sins of other people’s fathers? The left can offer no criterion for a judgment, because there is no criterion available, no way that it can rationally say, OK, enough is enough.

No, it is we who must say enough is enough, and the time is now.

### The Devil’s Glossary

“Minorities”. A code word for blacks and Latinos (Chicanos and Puerto Ricans.) Even though there are lots

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# Higher Education: The View of Insiders

by Justus D. Doenecke

A Review Essay

John R. Thelin, *The Cultivation of Ivy: A Saga of the College in America*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman, 1976.

Simon O'Toole, *Confessions of an American Scholar*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1970.

Hazard Adams, *The Academic Tribes*. New York: Liveright, 1976.

Walter Kaufmann, *The Future of the Humanities*. New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1977.

How long has it been since anyone, any single one of us, has read an author who celebrates American higher education?

Indeed can we find one serious alumnus from one serious college who can boast that the education his alma mater is offering today is superior to the one gained ten, twenty—even thirty years ago?

To listen to administrators, and to read the promotional blurbs, one would think the opposite. One sees on every hand a veritable galaxy of new research libraries, open-ended seminars, sophisticated computers, dorms designed to bring faculty and students together, and chamber orchestras. One can find in the catalogs such pedagogical "innovations" as pass-fail courses that relieve anxieties over grades, contractual registration which permits total self-direction for the student (and which permits him to pass three courses while dropping four), independent study periods (in which an entire institution practically adjourns for a month and a half) when all pursue knowledge without inhibition. Add student-taught courses, free-floating, do-it-yourself majors, three year B.A. programs, and off-campus study groups that range from Hoboken to Nepal, and old Siwash U. is suddenly turned into a microcosm of Plato's Republic. The very title of one journal of higher education, *Change*, celebrates the innovative mood; change, as they said in 1066 and *All That*, is "a good thing."

Coupled with all this comes a bit more informality. Faculties are at times addressed by their first names and listed in nebulous pamphlets called "human resource guides." Students enter baccalaureate orals with wine and cheese. It is all, as one Mormon apologist would say, "a marvelous work and a wonder."

Yet, despite the richness in our facilities and the freedom offered in planning courses of study, higher education is in sorry shape indeed, so sorry that many doubt whether it can survive with integrity. The problems go far beyond unbalanced budgets and low endowments. We are admitting students who cannot write clearly and coherently, who have never read a play of Shakespeare or an essay of Emerson, who cannot place the century in which Oliver Cromwell lived, who are unable to identify Ho Chi Minh, and who have not mastered sufficient math to complete a college course in the natural sciences. We listen daily to students who, when unable to express a simple thought articulately, nod their heads and mutter, "You know....You know...." We read senior theses by students who have never submitted a paper in college and hence know not the meaning of a paragraph. We assume, falsely in most cases, that a seventeen year old, just out of high school, is able to plan an academic program free of all requirements. We deplore the "impersonality" of objective tests, find the giving of blue book exams "oppressive," scoff at deadlines, and pass an embarrassingly large number of students in order to keep enrollments high.

True, Aristotle once said that "All men by nature desire to know," but now we can only wonder. Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham and one of the greatest minds England produced, observed that the majority are more apt at passing things through their minds than at thinking about them. But today we have reached the point where some collegiate minds have very little, if anything, even passing through.<sup>3</sup>

In our despair, we seldom realize that, for American higher education, there was never a golden age. Essayist Albert Jay Nock, whom the ignorant would call a snob, noted that no one of informed opinion was ever well-satisfied with our educational system. In 1926 philosopher Everett Dean Martin observed that our schools had all too often become agents of propaganda. "It is much easier," he wrote, "to appeal to authority than to experiment, to command assent than to awaken curiosity, to tell the

student what he must believe than to wait for the maturing of his judgment." In 1941 columnist Walter Lippmann deplored the fact that modern education had abandoned all efforts to transmit the religious and classical culture of the West. Rather than training the student to "look upon himself as an inviolable person because he is made in the image of God," it had "reduced reason to the role of servant of man's appetites." In 1948 the British novelist Dorothy L. Sayers called for returning to the type of learning embodied in the medieval Trivium,—that is, to grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. "We have lost the tools of learning," she said, "the axe and the wedge, the hammer and the saw, the chisel and the plane that were so adaptable to all tasks."<sup>4</sup>

Even the much-vaunted heritage of the Ivy League is based on myth, a point stressed in the revealing book by John R. Thelin. Thelin points out that there was little unity among Ivy schools until the 1920's, when the concept of a distinctive group was formulated by two obscure researchers.<sup>5</sup> Sportswriter Stanley Woodward of the *New York Herald Tribune* first used the term "Ivy League" in the thirties, although not all the constituent schools then played each other and although a genuine athletic league was not organized until 1954.

Most people today do not know that the Ivy League is still an athletic—not an educational—organization. Though Thelin does not mention it, Woodward denied that the term necessarily connoted either excellence or academic purity. Some varieties of ivy, he said, were poisonous, other potted.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the prestige and affluence we associate with the Ivys would have amazed people a century ago. In the 1890's, for example, Harvard Law and Dartmouth's medical school were havens for "jocks," while Yale stressed "muscular Christianity" over academic achievement.

Blame for our current plight is placed in many places: the ever-present-and-perennial TV set, accused of anesthetizing two generations of the nation's young; indulgent parents (and teachers) trying to recover their youth by totally identifying with children; progressive education, which reaches such absurdities that a student may go through high school without taking one examination.

Some of the problems, of course, lie in university governance. No one really has complete power to do anything. In the past few years, the power of the formal governing body, the trustees, has shrunk markedly, with its role in private institutions often relegated to writing checks. University presidents are seldom chosen for their educational vision—John William Ward of Amherst stands out as an almost lone exception—but rather because of their fund-raising talents. If a skilled president can, at some time, impose his will on the faculty, he must use such power sparingly, for he has little control over faculty selection or course content. Academic power deteriorates from the administrator's first act, for any decision involving money and staffing is bound to offend someone. Some of the current breed of administrators attempt to adjust by adopting the qualities of an "o.k. guy"—accomplished perhaps by playing the clarinet, dressing in jeans, and using an earthy student argot when talking to undergraduates.

The State acts increasingly destructively in such matters. It realizes that "he who pays the piper calls the tune," and some of the notes bellowing forth are ruinous indeed. Under the guise of "affirmative action" and "open admissions," it imposes reverse discrimination and institutionalizes mediocrity. Some private institutions welcomed supplemental federal funds in the 1960's, undoubtedly hoping for a second lease on life. If today they have second thoughts, it is too late and significant autonomy has often disappeared.

One cannot blame the State for everything. The faculty too must share the responsibility, for it is given direct charge of the curriculum. Hence it is not surprising that three of the books under consideration deal primarily with its role.

O'Toole's *Confessions* is the most cynical, although the indictment is telling enough to forewarn every graduate student in English. O'Toole is a pseudonym for a well-published professor of English (and a leading scholar on the obscure poet Ian McPherson) who has taught at a variety

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## Higher Education —

(Continued From Page 2)

of schools—black and white, public and private, red brick and Ivy League.

The author began his undergraduate studies with the highest of ideals. "Wide-eyed youngster," he calls himself, for he was a college student who genuinely liked literature. Two years in the service, a year of teaching, and a half-year of manual labor paved the way for graduate study. Here he met his first real disillusionment, as he faced the pedantry of "the morose, dull, and empty-headed men who cut Spenser, Pope, Coleridge, and many others down to their own size." The college classroom soon convinced O'Toole that Oscar Wilde was correct when he said: "Education is an admirable thing, but it is well to remember from time to time that nothing that is worthwhile can be taught."

It is in the realm of research, however, that O'Toole begins to blow the whistle. He found that the more formal scholarship was brought to a literary work, the less sense he could make out of it. Admitting that PMLA is "utterly dull," he writes amusing exposes of his ventures into editing letters and producing textbooks. (The verb "producing" is chosen deliberately). Nor is "pure" investigation much better. "Short of proving Milton was a Frenchman from Savannah, Georgia," he writes, "I think the American literary scholar can demonstrate anything he wants to."

Little wonder that from O'Toole's vantage point, American higher education is a low-grade farce." We can count the bitter and dreary years of our own lives, but help to push through the new Ph.D. program at our small college. We know that nine-tenths of our colleagues cannot read five lines of Shakespeare with half the expression of an English schoolboy, and yet it is fine to think of all those folios and quartos at the Folger Library. We dream of leaving our dreadful university, and never imagine that Swarthmore, Claremont, and Harvard are just as dreadful" (p. 107).

O'Toole's solution is Nockean: "less education instead of more, less education in the interest of more civilization." (Nock was more exclusive, writing that "relatively very few are educable, very few indeed.") O'Toole would radically revise graduate study in English, limiting requirements to the completion of two major papers (one of which would serve as the dissertation) and a single exam stressing literature and not criticism. Anyone hired by an institution would be slated to become a permanent member of the staff, that is "barring insanity, wickedness, or desire to move on." Promotion would be automatic, normally depending on age.

Such a remedy might be naive, even whimsical; but he has a point. Some of the most conservative of our faculty realize that tenure competition can be vicious, particularly when several people are competing for a single slot. Also graduate education can be pedantic, particularly if a seminar is restricted to the professor's current research.

The Academic Tribes is more subdued, but it still has a strong bite. In fact, because it is less shrill, its critique is stronger. Adams too is a respected English professor who also served a hitch as administrator at the Irvine campus of the University of California. He confronts academe as a novice anthropologist writing up his first field notes on the aborigines.

Adams knows the rules of the game all too well. Hence he realizes that the fundamental allegiance of the faculty member is to the smallest unit to which he can belong, which is usually the department; at the very outset, the professor possesses the most parochial of loyalties. Therefore, if a dean has no broad intellectual perspective on which to base his decisions, he is subject to cannibalization. In addition, debates over requirements rapidly deteriorate from the level of educational principle to the level of expediency, for any such principle is only good as long as it does not interfere with a departmental program. "To debate an intellectual issue," writes Adams, "might well lead actually to arguing against one's own shorter-term budgetary interests—an appalling prospect to any dean or chairman." An iron law of specialization, apparent even on some small campuses, encourages social sciences to deny social responsibility, humanities departments to act in unhumanistic fashion, and natural sciences to behave most unscientifically. W. H. Auden's recommendation—"Thou shalt not sit/With statisticians nor commit/A social science"—has one fervent follower, a man who found that coping with federal bureaucracies would be enough to turn him into a right-wing Republican.

Some of Adam's most telling points need more emphasis. Massive student participation on faculty committees is silly, for undergraduates are wasting precious learning time on matters that do not contribute to serious education. Some students have spent the bulk of their college experience in much work, imitating those professors who find committee tasks their major academic involvement.

We could all listen to Edward Kirkland, the prominent economic historian and the epitome of a New England gentleman, who said that professors who ignore research become—for practical purposes—one of the undergraduates. We still have individuals who have taught their whole career without writing as much as one book review, others who volunteer—without training—to teach the bulk of their work outside their discipline. Faculty members have long offered a series of excuses for abandoning the academic quest, ranging from superior "teaching" to becoming a "generalist"; thusly do both boredom and laziness become effectively hidden. Some fifteen years ago, an historian boasted to me that he had read no revisionist (or any other kind of history) in a decade: "Did you ever think," he said as his eyes peered through the cherry glass, "that with each revision we are getting farther from the truth?"

Adams finds current jeremiads against "publish-or-perish" shrill. "A faculty of committed research scholars and creative artists is my ideal of the most desirable university. I have yet to hear," he continues, "of a better way to see that an academic institution is intellectually alive than to assume that such activities go on." (p. 142).

The distinguished economic historian Jack Hexter has some particularly telling points along this line. In an essay reprinted in his *Doing History* (1971), Hexter makes short work of those who compare "gifted teaching" with "grinding out research." He noted the abundance  
(Continued On Page 4)

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of researchers who teach ably in the classroom. More importantly he defines the teaching role to include the sharing of one's research via print. Conversely, he describes the classroom sage, enthralling to us as undergraduates, whom we later discover to be "a pretentious faker or a mere clown—vox et praeterea nihil." He then goes on to tell of "colleagues who published nothing, not because of their devotion to teaching, but because of their wholehearted dedication to birdwatching, to billiards, to Old Overholt, to squalid in-fighting on the lower rungs of academic politics, or simply to providing their backsides with facilities for acquiring an appropriate middle-aged spread." Where lies the culprit for propounding the "dedicated teacher" canard. In "the shady academic demimonde inhabited by educationalists whose dim view of research and scholarship is doubtless an undistorted reflection of the quality of their own professional efforts along those lines" (pp. 89-90).

It is one thing for a professor to play the role of eccentric, offering both "gut" courses and sheer entertainment in one package. (One professor I knew, for example, had all his students dress for class in bedsheets. "Come on down," he said to a colleague, "We've got the Roman senate gathering this morning." Imagine the whole Colgate forward line as Cicero and Cato the Elder.) It is quite a different thing to scrap formal requirements on the grounds that "coercion" of any kind is wrong. Nock aptly called such behavior "a counsel of desperation." No serious professional school—law, business, medicine—could exist with such a philosophy; yet, for the equally important liberal arts education, we bless such practices as both "innovative" and "good."

At one time, for example, the core program at Colgate made sure that each student was confronted with some of the great heritage of the past. Freshmen read Plato's *Republic*, the Gospel of Mark, Aquinas, Luther, and Kant; sophomores listened to Beethoven, read *Oedipus Rex* and *War and Peace*, and examined works by Rembrandt, Klee, and Picasso. Juniors knew Locke and Tocqueville, while seniors mastered George F. Kennan and Louis Halle. Columbia's course in contemporary civilization was a classic as were Social Sciences I and II at Chicago. Now it is a rare college that requires either Western Civilization or Freshman English. If a student does not know the meaning of an adjective, much less its function, and confuses "two" with "too", well—it is not a matter of concern but an amusing anecdote to pass around during faculty coffee break.

To Adams, the humanities lie at the core of learning. They should be regarded as the mode of study by which we maintain the culture in which we live, "the preservation of those verbal shapes of the past that retain the power to generate anew." He finds the study of language particularly crucial, as the power of the media to manipulate people by manipulating their mother tongue grows daily. Only by insisting that students write throughout their entire academic career, and only by examining such writing critically, can humanistic education be continually provided. The faculty, says Adams, must finally decide whether or not a humanities education is important. If it deems it important, it must devise ways of sustaining it throughout a student's whole college experience.

But is today's academe able to heed such advice? True, the most profound thinkers in the "practical" disciplines—take Ludwig von Mises and F. A. Hayek of the Austrian school of economics—were people of humanistic learning. But the future of formal liberal inquiry is uncertain at best. Without an immediate "payoff," the most ignorant of the bureaucrats find humane studies close to expendable. Terrell H. Bell, U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1975, claimed that the college that devotes itself "totally and unequivocally to the liberal arts today is just kidding itself." He continued, "To send young men and women into today's world armed only with Aristotle, Freud and Hemingway is like sending a lamb into a lion's den." It is, he maintains, "salable skills," those that offer a means of earning a living, that are most important.

Of course, all this can be seen quite differently. Robert A. Goldwin of the American Enterprise Institute likes to tell a story concerning Euclid. One time the great mathematician was explaining the first theorem of geometry, the construction of an equilateral triangle, to a young man. After Euclid had finished his exposition, the youth queried, "But Euclid, what shall I gain by learning such things?"

Euclid might have replied that such knowledge eventually leads to the Pythagorean theorem, and that one could use this theorem to design a

bridge that could withstand the weight of chariots. And it is this theorem that gives you the basis of trigonometry, and one could use it to survey the next real estate speculation. But Euclid did not say this. Rather, he snapped, "Give this man a coin since he must show a profit for everything he learns."

Skills can be salable or unsalable as the economy or technology changes, thereby proving Dewey's adage that "Theory is, in the end, the most practical of all things." Ask any engineer caught in the cutbacks of space technology and forced suddenly to master the act of cab driving. But to learn how to learn—how to think clearly, how to cut beneath the sham and pretense, is particularly essential when, as Goldwin notes, "the foundations of western civilization are being challenged." It is, as he says, "a matter of life and death—and if that seems to say too much, there is certainly a matter of our political liberty, which should be as dear to us as our lives" (emphasis mine).

Our very survival, in other words, depends on the educated person, the person who—as Plato pointed out long, long ago—can "see things as they are," that is see things free of the "shadow worlds" of convention, illusion, irrational authoritarianism, hope of advantage.

If such preachments as Goldwin fail to convince, Walter Kaufmann's book should. The Princeton philosopher communicates with a sense of urgency. Without able teaching of the liberal arts, he says, humanity's chances for survival are about nil.

Kaufmann is a realist. He knows, for example, that it is almost hopeless for young people with a doctorate in the humanities to find a teaching job. On February 4, 1976, the *New York Times* reported that 79,600 doctoral graduates were competing for 15,700 openings. More than four out of five, therefore, would find formal graduate training of relatively little vocational use.

Even worse, the humanities themselves are adrift. Like O'Toole, he notes that much research is trivial and that professors delight in playing intellectual games. Furthermore, the "scholastics," those professors who see themselves as carriers of a sacred tradition, stifle the "visionaries," those alienated folk who develop new paradigms of thought.<sup>10</sup> Since World War II, he says, our faculties have become increasingly scholastic, so much so that genuine Socratic questioning is stifled.

For example, in Kaufmann's own discipline, training is so narrow that most faculty do not feel competent to teach survey courses in ancient philosophy or in the philosophical tradition from Descartes to Kant. In literature, he observes, imagery and diction are taught, not the worldview of the novelist and poet or their trenchant criticisms of their society. In other disciplines as well, professors have come to eschew the study of humanity and the critical examination of our values, faith, and moral motives." He asks if Plato's *Republic*, or any single work by Soren Kierkegaard, be acceptable by any doctoral committee. (Can't one just imagine a "Dear John" letter from a publisher reading: "Dear Mr. Weber. Your manuscript on Protestantism and capitalism, though possessing some genuine insights, lacks the emperical rigor....")

Kaufmann's favorite horror story concerns the scholar who began his career with a book on the relevance of the Hebrew prophets but who kept on getting juicy grants for the study of Biblical weights and measures. "Not to see the forest for the trees in it became a virtue," he writes, "and the study of a single leaf came to be thought of as superior skill" (p. 36).

It is hardly surprising that Kaufmann calls for a return to requirements and is not afraid to use the noun "discipline" (though he does not go as far as Aristotle who said that all real education involves pain.) Kaufmann thinks that all college students should show some competence in math, in the art of reading and writing simple lucid prose, and in knowing comparative religion. He offers some provocative model syllabi for the last item, including a course based just on Genesis and various myths of creation. Good teaching, he claims, is demanding teaching. While it might be fine to tell children how wonderful their sketches are, or how wise any particular hunch might be, a real teacher knows that even a child will cease getting satisfaction unless he can trace improvement against an objective standard. To be indulgent is always to be popular with the mindless, and now we are coming upon the occasional professor who gives credit for sheer class "participation." (Kaufmann cynically notes that the very faculty who adopt the "hip" student culture and play the "guru" role would be the most likely to become learned technocrats

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# Defending the Defendable

by Gary Greenberg

Walter Block has written a book, *DEFENDING THE UNDEFENDABLE* (Fleet Press). To read the Libertarian Press, one would think the sky is falling. Moralistic Chicken Littles churn out didactic book reviews as the steam from the letters columns leave many a publication limp and clammy.

What is it about this book? One quasi-libertarian fellow traveler, triggered by Walter's book, felt compelled to publicly announce his resignation from the Libertarian Movement. A heavy weight libertarian scholar and award winning philosopher, fresh from a ringing speech at the LP National Convention, in which he chided the membership for rejecting a gay candidate just because he could be controversial, is reported to have said in a less public assemblage, that Walter's book was too controversial to permit him to be an LP veep candidate. Anti-Libertarian Party types who think the LP compromises its principles by downplaying unpopular positions, attack the book on the ground that it

brings up unpopular libertarian positions.

This reaction, by the way, is in response to a book that has been warmly received by Hayek, Rothbard, Browne and a host of Libertarian heroes (no joke intended.)

Portions of Walter's book have appeared, prior to its publication, as a series of essays in various libertarian journals. In one of its pre-publication incarnations, *The Blackmailer as Hero*, I wrote a critical response in the Libertarian Forum. The theme of Block's book is that there are many people whose heroism consists of persevering in activities which, though they do not initiate force or fraud against anyone, are in violation of harsh and oppressive laws. Persons at home in this category include pimps, loansharks, slumlords, blackmailers and male chauvinist pigs.

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once the academic winds changed).

This is not to say that professors are not in a quandary but it is a very different one. Their dissertations are often trivial, yet they insist on recruiting colleagues who share their expertise and enthusiasm for such crucial research fields as the brain of a leech! As with O'Toole, he speaks of faculty members so arrogant that they "patronize authors whom they might more fittingly read on their knees."

Yet if some scholarship is too esoteric, and if some teachers neglect their students, it is not in anyone's interest—student included—for the faculty to halt all research. It is, as Kaufmann notes, often appalling what a professor can get away with saying in class, and it is essential that he receive criticism from other scholars.

To elaborate on such advice can be both banal and pretentious. Perhaps the main task is to see what problems exist and to face up to the fact that we do have these problems. As Nock wrote, "Even when...diagnosis...reveals the case as hopeless in any one circumstance, it affords at least the melancholy satisfaction of knowing just where one stands."<sup>11</sup>

How to overcome the cynicism of O'Toole and the follies portrayed by Adams and Kaufmann? Genuine commitment, and a recovery of a sense of calling, cannot be inculcated by others, least of all by ringing declarations calling for a return to either "standards" or to the "humanistic tradition." Nock, in the long run (and for Nock this meant over the centuries), was optimistic. Society he said, simply cannot go on living without returning to the Great Tradition of humanistic education. He wrote in 1931, "Whole societies may disallow it and set it at naught, as ours has done; they may try to live by ways of their own, by bread alone, by bread and buncombe, by riches and power, by economic exploitation, by intensive industrialism, quantity-production, by what you please; but in the end they will find, as so many societies have already found, that they must return and seek the regenerative power of the Great Tradition, or lapse into decay and death."<sup>12</sup>

From the vantage point of the 1970's, all seems futile. Yet a few islands of sanity and civility, of questioning and the humane life, can usually be preserved—in a nation, in a region, in an institution. In the past such isolated learning communities as Iona and Monte Cassino, and such isolated scholars as Jerome and Augustine, left the West with a heritage to which it still must respond. If all else fails, an "inner monasticism" and the rigorous tutoring of a handful of serious students must be our task—and it is not without some genuine joy.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> LeGrand Richards, *A Marvellous Work And A Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> The now-neglected anthology, *The Case for Basic Education* (James D. Koerner, ed; Boston: Little Brown, 1959), deplored the curricular erosion in secondary school; the model syllabi within this work present

the student with an education superior to that offered in some universities today. Albert Jay Nock, of course, saw Latin, Greek, and mathematics as the staples of a good secondary education. In college one covered the classics in their mother tongue, math up through the differential calculus, formal logic, and the formation and growth of the English language. A mind so trained, he said, could deal with any problems from the vantage point of centuries. Nock also wrote that "a just care for words, a reasonable precision in nomenclature, is of great help in maintaining one's intellectual integrity," and he questioned the very use of the term "college" and "university" for institutions (including all American ones) that had abdicated teaching of the Great Tradition of the humanities for mere instrumental and vocation training. See *The Theory of Education in the United States* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1932), pp. 51, 61, 120.

<sup>3</sup> Nock, p. 5; Everett Dean Martin, "Liberal Education vs. Propaganda" (orig. 1926; Wichita: Center for Independent Education, 1977), p. 5; Walter Lippmann, "Education vs. Western Civilization" (orig. 1941; Wichita: CIE, 1976); Dorothy L. Sayers, "The Lost Tools of Learning" (orig. 1948; Wichita: CIE, 1977).

<sup>4</sup> Cornelius Howard Patton and Walter Taylor Field, *Eight O'Clock Chapel* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927).

<sup>5</sup> Paul Woodring, *The Higher Learning in America: A Reassessment* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> Nock, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>8</sup> Core programs, if genuinely interdisciplinary, convey more than a body of information. They teach students how to relate disciplines to each other, thus showing the essential unity of learning. Extended over four years of student life, and most students need a full four years of college, they can draw upon the increasing intellectual maturity expected of upperclassmen. They therefore dispel the silly notion that general education is something to get over with so that one can begin the "real business" of majoring in a specialty. (In some institutions a major is still expected). Faculty can educate each other on things more significant than calendar reform and trade union demands. What historian, for instance, who teaches provocative works in sociology, economics, and political science can fail to have a better understanding of his own subject? See James A. Storing, "A Modern Design for a General and Liberal Education on a College Campus," *Journal of General Education* Vol. 18 (Oct. 1966), 155-162.

<sup>9</sup> For Goldwin's writing, see "The Future of Liberal Education," *Educational Record* (1976), 111-115, and such unpublished speeches as "Address at a Celebration of the New, New College," February 2, 1975; "Commencement Address to New College of the University of South Florida," June 11, 1977; and "Commencement Address to Virginia Wesleyan College," May 21, 1977. The quotations from Bell and Goldwin and the Euclid story are from the 1975 address.

<sup>10</sup> Kaufmann tries not to stack the deck: he admits that "many visionaries have fixed ideas that are not particularly fruitful; and many scholastics are by no means unimaginative drudges but perform tasks that are badly needed." See *Future*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Nock, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157. □

# Toward a Libertarian Theory of Abortion

by Walter Block

There are, perhaps, more serious problems than abortion facing our society. But there are none which raise such grave philosophical problems—nor which so greatly threaten to tear our society apart.

In all other cases—war, inflation, unemployment, nuclear proliferation, pollution—we all agree at least to the extent of **opposing the threat**. There may be little agreement as to the best means of eliminating the danger, or of the proper trade off between one evil and another, but at least there is no support for the menace itself. Where are the **proponents** of war, sickness, disaster?

The situation with respect to abortion is different. Here, two groups are arrayed against each other, with irreconcilable positions on **ends**, not just means. Each takes an explicitly ethical stand and holds the other guilty of severe criminality.

On one hand are those who would legalize abortion, on the ground that women have the right to control what grows in their bodies. On the other hand are the anti-abortionists, who consider the practice to be first degree, premeditated murder. One would have to go back to the days of the pro and anti-slavery moments in the first half of the 19th century to find a public issue even remotely as vexing. And we all know the result of that controversy. It therefore behooves us to search mightily for ways to reconcile these seemingly irreconcilable positions.

What is the best way to approach the bewildering maze of arguments in which the philosophical controversy is shrouded? The answer is: from a perspective which is consistently based on human rights, justice and liberty—the libertarian philosophy. In what is to follow, then, I intend to state the fundamental axiom of libertarianism, set forth several obvious facts about abortion, and deduce from these few premises the libertarian theory of abortion.

The basic libertarian postulate is that it is improper to threaten or commit violence against a person or his property, unless he himself is an initiator of such violence. In other words, one may legitimately use force only defensively, or in retaliation, but not otherwise. Human rights to one's own person, and to one's own property (property rights) are sacrosanct. They are, or rather ought to be, free from any and all interference.

Bearing these basic postulates in mind, let us consider the following points:

## 1. The foetus is a human life.

The foetus is alive. If cut, it bleeds. If bludgeoned it dies. If left unmolested, it takes in oxygen, imbibes food, defecates, urinates, and performs all other bodily functions. It satisfies every existing criteria for "life".

And surely, the foetus is **human**. Well, it's not a chipmunk, or a raccoon or a giraffe, is it? What else could it be if not human? The conclusion is clear: the foetus is an alive human being. Killing a foetus is therefore murder.

What of the position, held by many pro-abortionists, that the foetus is a potential, but not an actual, human being? This is a view easier to state than to defend. If it is claimed that something is a potential **x**, as opposed to an actual **x**, it must be shown why, and in what way, the thing is not an **x** now. This the proponents of the position have not done. Indeed they cannot.

Is the foetus only a potential human being because it is helpless and unconscious? But then sick or comatose adults could not be considered human beings either. Is the foetus only a potential human being because it is small, frail and weak? But then midgets could not be considered human beings either. Is it because the foetus is a "parasite" completely dependent on its "host" for sustenance? But the same can be said for many hospital patients, who are obviously alive. Is it because the foetus is inside, and completely dependent upon an "artificial" (what could be more natural) environment? Then what of all the people who could not exist outside and apart from oxygen tents, kidney machine hook-ups, etc?

And what about premature babies and hemophiliac children who cannot live outside of their especially constructed environments?

No. The foetus is not a potential human being, it's an actual one. This goes for the foetus right before birth, six months before, three months before, three weeks before, and, if cognizance be taken of logic, the foetus is human life, a human being, immediately after fertilization, in the two cell stage of development!! (before this, of course, there is no human life; there are only two separate cells, the egg and the sperm. This is why contraception is not equivalent to killing a human being).

## 2. The foetus which issues from rape has the same rights as any other foetus.

In discussions about abortion exceptions are commonly made for rape cases. Thus, it is claimed that when pregnancy takes place as the result of forced intercourse, abortion is justified.

This line of argument entirely misconstrues the problem. The question of abortion is entirely one of settling the seemingly conflicting rights between the mother and the foetus. The father is entirely irrelevant! It does not matter one whit how the baby was conceived, voluntarily or involuntarily: every foetus, no matter how created, is a living human being.

There is no rational or humane way to distinguish between them, allowing some to live and others to be killed. The foetus conceived in rape is as human or as alive as any other foetus.

Logic, then, compels us to conclude that it has as many (or as few) rights as any other. A correct view of abortion must consider the rights of all foetuses as equal.

## 3. The foetus may be a trespasser.

Suppose a Karen Anne Quinlan suddenly materializes in someone's living room comatose and helpless. All the "authorities" are called but no one is willing to take her away. What rights, duties, obligations, responsibilities fall upon the host?

In the libertarian view, the host has no positive obligations to come to her aid. Now it may be nice, it may be "the only decent thing to do", but the host is not duty bound to provide sustenance. This is, because, in the libertarian philosophy, each person is sovereign, owing nothing not voluntarily agreed to (except, of course, for the obligation not to initiate violence, which applies to each of us whether or not we have consented).

This might seem excessively cruel. After all, Ms. Quinlan is in need of help. Nevertheless the host has no obligation to help her. If anything, the host should be the least liable member of society; for he has already made a contribution: his house has sheltered her and is continuing to do so while a decision is being made about what to do with her; no one else has contributed anything (except perhaps griping that the owner of the house should continue to support her.) Suppose the comatose person clings to life for decades. Would the host have to feed and care for her until she dies a natural death? Suppose he can't afford the expense. Is he a criminal? No. However important human life is in the libertarian world view, no one may be incarcerated for failing to come to the aid of the helpless. One may only be jailed for attacking innocent people.

So what should the host do? He is not obligated to care for the stricken person. But neither may he kill her. If other people are willing to accept responsibility for the victim, the host may notify them. If there is an equivalent of the "church steps" or the public meeting place where unwanted were commonly left for people to pick them up, our home owner may carry the victim there. May he tie her to his car, and drag her along the road? Is he allowed to stab her, or slit her throat? No. Even though the victim is dying and may not survive the trip in any case the host may do none of these things, for they are murder, and murder is not permitted under the libertarian code. What he can do, is transport her to the "church steps" or the modern equivalent, in as gentle a manner as

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possible. He is not required to keep her alive, but he may not kill her.

Notice that our argument is not based in any way on the so-called *right to life*. The victim has no such right; nor does anyone else. There are rights to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, but there is no "right to life" itself. A Robinson Crusoe who has the misfortune to be shipwrecked alone on a desert island, and starves to death there, has not had any of his rights violated. He had no right to life in the first place. If he did, and was accidentally shipwrecked and starved to death, than all the rest of us are guilty of murder. For every right implies an obligation. If anyone has a right to life, then everyone else has an obligation to keep that person, alive. If we do not do so—if he dies, for any reason, including old age—we are guilty of violating his right, i.e., we are guilty of murder.

What does all this have to do with abortion? The foetus, if uninvited and unwelcome, is to the pregnant woman what Karen Ann Quinlan would be to the home-owner: a trespasser. If the home owner and the pregnant woman volunteer themselves as ongoing caretakers and as hosts, then Quinlan and the foetus are treasured guests, but if unwelcome they are both trespassers.

Now many people might accept this characterization when applied to an adult Karen Ann Quinlan. Although unfortunate, she is an unwelcome guest, especially if she just materializes in someone's living room. But the foetus, it will be objected, is *different*. Let us consider the following criticism: "O.K. I agree. There are no positive obligations incumbent upon people that are not first voluntarily agreed to. There are no rights to life. Fine. But goddammit, didn't the woman who voluntarily engaged in sexual intercourse explicitly, or at least implicitly, agree to bear the child, at least for the term of pregnancy? How can the foetus be a trespasser, for goodness sakes, when the woman invited it into her womb, by voluntarily taking part in the sex act, and knowing that one of the likely effects of such activities is pregnancy?"

This objection will not stand up, for it introduces a double standard that is insupportable, a standard based on considerations extrinsic to the foetus itself. The morality of abortion must be decided on the basis of the nature of the foetus, not on the basis of how it came into being. We have shown that all foetuses are, morally speaking, on the same level. Regardless of the circumstances of their conception, they are all alive and human. Therefore, they have the same rights. Thus a view which claims that a foetus conceived by rape may be killed while a foetus conceived by voluntary sex may not is moral nonsense.

No, we will stand by our position. Since foetuses are dependent on the owner of the womb in which they reside, they derive their status from that owner's attitude toward them. If the owner (mother) does not want them, they are trespassers; it doesn't matter whether or not they were invited in the first place. The woman, like the homeowner, has the final say and is not obliged to provide a long term sanctuary. A guest may be asked to leave. A foetus may be removed.

This does not mean that a person may invite someone out for an airplane ride and then, while 10,000 feet up in the air, say "Oh, by the way, the invitation was for 5 minutes only; and guess what? The 5 minutes are up right . . . now . . . So out you go. Toodle-oo, Cheerio." No, this would be fraud at an almost ludicrous level. On the other hand, a dinner guest has no right to insist upon a nine month visit! Even if voluntary pregnancy is interpreted as an "invitation" to the foetus, the mother is not compelled to stretch out the invitation for the full term.

Moreover, there are grave problems with the view that the women engaging in voluntary sexual intercourse makes an implicit contract (of invitation) with the foetus.

When A (the woman) agrees with B (the man) to an act that produces C (the foetus), this cannot be construed as an agreement with C, who doesn't even exist at the time of the agreement between A and B. A person cannot enter into a contract with someone who doesn't exist. How do we know that the non-existing person, C, agrees to the contract? A person cannot agree to be given birth to!

Abortion then is justified because if the foetus is unwelcome it then becomes a trespasser inside the mother's body. Since slavery is improper, the mother cannot legitimately be made a slave of the foetus and forced to accept its unwelcome trespass within her. Abortion is

justified because continued unwilling pregnancy is a violation of the mother's rights to her own body.

#### 4. The life boat situation.

As a trespasser, the foetus may be removed, or aborted. But, as in the Quinlan case, the trespasser must be removed with as much care and gentleness as possible. It is extremely unfortunate that due to the proper exercise of rights, a death will occur. (Given the state of the medical arts, there is, at present, no known way to abort the foetus, however careful, that will still maintain its life.) The foetus will die. A unique individual HUMAN BEING, a potential Mozart, Einstein or Mises, precious to all mankind, will have died. This is a terrible tragedy, not something to be lightly considered. The death of every human being diminishes us all if only in view of potential contributions gone forever. Nevertheless, the reasoning is clear, and we must follow wherever it takes us.

I suggest that the abortion question gives our society so much trouble because it has not been recognized as a classical "life boat" situation. In cases of this sort, as the name implies, there exist the means to save the lives of only some of the people involved. Thus, we are necessarily faced with unappealing alternatives.

The cases which fit the life-boat model are those in which mother and foetus cannot both survive. To save the mother's life, the foetus must die. To save the foetus, the mother must die. Clearly even if we believe in the "right to life", that belief would not help us decide what to do. For abortion would be as pro-life as non-abortion. Fortunately, the "right to life" argument is an unnecessary as it is unhelpful.

All foetuses, despite the manner in which they were conceived, or the consequences of their existence for their mothers, have identically equal rights and equal status. In all cases,\* the foetus is a dependent guest and may be expelled at the discretion of the mother. If the mother's life is threatened, she may abort the foetus. But she may also have an abortion for any other reason which seems compelling to her.

\*voluntary, healthy pregnancy, rape-induced pregnancy, medically contra-indicated pregnancy

#### 5. The trespassing foetus should be removed in the gentlest manner possible.

So far, though we started with the seemingly anti-abortion premise that the foetus is HUMAN LIFE, we have come to pro-abortion conclusions. But this is not the end of the matter. We must reverse field once again. Our conclusion may be unwelcome to pro-abortionists and anti-abortionists alike.

If and when medical science devises a method of abortion which does not kill the foetus (this has already come to pass in some limited cases) then it would be murder to abort in any other way. It would be murder, and it would have to be punished as infanticide. One would be no more justified in aborting in a death-causing manner than in slitting the throat of a Karen Ann Quinlan.

If the life-preserving method cost appreciably more than the life-destroying one, and the mother was unwilling or unable to take on the additional expense, she would have no positive obligation to preserve the foetus' life. But she would have to determine, by reasonable public notice, whether anyone else was willing to put up the necessary funds. If they were, and she refused, she would again be guilty of murder. It is only if no one else was willing to pay the additional amount of money that the baby might legitimately be killed.

If the method could be used only at a certain state of pregnancy, the woman would not be required to maintain the foetus until then. She would have the right to remove the trespassing foetus immediately, just as she does now. Only if the life-saving method could be used at the time the woman wishes to have an abortion, would she be obliged to use it.

This conclusion may present problems for the victims of rape, incest, etc., as well as for women who simply change their minds. The rape victim may see it as particularly onerous to have to give life to the progeny of the hated rapist. But it is not a matter of choice for her! Just as a woman may not properly kill an infant child of a man she has come to hate, so a woman may not properly kill the offspring of a rapist, if there is a technique of abortion that can preserve its life. She would not be obliged to maintain it, of course, but neither would she have the right to kill it, if it could be removed alive. Child of rape, incest, both or neither, the foetus would have its chance to live.

## Defendable — (Continued From Page 5)

For reasons apparently rooted in objectivist aesthetics, Mickey Spillane aside, Walter's greatest sin was to label the above individuals as "heroes". I'm sure Walter doesn't believe the denizens of his Dark Impulse Disneyland are heroes either. But even if he does, so what? Calling these people "heroes" was merely poetic license designed to stimulate the reading and discussion of his work. As a tactic it was certainly successful. It is one of the most talked about books in libertarian circles and reportedly selling well. I daresay that if not for this one gimmick, the book would have burst onto the market with all the obscurity it so richly deserves.

That is not to say that much of what's in the book isn't worth reading. Block is an extremely competent and incisive economist. Though his style is poor his examples are rich. He knows how to get at the nub of a problem and skillfully apply libertarian principles and economic analysis.

Unfortunately, there are important problems with Block's book. The major criticism of his work would have to be his definitions of various characters. Block defines his characters in terms of their nonaggressive characteristics, while blotting out the criminal elements of his subjects. (This isn't true of all the characters, just several of them.)

Consider for example the slumlord. By means of this device Block provides useful analysis of the benefits of low cost—low quality housing. But the term Slumlord would encompass someone who refuses to live up to the terms of a lease requiring heat and hot water. Block would deny that the latter act constitutes a Slumlord action, because it is an initiation of force.

In point of fact, Block fails to deliver on the promise of the title. The book defends the defendable. He does not demonstrate that the slumlord is good, he merely demonstrates that not all landlords should be classified as slumlords. This is an important achievement. Just as Block fails to recognize the negative, the public fails to recognize the positive.

Many of Block's assumptions are also in error and some of his reviewers make equally erroneous assumptions as a response. Consider the section on the right of an employer to pinch his secretary's fanny. Block says it is implicit in the contract that the boss can pinch the fanny. The feminist reviewer, indignant at such a demeaning situation, counters that there is no basis for saying that the boss has such a right. Both are wrong.

The boss has hired an employee. Surely the boss can request the right to pinch his secretary's fanny when he hires her. It might even be an item of negotiation. But in most employment situations, the peripheries of the job definitions are left undefined and handled in an ad hoc manner. In Block's example, there was a failure to have a meeting of the minds. This occurred because neither assumed that the other had a different and incompatible definition of the job. However, at the first pinch the issue will be resolved. Either the boss yields to the secretary's desires or the

secretary has to choose whether to stay or leave. If she stays, pinching is part of the job, if she leaves then her secretarial duties do not include fanny pinching. But there will be no position available to her with this employer because she does not have the requisites required by the employer.

A major objection raised against this book is that it gives libertarianism a bad name. I cannot accept this argument.

In the first place, this book is no *Atlas Shrugged* or *Human Action*. At best, it is only an extremely minor work in the libertarian library. Secondly, amid the huge number of books published by Libertarians, no one book, however bad or inadequate, is going to break the movement. And thirdly, in the improbable event that this book has any kind of substantial recognition outside the libertarian movement it can only help.

Books don't sell well unless people find them interesting. If Block's book is dismissed, it is merely his book that is dismissed, not the movement. To the extent that people reject the ideas in Block's book they are rejecting Libertarianism.

The bottom line of libertarianism must be defined and made available to the curious, and thus, while some would confine his book to the pits, Block has established the bottom line loud and clear. One cannot come away from Block's book without knowing the true implications of libertarian theory. If the great unwashed reject Libertarianism because of Block's book, then they weren't libertarian prospects in the first place and it's a good thing that Walter Block has told them the truth.

Block's book is essentially a litmus test. The movement cannot survive if its mass rejects the essential message of *Defending the Undefendable*. □

## Bakke Case — (Continued From Page 1)

of minorities, and virtually everyone is a member of one (e.g. blond-haired Albanian-Americans), and even though WASPS are minorities too, only blacks and Latinos can achieve this much-coveted status. Sometimes, oddly enough, women are considered "a minority", even though women are actually in the majority. Chinese-Americans, not being poor enough, are not considered to be a "minority". Indeed, they have been officially designated as "whites."

"Ethnics." A code word for any group which believes in the Real Presence, that is various groups of Catholics and Greek and Russian Orthodox. The ethnics are the conservatives' answer to the leftists' favoritism to the minorities.

"Jews". Neither minority nor ethnic, Jews, like Chinese-Americans, have been relegated to the status of "honorary WASPS." □

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## The New York Mayoralty

### I: THE KOCH VICTORY

There are several important points to be made about the victory of Representative Ed Koch as the new Mayor of New York ("Fun") City. First is the joy in our hearts at the results—the almost incredible results—of the first Democratic primary on September 8. It was that primary that decisively knocked out of the race the two truly insufferable, intolerable candidates for Mayor: the aged, incompetent if not crooked incumbent Abe Beame; and the raging monster Bella Abzug. Since these were precisely the two candidates favored to win and enter the succeeding runoff, the defeat of Beame and Abzug was like a reprieve, a breath of fresh air in an increasingly decaying city.

Part of the victory was ideological. From someone who was barely known in his own Congressional district and not at all outside of it, Koch was thrust into the voters' consciousness by a TV blitz masterminded by Dave Garth, the Little Napoleon of political campaigns. From an ordinary and colorless liberal Democrat, Koch, impelled by Garth, suddenly moved rightward to capture the burning and increasing interest of the New York masses in the two Big Issues in New York City: crime, and the permanent fiscal crisis and decay in services resulting from it. Crime boiled down to the usual rampant mugging, aggravated this summer by Son of Sam and by the massive looting during one of New York's traditional lengthy blackouts. The fact that the police were instructed to look the other way while "the 'hungry' community" rolled up in cars to heist cameras, TV sets, et al. left a searing mark on the public consciousness. Beame was implicated both in this decision and in the fiscal crisis, a legacy of many years of Beame as Controller of the city's finances.

Cleverly, Koch came down hard with a libertarian-leaning position on the two big issues. On crime, Koch called for the restoration of capital punishment for murder, and stated that the National Guard should have been mobilized to shoot the looters. In this, Koch gladdened the hearts of countless New Yorkers, who have been cowed and beaten in by criminals for much too long. When asked how these positions squared with his liberalism, Koch got off the best line of the campaign: "I've never equated liberalism with insanity." On the fiscal crisis, also, Koch had the courage to come down hard on one of the major continuing culprits: the municipal employees unions whose demands are partly responsible for the swollen government spending. Here again, the public, disgusted with unionism and especially with high-pay, no-service government employee unions, responded with enthusiasm.

Abe Beame sobbed and sighed at the outcome—but in the immortal phrase that Liberace has donated to our culture, he went crying all the way to the bank. It turns out that Abe will start collecting his lifelong pension, which will be higher than his current salary. Which demonstrates that it is now impossible for the voters to get any politician off their backs—hell, they just shift to the lucrative pension rolls. The

abolition of pensions for politicians should be a high-priority item, not just for libertarians, but for any people of good sense who don't relish being ripped off forever.

Unfortunately, the smashing of Bella, even coming after her loss in the Democratic primary for Senate last year, has not ended the Abzug threat for very long. Bella now threatens to run for Koch's seat in Congress next year; the fact that she doesn't live in the district is not the sort of thing to feaze her. Since the district is a stronghold of wealthy WASPS (in the old days it used to be called the "silk-stocking district") Bella, whose style is geared toward left-wing Jews, cannot be considered a shoo-in.

This brings us to the ethnic factor, which was the most decisive single element in the mayoral race. Until the 1950's, there was a peculiar disjunction in political reportage in this country, a disjunction between what everyone in his right mind knew about voting patterns, and what everyone was allowed to write (despite the First Amendment.) Namely, everyone knew that crucial to politics was ethnic voting: a "Jewish vote", an "Italian vote", a "Negro vote", etc. As a result, at least in the days before open primaries, state and local tickets were carefully balanced among the leading ethnic groups. But it was considered an unbreachable no-no for anyone to even mention these ethnic voting patterns, because anyone who did so was considered—horrors—a "racist". And so political writers had to preserve the fiction of each individual voter carefully sitting down to research and sift all the critical issues before casting his vote. Or even if the voter was considered frivolous and influenced by the personality of the candidate, the ethnic nature of such candidate and such voter could never be specified.

This taboo was courageously broken in the 1950's by the astute political commentator Samuel Lubell, who started writing quite candidly about the ethnic vote. Lubell's being Jewish might have helped him break the barrier; if he had been a WASP, it is doubtful that he would have gotten away with it.

At any rate, ethnic lives! because the ethnic factor loomed remarkably large in this mayoral campaign. If one analyzes the voting districts carried by the numerous candidates in the Democratic primary, there is a one-to-one correlation between the ethnic composition of the candidate and of his winning districts. Thus: Mario Cuomo (Italian) carried all the Italian districts (and Irish districts, to the extent that there are any left in New York City—that is, Cuomo carried the white-Catholic districts); Herman Badillo (Puerto Rico) carried all the Puerto Rican districts; Percy Sutton (black) carried all the black areas; the other candidates in the race (all Jews) divided the Jewish districts, as follows: Beame (an elderly Brooklyn Jew) carried all the elderly Brooklyn Jewish districts and their moral equivalents in the other boroughs; Koch (a middle-class Jewish professional) carried all the middle-class Jewish professional districts, notably Forest Hills in Queens, and Riverdale in the Bronx; and Abzug, (a far-left Jewess from the West Side of Manhattan—a Jewish-

(Continued On Page 2)

## Do You Love Liberty?

by David F. Nolan

In the July issue of *Libertarian Forum*, Murray Rothbard has let forth with a ringing pronouncement that the "key question" of the day is whether or not one Hates the State.

Those libertarians—anarchist and minarchist alike—whose writings do not seethe with anti-Statist rhetoric are belittled as "amoralist utilitarians" and "plonky conservatives," while such quasi-libertarians as Mike Royko and Nicholas Von Hoffman are lauded for their "pervasive hatred of the State, of all politicians, bureaucrats, and their clients."

I understand what Murray is trying to say. At least, I think I do. And it is that the degree of passion one shows in one's commitment to "the cause" is more important than which side of an ideological hairline one cleaves to.

So far, so good. It is not surprising that Murray should take the side of the ravers—and I mean this with no disrespect, being one myself a fair portion of the time—but I feel that several of his contentions are misplaced.

More specifically, I will submit that the touchstone which distinguishes the True Brethren (and Sistren) from the amoralists and plonks is not hatred of the State, but love of liberty. And this is not as trivial a difference as it might at first seem.

### Mayorality — (Continued From Page 1)

dominated area that is one of the most left-wing districts in the nation) carried the West Side of Manhattan. It all hung together.

If one asks how come there are so many Jewish voting districts in New York, far out of proportion to the Jewish percentage of the population, the answer—well-known to all political observers in the city—is simply this: Jews vote in remarkably high proportions, in Democratic primaries as well as elections. On the other hand, Negroes and Puerto Ricans have a very low voting turnout, particularly in primaries, whose significance they have not yet seemed to grasp.

The triumph of ethnic over ideology was starkly revealed in the second, runoff primary between Koch and Cuomo, which turned out to be a straight down the line, Jewish vs. white-Christian contest. Every Jewish district went for Koch, including not only Beame's but even Abzug's; they voted solidly for Koch, even though they were presumably leftists and were shifting to the man generally perceived as the most right-wing of the Democratic contestants. Ethnic lived. As for the black and Puerto Rican districts, they too went pretty much (though not as solidly) for Koch, largely because of deals made by black and Puerto Rican leaders during the intense political maneuvering that went on in the eleven days between the two primaries. So blatant was the ethnic nature of the battle that Cuomo—the hand-picked candidate of the Establishment—repeatedly deplored the Jewish vs. Christian character of the contest.

Another quasi-subterranean element in the mayoral campaign was sex. Rumors were widespread that lifelong bachelor Koch is a homosexual, to the extent that one Cuomo slogan in the conservative areas of Queens county was: "vote for Cuomo, not the homo." It was largely to counteract these rumors that Koch had well-known consumerite Bess Meyerson constantly at his side during the campaign, and why he certainly never discouraged rumors that he and Bess would soon be married (we'll see what happens after the election.) Miss Meyerson, it should be added, has a special place in the hearts of New York Jewry as being the only Jewish Miss America in the history of that contest.

That Koch's quasi-libertarian stance might not survive his election is indicated by the political jockeying before and since the runoff. It had been originally planned that former Tammany leader Edward Costikyan—who ran for Mayor himself early in the campaign and then dropped out to become Koch's main political advisor—would become First Deputy Mayor in the new Koch administration. In his brief

In a way, it seems odd that I should have to point this out. Our "movement," after all, is identified—by us and by others—as libertarian (pro-liberty), and not simply as anti-state. The reason for this is that there are lots of anti-Statists in the world (e.g. Royko, Von Hoffman, et. al.) and not all of them share our goals—even in a general sense.

The communists, when they are out of power, are self-proclaimed anti-statists; they will rant as passionately as any libertarian about causing the state to "wither away." But that doesn't mean that they are our philosophical soulmates. The same point can be made about leaders of religious sects in communist-ruled countries, certain black militants, and a whole panoply of bomb-throwers and hijackers. All may use anti-statist rhetoric to equal Sam Konkin's best—and they may even be sincere in their hatred for the State, at least in its present form. But that doesn't mean that they're our comrades in the battle for individual liberty.

Perhaps I am belaboring the point, but I think it needs to be made, and made clearly: We must not fall into the trap of valuing rhetoric over philosophy.

Enough. Let us move onward to other observations prompted by the Good Doctor's essay.

(Continued On Page 3)

campaign, Costikyan had delivered himself of views that were by far the most libertarian of any of the candidates in the major parties. Now, however, Costikyan's post has been demoted to one of several Deputy Mayors, with the result that Costikyan has withdrawn, leaving the field to another Deputy Mayor, former candidate Herman Badillo—whose left-wing proclivities take a back seat only to those of Bella Abzug.

### II: THE FLIP FLOP

There is one aspect of the New York mayoral campaign that is not nearly as amusing as the contest between the biggies. And that is the downright grisly showing of the Free Libertarian Party mayoralty candidate. Four years ago, in the 1973 mayoral race, Fran Youngstein vaulted the new Libertarian Party to national prominence (considering the media importance of New York City) by garnering 8,800 votes for the first important race ever run by a Libertarian candidate. The 8,800 votes for this brand-new, unknown party were more than the votes for all the other minor parties combined—parties which had all been around a long time.

Since then, as we have detailed in these pages, the strength of the FLP in New York City—in contrast to the Libertarian Party nationally, or even in upstate New York—has been going steadily downhill, declining both relatively and absolutely in each succeeding election. This year, however, the FLP has hit rock bottom; William F. Lawry, its mayoral candidate, compiled 1,068 votes, a virtually non-existent seven-hundredths of one percent of the total vote. Instead of outpolling all the other minor parties combined, Lawry came in next to last among six minor parties, even losing to something called the City Independent party.

This is a truly disgraceful showing, reflecting the degeneration of the FLP in recent years. Reports are that Lawry, whose campaign was scarcely in evidence, said virtually nothing and scarcely seemed libertarian when he did appear. Certainly, he flubbed his golden opportunity, given all minor party candidates, to say his piece on the highly influential New York Times Op-Ed page. Here there was not only little that was identifiably libertarian, but not a word was said about the two major issues for New Yorkers: crime, and the fiscal crisis. Instead, Lawry wrote vaguely about power to the neighborhoods—an issue that has been non-existent in the city for almost a decade.

Let's face it: the FLP has become an embarrassment, an albatross to the rest of the libertarian movement. The best thing it can do now is to commit hara-kiri, to disappear, to fold its tent and silently steal away. The FLP is already dead; it is high time for it to grasp that fact and act accordingly. □

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

Recently I saw two movies that presented a remarkable contrast. They are not at all similar in theme; but in structure and meaning they embody two diametrically opposed concepts of film-making, indeed of art itself. One is the currently made French turkey, *La Grande Bourgeoise*—the epitome of the art film, vintage 1977. For an hour and a half, Giancarlo Giannini mopes, Catherine Deneuve looks wooden (which is about all she can do in any case), and several other characters mope. The camera lingers lovingly on closeups of their respective moping. Then there is a brief second or two of action (Giannini murdering the evil husband of his sister Deneuve), and then everybody mopes in spades for another hour or so. While all this is going on, one's eyes glaze over, and boredom grows and seeps through one's bones. By the time the so-called climax of the movie creeps into focus, the viewer doesn't give a tinker's dam whether or not Deneuve and other assorted atheist-socialist-aristocrats are convicted of aiding and abetting the murder by their reactionary Catholic persecutors. All one cares about is that the picture terminate as quickly and mercifully as possible.

In short, the picture has one point, and nothing is done with it, or rather, the point is repeated endlessly. Minutes drag on and on through an ocean of wasted film and wasted time. To top it all off, the movie was photographed through some sort of haze, presumably to underscore its so-called profundity.

In contrast, I also had the unalloyed pleasure of seeing for the ninth time one of the greatest movies ever made: *Pygmalion*, vintage Great Britain of the late 1930's. Instead of hitting the audience over the head at length with one point, *Pygmalion* was chock-full of points, and spent the minimal possible time on each. As in all other great movies, there was

not a wasted second, not a wasted centimeter, in *Pygmalion*. Every moment was meaningful, and every moment led to the next in an integrated and coherent whole. This sort of movie fascinates rather than bores, and it is eternal. For it bears seeing time and time again, as new insights and nuances are gleaned, and as cherished moments are recognized and remembered by the viewer.

*Pygmalion* bears comparison, too, to the later musical version of the same play, *My Fair Lady*. *My Fair Lady* is a pleasant and enjoyable picture, the music is excellent, the sets and color are sumptuous, but yet it suffers by comparison with *Pygmalion*. In contrast to the latter's swift pace and tight structure, *Lady* was looser and rather flatulent, and considerably longer than *Pygmalion*'s hour and a half. Despite not being nearly as pretty as Audrey Hepburn, Wendy Hiller's Liza in the earlier movie was the work of a far superior actress. In particular contrast was the acting in the central role of the film, the linguist Professor Henry Higgins. Rex Harrison, of *Lady*, is one of the superior movie actors of the last three decades, and his work in this picture did not belie that status. But Leslie Howard's Henry Higgins was simply magnificent; every gesture, every inflection was inspired and flawless. To use the current jargon, Howard was Henry Higgins: brilliant, scholarly, quirky, abrupt, ill-mannered, blindly tactless while thinking himself the very model of tact, and lovable to the very core. There, dear reader, was acting at its most transcendent, in a picture that—in blazing contrast to the "art film"—is the very model of a great work of art. We must weep for the loss, for the fact that this sort of picture apparently cannot be made or even conceived in today's world—while we exult in the fact that movies like *Pygmalion* are immortalized on film. □

## Love Liberty — (Continued From Page 2)

One: The State, predatory band of criminals though it may be, is not the only source of oppression in the world. Throughout much of Western history, the primary oppressor has been the Church. Specifically, the Roman Catholic Church—often acting through the State, to be sure. And anyone who truly burns with the "spirit of liberty" will oppose oppression from that source—or any other—as strongly as he or she opposes oppression by the State.

The thing which sets libertarians apart from other partisans is a deep, uncompromising commitment to the idea of individual liberty as a natural right—and a fierce determination to combat its foes, from whatever quarter they arise. To make anti-statism (or anti-churchism) per se the litmus test for inclusion in the fellowship of "good guys" is to miss the point and muddy the water.

Two: All other considerations aside, I see nothing to be gained by identifying ourselves as people motivated primarily by hate. Hatemongers, of any stripe, are usually a fairly despicable lot; let us not cast our lot among them. Let us instead hold high the banner of liberty and proclaim our allegiance to our principles. Let's not be ashamed to say that we love liberty, and make this our rallying cry.

Three: In the same vein, I see no useful purpose in making snide references to patriots. Patriotism means nothing more than love for one's land and its people, and there is no conflict between libertarianism and patriotism. Patriotism is not love for the State, and the truest patriots are usually those who decry government's plunder of the people and their land. Let's make it clear that we understand this distinction!

Hopefully, I have made my point. It may seem like nit-picking to some, but it is my firm belief that our success in the marketplace of ideas will depend largely on how we package our product. And it is to this end that I have made these observations.

### The Editor Replies:

I appreciate Dave Nolan's comments, and he is surely one of that hardy band of *laissez-faire* radicals that I have been calling for. I don't see any disjunction, however, between his position and mine. Hate, of course, has had a bad press for a long time, but hatred of the bad is only the other side

of the coin of love for the good. Indeed, how can one truly love the good if he does not also, and for the same reason, hate the evil? Libertarians, it seems to me, properly hate the State precisely because they love liberty, and to the same extent.

There are, of course, other aggressors and invaders of liberty than the State: muggers, bank robbers, terrorists, etc. Libertarians don't particularly focus on these oppressors, however, for two basic reasons: (1) because there is no need—everyone, not just libertarians, opposes and "hates" these aggressors, so there is no special reason for us to pay them much heed; (2) but, on the other hand, only libertarians recognize the State as evil aggressors. To everyone else, the State's actions have legitimacy and are not recognized as aggression; it is up to us to point out that the State has no clothes. And (3) the State is the major aggressor; random individuals may mug or rob banks; only the State threatens and uses missiles and hydrogen bombs.

I must take issue with Dave, however, on the historical role of the Catholic Church. The Church was never able to commit any oppression except through its influence in using State power; in that sense, it is similar to any other group: business, unions, professional associations etc. which are harmless or beneficial in their private capacity but become oppressors and exploiters when they are able to operate through the State. Moreover, I would venture to say that, on the whole, the Protestant churches have been far more oppressive in the use of State power than the Roman Catholic. The reason why so many of us tend to think otherwise is that England and America have been infected for centuries by unremitting anti-Catholic propaganda wielded by Protestant moulders of opinion.

I agree wholeheartedly with Dave on his point about patriotism. True patriotism—love of one's land, culture, etc.—is totally at odds with the phony patriotism, of love for the State; once again, as in so many other cases, a term which was originally libertarian was taken over and perverted for directly opposite purposes.

As for the problems of marketing our ideas, how we package them depends on the audience we are trying to reach with the particular item. The hard-core readership of the *Lib. Forum* can take the unvarnished truth a lot more easily than, say, the readers of the *Chicago Tribune* or the watchers of Johnny Carson. And if not in the pages of the *Lib. Forum*, then where? □

## That Noble Dream

by Justus D. Doenecke

Review of Anne Husted Burleigh, ed., *Education in a Free Society* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1973)

Perhaps, just perhaps, you once dreamed of cutting loose from the present educational system and starting one of your own. If so, would your vision go so far as to include planning of faculty, financing, curriculum, and buildings?

In 1971, the Liberty Fund of Indianapolis sponsored a seminar that centered on just this topic. Participants included an Indiana industrialist, a midwestern economist, a law professor, a historian, and the education columnist for *National Review*. Burleigh's anthology contains their position papers, but not the ensuing debate, and adds an essay by Dorothy Sayers, noted novelist and theologian.

The discussion was sharp, as Burleigh notes in her lengthy introduction. Although all contributors shared a common belief in the free-market approach to education, there was much disagreement on other matters. Definitions of the "free society," "education," even "understanding" all differed, as did opinions on ethical neutrality, university governance, tenure, and the elective system. Some participants were mainly concerned with economic issues and believed that genuine liberal education could only come with total private support. Others focussed on syllabi and administration, and called for a return to classic academic goals.

"Education is something that happens within an individual. No matter how formally educational the setting or the process, if nothing happens to the supposed learner, nothing educational has taken place." So wrote Benjamin A. Rogge, Distinguished Professor of Political Economy at Wabash College, and Pierre F. Goodrich, late Chairman of the Board of Ayrshire Collieries Corporation. A college, in other words, should turn the students "upside down," forcing them to critique all that encompasses conventional wisdom.

The two authors readily admit that the "educated man" is not necessarily the "virtuous man," a statement that need only receive confirmation by academicians themselves. Yet there is bad education and good education, with the latter—so claim Rogge and Goodrich—fostered by liberal arts institutions in which faculty is selected for teaching skill, no degrees ("meaningless relics from the current system") or grades are bestowed, and participation is made the key to classroom life.

At the beginning of each term, the college would publish a list of seminars and lectures. The student, having once determined on a course load, would begin by doing some required reading, then enter into small Socratic discussions. Then it's more reading and more discussion, after which the student would be prepared to listen to a lecture intelligently. Then more discussion, more reading, and the cycle goes on. The thrust here is obvious: to teach is not to manipulate passive minds—or what C. Wright Mills called "happy robots"—but to engage continually in questioning.

Gottfried Dietze, Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins, addresses himself to a different issue, for he is grappling with nothing less than the meaning of the modern university. Dietze looks at contemporary education and has the courage to find much of it bad. He opposes student participation in educational policy. Why, he asks, give "those with less knowledge and, therefore, less ability to advance the truth, the same power as those who possess a greater knowledge and ability to do so?" To put "men who have proved their excellence on a par with those who still must, and perhaps never will, prove it" can only "topple the very tenets of education." (Dietze's suggestion that instructors should have only one vote in faculty meetings to four for full professors is less wise. How often have young, well-trained instructors been under the control of "old boys" who admit—even boast—that since graduate school they have read little and written less?)

Throughout history, Dietze goes on to note, universities have been manipulated by governments—for "reasons of state"—and he finds that a mindless majoritarianism still threatens the integrity of the academy. He observes how both faculty and students betray academic freedom by intimidation and violence. (He might better note that if violators today

usually come from the left, they could spring from the right tomorrow. As Carol Gruber notes in her excellent *Mars and Minerva* (1975), the pro-war "patriotic" professor of World War I had much to do with originally politicizing the campus.) Students acting illegally, he claims, should be held responsible for damages under civil law, and administrators should never suffer interference with the regular processes of learning. To Dietze, the university exists in order to pursue the truth, a non-political value that can only survive by creating continual barriers against politicization.

Russell Kirk, unquestionably the ablest regular columnist that *National Review*, offers a model for a revitalized college. In an essay that deserves much reprinting, Kirk posits that a true college exists not to impart skills but "to seek after Wisdom—and through Wisdom, for Truth." If we might deem his proposals too costly and "visionary" for immediate implementation, they still deserve our respect, for Kirk, like John Henry Newman, is one of the few commentators in any age who has some inkling of what real education is all about. The collective irresponsibility of our colleges, particularly those that ignore curriculum, make Kirk's points all the more telling.

Newman, in his classic *Idea of a University*, called liberal discipline "a habit of mind . . . which lasts throughout life, of which the attributes are freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom, or what . . . I have ventured to call the philosophical habit." (One wonders what Newman would make of the modern faculty meeting.) Real education, he said, aims at "the clear, calm, accurate vision and comprehension of all things, as far as the finite mind can embrace them, each in its place, and its own characteristic upon it." What Newman here is referring to is the capacity to see relationships between things, the capacity to perceive that reality in which particular parts have their full meaning. Kirk concurs, writing what by helping to confer this wise vision, education enables "a man to order his own soul and, thereby, come to a condition of moral worth."

Of course, Newman made it clear that higher learning improves intellects, not consciences. "Quarry the granite rock with razors, or moor the vessel with a thread of silk; then you may hope with such keen and delicate instruments as human knowledge and human reason to contend against those giants, the passion and pride of man." Kirk too distinguishes between knowledge and virtue; yet he affirms with Socrates that right reason can support the cause of virtue. The college, argues Kirk, can give the student the tools for self-instruction, "the enduring truths that govern our being," principles of self-control, and an ethical consciousness. To use already overused clichés, it can convey the improvement of mind and character.

There is, naturally, quite a different sense in which the university should be ethical, and should be in fact a deeply moral enterprise. It goes far beyond the "Wisdom" and "Truth" Kirk would impart, for it concerns the very process by which one arrives at positions of value. This moral commitment involves lack of exploitation, the absence of coercion, and mutual respect for the positions of others—in other words, a tradition of civility our institutions so often lack.

How best can an institution offer the values Kirk seeks? By returning—he says—to a traditional curriculum, one emphasizing moral philosophy, humane letters (to develop critical powers and not merely "appreciation"), rhetoric, political economy, physics, higher mathematics, biological science (also philosophically considered), classical and modern languages, history, logic, and music and the visual arts stressing history and theory, not craft). By abolishing amorphous survey and general education courses. By abandoning any attempt to reproduce those specialized studies that are the proper province of the graduate school. By keeping the size of the student body within reasonable limits. By reducing electives to a minimum. ("One of the college's principal strengths was formerly its recognition of order and hierarchy in the higher learning, and the undergraduate is ordinarily not yet capable of judging with discretion what his course of studies ought to be.") By inculcating "a sense of gratitude toward the generations that have preceded us in time and a sense of obligation toward the generations

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## Noble Dream — (Continued From Page 4)

yet to be born." ("We moderns," he writes, "are only dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants.")

Such a school would stress methods of approach, not the gathering of information. Mechanisms include a three year bachelor's program, thorough and severe testing at (and only at) the end of the academic year, tutorials, private programs of reading and paper-writing, and well-prepared formal lectures that go far beyond the textbook. Each faculty member would have much freedom, "it being clearly understood that he is to teach an intellectual discipline, not some impassioned private doxa."

Kirk's concept of education contains much wisdom, for he realizes that serious education involves more than a proliferation of courses according to the interests of the faculty. (One can get many good courses this way but it is a by-product of faculty, not the effect of educational policy), but surely Kirk's vision is not sufficient, for genuine learning must involve more than the transmission of accumulated wisdom and traditional values. Historian John William Ward likes to cite the time when Erik Erikson was asked what it meant to be a good analyst. "He must be willing to be surprised," Erikson answered; that is, to be able to cope with the unfamiliar. Erikson used to call himself a "systematic participant" in dealing with the lives he observed. Both words are significant; "systematic" means being critical and self-aware, and finally passing responsible judgment on what one at first does not presume to judge; "participant" means to identify imaginatively with the other. To have both the imaginative identification and systematic criticism is full maturity, or what Erikson called "ego integrity." For Ward, "it is no less than the condition of being a humane and intelligent person."

Next in the Burleigh anthology is Henry G. Manne, law professor at the University of Rochester, who deals with university governance. Manne notes the power shift from trustees and presidents to faculty, with results not always beneficial. Since faculty is not held accountable under market pressures, it can pursue research at the expense of teaching, recruit only from similar schools of thought within a discipline, and demand the admission of unqualified members of minorities whom they have no intention of ever teaching. Quite often, students have a legitimate complaint: "A lot of what passes as modern permissiveness at the university level would more accurately be characterized as utter disinterest. Today this is being reflected in such matters as parietal rules, grading policy, so-called bulletin board courses, no attendance requirements, pass-fail grading, and many other devices passed off as innovations." Manne offers an intriguing solution, but one that needs more explanation: elimination of government operation, state tuition vouchers for any institution of the student's choice, and de facto ownership by the faculty who would possess share interests in the new university corporation.

Similar concerns with university control come from Stephen J. Tonsor, historian at the University of Michigan and one of the most thoughtful of that highly mixed bag known as conservative intellectuals. Tonsor argues that the university belongs to the whole of society; it is not the property of students, faculty, or any pressure group "that happens to feel a call to revolution or a prophetic mission." Nor is it, he writes, "a general-purpose social institution. It is not suited to the solution of social problems, the amelioration of misery and misfortune, the reformation of character, or the transformation of culture." In short, it is neither a center for community organizing, YMCA, T-group, or sanitarium.

Yet, as Tonsor notes, the university has lost its roots, indeed its very reason for being. Hiring practices discriminate against conservatives and Roman Catholics, and such humanistic disciplines as religion are often excluded from the curriculum. Presidents act not like educational statesmen (and indeed many would not know the meaning of either the adjective or the noun) but rather serve as "technicians of adjustment," playing the kind of broker politics that Theodore Lowi so cogently sees as "the end of liberalism."

Tonsor's indictment, perceptive though it is, has a wider application. In the fifties, the Russians launched Sputnik, and schools beefed up science and math; in the sixties people complained of the "unheavenly city" and

ruination of the environment, and the academy responded with urban and environmental studies. Demands by black and women's groups are only the last in a long series. Seldom do institutions ask what role all these areas should play in general education, or what significance such fields have for humane learning. To do so would take some work, and more important, some thinking. It is far easier to give in to an immediate demand on the terms of those who speak the loudest.

Faculty, he notes, realize that rewards lie outside the classroom and no longer take teaching seriously. Their meetings, which resemble nothing so much as the old parliament of Poland, foolishly attempt to legislate in matters of conduct, budget, and administration. Students, though "remarkably ill-prepared to judge or pass on policy," demand to determine course offerings, pass on questions of academic discipline, and judge appointments, salary increases, and tenure. Tonsor is particularly, and correctly, harsh on the alliance between student activists and administrators: "Both love committee meetings, both place power above principle, and both are deeply anti-intellectual." The university, Tonsor says, must return to its role as teacher, with research necessary but ancillary to it.

Tonsor's remedy? Require the student to pay full tuition (accompanied by a generous loan program). Students, having to pay the cost of their education, will appreciate it more; furthermore, they will force—and rightly so—professors to teach three-hour courses per semester and to introduce more relevant courses. In brief, all concerned will become accountable.

It is surprising when a mystery writer has ideas on education, and even more surprising when that writer is a lay theologian. Dorothy L. Sayers, she of "Lord Peter Winsey" fame, calls for a return to the "lost tools of learning." "For the last 300 years," she says, "we have been living on our educational capital." Sayers wrote her essay in 1948 and hence she could declare that students "learn everything except the art of learning." (Would that we had such anxieties today).

To Sayers, the medieval Trivium offers the correct model, for it teaches pupils how to learn before they start applying themselves to "subjects." We begin with Grammar, which is best applied to students at the earliest stage of learning, the "Poll-Parrot" stage usually involving years nine to eleven. During this period, memorization is both easy and pleasurable. The best grounding for all education, she claims, is the Latin grammar, and this for several reasons: it is the key to the vocabulary of all the Romance languages, to the structure of the Teutonic languages, and to the technical vocabulary of all the sciences. In addition, it cuts down the labor and pains of learning other subjects by at least fifty per cent.

At this stage, English verse and prose, lyric and narrative, classical myth and English legend should be learned by heart, with recitation practiced aloud. Also history, with stress on dates, events, anecdotes, and personalities; geography, with maps, natural features, and visual presentation of flora and fauna; science, which includes the identifying and naming of specifics ("to be aware that a whale is not a fish, and a bat not a bird"); mathematics, which begin with the multiplication table and the grouping of numbers; and theology, that "mistress-science," in which both the Old and New Testaments are presented as parts of single narrative of Creation, Rebellion, and Redemption.

We move on to the second stage of learning, the "Pert Age of answering back" and "catching one's elders out" in interminable argument. Here, from ages twelve to fourteen, it is formal logic, fine demonstration, and well-turned arguments that are crucial, the lynchpin to what the medieval mind referred to as Dialectic. For language, this means syntax, analysis (i. e. the logical construction of speech), and the history of language; for readings, essays, arguments, criticism, and debate; for mathematics, algebra and geometry, both of which should be seen as subdepartments of logic; for history, constitutional history and debates on ethical aims of statesmen; for theology, argument concerning dogma, conduct, and morals.

At some point in the pupil's development, perhaps around age fourteen, the students will find that their knowledge and experience are not sufficient, and they will enter that even more difficult stage known as the "Poetic Age." If they now realize that logic and reason have their limits, they find their imagination awakened and they are prepared to study Rhetoric. What was learned by rote through Grammar is now seen in new

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# Public Parks: the New York City Case

by Walter Block

Everyone knows that the system of public parks in New York City is a mess. Our city parks have become havens for muggers and junkies, unsafe for honest citizens except perhaps in broad daylight on summer weekends. With the exception of Central Park, virtually all the city parks are spread around the periphery of Manhattan, where they are all but impossible to reach. Tourists on the Circle Line boat cruise are likely to conclude that virtually all of Manhattan is composed of parks; but we occupants of the barren inland know better, unfortunately. As for the pitifully few inland "vest pocket parks", they are in danger of becoming obsolete.

In Tudor City, a group of elderly people have formed the Save Our Parks Committee, to stop Tudor City's owner, the Helmsley Spear real estate firm, from erecting a 52 story residential and office building on the site of two small parks on East 42nd Street near the U.N. Predictably, the politicians of the area have rallied to the cause of saving the park, and have criticized the greedy profit-seeking landlord. The problem with the facile answer of supporting the park however is that on the one hand, we also have a housing shortage and perhaps the park should be replaced by housing. On the other hand, it may indeed be true that the park shortage is even greater than the housing shortage, and then we should not only save these small parks, but should replace some housing with parks. The real problem of the park system in New York City is not whether we should save these two small parks, important as that may be. The real problem is that we lack a mechanism by which these and all similar problems can be solved automatically.

When the problem of how to allocate our scarce resources among competing ends arises in other areas, we have an answer that has served us well. It has served us so well, in fact, that it can only be folly to ignore its application to the present problem. I speak, of course, of the price system. If there were ever to arise a problem of allocating scarce resources between shoes and wheat of the sort that has arisen between parks and housing, where there a "shoes faction" opposed a "wheat faction", the price system would solve this problem in short order. (Indeed, the very ludicrousness of the example strongly suggests that the price system does not even allow such problems to arise in the first place.) For the good in relatively short supply would rise in price as unsatisfied demanders bid for it. If wheat were more scarce, the price of wheat would rise relative to shoes. Then wheat producers would be able to bid land and labor and other scarce factors of production away from the shoe producers.

How would the price system work in the case of parks? The City government would denationalize the park industry. It would sell off all its park lands to private entrepreneurs who would have the option of maintaining the land in the form of a park or converting it to some other use. These entrepreneurs would charge prices for the use of parks just as is done in the form of single entry admissions, season tickets, or any other plan amenable to both park owner and customer.

The advantages of the plan would be immediate. No longer would the park-using public have to fear for its very life. What would solve the problem of crime in the parks would not be simply more police or better lighting or any of the other specific measures often proposed by the bureaucrats in charge of parks. What will solve the problem is rather a system which will automatically reward those entrepreneurs who are able to rid the parks of crime by whatever methods they adopt, and a system which will automatically penalize those entrepreneurs who are unable to rid the parks of crime. The profit and loss system, or the price system, will give rise to a whole host of park owners, each free to use his own methods. Those who succeed will be rewarded by the patronage of the customers, will prosper, and will be able to spread their enlightened methods to other parks. Those who fail will lose customer support, will lose money and go bankrupt, and will no longer be in position to mismanage parks. It is in this way that the price system will improve the safety of parks.

The same analysis holds true for other facets of park operation: the location of the park in the first place, the other services provided by park managers, etc.: those entrepreneurs who please the customers will prosper, and those who do not will fail. It is in this way, and this way alone, that we are likely to have the parks relocated to where they are

more accessible, that we are likely to see the parks open at night, etc.

The radical thing about this proposal is not the use of the price system itself, which is used in all aspects of our economic life, but rather the application of it to an area in which it had never been used before. Unfortunately, we are such slaves to the past that it is extremely difficult to imagine alternative ways of doing things, where the alternatives would replace institutions that have been with us for many years. Objection to new ways arise which would never occur to us but for their newness. For example, if the government had been in the business of providing shoes and wheat in much the same way that it is now in the business of providing parks, fire protection, postal service, etc., and if someone were to come forward with a proposal to turn the production of shoes and wheat over to private enterprise, all sorts of objections would probably arise which from our present vantage point of experience would appear to be frivolous: "How would the farmers bring the wheat to market?", "Who would sew the soles and shoe tops together?", "How would the merchants be able to charge for the shoes?", "Who would bake the bread?", "How would we decide on the proportion of wheat allocated to bread and to cake?", and especially, "But the poor would be forced to go without shoes!". From the vantage point of experience, we know all these objections about shoes and wheat to be baseless. But they are very potent indeed with regard to the de-nationalization of parks, an action where we have no experience to guide us.

Let us consider in some detail the claim that the poor would be forced

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## Public Parks — (Continued From Page 6)

to go without the use of parks, since we have dealt with the other objections with regard to parks, at least briefly. It is true that poor people and poor children (along with everyone else) will be forced to pay for the park services they consume under a system of private ownership of the parks, just as they are now forced to pay for the shoes and wheat they consume. But it by no means follows that the poor will not be able to enjoy the use of parks, or even that they will be forced to curtail their use of parks! If anything, the de-nationalization of our parks will probably mean more park use by the poor, not less.

For one thing, the poor, along with everyone else, will be able to make better use of private parks because they will tend to be run more efficiently under the price system. No longer will the parks be out of service because of uncontrolled crime, improper lighting, or defective equipment. Government bureaucratic park managers receive their salary regardless of consumer satisfaction; entrepreneurs do not. But more importantly, we must realize that the effect of the present system of nationalized parks is to divert recreational funds away from poor people and toward rich people. Therefore, denationalizing the park industry will have the effect of increasing, not decreasing, the amount of park services that go to the poor!

Although it is true that the New York City government does spend some thousands of dollars on building and maintaining asphalt playgrounds and swimming pools used mainly by the poor, it severely taxes recreations mainly attended by the poor, such as professional baseball, football, and basketball games, bowling alleys and pool halls, etc. The city government then takes these and other tax funds and subsidizes recreational activities mainly patronized by the rich to the tune of literally billions of dollars. The priceless art treasures in our museums and art galleries, the millions of dollars that go into our libraries, ballet and opera companies, symphony orchestras, Shakespeare Festivals, etc., all represent recreational money taken away from the poor and given to the rich. Can it then be seriously maintained that stopping this process by getting the government out of the recreation business will actually be detrimental to the poor? Hardly.

No. The answer to the physical and spiritual decay of our nationalized recreational industry can only be a separation of recreation and state akin to the separation of church and state mandated by the constitution. And such a separation can only help the poor, the greatest victims of state deprivations. □

## Noble Dream — (Continued From Page 5)

contexts: what was cold analysis is now brought together in a new synthesis. A certain freedom is allowed, but it must be one that manifests the unity of all branches of learning. Students may specialize, drop certain disciplines, and prepare to specialize in one or two areas. Those who want to go on have the university ahead, and students prepared in this manner should "disconcert" the universities—and do so at age sixteen.

Anyone who has ever met a class might differ with specific recommendations of all of the authors. Financing, curriculum, administrative power, faculty prerogative—all have long been the subject of debate. Sayer might be too rigid, Manne too impractical. Kirk's model curriculum could—if one were not careful—lead simply to producing people of smug if learned gentility. (Kirk claims to welcome residential fraternities, those twentieth century microcosms of Pierre Boule's "planet of the apes." Yet these weird repositories of "higher scholarship" are not always the best device for achieving the radical transformation sought by Rogge and Goodrich.) Academe, like many other institutions, reflects its society, and one cannot restore order to the self, much less to the university, if it is absent in the general society. Order for order's sake is folly at any rate; it is the process of finding order that is so crucial, and that shows that one is educated.

What is common and significant to all contributors is the sense that education is a vocation, what Luther referred to as a "calling", and that institutions that lose this sense do so at their peril. The authors offer ways through which they think this sense of vocation can be recovered. Education in America, if it is to survive, needs more academics who share their enthusiasm for learning, and their integrity and courage in approaching the task. In a very real sense, they have kept the faith. □

## Abortion: An Exchange

To the Editor of the Lib. Forum:

I found your arguments on abortion (*Lib. Forum*, July 1977) cogent and well structured. I can agree with what you say. However, you did not address the aspect of abortion which causes me the greatest concern.

Actions have consequences which, to my mind, must be accepted going in, especially when they are clear and certain. One of the potential consequences of sexual intercourse is pregnancy. If the participants voluntarily enter into this action with a knowledge of the possible consequences, I think they must accept them. If the act is involuntary, they need not.

Whether one can speak of a "contract" (an obligation resulting from a known consequence would be more appropriate) between mother and fetus hinges on whether the action was voluntary. Further, since the action has possible consequences, a "birth control mistake" is one of the possibilities which needs to be considered. Finally, if it is voluntary, why should a person not be permitted to surrender his body "in an enforceable transaction," even to sell himself into slavery for a specified time, if he wishes.

R. B. Peirce

The Editor Replies:

Thanks for your thoughtful letter. I confess that I cannot understand your point about "accepting" all the consequences of one's voluntary actions. Where is it written that one "must accept" such consequences? Suppose that A attends a meeting at which B has a bad cold, and, further, that A entered into the meeting with the full knowledge that B had such a cold. Must we say that A "must accept" the possible cold because he entered into the meeting voluntarily? Does this mean that A can't take aspirin, Vitamin C, or whatever in an attempt to fend off the unwelcome consequences of an action which he otherwise benefited from or enjoyed? This strikes me as a bizarre position indeed, and the hangover from a Puritan ethic that one must accept uncomplainingly the bitter with the batter. Why? Why can't one take a second action which will annul the unpleasant consequences of a first action? Why can't one take Vitamin C to annul cold germs?

Another example: A gets drunk one night, gets a hangover the next morning. Is it morally impermissible for him to take some hangover remedy, because then A is not "accepting the consequences" of his own voluntary action? Why is it impermissible—apart from the Puritan position that pain must accompany every enjoyment? Yet Mr. Peirce and his fellow-thinkers would precisely have to take such bizarre positions.

Professor Judith Jarvis Thomson, in her brilliant defense of abortion cited in our July issue, deals with such arguments by posing the cause of a person who leaves his window open, thereby facilitating the entrance of a burglar into the house and the theft of his valuables. Does this mean that the homeowner had no right to open the window, or that he was in some way "responsible" for the burglar's invasion, and that therefore the homeowner has the right to do whatever he wishes with his own property. It is monstrous to say that he is in some way responsible for the theft, thereby taking the burglar off the hook, because the burglar's task thereby became easier. There is no moral obligation for an innocent homeowner to live in a fortress. In the same way, it is as absurd to blame the mother for a birth control mistake as it is to blame the homeowner for the "open window mistake." The burglar was the invader; in the same way, with a birth control mistake, the fetus is the invader. In neither case, can we get the invader off the hook because of some arbitrary theory that an innocent person "must accept all the consequences of his voluntary actions"—from leaving a window open to using a non-fool-proof contraceptive.

Similar to arguments attempting to blame the homeowner were the repugnant commercials a few years ago blaming the car-owner for the theft of his car if he had left his keys in the car. In some way, then, the car-owner, instead of righteous innocence, is supposed to feel guilty for leading the poor teen-age criminal astray. I say "balderdash!"

As for your point on voluntary slavery, I can only reiterate my previous article. There is nothing wrong with "surrendering one's body" voluntarily, but that is not the issue. The issue is, after the person changes his mind, the enslavement is no longer voluntary; it then becomes compulsory. Now what? □

# The Sadat Hype

The media, of course, loved the trip—as well they might, since it was virtually designed as a media event. The trip was heavy on the symbolism and on the pictorials: the president of Egypt flying into Israel, laying Israeli as well as Egyptian wreath at soldiers' graves, speaking before the Israeli Knesset on world-wide satellite television. All over the world, the hearts of millions of the hoodwinked leaped at the thought of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The gentlemen cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. Even on the level of the trip itself, and of immediate Israeli-Egypt relations, it is hard to see what the Sadat excursion accomplished. A few phone lines were opened between the two countries, but so what? Sadat reiterated the traditional Egyptian demands, both sides talked of peace, peace but Israeli concessions were non-existent. The strange thing is that, in a normal dramatic trip of this sort, important concessions and agreements would have been worked out secretly in advance, so that the public would be conned into believing that the trip itself generated the dramatic agreement announced at the climactic conclusion of the journey. But in the case of the Sadat trip, there was no dramatic relations between the two countries, was all show and flash and no substance. One would think that the media would have caught on, but perhaps that's too much to expect.

Hints in the press about possible secret but unspecified concessions made by Israel are hardly convincing. If there are such concessions, why weren't they worked out before the trip, and announced as its supposedly successful climax?

There is even a deeper flaw with all the hoopla over the Sadat trip. And that is that nothing in the long run, nothing in solving the deeper problems in the Middle East, can be accomplished by Egypt and Israel alone. Even if Sadat and Begin danced the hora all over Tel Aviv, the great problem of the Middle East—what to do about the rights of the Palestinians—would be no closer to a solution. For neither the Egyptian government nor any other government in the Middle East—whether Arab or not—is qualified to speak for and negotiate for the Palestinian people. Only Palestinians are so qualified, and Israel continues to refuse even to meet with their representatives. And that, of course, means real Palestinians, as overwhelmingly embodied in the Palestine Liberation Organization, and not a couple of Palestinian-American university professors who represent only themselves, as one trial balloon floated by Sadat has proposed. Of course, simply meeting with the Palestinians will scarcely serve to bring about peace, but such continuing meeting is at least the necessary condition for such a settlement. And there is no sign whatever that such a meeting is one iota closer than before Sadat's grandstand journey.

In fact, paradoxically, the long-run consequences of the Sadat visit may be the diametric opposite of what the world media have been proclaiming. Predictably, the conservative Arab states such as Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and the influential Saudi Arabia and its client states—governments who have never displayed much interest in the rights of the Palestinians—have come to support the Sadat visit. Predictably, also, the radical "rejectionist" Arab states such as Iraq and Libya have condemned the trip with great passion, calling for "spilling the blood of the traitor Sadat" and for the overthrow of the Sadat regime. But more important is the reaction of the centrist bloc of Arab states, headed by Syria. It was Syria's violent rightward turn against the Lebanese Left which dealt a body blow to the PLO and to the Palestinian guerrillas inside Lebanon. But now Syria and the centrist states have been radicalized leftward by their outrage at the Sadat trip, and Syria is in the process of mobilizing a far wider "rejection front" than anyone would have thought possible a few scant months ago.

The rejection front began with the dissident Palestinian guerrillas who had broken with Fateh (the dominant force within the PLO). These guerrillas were led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, headed by Dr. George Habash, and were supported by Libya and Iraq, who, however, happen to be geographically far from the Israeli fighting front. Fateh and the majority of the PLO were willing to go along with the solution to the Middle East cooked up by the U. S. State Department doves—abandonment by Israel of its post-1967 conquests, and the creation of a mini-Palestine state in the newly abandoned areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in return for which the new mini-State would pledge never to try to acquire the remainder of Palestinian territory under Israeli dominion, a pledge to be guaranteed by the Great Powers, the United Nations or whatever. With this "1967 solution" looking increasingly dim, especially with the hard-line hawk Menachem Begin in command of Israel, a new and far stronger "rejection front" seems to be looming—this time including the PLO, Syria and the centrist Arab states.

All this does not mean, however, any imminent resumption of full-scale conflict. On the contrary, the current uneasy condition of no war-no peace is likely to continue indefinitely and considerably into the future. For the Palestinians and their Arab allies might now be nudged into doing some reexamining of another Habash "rejection front" tenet that they had brusquely dismissed as defeatist and as taking too much time: namely, that Israel cannot be vanquished nor Palestinian rights achieved until such conservative Arab governments as that of Egypt and Jordan are overthrown and replaced by pro-Palestinian radicals. In short, that from the point of view of the Palestinians, their main strategic enemy in the current historical period is not Israel, but within the Arab world. □

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# A Monthly Newsletter

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## Two Exits

### I: HHH

And still, it is not over—the endless preoccupation with HHH and his final illness. Just as it is now the imbecile fashion not only for a father to “parent” (a hideous neologism) but also to feel and enjoy the mother’s labor pains, so we were all taken step-by-step through every loving detail and nuance of Hubert Horatio Humphrey’s terminal illness, and through his interminable series of funerals. Surely, if they could have gotten away with a funeral in every town in America, they would have done so. Even now, when Humphrey is laid to rest, we shall be receiving indefinitely Hubert’s Messages from On High as relayed through the widow Muriel, slated to succeed him in the United States Senate. Already, we are being abjured—precisely in the spirit of “Win It for the Gipper”—to go out and pass the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill for the Hump.

There has been no such massive outpouring of hooley since the death of Harry S. Truman, when all of his former enemies rushed to nominate and elect him to sainthood. But that, at least, was a one-shot deal; the man died, was elevated, and that was that. Mercifully, we were spared every detail of Truman’s final illness. But now, as my friend Ronald Hamowy likes to say, we were to be spared nothing.

What are we to say of all this? First, in the interest of truth and of public common sense, we must right the historical record. The maxim *nisi bonum* was always pretty silly anyway, and certainly is intolerable for a government official, where the doctrine can be and is habitually used to whitewash not only the politician in question but, by extension, all politicians. Jimmy Carter’s absurd declamation that “Hubert Humphrey was the most beloved by all Americans” will be met by many of us with the immortal Sam Goldwynism: “Kindly include me out.” Hubert Humphrey was the very model of a modern Social Democrat, his only solution for all social problems the vast expenditure of federal funds. He was an enthusiastic and ardent champion of Big Government all the way, in domestic and foreign affairs, not only whooping it up for all American wars, hot and cold, but also a leading enthusiast, at the height of the Cold War, for packing alleged subversives away in a concentration camp. Always an opportunist, Humphrey reached the acme of this trait in his consistently sycophantic behavior as Vice President, that is, his absolute subservience to Power. Have we all forgotten so soon? Among his fellow opportunists and Social Democrats, he was distinguished largely for his unquenchable garrulity, for being the Motor Mouth of our epoch—a trait which people did not find nearly so lovable when he was in full vigor as they do now in retrospect.

Secondly, we must cry out against this culmination of the current tendency to expose every celebrity’s running sores to an avid, lipsmacking public. The moment when a President’s body became public property can be precisely pointed: Ike Eisenhower’s ileitis attack in the mid-1950’s. It was a disease which had not hit the public eye before or since, but every symptom was served up to the panting public in excruciating detail. Then came Ike’s heart attack, LBJ’s heart attack and abdominal operation, etc. With the apotheosis of HHH, we now have this practice brought down to other ranks of politicians. In these days of

encounter groups, touchee-feelee, and Instant Intimacy, it might seem a lost cause to call for a return to the precious value of privacy, of the closed rather than the open, but it must be done nevertheless.

Another important lesson is the multi-partisan nature of the Humphrey love feast. For what do we see in the encomiums to a Humphrey or a Truman by such seemingly bitter former enemies as a William Buckley or a Richard Nixon? What we see in this ingathering of politicians is the lesson: all of us politicians really agree, we are really one—in short, they are all in it together at the public trough. In a crunch, they are as one: Republicrat, Demopublican, left, right, or center, the whole marauding gang; in the final analysis, it is them versus us. In the immortal phrase of Dos Passos: “all right, we are two nations.”

Lest all this seem too harsh, let us keep in mind that countless millions of people—most of them far more deserving of accolades than HHH—have died, unwept, unhonored, and unsung, and that many of them have died of cancer. Even a large number of politicians have died, and a considerable number have died of cancer. Yet this is the first time such a brouhaha has been made, such an extended fuss as to dwarf even the Super Bowl.

### II: Arthur F. Burns

In its own muted way, the hoopla surrounding the potential and then actual ouster of Arthur F. Burns as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board was full of as much hokum as the fuss over HHH. Knowing that Burns’s terms as the powerful boss of America’s money-creating factory was up in January, the right-center, that is, the right wing of the Establishment, put on a quietly hysterical campaign for several months to pressure President Carter to reappoint Arthur Burns.

On the face of it, it was difficult to see why Carter should reappoint Burns. After all, a new President likes to have his own team around him, the head of the Fed is a crucial policy-making post, so why in blazes should Carter have continued this veteran Republican, this Eisenhower-Nixon-Ford retread, in high office? The carefully orchestrated campaign, headed by ex-Republican Council of Economic Advisors’ members Paul McCracken (in the *Wall St. Journal*) and Herb Stein (in the *New York Times*), stressed the politics of fear. The hype went as follows: Arthur Burns was the only person, the indispensable man, in the fight against inflation; this septuagenarian was the only man in America who could be trusted to battle inflation and whom businessmen here and throughout the world would trust to combat this menace. As a lagniappe in this campaign, the right-centrists trotted out the old saw about the importance of keeping the Federal Reserve “independent” from the government, of keeping the Fed “out of politics”—a status that would supposedly be endangered if the beloved Burns were not kept in a kind of lifetime spot as czar of the money supply. In short, the right-centrists were trying to do for Burns what their ancestors had once successfully done for J. Edgar Hoover, Harry Anslinger, and Frances Knight (of the

(Continued On Page 2)

## Two Exits — (Continued From Page 1)

immigration office)—lifetime “bipartisan” satraps unchecked by popular will.

This, of course, is all a shuck. The Federal Reserve is not some sort of mystical entity separate and apart from the government of the United States; on the contrary, it is a vital part of that government. It has never been “apart” from politics, but necessarily hip deep in political decisions. Arthur Burns, as I have said above, is a veteran of every Republican administration since World War II. The very idea of insulating “government” from “politics” only makes sense as a means of insulating dictatorial rule from any kind of popular check or influence.

But what of the most important issue: Arthur Burns as beloved battler against inflation? This is true if we consider only rhetoric and never substance. Burns has been outstanding, it is true, at rhetorical attacks on inflation; but his concrete actions have been to generate not only inflation, but the biggest and most deadly peacetime inflation in the country’s history. He did it by generating unprecedented and continuing creation of new money, money which then enters the economy and drives prices upward. As James Dale Davidson writes in a recent *Penthouse*, Burns has been “constantly denouncing inflation at the same time that he personally supervises its creation.” (James Davidson, “The Inflationists,” *Penthouse*, February, 1978, p. 51.) And yet, I suppose that in an America that pays attention to rhetoric rather than substance, it should not be surprising that an Arthur Burns should gain a reputation as an enemy, rather than a creator, of inflation.

And then there were the curious events surrounding Burns’ ultimate ouster. After months of a press campaign to the effect that hysteria would hit the corporate boardrooms of the world should Arthur Burns be let go, what happened, you might ask, when the pilot was finally dropped—when it was announced to the world that Burns would be succeeded by the unknown businessman, G. William Miller? Were there howls, and wails, and much gnashing of teeth? Did corporations crumble from California to the Elbe? To the contrary. There were virtually no complaints at all, certainly not from the business or banking world. Everybody rushed to compliment the President on this wise and wonderful choice, and nobody fussed, including Burns himself. Irving Shapiro of DuPont and Raymond James of General Electric rushed to applaud, and even to take credit for, the selection of Miller.

## Arts And Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

**The Eagle Had Landed**, dir. by John Sturges. With Michael Caine, Donald Sutherland, and Jenny Agutter. At last! A rip-roaring, exciting adventure-spy yarn, replete with suspense and excitement. John Sturges has done an excellent job in filming the splendid spy-novel by Jack Higgins of the same title. A team of German commandos lands heroically in East Anglia during World War II to try to kidnap and/or assassinate Winston Churchill. It is a marvellous spy-caper story, with the reader/viewer’s sympathies neatly enlisted in behalf of the commando team (helped by the of course inevitable fact that German hero Steiner (Michael Caine) is authentically anti-Nazi.) Caine’s partner, a great character, is a stalwart of the Irish Republican Army (Donald Sutherland.) Particularly remarkable in Sturges’ direction is his ability to take such incurable hams as Caine and Sutherland and getting them to restrain their natural propensities for overacting. As a result, Caine and Sutherland give their finest, most subtle performances. Jenny Agutter is delightful as the East Anglia girl who falls for Sutherland.

As admirable as the movie is, it is not quite as good as the book. The sins are one of omission: the book’s marvellous love story between the East Anglia girl and the Irish agent is badly truncated in the movie; and there is very little of the book’s detailed and suspenseful buildup (a la *The Jackal*) showing how the Irishman accumulates his illegal materials for the assassination attempt. In other words, the movie should have been about half an hour longer. But nevertheless, the picture is highly recommended. □

There are many lessons in this story. One, to put it very mildly, is not to believe everything you read. Two, is to heed the spectacle of all the luminaries: in business, banking, politics, the media, rushing to cozy up to the seat of Power, regardless of who happens to sit in it. If an Arthur Burns holds the top monetary power for umpteen years, he becomes, by virtue of that fact, wise, beloved, and indispensable. Any criticisms of him will be muted and behind the arras, because every one and every group wants to be a favorite of Power, and in this important case, wants to be close to the new greenbacks as they roll forth from the Fed’s printing presses (both literally and in the sense of checkbook money.) And when the current Power-holder is inevitably and irretrievably removed, well then the next guy, whoever he is—a Bill Miller or a Joe Zilch—will be automatically and instantly wise and beloved, and, after a decent interval, will himself be dubbed indispensable.

As for Miller’s actual policies, we can be sure, from his sponsorship and his few pronouncements over the years, of more of the same: inflation with a conservative face. What his rhetoric will be is a matter of personal style, but there is no reason to expect any change in substance. □

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# Rent Control: the New York City Case

by Walter Block

One of the clearest violations of the free market philosophy in the housing area is rent control. It amounts to a denial of the widely accepted view that consenting adults have the right to make contractual arrangements without outside interference. It is of the utmost importance to subject this law to critical analysis.

The problem with discussing rent control, however, is that many people are likely to have very strong opinions on the matter. If the proponents and opponents of rent control have one thing in common, it is the strength and certainty with which they hold their opinions on the subject. This is indeed unfortunate. For any subject which affects virtually the whole housing supply of a city would be far better dealt with in a dispassionate, logical and calm manner, one able to shed light rather than heat on the subject.

I shall nevertheless venture out onto these troubled waters because I think it important to demonstrate that rent control, and indeed any law which interferes with the right of consenting adults to make bargains among themselves, must inevitably lead to poor results. It is my opinion that rent control causes slums, that it causes discrimination in housing, both overcrowding and underutilization of housing, and that it interferes with mobility. But these things have been amply documented. In this paper I shall therefore discuss something not quite so fully documented: the question of who benefits and who loses from rent control.

If there is one thing that many of the proponents and the opponents of rent control have in common, apart from their strong views on the subject, it is the belief that rent control must benefit all tenants and harm all landlords. This could not be further from the truth, however. For what rent control actually accomplishes in its attempt to keep rents down is to raise the price of non-rent controlled apartments higher than they would have been in the absence of rent control. It does this by discouraging the construction of new residential buildings, as these new owners come to fear the imposition of rent control on their own buildings. (This fear will occur even when rent control does not apply to dwellings built in the future.) And anything that decreases the supply of housing, elementary supply and demand analysis tells us, will raise the price of housing. So the tenants of non-rent controlled apartments are made worse off by rent control.

What of the tenants of rent-controlled apartments? Surely they gain from rent control? Not necessarily. Although some few tenants of rent-controlled apartments can benefit from rent control, the overwhelming majority will not. The majority of rent-controlled tenants will pay lower rents than otherwise because of rent control, all right, but the quality, services, care, and upkeep of the apartment will decrease more than proportionately, so that even though they will pay less rent, they will be worse off. The quality of the apartment will decrease (compared to what it would have been in the absence of rent control) because the landlord will have virtually no financial incentive to maintain it. In the semi free market society that we live in, people do not provide services out of altruism. The butcher, baker and candlestick-maker provide us with top quality services, not out of the goodness of their hearts, but because we pay them a competitive price to do so. If we refuse to pay them adequately, or are not allowed to pay them adequately, they will no longer provide us with the same quality of service. We cannot maim the goose and expect the same quality of eggs.

It is the same with landlords. The quality of apartment services will inexorably decrease. One, because financial incentives to maintain the property will have been stripped from the landlord; and two, because even if there were some landlords who out of a sense of duty, obligation, altruism, or whatever, maintained their buildings in the pro-rent control style, they would soon suffer grave losses, and either be forced into bankruptcy, or else held back from expanding their scope of real estate activity. In either case, under rent control, the market would penalize those landlords who attempted to maintain the quality of their buildings.

The quality of the apartment will decrease more than proportionately to the fall in rent because this decrease in maintenance will ignite the well known "vicious circle" of decay: the decay of each apartment and each building will feed on and encourage the decay of every other apartment and building on the block and in the neighborhood. Services which were taken for granted before the advent of rent control will now have to be performed by amateur "block associations", "tenant groups", etc. But these part-time associations will never be able to insure the

degree of sanitation services, police and fire protection, building code enforcement, etc., that associations of professional landlords with strong financial incentives in quality dwellings would be able to maintain. Let there be price controls in the restaurants of our city analogous in scope and severity to the rent controls the landlords have had to put up with, and all the amateur, part-time "restaurant associations", "food cooperatives," etc., will never be able to match the quality of service that our restaurateurs, with strong financial incentives in providing quality food and service, have been able to maintain. So the tenants of rent-controlled apartments will also be made worse off by rent control, as the entire neighborhood deteriorates, suffering fear of criminals, dirty streets, rampant garbage and vermin.

Not all tenants of rent-controlled buildings are made worse off by rent control. Some few are benefited. The key to understanding why some tenants are benefited while most are made worse off is the financial incentive to maintain his building that the landlord may have under rent control. The landlord will still have a financial incentive to maintain his building even under rent control in several cases. One, if he expects an end to rent control and his building is in a high rent district. Then he will be able to raise his rents to a high level after decontrol. Here, the whole neighborhood is not likely to fall prey to the vicious circle of housing decay that rent control engenders. (If the owner of such a building does not expect rent control to end, his incentives to maintain the building will be very low indeed; he will have a much greater financial incentive to hasten the building into disrepair, so that he can demolish it, and build a new non-controlled one instead). Secondly, the landlord will have a financial incentive to maintain a rent-controlled building if there are at least several decontrolled apartments within the building and/or the prospects of some more to come. Once again, the building will have to be in a high rent, luxury area, otherwise there is no sense investing in the maintenance of a building, waiting for decontrolled apartments which will not be worth much when they arrive.

In these cases, the dwellers in rent-controlled apartments are likely to benefit from great bargains. But in virtually all of these cases, the tenants will be rich and perhaps old people who have been living there for many years. And the few cases where the lucky tenants are not rich old people who have been living in luxury areas all their lives are likely to be government bureaucrats, especially housing and rent control bureaucrats who have taken advantage of their positions to obtain 12-room apartments with river views in some of the finest older apartment houses in Manhattan. These limousine liberals can sometimes obtain these apartments for less than \$100 per month.

What of the landlords? Is it true that they all lose from the imposition of rent control? Again, not necessarily. The landlords who have continuously owned their buildings since 1941, the year that rent control began, most assuredly do lose out because of rent control. Hundreds of millions of dollars of housing value have been lost by these landlords; and some of the landlords whose buildings have been subject to the vicious circle of housing decay may have lost their total housing values.

Some people have argued that it is entirely unfair to force a small part of the population, landlords, to subsidize the poor via rent control; that if the poor are to be subsidized, they should be subsidized by the entire population, not by a small persecuted minority. And this argument, as far as it goes, is correct. Indeed, if the poor are to be subsidized, it would be particularly unfair to expect a small group of people to bear the full burden. But the argument does not go far enough. The actual case is even worse. It is bad enough to single out the landlords and force them to subsidize the poor; but the truth of the matter, as we have seen, is that the poor almost certainly do not benefit from rent control! So the landlords end up subsidizing rich people and government housing bureaucrats. And this is certainly unfair, since in many cases the rich tenants may even be richer than the landlords. Unfortunately, even this argument does not go far enough. The actual case is even worse yet. It is bad enough to force the landlords to subsidize rich tenants; at least someone gains from the theft from the landlords in this case. But in actual point of fact, many of these millions of dollars of housing values lost by the landlords do not go to anyone, not even rich people. They are what the economist calls "dead weight loss": losses to the society as a whole that do not accrue to anyone.

The dead weight loss takes place whenever the landlord loses more

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## Rent Control — (Continued From Page 3)

than the tenant gains. This difference, the dead weight loss, accrues to no one at all. Let us illustrate how the dead weight loss of rent control arises with a numerical example. Suppose that \$250 per month was the pre-controlled rent and that the controlled rent is now \$100. (Rent control works somewhat differently in practice. Instead of lowering the rent, rent control freezes the rent at a given level, and then allows inflation to lower the real value of the dollar level rent. Our supposition is for simplicity only, and does not alter the facts of the case.) The landlord clearly loses the \$150 differential between the free market price in the absence of rent control (\$250) and the controlled rent (\$100).

How much does the tenant gain? In order to find out how much the tenant gains from rent control we must know how much the apartment is worth to the tenant; e.g., how much the tenant would have been willing to pay for the apartment in the absence of rent control. Since we can have no way of knowing this, we must consider all the possibilities.

If the tenant would only have been willing to pay less than \$100, he would not now be occupying the apartment, since it would be costing him more than it was worth to him. So we can ignore this case.

If the tenant would have been willing to pay just \$100, then he gains virtually nothing from rent control. True, he sees some benefit, otherwise he would not stay. But he may not regard it as much of a bargain, even though the most willing renters would be willing to pay \$250 per month. Since the landlord loses a monthly \$150, and the tenants' gains are minimal, virtually all of the landlord's loss is frittered away, benefiting no one.

If the tenant would have been willing to pay anything in between \$100 and \$250, he gains the difference between that amount and \$100. Thus, if he would have paid \$175, he gains \$75. If he gains \$75 while the landlord loses \$150, the landlord subsidizes the tenant to the tune of \$75, while there is \$75 of dead weight loss that benefits no one. It is only in the case that the tenant would have paid \$250 or more that there is no dead weight loss. Here, the full \$150 that the landlord is forced to give up accrues to someone—but probably a rich person, or a bureaucrat, as we have seen.

Paradoxically, however, most landlords do not lose money because of rent control. Those who have bought their buildings after the imposition of rent control need not have lost any money at all because of rent control! For the effect of rent control in decreasing the rents charged by the landlord is to lower the value of the entire building. This is because the value of the building is closely tied to the level of rents that may be charged. At the lower sale price, the building, even though rent controlled, must be, in the mind of the purchaser, at least as attractive as any other investment that might be made. If the sale price of the rent-controlled building did not make it as attractive as any alternative investment, the rent-controlled building could not be sold. Since we know that in fact—rent controlled buildings, like other buildings, do get sold, we know, then, that the buildings get sold at prices that tend to reflect the losses due to rent control, and that therefore the new owners of rent-controlled buildings are not at a disadvantage compared to alternative investments they might have made. The only time a landlord will lose from the purchase of a rent-controlled building is when he underestimates the losses that rent control will cause in the future (as all too many landlords have done.) □

## The Critique of Interventionism

by Richard M. Ebeling

We live in the Age of Crises. The energy "crisis," with the threat of oil rationing; the inflation "crisis," with the threat of wage and price controls; the equal opportunity "crisis," with the threat of racial job quotas; the moral "crisis," with the threat of diminished civil liberties; and the "crisis" of national security, with the threat of foreign war abroad and State secrecy at home.

But this Age of Crises is only the outer symptom of the more fundamental malady, the Crisis of Interventionism. The energy "crisis" is the consequence of regulating domestic oil production and foreign imports; the inflation "crisis" is the effect of Central Bank monetary expansion to finance budget deficits and "guarantee" full employment; the equal opportunity "crisis" is the culmination of State actions on behalf of ethnic collectivism; the moral "crisis" is the product of State-supported ethical authoritarianism; and the national security "crisis" is the result of aggressive moral and economic imperialism.

While various perspectives on the politico-economic spectrum might very well agree that the existing crises are a result of the failure of interventionism, not all would see that failure in the same light.

One popularizer of the "left," Robert Lekachman, insists that, "Inflation, like unemployment and income distribution, is rooted in concentration of power and power relationships. A cure of inflation, consistent with high employment, requires the limitation of private discretion and substitution of public for corporate discretion."

Another popularizer and academic advocate of the "right," George Stigler, insists, "The defense of competition . . . has . . . been too theoretical; elegant economic theory which describes a competitive system has received entirely too little statistical elaboration . . . A modern economist has no professional right to advise the federal government to regulate or deregulate the railroads unless he has evidence of the effects of these policies."

Lekachman sees the crisis of interventionism in the unwillingness of those who must enforce the decrees to show the courage to overcome "concentrations of power and power relationships"—i.e., a weakness of the will to resist self-interests in defense of the "public interest." Stigler, believing that "the past is the only source of knowledge of the future," wishes the "facts" to guide the interventionists—and considers the failure to use the "facts" of the past as the explanation for the failure of interventionism. But, we might ask, what is to guide the interventionists when a control is being considered that had not been tried before? And when has enough time elapsed to make a "fair" assessment of "the facts?" As the English classical economist Walter Bagehot saw clearly over a hundred years ago, "If we wait to reason till the 'facts' are

complete we shall wait till the human race has expired."

What is amazing about these interpretations of the interventionist crisis is not their diversity, but rather how little they have changed in the past century—and how close their implicit premises really are to each other. What is equally as amazing is the almost total neglect of the "Austrian" analysis of interventionist policies. What in the early 1930's Lionel Robbins had referred to as the "Kritik des Interventionismus" by Ludwig von Mises remained completely ignored by the economics profession, even after Professor Mises began presenting his analyses in his English-language books. Now, those original essays penned almost fifty years ago are finally available to the American reader as *A Critique of Interventionism* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1977; 164pp) \$8.95.

As Professor Mises explains, the classical economists "learned that prices are not set arbitrarily, but are determined within narrow limits by the market situation . . . that the laws of the market draw entrepreneurs and owners of the means of production into the service of consumers, and that their economic actions do not result from arbitrariness, but from the necessary adjustment to given conditions."

In the free market economy, each participant demonstrates his relative valuation for various goods and services on the market. Consumers demonstrate their preferences by the prices they are willing to pay for finished products. In turn, producers are guided in deciding what costs to incur in a production process by the anticipated value of the finished product. And costs—ultimately—are the market-determined prices for various factors of production, based on their expected value in satisfying consumer demand. The market economy, then, is an integrated process in which consumers adjust their expenditures to their respective preference patterns and producers adjust their activities and costs to reflect those demonstrated patterns.

Professor Mises' analysis of interventionist policies can be divided into two parts: firstly, the purely economic consequences of interventionism; secondly, the political-economic causes and effects of the rise of the interventionist state.

Mises shows, in the essays entitled "Interventionism," "The Hampered Market Economy", and the "Theory of Price Controls", that isolated encroachments upon the market economy create an untenable position. If the authorities, for example, decide that the price of a product on the market is too high, a regulation may be imposed that the good be sold at a lower price (and that all the existing stock be sold at the newly imposed lower price). But since the costs in producing the product are still the same, the lower selling price acts as a disincentive for future production,

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# Rendering Unto Caesar: Those Preachers Again

by Justus D. Doenecke

Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*. Rev. ed. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald, 1969.

George Q. Flynn, *American Catholics and the Roosevelt Presidency, 1932-1936*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968.

George Q. Flynn, *Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937-1945*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976.

Hertzel Fishman, *American Protestantism and a Jewish State*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1973.

Among the variety of protesters against the Vietnam War, the clergy were both vocal and visible. For every clergyman who sided with Cardinal Francis Spellman in seeing the conflict as "one for civilization," there were ten, perhaps fifteen, who denied his claim and who occasionally took to the streets in support of their position. Such dissent, however, has not always taken place, and we now have studies showing how religion, in the not too distant past, has fostered state power and

cultural uniformity, and has served as "guardian spirits" of professional warriors.

The first of these works is the most biting. Less than a decade ago, Ray H. Abrams, retired sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania, updated his classic *Preachers Present Arms* (1933). Most of the book still deals with what a former generation called "the Great War," although it now contains minor material on World War II and Vietnam.

The quotation on the frontispiece from Miles Standish betrays Abram's theme: "War is a terrible trade;/ But in the cause that is righteous/Sweet is the smell of powder." Beginning with the erosion of peace sentiment in 1915, Abram's describes how clergy called for avenging the Lusitania and marched in preparedness parades. Although the Episcopal Church was always in the forefront of such activity, other churches of English origin—ranging from Presbyterian to Unitarian—were markedly pro-British.

And once the United States entered the war, rare was the clergyman  
(Continued On Page 6)

## Interventionism — (Continued From Page 4)

thus making the product even more scarce, with resources flowing to those areas where profitable opportunities still exist and are greater than in the regulated industry.

If government would like production to continue, it must force the producers to continue, and it must also control the prices of raw materials, semifinished products and wages . . . The controls must encompass all branches of production, the prices of all goods and all wages, and the economic actions of all entrepreneurs, capitalists, landowners and workers. If any industry should remain free, capital and labor will move to it and thus frustrate the purpose of government's earlier intervention.

The logical sequence of events, if the interventionists were committed to securing the desired quantity of the product at the imposed lower price, would require the controls to be extended further and further through the economy until all market activities had been placed under the guidance of the state apparatus.

What the "facts"—which Professor Stigler wishes us to be so carefully attuned to—can tell us is the forms the interventions take, e.g., minimum wage laws, maximum prices, import and exchange controls. And the joining of economic theory with the historical data would enable an extended analysis of the actual consequences of the interventionist act. A priori, the theory could not give a quantitative prediction of the effects forthcoming from a state encroachment upon the market. It would enable a statement of general principles, however, that all interventions that bring about a deviation of prices from those that would have existed through the free play of the market will set in motion distortive factors in the economy.

In the essays on "Social Liberalism" and "Anti-Marxism," Professor Mises discusses the politico-economic elements in interventionism. His discussion, of course, revolves around the arguments and positions advocated by the German Historical School, still so dominant and so influential in the 1920's. Their defense of interventionist activities usually took the form of denying any general economic theory that could show the detrimental results of state actions. Mises quotes one member of the Historical School who stated, "Schmoller did not care to see his road to scientific justification of social policy blocked by the concept of an external economic regularity independent of man." Since the mid-1930's, the interventionists have argued their case through the theoretical framework of Keynesian economics.

Regardless of the choice of tactics, the purpose has been to establish or defend the privileges of particular groups in the market. Among the "social liberals," the debates have been over to whom the benefits of state actions were to redound and upon whom the economic burdens would fall. And in "Anti-Marxism,"—an analysis that brilliantly anticipates the development of German Nazism and the resultant consequences that would befall Germany and Europe—Mises forcefully argues that the true distinction and clash between classical liberalism

and collectivism is being totally ignored as the variants of socialism, e.g., Marxism, nationalism and racism, take over center-stage and battle with each other over control of society.

As Professor Mises, perhaps most concisely put it in his 1932 article, "The Myth of the Failure of Capitalism":

In the interventionist state . . . it is much more important that one has "good relations" with the controlling political factions, that the interventions redound to the advantage and not the disadvantage of the enterprise. . . . It is much more important to have "connections" than to produce well and cheaply. Consequently the men who reach the top of such enterprises are . . . men who know how to get along with the press and with the political parties . . . men . . . who deal more with federal dignitaries and party leaders than with those from whom they buy or to whom they sell.

Robert Lekachman believes the failure of interventionism comes from weak polices failing to resist "concentrations of power and power relationships." The problem is, however, that power relationships are the heart of the interventionist ideology. Interventionism is the political means to achieve economic ends, in defiance of market forces.

For men such as Lekachman and Stigler, the issue is not over interventionism as a policy; both accept and, in fact, desire it. Their disagreements over interventionism are purely ones of preferences and efficiencies. Implicitly and explicitly, they both accept the concept of State intervention—the concept that the State is to act as the servant of some and the master of others.

Professor Mises points out that the Historical School of turn-of-the-century Germany had two wings: the followers of Brentano, who favored equalization of income, and the followers of Schmoller, who favored a "class" arrangement of privileges.

Similarly, there are those like Lekachman who wish to use the Interventionist State to achieve egalitarianism. Others, like Stigler, wish only to use the Interventionist State to bring about an "efficient" redistribution of wealth and benefits to various groups and sectors of the economy.

The "Austrian" analysis of interventionism—starting with individuals and the interactions of individuals in the market-place—sees that market forces and "laws" do exist; and that every State intervention must disturb and distort the voluntary choices and plans of market actors. Interventionism, therefore, must always involve infringements of liberty and property rights, so some might gain by force what others would not voluntarily give or exchange away.

Though originally published in 1929, Ludwig von Mises' *Critique of Interventionism* is one of the most relevant and important works for grasping the underlying principles causing the crises of our age.

\* To be published in a forthcoming *Occasional Paper* of the Center for Libertarian Studies, entitled "The Clash of Group Interests and other essays" by Ludwig von Mises. □

## Caesar — (Continued From Page 5)

who dissented. The president of Oberlin College called the struggle "a truly Holy War"; the Superior of the New York Apostolic Fathers claimed that "The man who is disloyal to the flag is disloyal to Christianity"; and a Liberty Bond ad in *Christian Work* bore the slogan KILL THE HUN/KILL HIS HOPE. One Baptist pastor looked upon enlistment with the same fervor as "the departure of a missionary for Burma." The American Tract Society published a soldier's prayer that began, "My God and Father, I rejoice that Thou art the God of battle." Theological learnings meant little. If the Unitarian *Christian Register* asserted that Jesus "would take the bayonet and bomb and rifle and do the work of deadliness," the Reverend Billy Sunday declared, "If you turn hell upside down, you will find 'Made in Germany' stamped on the bottom."

There were, of course, some convenient conversions. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who had traversed the Middle West to fight Wilson's preparedness tour, led—says Abrams—in the cry for "slaughter of the Boche." In 1915 Cardinal James Gibbons warned against the "sacrifice" of "thousands of young men"; two years later he called upon "Catholic young men" to "step up and take their place in the front rank." Frederick Lynch, a founder of the Church Peace Union, had recommended the "excommunication" of "every man that takes up the sword." Yet once in the fray, Lynch called the Germans "baby-killers" and did so with gusto. *The Advocate of Peace*, journal of the American Peace Society, opposed retaliation after the Lusitania incident; by May 1917, however, it wrote, "We must aid in the starvation and emaciation of a German baby in order that he, or at least his more sturdy playmate, may grow up to inherit a different sort of government from that for which his father died."

In a thousand and one ways, religious groups contributed to the hysteria. Both interdenominational *Christian Century* and the *Northwestern Christian Advocate* (Methodist) published gory atrocity stories, the latter journal informing the pious how Germans sprayed prisoners with burning oil. (For the Wilson administration, the most useful atrocity tales dealt with sex, since—before pornography was legalized—one had to satisfy such prurient interests indirectly.) The pastor of Seattle's First Presbyterian Church hoped to shoot any person "who buys an article in Germany for the next hundred years." The leader of Chicago's Ethical Culture Society told readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* of the "Duty of Hatred."

Civil liberties, of course, went by the boards. Father John A. Ryan claimed that authorities were justified in "preventing obstructive criticism," while Cardinal John Farley called criticism of the government "little short of treason." New York's Episcopal Bishop William Manning protested against the German-born Karl Muck directing the Boston symphony. Rabbi Wise branded the pacifist People's Council (of which Rabbi Judah Magnes was a sponsor) as socialism of the "basement and cellar type." Clergy found the anti-war posture of the Society of Friends particularly galling. The Episcopal *Living Church* said that "Quakerism is sixteen hundred years too late to be entitled to the epithet Christian," and the Methodist *Zion's Herald* referred to "Quakers and men of Quaking disposition."

Religious agencies strongly backed the war effort, with the YMCA taking the lead. One "Y" director even published a manual on hand-to-hand fighting. ("Never miss an opportunity to destroy the eyes of the enemy," it read.) The Federal Council of Churches passed a resolution calling for the protection of conscientious objectors; however, when their rights were obviously violated, and when they experienced torture in prison, it refused to intervene. In addition, the FCC turned down a bid of Swedish churches to aid in securing a truce, while its president, Frank Mason North, proclaimed, "The war for righteousness will be won. Let the Church do her part." The Episcopal House of Bishops welcomed the resignation of one of its own members, Paul Jones of Utah, believing that his pacifism had "impaired" his "usefulness." The American Unitarian Association, a group in which former President Taft was prominent, threatened to withhold aid from any congregation what employed a minister who was not an "outspoken supporter of the United States."

Abrams claims to be writing a value-free study, one that eliminates "moral praise and blame." Yet he is as much of a "preacher" as anyone he describes, and we have a highly colored, if helpful, account of religion at war. No attempt is made at balanced sampling, at weighing intensity of opinion, and at discerning influence. The author just lists one horrible quotation after another in expose fashion and lets it go at that. He does touch on one significant theme, namely that the clergy might well have

welcomed war to bolster religious faith and traditional values, but we do not have the background needed to illuminate this point.

The real questions go unanswered, and perhaps remain so to this day. Otis Graham, Jr.'s *Great Crusades—And After* (1974) attempts to link progressivism and war fervor, and systematic work on the churches could develop this tie. Did the clergy believe that wartime service might enhance their personal status, something that had long been threatened by increasing security? To what degree did Catholics, Jews, Lutherans, and Mormons see wholehearted support of the military as a way of proving their "loyalty" to the wider community? Did the Social Gospel, with its stress on reconstructing society, naturally spill over into international "crusades" against "evil," and does this explain why such theological liberals as members of Ethical Culture and Unitarians supported global Wilsonianism?

Later decades are dealt with by George Q. Flynn, historian at Texas Tech. In a well-researched, clearly written, and balanced study, Flynn covers the most numerous of America's religious denominations, Roman Catholicism. His findings lay to rest many stereotypes, particularly concerning the New Deal.

Early in the thirties, Catholic anti-capitalist rhetoric was strong. The Reverend James L. Gillis, editor of the *Catholic World*, accused management of treating labor worse than animals, and Father Wilfred Parsons, S.J. of America found the nation's economy producing nothing but "unlimited opportunity for avarice and greed." In the 1932 election, the vast majority of American Catholics supported FDR at the polls, although they voted less as Catholics than as uncertain Americans, many of lower middle-class status, who hoped that a new administration could end the depression. Fervent Catholic support for the President was soon coming, with the denominational press continually presenting the New Deal as the American version of papal encyclicals.

True, the good fathers greatly exaggerated the influence of *Quadragesimo Anno* while ignoring the influence of the Protestant Social Gospel. However, could Roosevelt fail to be heartened by the claim that "Almighty God raised up FDR—the Apostle of the New Deal" (the Most Reverend W.D. O'Brien), or that Roosevelt's every action was "motivated by a Christian philosophy which moves forward in the right direction" (*Brooklyn Tablet*)? Archbishop John T. McNicholas of Cincinnati told Catholics to buy only from shops displaying the "blue eagle"; James I. Corrigan, S.J. assured listeners of the Catholic Truth Hour that Henry Wallace's farm program "served agriculture." To Father John A. Ryan, now of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), the Wagner Act was "probably the most just...piece of labor legislation ever enacted in the United States." And to the *Denver Catholic Register*, there was a "real chance" for large-scale federal relief as "Al Smith is the power behind the throne and Al Smith has the Catholic slant."

Obviously politics played a role. Roosevelt appointed two Catholics to his cabinet, gave Catholics one out of every four judicial appointments, and named numerous priests to regulatory boards.

Some Catholic spokesmen dissented on certain issues. If the Knights of Columbus backed the National Recovery Act, and if president Edmund A. Walsh, S.J. of Georgetown called it democracy's last stand, *Central-Blatt* and *Social Justice* claimed that the measure would destroy America's middle class, and the *San Francisco Monitor* found parallels to Marxism and "Kantism." Most prominent clergy opposed federal child labor legislation, claiming that it gave Congress the right to regulate American youth. Care should be used in noting Catholic support for labor, as such backing was always qualified by fear of violence, opposition to strikes, and respect for private property.

Recognition of Russia met with the unanimous opposition of the Catholic press, although it finally and naively accepted Roosevelt's meaningless assurance that Americans there would have religious freedom. "Leave everything to me, Father," Roosevelt said to Georgetown's Walsh. "I am a good horse trader." The President, of course, could not deliver on persecutions—any more than can Jimmy Carter today. But the Church remained content with symbolic gestures, and Roosevelt, as usual with such pressure groups, had his own way.

Even greater Catholic pressure came when FDR attempted to reach an accord with Mexico, a nation that had passed much anti-clerical legislation during the 1920's. Catholic spokesmen, including the liberal *Commonweal*, sought the dismissal of Ambassador Josephus Daniels,

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whom they unjustly accused of endorsing aesthetic education. Through Senator David I. Walsh, the Knight of Columbus got Senator William E. Borah to advocate a Senate investigation "into the persecution of Christians . . . now being practiced in Mexico." (The Supreme Knight, Martin H. Carmody, was a lifelong Republican and might well have wanted to embarrass the Administration). Although Roosevelt squelched Borah's resolution, Congressman John P. Higgins got 242 members of the House to back a similar demand. However, a more moderate policy in Mexico, and support for Roosevelt's Mexican policies from such prominent Catholics as Bishop Spellman of Boston, alleviated the crisis. In 1936 Catholics voted overwhelmingly for FDR, again doing so on economic—not religious—grounds. Such prominent prelates as Cardinal George Mundelein of Chicago and Father John A. Ryan of Washington openly backed the President and, often acting in an orchestrated manner, the hierarchy attempted to squelch Catholic support for the Union Party, a populist group led by Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Flynn's second work deals with foreign policy, and it is crucial for anyone hoping to understand isolationism. American Catholics were originally strong backers of the isolationist movement, with memories of World War I, distrust of European allies, Anglophobia, and—most important of all—fear of communism serving as factors. Hence they welcomed the Nye Committee and endorsed the neutrality acts. Archbishop McNicholas went so far as to urge Catholics to consider forming "a mighty league of conscientious noncombatants."

The Spanish Civil War, of course, only bolstered such sentiments. Flynn acknowledges that "Catholic concern with the advance of atheistic communism at times bordered on the neurotic," but asks if liberals were any the less simplistic in portraying the struggle as "Loyalist-democratic" versus "Nationalist-fascist." Scholars later might claim that Loyalist murders of priests, a major source of Catholic alarm, were exaggerated, and that the Spanish church was a political institution. However, Catholic bitterness was quite understandable.

Flynn presents a more subtle picture than most historians: after Michael Williams left *Commonweal*, it shifted from a pro-Franco position to a neutralist one (a stance that caused it to lose sales and face banning by some bishops); public opinion polls showed only four of every ten Catholics backing the Nationalists; the decision to retain the embargo on both sides was made by the State Department. Although Catholic opinion strongly supported the Administration, one should beware—so Flynn argues—of endowing "Americans Catholicism with a reputation for political power it did not deserve."

The author makes an equal contribution in showing how Catholic opinion became more interventionist. Once what John Lukacs calls the "last European war" broke out, the Church was strongly isolationist. Father Gillis saw the conflict as merely an attempt to rearrange the British empire, an "impossible organization" to begin with; Archbishop Spellman told the American Legion that our democratic system was not transportable; and the Reverend Robert Gannon, S.J., president of Fordham, stressed that Germany had a right to "its economic existence." In 1940 many Catholic spokesmen opposed conscription, with the *Commonweal* for once lined up alongside the *Brooklyn Tablet*. When FDR proposed lend-lease, Father John LaFarge, S.J. saw it heralding the end of popular sovereignty, and the Reverend Joseph Thorning, S.J. demanded that the British stop persecuting Ireland before receiving aid. The Roosevelt government soon sought to undermine such attitudes. In 1939 it promoted such Catholic advocates of neutrality repeal as Al Smith, Cardinal Mundelein, Father Ryan, and Chicago's auxiliary bishop Bernard J. Sheil. It sent steel magnate Myron Taylor as the President's personal emissary to the Vatican, pressed Pope Pius XII to keep Mussolini neutral, and sought to get curia endorsement of aid to Russia. If most of the hierarchy remained uncommitted, Roosevelt kept the intervention debate from becoming a "Catholic" one. With each piece of legislation, the number of pro-Administration Catholics kept increasing—and the names of such Catholic intellectuals as Michael Williams, Carleton J.H. Hayes, Harry J. Carman, and Ross J.S. Hoffman appeared on more and more interventionist petitions. If McNicholas and Dubuque's archbishop Francis J.L. Beckman backed the America First Committee, Spellman and Monsignor Michael J. Ready of the NCWC made sure that most Church opinion reflected the national consensus. To historian Flynn, Catholic leadership feared alienation from the wider mainstream, particularly after the Spanish Civil War. Hence, "Catholic leaders were desperate to reassert their place in the community", and

World War II gave them this opportunity. Even when it came to the touchy question of aid to Russia, Roosevelt was able to have the Vatican pressure those prelates who criticized his policy.

After Pearl Harbor, the Roman Catholic Church enlisted for the duration. The *Denver Catholic Register* claimed that "any half-hearted or inimical attitude toward national leaders is treason." The Bishop of Fargo wrote, "When a government speaks with the voice of authority, it speaks with the voice of God." The *Southwest Courier* rejoiced that the declaration of war came on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, for the Blessed Mother was America's own patron. Father Gannon publicly admitted that he was wrong to oppose Roosevelt's interventionism, while Father Ryan, who prided himself on membership in the ACLU, wanted the government to suspend mailing privileges for the *Brooklyn Tablet* and *Catholic World*. In 1943 the president of the Catholic Historical Association claimed that prevention of an isolationist resurgence was a professional duty.

Except for a few dissenters (the Catholic Worker movement, the *Sign* magazine, the undergraduate newspaper at DePaul), Catholic enthusiasm for the war was unreserved. Church spokesmen endorsed unconditional surrender and total victory, with Spellman telling troops they were "sacred institutions" in a modern crusade. Flynn writes, "The way Catholic leaders adopted the dubious garb of moral cheerleaders for the United States . . . led to an atrophy of their ethical feelings." True, the Church did balk at certain policies, for it opposed the Morgenthau plan, the bombing of Rome, and the use of atomic weapons. For the most part, however, until Russia began to occupy eastern Europe, the faith that prided itself on its internationalism was among the most nationalistic of groups.

Fishman's book lacks the detachment of Flynn's works. The author, who currently serves as advisor to the Israel Minister of Education, uses the apparatus of scholarship to present an indictment, one that accuses American liberal Protestantism of consistently fighting "against Jewish national and ethnic interests." Heroes include such spokesmen as Reinhold Niebuhr who saw "Jewish peoplehood in theological terms as a legitimate component on the divine plan," villains include editor Charles Clayton Morrison of the *Christian Century* who long opposed Jewish nationalism.

Since the book reads like a lawyer's brief, it is best to begin by looking at the author's assumptions. Fishman claims that Jews are a nationality as well as a religion (though he prefers the term "a people") and that the land of Israel is central to Judaism. In short, the author is a strong Zionist, although some of his findings—if read with care—could aid inquirers more sympathetic to various Arab positions.

The scenario is as follows: liberal Protestants, as represented by the *Christian Century*, long opposed cultural pluralism, and in particular the concept of Jewish nationalism. In 1937, the *Century* claimed that it was "Jewish nationalism," which it juxtaposed to "Jews as Jews", that crucified Christ, for Jesus' plan for Jews "ran counter to the cherished nationalism of Israel's leaders—political and priestly." Eight years later, it asserted that Jews should decide "whether they are an integral part of the nation in which they live or members of a Levantine nation dwelling in exile."

Given this general position, it is hardly surprising that the *Christian Century* saw the Balfour declaration as simply another example of Britain's policy of "divide and rule," particularly as its promises to Jews "could not be realized consistently with justice to other elements of the population." Yet the *Century* in 1938 opposed letting "an appreciable number of Jews" settle in the United States; such lowering of immigration bars, it said, at a time when millions of native Americans were already unemployed would only increase anti-Semitism. As time went on, the *Century*—and the Protestant liberals for whom it often spoke—opposed the establishment of the nation-state of Israel, continually sought to reduce its borders, and refused to support Israel in the 1967 war.

The *Century* was not alone. In 1947 Henry Sloane Coffin, president of New York's Union Theological Seminary, protested that politicians were alienating 300 million Arabs "in order to fish for votes." Denying that the Bible promised Palestine to today's Jews, the theologian found such promises conditional on obedience to the divine law. And in 1967 the National Council of Churches, while calling on Arab nations to recognize Israel, stressed Israeli responsibility for the Arab refugee problem, took the Jewish state to task for not yielding conquered territory, and sought

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internationalization of Jerusalem.

Fishman finds, however, a Protestant minority that, in his words, realized "the absence of any realistic alternative for Jewish refugees" and therefore backed the Zionist movement. Within this minority, views varied. Unitarian cleric John Haynes Holmes, for example, combined his enthusiasm for Jewish settlement in Palestine with the warning that "it were better that she (Jewish society) perish utterly than by such survival bring mockery to a sublime tradition." Niebuhr told the Zionists to stop claiming that their demands entailed no injustice to the Arabs, although he did claim that the people now called Palestinians could move to "a vast hinterland in the Middle East." Were Fishman updating his book, he could point to the ardently pro-Israel books written by Congressman Robert Drinan, S.J., Temple University theologian Franklin H. Littell, and Lehigh religion professor A. Roy Eckardt. In addition, he could note the resurgence of Zionism among fundamentalists ranging from extreme rightist Carl McIntire (who calls the Palestinians "Descendants of Esau . . . claiming Jacob's land") to the more moderate Billy Graham.

Christian groups supporting Zionism, Fishman writes, "did not arise spontaneously" but "were deliberately cultivated and even channelled organizationally by American Zionists." In his research into the archives of the pro-Zionist American Christian Palestine Committee, he notes heavy Zionist financing (and claims CIA funding for the pro-Arab American Friends of the Middle East). Again, were Fishman updating this volume, he could note that a Jewish leader who wishes to remain anonymous "advanced" the cost of an ad signed by prominent fundamentalists proclaiming "Israel's divine right to the land." (See *Christianity Today*, November 18, 1977, p. 50).

The book has some positive features. It reveals the cultural arrogance implicit in the *Christian Century's* opposition to ethnic pluralism. (The magazine's position, however, is more complex and humane than Fishman has it appear. It stressed Jesus as Jew and claimed that Judaism bore a witness to which Christianity should lay heed). It contains valuable material on such missionaries and educators as Harold and Daniel Bliss, Garland Hopkins, and Bayard Dodge. It shows the naivete of the *Century* in regards to news of Nazi persecutions (though skepticism concerning atrocity accounts is more understandable when one realizes—via the Abrams book—how badly it was burned in World War I).

The scholar, however, should use this work with extreme care. There has long been a need for a thorough and balanced study of Christian reactions to Zionism. Unfortunately, despite the imprimatur of a university press, the need still remains.

Part of the problem lies in over-reliance on two sources, *Christian Century* and *Christianity and Crisis*. Fisher defends his selectivity on the grounds that no major Protestant body took issue with *Century* views. Yet it remains doubtful whether the *Century's* reformism and pacifism any more reflected the views of rank and file Protestants (and the clergy as well) than do the editorials of the *New York Daily News* reflect the

attitudes of most New Yorkers. One wonders if other Protestant journals were really silent, including the fundamentalist *Moody Monthly* and *Our Hope* (the latter founded by a converted Jew), the Unitarian *Christian Register*, the various Methodist *Christian Advocates*, the Anglican *Living Church and Churchman*, and various Quaker periodicals. As Protestant reaction to such an event as Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was intense it is hard to believe that other journals commented seldom on Middle East events. Given the present strong support of some evangelicals for Israel, one needs to trace how such fever came about. (Incidentally, a study is needed on the general shift in rightist and conservative circles concerning Israel over the past thirty-five years).

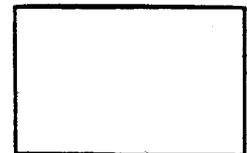
What is more disturbing is Fishman's tendency to enter into a running debate with the historical actors of whom he disapproves. For example, he attacks the *Century's* acquiescence in the British White Paper of 1939 (but takes uncritically A. Roy Eckardt's talk of "the Christian death wish for Jews.") There are related problems, often stemming from his choice of words. He describes the Irgun as "the major Palestinian dissident underground group" while asserting that Arabs in 1936 launched a "campaign of terror." Protestant prayers for alleviation of Jewish suffering are mere "lip-service sympathy" and "formal piety" if linked with opposition to Zionism. Rabbi Morris S. Lazeron is "obsessed by his anti-Zionist attitudes" whereas Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver simply adopts "the militant Zionist position." Those Reform rabbis who oppose Zionism are said to fight "the concept of Judaism denoting anything more than a religion," but the rationale of such opposition is even more neglected than that of their Protestant counterparts. Fishman brands *Christian Century* features stressing the power of Israeli's Orthodox rabbinate and the condition of Arabs in Israel as "carping," "stressing the negative," and "blatantly and consistently prejudicial to Israel's public image and national image." When Wayne Cowan writes critically in *Christianity and Crisis* in May of 1970 about Israeli expansion and Israel's denial of Palestinian nationality, he is "vehemently anti-Israel"—even though the essay scolds Arabs for ignoring Israeli moderates and recognizes Israel's anxieties over security. Fishman misunderstands the universalistic pacifism of Charles Clayton Morrison, outlined in his book *The Outlawry of War* (1924), and incorrectly accuses the *Century* editor of advocating "isolationist nationalism."

Such loading of the dice is not necessary. Urbane and responsible models that show empathy for their subjects include Samuel Halperin, *The Political World of American Zionism* (1961); Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (1972); and Melvin Urofsky's *American Zionism from Herzl to the Holocaust* (1975). Nor should students neglect the valuable (and more pro-Arab) work of Fred J. Khouri, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict* (rev. ed., 1976).

All in all, the four books reviewed reveal a most instrumental use of religion. Caesar is indeed being rendered unto—and with a vengeance. From the days of Billy Sunday to those of Billy Graham, the secular is continually being confused with the sacred. And given the type of pietism we now have represented on the Potomac, we cannot look upon the future with optimism. □

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THE

# Libertarian Forum

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## L'Affaire Efron

People from all over the country are asking me what my response is to Edith Efron's wild and free-swinging attack on the libertarian movement in general and on me personally in her *Viewpoint* column in the February *Reason*. Well, to give you an idea, dear reader, consider how you would feel if you were well-known in your community, and a prominent writer published several dramatic untruths that you had allegedly told her, in order to discredit you and your activities. That's about the way I feel.

Everything that Miss Efron wrote about my alleged disclosures to her is untrue: they are either lies or fabrications emerging from her own paranoid fantasies. To be specific: I never tried to "take over" any party of which Eldridge Cleaver was the head (a pretty idiotic thing for me to have attempted); in working with leftists against the draft and the Vietnam War I never had the absurd notion of converting them to capitalism, either sneakily (as Miss Efron would have it) or in any other way.

And, above all, on her most dramatic point which virtually forms the leitmotif of her article, no one has ever pulled a gun on me, in the ribs or in any other way. Nor, of course, did I ever tell her any of this rubbish; it is all preposterous nonsense, every word of it.

Miss Efron needed the "gun in the ribs" gambit as a major theme in order to prove to everyone's satisfaction that all leftists are thugs, and that a gun in the ribs is always the result of any dealings with them. Apparently, her pals in the Pentagon are devoid of any lethal weaponry.

But the outrage I feel is the general frustration of a victim who has been falsely accused in the public prints. Miss Efron makes a dramatic statement about me; I deny it; what is the average reader to think? Or, how am I to tell? Especially if they are not personal friends of either one. Personal friends of mine have no trouble figuring out which one to believe. As one of them has said, I'm not the sort of person to hoard stories, and it is inconceivable that I would have told a saga as dramatic as the "gun-in-the-ribs" only to someone like Miss Efron who has merely been a slight acquaintance. Surely, they would have heard it many times over. The reason they haven't, of course, is that Miss Efron has created it out of the whole cloth.

It is monstrous that a malicious falsehood carries equal weight with readers as an outraged rebuttal from the victim. What can a reader do in these circumstances? The only moral path is to believe nothing about anyone without supporting evidence, and Miss Efron of course has only offered her own unsupported word—a word which I, for one, shall not take seriously ever again.

As for the rest of Miss Efron's article, it is about on a par with her statements about me: a farrago of gross ignorance and malice that is simply and literally not to be believed. There is scarcely a sentence that has any contact with truth or reality. For Miss Efron, who has not had anything to do with the libertarian movement in ten years, who from the testimony of her own article is scarcely a libertarian at all, for her to presume to read people out of libertarianism is unparalleledchutzpah. It's as if I should write an article attempting to dictate theology and ritual

to the Greek Orthodox Church, telling it whom it should expel for heresy and whom it should revere.

Apparently, Miss Efron had no desire whatever to remedy her appalling ignorance of the libertarian movement before writing about it; instead of doing research, she seems to have relied for facts on her own febrile imagination. What can we say, for example, of an alleged reporter who presumes to denounce the magazine *Inquiry* without having read any of it—even though she was offered a gift of the two issues that had already appeared when she wrote her calumny? Apparently, in penning

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### To Our Readers

You have all noticed that the issues of the *Lib. Forum* have been falling ever more disgracefully behind. In a profound sense, our problems have been problems of success—the great expanding success of the libertarian movement in the last year or two. The demands on the time of the Editor, as well as the outlets for his writing, have expanded greatly. These outlets have also increased proportionately for those who would ordinarily be contributing articles to the *Lib. Forum*.

And yet we do not want to yield to the pressure of events and abandon the *Lib. Forum*. We feel that despite the many worthy magazines and journals now competing for your attention, there is still nothing quite like: the hard-hitting and knowledgeable commentary we give to news events, foreign and domestic, our sometimes acerbic coverage of the libertarian movement, our discussions of libertarian theory, the raising high the banner of the Old Culture by Mr. First Nighter, or even the occasional rap across the knuckles of our young whippersnappers by the Old Curmudgeon. We frankly feel that the libertarian movement would be the poorer for our absence from the scene.

And so, we have decided to continue as ever—with one exception: that we will appear every other month instead of monthly. Every subscriber will still receive the same NUMBER of issues as before, but they will now stretch out over twice the period of time. Thus, the basic subscription will still be 8 dollars for 12 issues—but now the twelve issues will appear over a two-year period. Notice, too, that our subscription price will continue at \$8.00 per twelve issues (now amounting to \$4.00 per year), which is surely one of the great bargains in the libertarian movement. Even if we are not the best of all the magazines, we are certainly one of the least expensive.

We will begin the new policy with our next issue, which will be January/February 1978, to be followed by March/April 1978, and so on. The size and spirit of each issue will remain the same.

# Truth On the Scaffold

by Justus D. Doenecke

Carol S. Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975.

George T. Blakey, *Historians on the Homefront: American Propagandists for the Great War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970.

Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.

Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978.

John Morton Blum, *Politics and American Culture During World War II*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.

When James Russell Lowell wrote of truth being on the scaffold, doing so in his poem, "The Impending Crisis," he was referring to the Mexican War. We have long known, however, that such observations are not just limited to the Polk administration, or even to the presidency as an institution. Rather, truth is betrayed whenever massive groups are in conflict, and often the betrayers are the most able of intellectuals acting from the noblest of motives.

What was once called the Great War epitomizes what happens when professors are called to the colors, and Carol Gruber of William Paterson College tells the story well. When World War I came to America, the modern university was barely in its adolescence. Administered by bureaucratic hierarchies and beset with a specialized curriculum, it lacked a clear identity, much less a sense of purpose. True, it was vaguely committed to the ideal of national service, but the disciplines themselves were defined amorphously and the faculty perceived as employees of the administration. In the background was the Progressive movement, with its cloudy longing for unity of knowledge and the restoration of community.

The outbreak of the European war found a few intellectuals pro-German. Political scientist John W. Burgess, retired from Columbia, claimed that the Reich was a peaceloving, democratic nation. It was, he continued, Allied imperialism exclusively that had caused the conflict: Russia sought the Balkans, France Alsace-Lorraine, and Britain had long been jealous of Germany's political and economic power. Several other professors—historians William R. Shepherd of Columbia and Preserved Smith, economist Simon Patten of Pennsylvania—expressed sympathy for the German position, while Columbia anthropologist Franz Boas said that such a thickly settled country must sometimes sacrifice individual freedom for collective welfare.

Yet, from the very beginning, most of the professoriate favored the Allied cause. George B. Adams, historian at Yale, found England holding no interest in the war not shared by the United States. Johns Hopkins philosopher Arthur O. Lovejoy saw any weakening of Britain threatening the moral as well as the material interest of the United States. Wisconsin economist Richard T. Ely hoped that after the war America and Britain could unite in "an intellectual and spiritual Empire." Illinois political scientist James W. Garner called the destruction of the University of Louvain the most heinous crime "since the burning of the library of Alexandria." It was the historians in particular who attacked the Kaiser, with Chicago's Andrew D. McLaughlin referring to "Little Will," Claude H. Van Tyne of Michigan writing of the "International 'Bugaboo Bill,'" and Chicago's William E. Dodd labelling the man "a menace to mankind."

Such labels were the beginning, not the end, of abuse. Historian Albert Bushnell Hart demanded that a Harvard colleague of German-American background prove his loyalty by publicly denouncing the entire German people. His colleague Ralph Barton Perry, a prominent philosopher, attempted to rationalize such irrational hatred, declaring that "In moral matters there is no judging without feeling." At times an early version of the domino theory was articulated, with Wisconsin historian Frederick Jackson Turner claiming, "If we will not fight for free seas, we will not

fight a (German) coaling station in Mexico, or a revolution of the German colony in Brazil, or a German protectorate over Columbia (sic)." When Wilson armed American merchant vessels early in 1917, Columbia political scientist Charles A. Beard called for "more drastic action," one that would "help eliminate Prussianism from the earth."

True, for many of these scholars, such as Hart and archeologist James Henry Breasted, there was an initial period of doubt. Once, however, the United States entered the war, all misgivings were over. Gruber writes that "Not to join with the call for victory, when the life of the nation is threatened and its blood and treasure are committed to the battlefield, is an invitation to charges of lack of patriotism, if not of treason."

This is not to say that university faculties were at all reluctant. John Dewey welcomed the conflict, believing that it would lead to permanent socialization and international organization. Perry, Ely, Breasted, Minnesota historian William Stearns Davis, Yale historian Charles Seymour—all regretted not being able to serve in the armed forces, not yet realizing that some of them would be called to man the brigades of the typewriters. In the meantime, Columbia's departments of mechanical and electrical engineering placed themselves entirely at the disposal of the Navy Department. Harvard organized a committee on military affairs, giving it the task of coordinating all university plans with the government. Fifty scientists at the University of Chicago volunteered their personal services, while offering to turn over their laboratories to the state.

For professors not tapped for war propaganda (see below), staffing the Students' Army Training Corps (SATC) offered employment of the most patriotic kind. War had created heavy losses of students, faculty, and administrative personnel. With functions seriously impaired, standards declining, and financial crisis threatening, the turning over of entire institutions to the War Department was a godsend. For every student-soldier enrolled, a school was guaranteed tuition, room, and board, and reimbursed for administrative expenses and use of university facilities as well. In addition, so Gruber writes, the SATC "offered an unmatched opportunity for the institutions of higher learning to demonstrate their usefulness and, by implication, to lay the ghost of ivory-towerism that haunted them." In fact, well before the United States entered the war, Princeton was sponsoring rifle practice, and Yale had formed four student artillery corps.

Only when the universities became transformed into military camps did the faculties begin to object, but by then it was too late. English courses were devoted to the drafting of military reports, fine arts to military sketching, modern languages to military terminology. SATC students marched to and from class, and stood at attention while reciting. To enter campus buildings, faculty had to show passes to military guards. Complained political scientist Edward S. Corwin, "Princeton...is not Princeton just now—only a cog of the military machine, and we professors are cogs within cogs."

Part of the SATC program involved a War Issues Course, one that would reveal "the supreme importance to civilization of the cause for which we are fighting." By and large, professors welcomed the idea. The course broke down departmental jealousies, laid the ground for basic education, and showed the direct relevance of the undergraduate curriculum to the day's problems. When Columbia's course in contemporary civilization was introduced in 1919, it was promoted as a bulwark against radicalism, thereby betraying its origins in the War Issues Course. Since each institution had autonomy in developing syllabi, content varied considerably. In a lecture at the University of Michigan, historian William A. Frayer found Bolshevism more dangerous than Prussianism, remarked that a "surprising number" of revolutionists were Jews, and warned students that Communist sympathizers "are everywhere—in Germany, in France . . . in Italy, in Holland, in England, in the United States—they are on the campus of the University of Michigan."

Gruber's comments are scathing. She writes, "Even prowar professors might have concluded that the most valuable service they had to offer as

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professors was to maintain the critical intellect and the institution of higher learning as citadels of sanity in the inevitable madness of war, in order to protect and promote the very values and freedoms in whose name the fight was being waged. Instead, they made themselves servants of the state's pursuit of victory and became implicated in all the compromises and concessions unavoidably involved in that pursuit. When Richard T. Ely delivered a patriotic address that deliberately stimulated a mindless revulsion against Germans as a people and when John R. Commons worked to defeat the socialist Victor Berger's senatorial bid in 1918 by crudely implicating Berger in treason, they donated their intellectual talents in a way that clearly compromised the standards of their profession" (emphasis Gruber).

Edward Potts Cheyney, historian at the University of Pennsylvania, was one of the few dissenters. He wrote a colleague in August of 1917, "I feel that the most patriotic man is the one who clings most firmly to the highest ideals of his nation, not the one who 'goes along' more ardently at war any more than when she is at peace." Yet Cheyney, whose son had been committed to a federal penitentiary (apparently in connection with pacifist activities), felt so ostracized by his associates that he did not attend the historical retreat that fall in Branford, Connecticut.

The indictment is bolstered by Gruber's discoveries concerning academic freedom, for she finds that the profession at large bent willingly to majority pressures. One would have thought that the American Association of University Professors, organized in 1915 to foster "professional vigilance and redress," would have aided dissenting academicians. However, in 1917 AAUP president Frank Thilly called for tolerance of those "scholars who are loyal at heart"; loyalty, in short, was seen as relevant to an academic post. Administrators, Thilly hoped, would let the faculty draw the line "between the allowable and unallowable in speech and conduct," thereby implicitly asserting that certain views were "unallowable."

The AAUP's Committee on Academic Freedom in Wartime turned the screws even tighter, and in so doing reneged on a principled commitment to unconditional free inquiry. Professors, it said early in 1917, could be dismissed for "disobedience to any statute or lawful executive order relating to the war." They could also be fired for engaging in "propaganda designed, or unmistakably leading, to cause others to resist or evade compulsory service law or the regulations of the military authorities." As examples of valid grounds for dismissal, the report mentioned claims that all war participation was immoral, that payment of taxes was unjust, or that deserters from the Russian army deserved commendation.

There was more to the report. Interference with the purchase of liberty bonds or support for war charities was "dangerous to the public security" and "irreconcilable with good citizenship"; hence, these activities too were cause for dismissal. Professors of German and Austro-Hungarian background should show, by "utterances" and "associations," that they supported American efforts. Indeed, they "should refrain from public discussion of the war; and in their private intercourse with their neighbors, colleagues and students... (should) avoid all hostile or offensive expressions concerning the United States or its government" (all emphasis Gruber's). For this minority, only actual thought control could serve as a more effective proscription. Gruber writes most aptly, "In effect, the AAUP was opening the floodgates of repression, or at least was stepping aside, when it might have been expected to make every effort to hold back the waters."

Given such attitudes by the only professional group in a position to protect academic freedom, it is hardly surprising that purges of suspect faculty took place at Wisconsin, Oregon, Virginia, Michigan, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wellesley, and Toledo. Columbia fired psychologist James McKeen Cattell and English professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana. Contrary to myth, most of the Columbia faculty, including the relevant faculty committee, thought the action warranted; objections centered on President Nicholas Murray Butler's method of execution.

There were other forms of bigotry. Richard T. Ely, president of the Madison chapter of the Wisconsin Loyalty League, joined with fellow progressive John R. Commons and historian Carl Russell Fish in an effort to purge the state of Robert M. LaFollette. Drafting a round-robin signed by over ninety per cent of the faculty, as well as by the university

president and deans, they accused the anti-war senator of having "given aid and comfort to Germany and her allies in the present war," and of having failed "loyally to support the government in the prosecution of the war."

Little wonder that Gruber finds the professors betraying their calling. Rather than remaining independent of "sources of economic and political power, whose objectives are remote from, if not inimical to, the search for truth," they enlisted for the duration. "Service to society" she finds "a mutually beneficial goal"; "service to the state," however, "contained the danger of becoming servitude." Julien Benda's phrase *trahison des clercs*, or "treason of the intellectuals," has no more telling example. American faculties never came to grips with the carnage of the conflict. Instead, she notes, scholars luxuriated in indicting a "guilty people," conveniently ignoring the harsh tactics used by British and Belgians against "backward" populations.

Gruber, however, is not content with moralizing, but ably analyzes the prowar fervor. Strongly influenced by her mentor Richard Hofstadter, with whom she studied at Columbia, she explains such behavior in the light of prewar alienation. Before 1917, the academy was uncertain about its role and purpose, and it desired to belong to a wider social world; in short, it was floundering. The war, in a sense, served as a "legitimizing," wherein professors could "demonstrate their worth to themselves and to the public upon which they depended for support." By the same token, in an all-too-brief discussion of Ray Abrams's *Preachers Present Arms* (see *Libertarian Forum*, November, 1977, pp. 5-6), she surmises that the clergy found in war a rapprochement with the state, increased prestige, and renewal of the pulpit.

George T. Blakey, a member of the Eastern Indiana Center at Earlham College, focuses on a more narrow topic, but one equally damning to the academy: the historian as propagandist. By the time World War I broke out, the historical guild was becoming more professionalized—thanks to the German concept of "scientific history," the influence of Johns Hopkins University, the initiation of graduate programs, and the seminar method of studying source material. Both the American Historical Association (AHA) and the *American Historical Review* (AHR) became staffed with trained scholars, and such gifted "amateurs" as Henry Adams and James Ford Rhodes gave way to such German-trained "professionals" as Albert Bushnell Hart and William E. Dodd.

Once war broke out, some historians went directly into war work. Civil War specialist James G. Randall, for example, took a leave of absence from Roanoke College to join the United States Shipping Board. Slavery expert Ulrich B. Phillips left the University of Michigan to become educational secretary of YMCA Camp Gordon in Georgia. The work, Phillips said, was "the most inspiring thing I have ever experienced."

Soon more appropriate tasks were in store. Columbia's James T. Shotwell, Princeton's Dana C. Munro, Illinois's Evarts B. Greene, and the AHR editors J. Franklin Jameson and Waldo G. Leland all fostered, indeed led, the National Board for Historical Service (NBHS), a body that distributed pamphlets, arranged speaking tours, revised school curricula, and investigated government projects. A second propaganda body, George Creel's Committee on Public Information (CPI), sponsored a Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation, with Minnesota's Guy Stanton Ford as director. This body subsidized massive amounts of court history, enrolling several historians in its ranks.

A third organization was the National Security League (NSL), a group that had backed compulsory military training and opposed antiwar politicians before the United States entered the conflict. When America declared war, the NSL established a Committee on Patriotism Through Education, with tasks similar to those of the CPI and the NBHS. The chairmanship was first given to Albert Bushnell Hart, then to Princeton's Robert M. McElroy. Hart had been president of both the AHA and the American Political Science Association. During the war "Bushy" denied that Germany possessed any "eminent professors of history"; indeed, the only thing the Reich had of value was its beer. McElroy's professional record was far less distinguished, but his fervor—if anything—exceeded Hart's.

During the war, the CPI and the NBHS distributed some 33 million pamphlets, with the press serializing some items. (There is no record of

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NSL outreach although it must have been considerable). Minnesota's William Stearns Davis, author of European history surveys and historical novels, edited a pamphlet containing Wilson's war message; his footnotes supplied historical justification for US belligerency. (John Latane of Johns Hopkins, himself with the NSL, called Davis's effort "so full of errors of fact and inference that it is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.") McElroy lined pacific quotations of Wilson alongside belligerent comments by Nietzsche, Treitschke, and Frederick the Great. The German soul, said the Princeton man, was "a soul perverted, and black as hell itself."

Other pamphlets continued in the same vein. Van Tyne warned against anti-British accounts of the American Revolution. Carl Becker compared America's "ideal of democracy" to "the German ideal of a world empire established by ruthless aggression." Wallace K. Notestein of Minnesota offered 160 pages of warlike German statements. (Notestein's original edition had several antiwar references, but the CPI editors deleted these; they might—so the CPI maintained—blunt the impact of the pamphlet, besides calling attention to Notestein's German name). Earl E. Sperry of Syracuse wrote a leaflet entitled "The Tentacles of the German Octopus in America," in which German-American newspapers, schools, and clubs were "exposed" as appendages of the German government.

Perhaps most ambitious of all was the CPI's *War Cyclopedia*. This volume, subtitled *A Handbook for Ready References on the Great War*, was edited by Frederick L. Paxson of the University of Wisconsin. Princeton's Corwin and Bernadotte E. Schmitt of Western Reserve served on the staff. Beard was slated for essays on "Atrocities," "Frightfulness," "Rheims," and "Belgian violations;" Becker for articles on "Scraps of Paper," "Poilu," "Tommy," "Boch," and "Italia Irridenta;" Sidney Bradshaw Fay wrote on "Berlin to Bagdad," "Place in the Sun," and "Bernardi;" and Chicago's Andrew C. McLaughlin discussed "Edith Cavell," "Blacklist," and "Louvain." According to such entries, the Central Powers were the wickedest of the wicked, the Allies the purest of the pure.

Historians carried such fervor to the lecture podium. Ford described the German destruction of churches and convents to a capacity audience at the Mormon Tabernacle. Hart accused a Wilson critic of "outright treason," doing so at a forum held at New York's Church of the Ascension. Jameson drew up "lantern slides" that confronted audiences with Bismarck, the Krupp works, and a Zeppelin raid on England.

Sometimes efforts backfired. For example, in a speech given at the University of Wisconsin, McElroy noted the apathy of some cadets in the audience, forced to listen to the patriotic speeches for three hours in pouring rain. "By God, I believe you are traitors," he snapped, thereby subjecting himself and the NSL to severe criticism.

Part of the historians' task involved censorship. Columbia's James Harvey Robinson, with the aid of colleague James T. Shotwell, altered a text to meet criticism from the Justice Department and Theodore Roosevelt. Whereas the 1916 edition of *Medieval and Modern Times* divided war guilt among all belligerents, the 1919 edition condemned Germany alone. Ford and his assistant Samuel B. Harding of Indiana University supervised the translating of CPI pamphlets into German, working in the hope that these new materials would replace traditional texts in German language classes. Historians monitored the foreign language press, reporting their findings to the Creel Committee. Bernadotte E. Schmitt covered Cleveland; George Sabine, Missouri; Solon J. Buck, Minnesota. Charles Altschul, an Anglophile businessman, and Harry Elmer Barnes surveyed a hundred textbooks, after which they wrote the report *The American Revolution in Our School Textbooks*. Both men urged all authors to stress the common heritage of the English-speaking peoples.

The controversy over the Sisson Documents offers a prime example of such historical prostitution. In March 1918, Edgar Sisson, former editor of *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, was serving as a CPI representative in Russia. He obtained documents purporting to prove that the Bolshevik regime was a puppet of the German general staff. The State Department doubted the authenticity of these materials, but Sisson and Creel convinced Wilson that they were genuine. The President in turn suggested the CPI publicize the Sisson Documents. When Creel gladly complied,

much of the American press began claiming that they were fraudulent. The NBHS appointed AHR editor of J. Franklin Jameson and Samuel N. Harper, professor of Russian language at Chicago to "investigate." Jameson knew little Russian; Harper had been vocal in his opposition to the Soviet regime and had already committed himself in print to their authenticity. After less than a week of study, but under heavy CPI pressure to confirm to its verdict, the two historians testified to their veracity. In fact, they wrote a 300 page report on it all, *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, which appeared just before the armistice. Soviet authority George F. Kennan, researching the issue decades later, asks how American experts could have possibly arrived at such a judgement, for any serious examination would have revealed the papers as forgeries.

Historians also attempted to propagandize the classrooms directly. The AHA sponsored the *History Teacher's Magazine*, which claimed to offer "The common ground on which history and patriotism meet." In its pages, Breasted showed how ancient Egypt's desire for empire had contemporary parallels, and William D. Gray of Smith indicated how "ancient Caesarism and imperialism are living forces in Germany today." (Both societies, Gray argued, had "pompous and arrogant speeches" and "grandiose and brutal triumphal monuments.") Charles H. McIlwain found America the legal descendant of medieval England. Becker described the Monroe Doctrine in a folksy manner; the United States, he said, could no longer adopt a Little Jack Horner attitude in defending its interests. Both World War I and the American Civil War, said Middle Period expert Carl Russell Fish of Wisconsin, involved restriction of the press and suppression of some legal rights; however, such measures were justified in efforts to free subject peoples.

Only when the war ended did the historians come under attack. H. L. Mencken labelled them "Star Spangled Men." The Sage of Baltimore proposed a decoration: The Grand Cross of the Order would be composed of "a gold badge in polychrome enamel and stained glass, a baldric of the national colors, a violet plug hat with a sunburst on the side." In addition, the historians would receive a pension for prostituting professional ethics. Soon Harry Elmer Barnes repented of his propaganda efforts, encouraging his protegee C. Hartely Grattan in 1927 to write a biting expose for the *American Mercury*.

Yet most historians remained unaffected by their wartime role. As Blakey writes, "For the most part they regarded their extraordinary venture into patriotic service as an aberrant chapter in their lives, an atypical departure from scholarship necessitated by the national crisis and obviating judgement by professional standards. Their lives and careers would return to normal with the armistice in the same way as military, scientific, and medical participants in the war effort would resume prewar activities, overcoming the brief but troublesome disruption caused by the international conflict." Ford, Munro, and Greene all became president of the AHA; Ford served as editor of the AHR from 1941 to 1953. Hart was widely recognized as an authority on George Washington. Van Tyne's *War of Independence* (1929) won a Pulitzer Prize, as did McLaughlin's *Constitutional History of the United States* (1935). Shotwell took time out from editing 400 volumes on the war to advise various projects for international organization. Jameson directed the Library of Congress's manuscripts division. Notestein wrote the widely respected *English Peoples on the Eve of Colonization* (1954). Only Harding and McElroy fell into relative obscurity, with the former editing children's books, the latter lecturing at British universities.

Despite the breach of professional ethics, intellectuals found it appropriate to make themselves available as government servants. The basic conviction—that the highest professional obligation was to provide useful service to the state—was not challenged. Revisionists such as Beard and Bicker, so Carol Gurber argues, changed their minds about the particular cause which they had promoted, but they never reevaluated the fundamental social role.

If professors—individuals whose vocation involves upholding truth at all cost—are guilty of distortion, it is hardly surprising to find journalists often lacking objectivity. Philip Knightley, an independent writer, offers an account based primarily on memoirs and secondary sources. His title comes from a comment made by California senator Hiram Johnson, who said in 1917 that "The first casualty when war comes is truth." It is an apt

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title, for Knightley's account spares no one, including such sacrosanct newspapers as the *New York Times*, *New Statesman*, *Times of London*, and *Manchester Guardian*.

Knightley begins his account with stories of journalistic bungling in such conflicts as the Crimean, American Civil, Franco-Prussian, and Boer Wars. He devotes several chapters to World War I, a conflict in which censorship of battle losses was combined with frenetic propaganda efforts. Much attention is given to the British propaganda organization, which, writes Knightley, was so masterful that Goebbels later used it as his model. It was, in fact, Allied correspondents who first invented tales of German Corpse factories and Belgian babies without hands, while Rudyard Kipling wrote, "There are only two divisions in the world today, human beings and Germans."

True, the Germans also circulated atrocity stories, such as the rumor that Gurkha and Sikh troops would sneak across the lines at night, slit German throats, and drink blood. However, they bungled the Edith Cavell incident, in which a British nurse working in a Brussels hospital was executed for helping Allied prisoners escape. The French, after all, had already shot one woman for exactly the same offense, and they would shoot eight more for similar transgressions before the war ended.

In the meantime, the real combat accounts were stifled. At first Lord Kitchener refused to allow correspondents in France ("Out of my way, you drunken swabs," he had bellowed in the Sudan), and several were imprisoned. British war illustrators were forbidden to draw corpses. "We must be our own censors," said George Bernard Shaw, while H. G. Wells, who like Shaw visited the front, hoped that witnessing death would not turn him into "a mere useless gibbering stop-the-war-at-any-price pacifist." News of the Mons defeat and the German victory at Tannenberg was suppressed and the Battle of the Frontiers, in which the Germans wiped out some 300,000 French soldiers in August 1914, remained unreported until the war was over. The British and French people did not know the full extent of their casualties until victory; in 1916 the German military had begun to falsify losses.

Given such limitations, the truth concerning Russia was particularly long in coming. During the Tsarist regime, censors kept to public from reading dispatches dealing with the incompetence of Russian forces or the shortcomings of her aristocracy. British and French correspondents refused to contemplate the impact of a possible Russian defeat on the Western Front, and—besides—one could not attack an ally in a war portrayed as a struggle between good and evil. The *Times of London* ignored accounts critical of the Russian effort while carrying such headlines as RUSSIA FIRM AND UNITED. Except for John Reed of *The Masses* and Philip Price of the *Manchester Guardian*, correspondents refused to take the growing Bolshevik movement seriously.

Once the Communists assumed power, *The New York Times* kept predicting imminent defeat. Within two years, the August newspaper had Lenin and Trotsky planning flight (four times) and already fleeing (twice), with Lenin alone planning retirement (twice), killed (once), and in prison (three times). Ever hopeful that Russia might stay in the war, it featured the headline BOLSHIEVIKI MAY HELP ALLIES BEST. Stories of the Allied intervention were underplayed, and few in the West knew of the severe drubbing taken by White armies. Little wonder that diplomat John Cudahy wrote years after the American intervention in Siberia, "When the last battalion set sail from Archangel, not a soldier knew, not even vaguely, why he had fought or why he was going now, and why his comrades were left behind, so many of them beneath wooden crosses."

Coverage of Mussolini's war against Ethiopia was little better. Journalists, confined to Addis Ababa and usually pro-Abyssinian, fell prey to Haile Selassie's handouts predicting brilliant guerrilla campaigns and quick victories. *New York Times* correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, who admired the fascists, was almost a lone exception. Matthews warned that the Abyssinians could not withstand Italy's forces, but his comments went unheeded.

In the Spanish Civil War journalistic partisanship was even more extreme, in fact quite destructive. Ernest Hemingway, who represented the North American Newspaper Alliance, had been chairman of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy and aided in drilling

International Brigades. Louis Fischer of the *Nation* took it upon himself to advise the Soviet ambassador to Spain and served as quartermaster of the International Brigade depot in Albacete. Arthur Koestler, correspondent for the *London New Chronicle*, worked undercover for the Comintern. His *Spanish Testament*, which pretended to be an eye-witness account of Spanish atrocities, was composed in Paris, not Madrid, and written under the direction of German Communist Willi Muenzenberg.

Such sentiment soon led to gross naivete, with only an occasional dissenter, such as George Orwell, standing aloof. When Orwell correctly claimed that Stalin was more concerned with eliminating the left than with fighting Franco, the *New Statesman* refused to print his dispatches. Then left-wing publisher Victor Gollancz turned down Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, of which only 600 copies were sold in Orwell's lifetime.

Hemingway might have been the chief offender. He predicted Republican victory six months before Franco won, basing his optimism on glowing reports from the *Pravda* and *Isvestia* correspondent. Even more irresponsibly, he failed to report that the Communists were summarily executing "untrustworthy" Republican elements, although he certainly knew of such behavior. Had the prominent novelist shared his knowledge, argues Knightley, he might have prevented further horrors. In passing, Knightley claims that the Guernica raid—contrary to myth—was a legitimate military objective; the German attack was not levelled primarily to demoralize civilians. Similarly, he questions the authenticity of Robert Capa's "Moment of Death," the famous photograph of a Republican militiaman falling backwards on Spanish soil.

World War II, of course, brought about one journalistic snafu after another. Take the British. After the Russians invaded Finland, such journalists as Virginia Cowles so exaggerated early Finnish successes that the West was surprised to learn that Russia had won the war. Skillful propaganda turned the evacuation at Dunkirk into a moral victory. Only now do we learn that reports of merciless bombing were highly exaggerated, that some survivors had no desire to return, that troop behavior before and during the embarkation was by no means exemplary, that the British deliberately underplayed France's significant role in delaying the Germans, and that indeed the whole retreat was unnecessary.

There is more. Churchill personally ordered a blackout on all news concerning the sinking of British ships on the Atlantic, causing even the pro-British Edward R. Murrow to complain bitterly. British correspondents boasted that Singapore was invincible ("ready for anything," said Leonard Mosely of the *Daily Sketch*) weeks before its fall, while exaggerating the minor and costly operations of guerrilla leader Orde Wingate in Burma.

Knightley offers a revisionist account of the Battle of Britain. While acknowledging "amazing acts of bravery," he notes that Britain was never the underdog, that numbers of German losses were exaggerated to maintain morale, and that the Blitz was not a great social leveller. Protection for a rich Londoner was quite different from protection for a poor one, and many parents who could afford to send their children overseas did so. (By the way, it was Hurricanes, not Spitfires, that were the RAF's major weapon.) Contrary to popular myth, Knightley finds Coventry a legitimate military target, as it contained several motor, piston ring, and aircraft engine factories.

The Soviets in particular sought to shut out news of defeat. Nothing, they believed, should be told the Russian people, much less the world, that might damage morale. American journalists soon suffered the censor's pen, and only later—claims Knightley—was it realized how poorly planned the German invasion was. (Example: Germany entered Russia with 3,200 tanks; the Soviets had 20,000, more than the rest of the world put together). Knightley also notes how the battle of Kursk, which he finds the real military turning point of the war, went unreported in the excitement over Stalingrad. The Western public remained unaware of the mass exile of over 300,000 Crimean Tartars who collaborated with the Germans, and it took the Soviet account of the Katyn massacres at face value.

The record of the United States was not unspotted, particularly in regards to the Pacific War. When Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox deliberately underestimated the damage at Pearl Harbor, the press took

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his appraisal at face value. Correspondents to the Asian mainland boosted Chiang's cause, doing so in the full knowledge that the Generalissimo's forces were refusing to engage in serious fighting. Chinese Nationalist leaders would show travelling US correspondents the same batch of captured equipment and prisoners of war again and again, moving the POW's and booty from one place to another before the Americans arrived. (One correspondent proved it by scratching his initials on a helmet). Leland Stowe soon found the *Chicago Daily News* suppressing his reports of Chiang's corruption, and Theodore White saw *Time* doctoring his reports of Koumintang profiteering. The American press presented the Battle of the Coral Seas as a major victory, one that involved the saving of Australia; in reality it was a draw and the Japanese were not capable of major invasion. Censors curbed reports of kamikaze raids and kept the public from learning that 9,300 Japanese balloons, each carrying anti-personnel bombs, had drifted across the Pacific. Nor did Americans learn of trouble between GIs and Australian forces, with tensions so severe that a pitched battle took place in Queensland.

A nation seldom reveals its own atrocities, and the United States was no exception. For example, official communiques claimed that American planes bombed only military objectives in Tokyo, and bombed them with "pinpoint accuracy." In reality, as we now know, Tokyo bombings were indiscriminate fire raids, causing more casualties than the atomic bomb at Hiroshima. (One raid killed 140,000 and left a million homeless). For a month after Hiroshima, MacArthur kept all southern Japan "off-limits" to the press. When Wilfred Burchett of the *London Daily Express* described the resulting radiation sickness, he was challenged by Major General Leslie R. Groves, head of the Manhattan Project. In short, many of the scandals connected with Viet Nam—the attempted silencing of David Halberstam, the longtime ignorance of the conflict in Cambodia, the efforts to suppress news of My Lai—have quite a long ancestry.

Much of Knightley's material is invaluable; however, he could have done far more with it. The important questions remain unanswered, undoubtedly because the book lacks any analytical framework. We do not know how typical his examples are, or how the press as an institution has changed over time. Surely more could have been done with the ideology of reporters, the ownership of journals, the politics of censors, the general policy-making proclivities of the fourth estate. Indeed, is objectivity ever possible, particularly in wartime? Should reporters make their biases explicit, as so many of the "new journalists" appear to be doing? In short, is a more responsible journalism possible, and if so, have we any positive models of it? What Knightley gives us in exposes; what we should be getting is analysis.

Such analysis is found in two treatments of American government propaganda during World War II. (Although Blum's book has valuable material on blacks, the economy, and political maneuverings, this essay will only deal with his treatment of propaganda.) Blum and Winkler, both Yale historians, describe the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF), and the Office of War Information (OWI), two efforts to mobilize sentiment on behalf of the war. The agencies were directed by liberal interventionists, including poet Archibald MacLeish, playwright Robert E. Sherwood, and broadcaster Elmer Davis.

However, despite the ambitious goals of the OFF and OWI, their efforts were often weak, and neither agency had the impact of the Creel Committee. If their pamphlets ranged from the need for doctors to Negro employment in war industries, definition of war aims was often banal. For example, one character in an OFF radio drama proclaims that the war was "about all young people like us. About love and gettin' hitched, and havin' a home and some kids, and breathin' fresh air out in the suburbs...about livin' an' workin' decent, like free people."

Some propagandists, of course, wanted headier wine, and Blum describes some of their thoughts. Harold Lasswell, propaganda expert and a major OFF figure, believed that propaganda needed "a large element of fake in it...That only truthful statements should be used...seems...an impractical maxim." Sherman H. Dryer, a critic of radio, said, "The strategy of truth...is a handicap...Truth...will enhance the integrity of our officialdom, but it is a moot question whether it will enhance either the efficiency or the effectiveness of our efforts to elicit

concerned action from the public." Archer Oboler, a writer for OFF staffer Norman Corwin, called for "hate on the air," at which point MacLeish claimed that OFF stood in the Christian tradition of hating the sin but loving the sinner. The German and Japanese people should not be hated, MacLeish commented; only their evil deeds. Blum writes at this point, "But that admirable distinction, as MacLeish must have realized, was beyond the grasp of many of those engaged in selling the war and most of those whom they were trying to reach."

FDR eliminated MacLeish's OFF in the spring of 1942, and soon Davis's OWI was in charge of major propaganda efforts. However, the OWI was soon beset with factionalism—struggles between those who sought to make new policy and those who sought to interpret existing policy, between liberals promoting a global New Deal and professional advertisers engaged in boosterism for its own sake. One OWI poster, designed by a former advertising manager for Coca Cola, displayed a Coke bottle wrapped in an American flag. The legend below read, "Step right up and get your four delectious freedoms. It's a refreshing war."

Because of such antics, a host of writers, including journalist Henry Pringle and historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., resigned. "As we see it," their statement read, "the activities of the OWI on the home front are dominated by high-pressure promoters who prefer slick salesmanship to honest information...They are turning this Office of War Information into an Office of War Bally-hoo."

Some OWI propaganda was censored. For example, as Winkler notes, the State Department found a pamphlet on the four Freedoms unsuitable for India as "it might incite the Indians against the British." Nor could the OWI make any criticism of the Chiang regime or the Darlan deal. If American policy was vague or ambiguous, OWI attempted to patch over the points of contention and indicate that solutions were underway.

Though neither author mentions it, some 2,000 writers worked for a variety of government agencies. Included were such luminaries as the Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick, humorist Alexander Woolcott, novelist John P. Marquand—and stripper Gypsy Rose Lee. The Writers' War Board was headed by mystery writer Rex Stout, who boasted, "I hate Germans, and am not ashamed of it." Critic Clifton Fadiman concurred: "The only way to make a German understand is to kill him, and even then he doesn't get the point."

Although Blum mentions neither Stout nor Fadiman, he offers a strong indictment. The War Production Board, he notes, approved an ad calling for the extermination of Japanese "rats," comic strips portrayed the Japanese with ape-like characteristics, and even quasi-scholarly treatment of Japanese culture stressed an inherent warrior ethic. Fiction writers Helen MacInnes, Glenway Wescott, and Nevil Shute found brutality an essentially German trait, while Upton Sinclair's globetrotting hero Lanny Budd preached that there was nothing to do but to kill.

Blum writes aptly, "Sinclair's point was simplistic. His war was waged between Americans and Germans, Roosevelt and Hitler, absolute good and absolute evil. That was the kind of war in which many Americans came to believe. Missing from the picture of the enemy that the novelists painted was the gentle conviction of Archibald MacLeish, his reminder to his countrymen that Christian doctrine called upon man to hate the sin but to forgive the sinner."

Stripping the enemy of all humanity might have made for greater unity, and for increased war production as well, but it did little to prepare Americans for the complexities of the postwar world. And when the international stability promised after the war was not forthcoming, public attitudes—as any student of the Truman period knows—were rife with apathy and cynicism. After the conflict, as Blum points out, a different set of novels was written—Norman Mailer's *Naked and the Dead*, James Jones's *From Here to Eternity*, Irwin Shaw's *Young Lions*. Such works, as well as the poems of Randall Jerrell, indict oppressive militarism, and a closed and brutal social system. Indeed for the authors, the war was a pointless one.

John Hersey, so Blum notes, went full circle. In *Men of Bataan*, Hersey wrote that the American people "adored their MacArthur as if he were a young genius who had just flown across the dim Atlantic...or as if he were a big and perfect slugger...or...some new shiek of the silver screen."

(Continued On Page 7)

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

Good Movies! In the past weeks, we have seen several excellent films—a remarkable statement from our ordinarily jaundiced perspective. Three of them have been comedies, and unusually fine ones. One of the best, and surely the least heralded, was *Semi-Tough*, Michael Ritchie, dir., with Burt Reynolds, Jill Clayburgh, Kris Kristofferson, and Bert Convy, and Lotte Lenya. *Semi-Tough* is, first and foremost, extremely funny, featuring on-target and acidulous satires of Est ("Beat"), Roling ("Pelfing"), Gravity Therapy and all the other modern psycho-lunacies. In fact, its major theme is a satiric look at the whole psycho-babble culture. Lotte Lenya is superb as Clara Pelf ("You can only learn through . . . Pain!" she declaims in her thick mittel-European accent, as she digs her elbow into Burt Reynolds' chest.) Bert Convy is excellent and incisive as the smarmy Werner Erhard look-alike, and Kris Kristofferson is properly drippy as the Est-head: ("You're perfect; I'm perfect"). Burt Reynolds is at his finest in his usual pleasantly mocking role. And the audience lets out a great cheer when Bert Convy emits one "That's beautiful, too," too many, and gets a well-deserved and hilarious punch in the face.

But the remarkable thing about *Semi-Tough* is that it is not confined to one theme, as so many Hollywood comedies are. In its richness of texture, in its mosaic of funny bits and themes, *Semi-Tough*, more than any film in a long, long time, takes on the quality of the marvelous old Hollywood comedies of the thirties—the Cary Grant-Claudette Colbert-Katharine Hepburn glories of long ago. For whereas the typical Hollywood comedy takes one joke and repeats and underlines it for twenty minutes, until the veriest moron in the audience has to get the point, *Semi-Tough* has many interesting and funny things going on at the same time. *Semi-Tough* is the sort of picture that will repay many sittings with fresh nuances and insights. The leitmotif of dollar poker played repeatedly by Reynolds and Jill Clayburgh is just one of the examples. Of course, there is an important difference between *Semi-Tough* and the old comedies: the addition of the obligatory doses of obscenity. But the thirties flavor is retained nevertheless.

This leaves perhaps the best for last: for Jill Clayburgh is a marvel as the daffy, intelligent, independent, and spontaneously expressive heroine. Her personality and style are strongly reminiscent of Claudette Colbert's, and what greater compliment could she receive? Much of the thirties flavor in the movie is her doing.

It is unfortunate that *Semi-Tough* was not even even nominated for an Academy Award, and neither were any of the actors. They deserved top consideration.

It has been the fashion to disparage Neil Simon, but his *The Goodbye Girl* is an excellent comedy, and one of his best efforts in a long time. Simon has been denounced for his one-liners, but if one-liners are funny, why shouldn't a comedy have them? And particularly when, in *Goodbye Girl*, the one-liners are embedded in a plot and characterizations that are interesting and hold together well. Make no mistake: *Goodbye Girl* with only one Theme, is not nearly as good a movie, as well directed or as funny, as *Semi-Tough*; but it is good nevertheless. If *Semi-Tough* harks back to the thirties comedies, *Goodbye Girl* is in the spirit of the forties wartime comedies where several people are forced to crowd together in one small apartment. The rest almost writes itself, but there are Simon's superior one-liners. Not only that: Simon has drawn excellent performances from the actors. Indeed, he has performed one of the great feats of the year: making Richard Dreyfuss into a likable comic actor. If Dreyfuss abandons his former pushy persona and sticks to comedy, he can become a new, Jewish Jack Lemmon. Quinn Cummings, as the hip yet vulnerable young daughter of Marsha Mason, is outstanding and deserves the Academy Award for best supporting actress.

The only slightly sour spot in the casting is *The Goodbye Girl* herself, Marsha Mason, who, after making every allowance, simply comes off as harsh and rather unattractive. Since Miss Mason was unusually appealing in *Cinderella Liberty* not too many years ago, the fault here must be chalked up to her husband, Neil Simon.

Similar in many ways to the *Goodbye Girl* is the brand-new *House Calls*, which opened to reviews far more negative than it deserves. Directed by Howard Zieff, and, more importantly, written by the veteran

comic writer Max Shulman, *House Calls* features the marvellous comic talents of sardonic, stoop-shouldered, slobby, middle-aged Walter Matthau, who also helped write his own part. Matthau plays a recently widower, a surgeon now enthusiastically indulging in the bachelor life; Glenda Jackson resembles Miss Mason as the short-haired, flinty foil to Matthau. Except that Miss Jackson is both flintier and more intelligent. The predictable love story between the two is the plot line for hanging a myriad of laughs. Another funny situation is the down-at-the-heels-hospital, run ineptly and a bit malevolently by an overaged Art Carney. The surprising thing about *House Calls* is that the critics rated it so far below *Goodbye Girl*; they are about on a par, which is good enough. Perhaps the reason is that Simon is better known and far more popular than Shulman in the entertainment industry.

Another excellent film, this time in the suspense field, is Michael Crichton's *Coma*, which deals with a more malevolent hospital than the one in *House Calls*. With *Coma*, one must ignore the schlock ads, which imply a Grade Z cross between *Jaws* and *The Exorcist*. Also, some of the reviews charged that *Coma* is filled with excessive gore, which it most emphatically is not (contrast most of the early Hammer Films from Britain, or even those of Sam Peckinpah.) On the contrary, *Coma* is taut, suspenseful, exciting, just what an adventure film should be. It has the best kind of suspense plot: an innocent, brave young hero (in this case, heroine) drawn slowly but inexorably into a network of events where everyone—superficial good guys and bad guys alike—seems to be in on the evil plot. The picture gains immeasurably from author Crichton's medical knowledge (an ex-medical student, Crichton has written the *Andromeda Strain* and other medical-suspense classics.)

*Coma* is not only suspenseful, but it is also libertarian. I don't want to give away too much of the plot, but the bad guys are essentially the government-medical complex and its fascinating machinations. (This is not a picture to see before going into a hospital!)

Direction and acting are excellent, marred only by the casting of Genevieve Bujold in the central role. Miss Bujold is simply not good enough to sustain a role that requires being onscreen almost the entire picture; for one thing, it is difficult to accept someone who looks like a young fifteen year-old in the role of a brilliant young physician. But this is only a minor flaw: see *Coma*! □

## Truth — (Continued From Page 6)

MacArthur's men were "wonderfully brave...they encompass the highest human values." By the time he wrote *A Bell for Adano*, as he wrote later, he realized that "the American hero...might be a dangerous shit." In *The Wall*, a novel dealing with life in the Warsaw ghetto, he has one Jewish resistant say, "nationalism can be as frightful in a Jew as in a German." "Or an American," adds Blum, "or any other man who permitted his concern for the unit—the platoon, the country—to eclipse his concern for mankind."

War fervor, followed by war cynicism, is no isolated occurrence in American history, and as Knightley shows, even some of the more prominent Vietnam doves were once hawks. Wrote David Halberstam, author of the damning *Best and the Brightest*, "We would have liked nothing better than to believe that the war was going well, and that it would eventually be won." Neil Sheehan, who broke the story of the Ellsbery-Pentagon Papers, hoped as late as 1966 for an American victory. Charles Mohr, who protested *Time's* distortion of his pessimistic dispatches, said, "Everyone thought I left (*Time*) because I was against the war. I just thought it wasn't working. I didn't come to think of it as immoral until the very end." Mohr, in fact, was so hawkish that, when he returned to Vietnam as a *New York Times* correspondent, he carried an M-16 and participated in the American retaking of Hue Citadel.

Further war, or crises of any sort, will doubtless bring more journalistic and academic distortion. It seems to be in the nature of the human beast. Today it is primarily the left that is calling for professional "engagement" on a number of issues, ranging from demands for "anti-racist" history to calls to aid Third World revolution. The left, of course, is not alone, as witness the prominent academics enlisted in various Cold War lobbies. Howard Becker once asked his colleagues at the American Sociological Society, "Whose side are you on?" It can be a dangerous question. □

## L'Affaire Efron — (Continued From Page 1)

her diatribe she didn't want to be confused by the facts.

Miss Efron's charge that libertarians such as myself ally ourselves only with the Left is ignorant hogwash; we believe in allying ourselves with whoever has a libertarian position on issues important to us. We hail a Nat Hentoff on civil liberties and a Henry Hazlitt on economics. This is not inconsistent; on the contrary, it means that we consistently welcome people for the libertarian positions they hold on particular issues, a welcome which in no sense means that we endorse their stand on every conceivable question. But to libertarians, this is nothing new. Most of us have known for a long time that our position cuts across the conventional left-right spectrum, that we agree with liberals on some issues and with conservatives on others. That is because we are consistent upholders of liberty, and they of course are not.

Miss Efron's charge that we libertarians are lax in saluting the greatness and importance of free-market economists Ludwig von Mises and F.A. Hayek is an obscenity; how many times has she hailed them in print as compared to myself? Her implication that we have joined the Left in "evad (ing) mass murder in Cambodia" is false on two important counts. First, because much of the information that we have, and that she can self-righteously refer to, on the monstrosity that in Cambodia comes to us from Leftists who staunchly opposed the war in Indochina: from James Forest, Jean Lacouture, Father Ponchaud, etc. And second, because while I myself, as she well knows, wrote a blistering attack on the Cambodian regime in *Libertarian Review*, where and when did Miss Efron ever write on the subject before she penned her broadside attack?

Miss Efron's appalling ignorance of the libertarian movement is revealed by her lament that the limited government people have struck some sort of "deal" with anarcho-capitalists never to engage in discussion or debate over their ultimate ideological differences. Miss Efron has apparently not been reading, not only *Libertarian Forum*, or the *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, which has published numerous anarchist critiques of Robert Nozick, but not even *Reason* itself, where John Hospers and I have squared off. The debate continues; it is only the activists in the Libertarian Party who wisely concluded that they would get nowhere facing concrete political issues if they spent their energies on such theoretical questions. These disputes, while ultimately important, are hardly relevant to contesting the next election. The Libertarian Party is not the entire movement.

Sometimes her article is relieved by some (unconscious) humor; thus, Miss Efron expresses horror that a "distinguished laissez-faire economist", Roger LeRoy Miller, was asked to write a review of a book on the political economy of whorehouses. What she fails to realize is that Professor Miller has precisely written on such topics as whorehouses, as has the eminent free-market economist George W. Hilton, who has even spoken at a convention of COYOTE, an organization of prostitutes defending their right to do business.

But this gaffe is of a piece with Miss Efron's moral horror at libertarians' concern for the freedom of speech and voluntary activities of all people, even the most disreputable. From her sneering at such freedom, it is obvious that her devotion to civil liberties is minimal. This conclusion is reinforced by her affinity for Irving Kristol, a "libertarian" who advocates increased censorship and a theocratic enforcement of religious values. Miss Efron employs the usual conservative trick of linking civil libertarians with the life-styles of those whose rights they are defending. If one defends the rights of prostitutes or drug-takers, why this makes one a drug-taker, too. Attacking people such as myself for being hippies and blind adherents of all aspects of every liberation movement can only reap a horselaugh from anyone in the least familiar with my own views over the years.

Sometimes, Miss Efron's ignorance turns positively malignant. There are some smears which should not be allowed to go unchallenged. Timothy Leary, for all his peccadilloes, has not been "drug-soaked" for a long while; in fact, he now strongly opposes drugs. To call either Marcus Raskin or Karl Hess "Maoists" is breathtaking in its malevolent absurdity; an absurdity topped only by her gall in asserting that Hess "now calls himself" a Maoist.

What, then, is Miss Efron? From the evidence of her loathsome article, she is certainly a "news twister" par excellence. But where have we seen this before, this amalgam of hysterical smears and Red-baiting, joined to an ideology that scorns civil liberties and calls for love and "reverence" for the State? There are not many laissez-faire thinkers of the past who, though upholding limited government, have actually loved and revered it. On the contrary. For them, as for modern libertarians, love and reverence has been reserved for such values as liberty and human dignity, and even for one's land, culture, and country but not, ye gods, for the State, which, even in the limited government lexicon, is at best simply a policeman and not something to be revered and worshipped. But then, despite Miss Efron's ritualistic invocation of the Founding Fathers, it is clear that she knows next to nothing about American history. If she did, she would realize that most of those Fathers were far closer to our position than to hers; what they had reverence for, and fought a revolution to maintain, was liberty, and definitely not the State.

Where have we seen these tantrums, this hopped-up and wild-swinging disregard for accuracy, combined with an ideology that reveres not only the American State, but even more the State of Israel? We have seen them in the fever swamps of the far Right, most specifically of the Randian variety.

Is this the "love", the "reverence," these old paranoid bones of the 1960's, that the libertarian movement is supposed to crawl back to? Certainly not, and not at the behest of someone as profoundly anti-libertarian as Miss Efron. We are an adult movement now, and we can put away the childish tantrums and bickerings of isolated sects. We are making an impact on the mainstream of American life, and we have just begun.

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## The Last Word on Efronia

Edith Efron's false and loathsome attack on myself and on the libertarian movement in her column in the February *Reason* has, predictably, stirred up a storm of response within and around the movement. My own reply appeared in last month's *Lib. Forum* ("L'Affaire Efron"). The April issue of *Libertarian Review* includes an editorial reply plus an excellent critique of Efron by David Ramsay Steele, in which Steele applies Efron's own criterion of "news twisting" which she had used to attack CBS, and demonstrates, point-by-point, how Miss Efron employs the very devices which she denounces so indignantly when used by people she doesn't like.

*Reason's* May issue now publishes a selection of what its editors presumably consider the best comments of both sides of the Efron affair. I would urge *Lib. Forum* readers to read all the letters and judge for themselves the quality of the insight, knowledge, and analysis displayed by the writers on each side of the question. I don't think I am being merely biased when I say that, in my judgement, the anti-Efron writers display almost invariably a high level of knowledge and acumen on the libertarian movement and on all the theoretical and factual issues at stake; whereas the pro-Efron writers are almost invariably dumb and boobish. Perhaps in this very fact lies a clue as to why, as several of the writers point out, the anarchocapitalists won hands down the famous "anarchist-minarchist" debate.

Let us make a brief survey of the *Reason* letters. On the anti-Efron side, my own letter simply rebuts the egregious falsehoods "reported" about me by Miss Efron. Karl Hess justly rebuts Efron's vicious smear that Karl "now calls himself a Maoist." Karl and I have our political disagreements, but to assert that he is a "Maoist", much less that he "calls himself" one (where, Ms. intrepid reporter?) is an irresponsible calumny that can only be found, as he deftly points out, "in the intelligence files of the FBI, parts of which I (and perhaps Miss Efron) have recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act." Karl states that he regards Efron's charge as an "actual libel" and that, "if actionable, I shall certainly take the advantage of Miss Efron's own ethics and seek redress from state law." *Touche!*

Other letters, all of them first rate, are written by Thomas Avery, David J. Dawson, Jule R. Herbert, Jr., Aaron Leonard, Tom G. Palmer, Ann Kotell, George H. Smith, and James L. Burns. Tom Avery points out that, contrary to the smears of Efron, libertarian feminists and libertarians for gay rights have always made clear that they were not endorsing the coercive aspects of those movements. David Dawson, as limited government and as "constitutional Republican" as Efron could wish, points out the necessity and success of himself and other anti-draft activists working with the Left against conscription in the late '60's. Apparently no one pulled any mythical guns on Dawson!

Aaron Leonard's effective letter quotes Efron against herself: citing her own previous *Reason* column (November, 1977) defending alliances with "fellow travellers". He also points out that "As Michael Emerling reminds us, the reason the debate was discontinued in the first place was that the anarchists won! If Ms. Efron would like, I am sure any number of anarchists are willing to refresh her memory on that point." Jule

Herbert's hard-hitting letter defends *Inquiry* and takes a neat swipe at *Reason* by saying that "One would have hoped that she (Efron) would have at least waited until ... (*Inquiry*) had appeared before reading it out of the movement. The first five of its issues ... have not had anything as distasteful as, say, an interview with Bill Simon in which he tells us that government policy on gold has nothing to do with inflation or that 'obviously' government has a responsibility to help those people who cannot help themselves." Concluding with a comparison of *Libertarian Review* and *Reason*, Herbert notes: "The difference is this: While *Reason* is telling us that non-zoning is great in Houston (at least as long as strict building codes are maintained), Childs is exhorting us to throw the tea in the harbor. I can stand both, but I can not help feeling that some self-styled libertarians would be happier with Reagan's Citizens for the Republic."

Ann Kotell denounces the Efron article as unworthy of *Reason*, and states that "Efron's reasoning errors were easy to take compared to her tone, the name calling, inaccuracies, misrepresentations, unbacked assertions, discussions of other people's discriminatory faculties, motivations and emotions ..." Implicitly recalling Efron's past in the Objectivist movement, Miss Kotell points to the Objectivists' failure to make more headway as a function of their propensity to condemn anyone who disagreed with their position. George Smith's letter is a personal defense of myself which is too embarrassingly favorable for me to summarize in any more detail.

James L. Burns points out that, contrary to Efron's righteous indignation, the United States government was a mass murderer of both Americans and Vietnamese in Vietnam. He also attacks her "libertarian" affirmation of a "national culture" as collectivist. Burns' most effective point is to cite the fact that the very Timothy Leary, whom Efron inaccurately smeared as "drug-soaked" was interviewed by *Reason* itself last year. "Does this mean that *Reason* has crawled into bed with the New Left?" Burns might have added that, if so, why did Efron leave *Reason* out of her collection of libertarian hate objects?

Bill Birmingham gets in a couple of characteristic rapier-like thrusts at Miss Efron. First, that he is "grateful to Ms. Efron for proving that there is no such thing as unprintable rubbish". Second, in his own lively "Brickbats" column in the same issue, Birmingham points to the "alleged involvement in the common right-wing smear against *Counterspy* magazine in the affair of the murder of Greek CIA station chief Richard Welch. He concludes that "*Reason* was one of those (publications) manipulated (by the CIA). Edith Efron regurgitated the *Counterspy* myth whole in February, 1978, the better to revile (sight unseen) *Inquiry* magazine."

We come now to the proponents of the Efron piece (Tom Palmer's anti-Efron letter will be further discussed below.) Most of them are of the "God (or Rand) bless you, Miss Efron, for uncovering the dangerous anarchists-Communists" variety, and I shall not mention their names in order to protect the guilty. (This must be my month for charity rather

(Continued on Page 2)

## Last Word — (Continued From Page 1)

than retribution). They lack only in explicitness the general world outlook satirically portrayed by Estelle Epstein (see below), except that they are all too serious.

That leaves us very little to discuss. Mark Tier unfortunately swallows Efron's disgraceful distortions of my own views, but he's an anarchist, and therefore does not make a very comfortable ally for her. Valerie Valrejean also accepts all of Efron's malicious fantasies about myself, from the gun-in-the-ribs hokum to the idiotic idea that I somehow counsel libertarians to ally themselves always with the Left, regardless of circumstances. When she exhorts libertarians to "concentrate on building our own principled, vocal and aggressive" movement, she is unwittingly repeating my own views. If such a movement is being "obstructed" by anyone, it is not by Ms. Valrejean's mythical "group of pragmatic anarchists", but by the likes of Miss Efron, who would subordinate the movement to statisticians like Irving Kristol, Bill Buckley, et al. That's being principled?

Mrs. Shirley Gottlieb's letter really belongs in the "Rand bless you, Miss Efron" category, but she does make a few points that are inadvertently worth commenting on. By whining about the defeats suffered within the Libertarian Party by John Hospers, William Westmiller and their minarchist faction, Mrs. Gottlieb unwittingly gives the lie to the Efron charge that all debate has ceased within the libertarian monolith. Unconsciously humorous in her Nixonian inveighing on a mythical "silent majority" within the Libertarian Party, Mrs. Gottlieb misses the whole point by petulantly urging the anarcho-capitalists within the LP to change its name to the "Anarchist Party". No one in the LP has ever had the intention of converting the party into an anarchist party. The LP is a coalition of anarchists and minarchists who aim to roll back the State, as quickly as we can, to the minarchists' own idea of a truly minimal, laissez-faire government. Once we get to that demi-Paradise, the LP can then have it out fiercely within its own ranks as to whether or not to press on to the full Paradisaical condition. Why the minarchists, if they are truly such, and if they are not simply Birchites or Reaganites in sheep's clothing, should gripe so bitterly about this situation passeth my understanding.

Paul Beard's letter is a centimeter above his "Rand bless you, Miss Efron" colleagues, but that is more than compensated by an hysterical tone that almost matches Efron herself. His approving summary that "You (Efron) accuse Rothbard and associates (?) of not being open with us about their cooperation with the New Left, whom they intend to take over," neatly capsulizes at least three major errors in a single sentence, which even La Efron, at her best, is hard put to match. First, neither myself nor any of my so-called associates have engaged in any secret activity, much less some kind of secret deals with the New Left; second, there is no more New Left, and hasn't been for about seven years; and third, if there were any New Left, nobody has ever intended to "take them over", whatever in hell that may mean. Nor, if there were a New Left, would my goal be, as Mr. Beard puts it, "Persuading the New Left to libertarianism." If such were my objective, it would indeed be folly.

To put it for what seems like the 785th time: the primary objective of any libertarian alliance with any non-libertarian group—be it New Left, Old Left, New Old Left, Right, Center, None of the Above, or whatever—is to exert maximum leverage in advancing specific goals that happen to be common to both libertarians and the group in question (e.g. repeal of the draft, abolition of a property tax, abolition of a drug law). That's it. If any member of such group,—Right, Left, Center, or whatever—should also get converted wholly or partially to libertarianism by working with libertarians and seeing the consistency of our position, why that's great. And certainly no opportunities in that direction should be passed up. But the primary goal is leverage for common aims. Also, there is nothing at all covert or sneaky about this alliance process. I must confess a growing impatience here; it seems to me that my proposed strategy is such simple common sense that I find it increasingly difficult to regard such outpourings as Beard's and Efron's as honest misunderstandings of my position.

Beard then drifts off into an irrelevant calling attention to his pro-government article in *Option*. He seems to think that he has scored a

significant point against anarcho-capitalists by triumphantly demonstrating that they don't believe that a criminal's consent should be required in order to punish him for a crime. Actually, this argument is even irrelevant to the anarchism-anarchism debate. Do you have to be an anarchist to conclude that a murderer can be punished without having to obtain his consent to the process? Fortunately, there are very few anarchists whom maintain Beard's position.

Beard concludes characteristically by exhorting the reader to study both minarchism and anarchism "with your own mind". Can you do it with someone else's mind? Is that what I am supposed to be advocating?

But Beard, too, willy nilly gives the lie to the Efron charge that the anarchist-minarchist debate has been stifled within the movement. He does so by citing, not only his own article, but also the replies to it by Roy Childs in *Option* and by Bill Evers in the *Journal for Libertarian Studies*.

Finally we have Tibor Machan's missive. While it is true that Machan hails Efron's "stirring" and "crucial" contribution, he characteristically spends most of his letter tooting his own horn, citing his various writings to show that the famous debate had not died. The rest of his letter exhorts Efron and her fellow thinkers to print their stuff in the mainstream magazines. Yeah, right; I can just see the countless millions of readers of *TV Guide* flipping through its pages, and stopping, fascinated, to read La Efron's smears against myself or Roy Childs.

There were a number of other excellent letters sent in reply to Efron, but which *Reason* did not see fit to print. Some of them also came into our hands, and we are publishing a selection of them below. With this selection, we close the books on the Efron Affair, with the hope that Miss Efron will confine herself to her more general inaccuracies in the future, and that her career of personal vilification of libertarians is now at an end.

A word on a couple of the letters printed below. Tom Palmer's letter was published in *Reason* with two important concluding paragraphs omitted. We are publishing the missing paragraphs. In the published parts of his letter, Palmer attacked Efron's "outpouring of invective" as a "very poor and shoddy display of professional ethics", in attacking a magazine, *Inquiry*, that she had never seen; Palmer also denounces Efron's "lengthy distortion of facts" and "unsupported innuendoes." More specifically, Palmer makes an important corrective point to Efron's broadside charges: namely that *Inquiry* "does not purport to be a libertarian magazine, though libertarians are involved with it in various ways." Rather, *Inquiry* is a magazine that should be of great interest to libertarians, as "it has the potential to be one of America's finest forums for investigative journalism, maintaining a probing and iconoclastic view of government machinations." Palmer points out that the early issues of *Inquiry* contained "truly searching and revealing analyses" of Soviet and American psychiatry, gun control, the Panama Canal controversy "the need to deregulate the professions", etc. I might add that every one of the positions taken in these articles has been either explicitly libertarian or consistent with the libertarian position. Palmer adds that "Ms. Efron was right in maintaining that *Inquiry* is far from 'reverent' about the CIA, FBI, IRS, Pentagon et al., but for reasons which should be obvious to anyone who reads the newspapers. As a journalist, Ms. Efron should understand better how a magazine works. To list someone on a brochure as a writer does not imply that he exercises editorial control. Ms. Efron's partially inaccurate and unfair blasts at Marcus Raskin seem to have little relevance to what I have seen of *Inquiry* so far."

I would add this comment: In her attack on *Inquiry*, Efron engaged in a typical right-wing tactic by confining her critique to the people who might be writing for the magazine, and not at all to the contents of the articles therein. There are only two explanations for such base conduct: (a) to enable the writer to engage in free-swinging guilt-by-association charges that make Joe McCarthy seem like a careful and cautious historian; and/or (b) that Efron and her fellow-right wingers are not competent to judge or assess the content of such articles, and that they know darn well that that is the case. I suspect that in La Efron's case, it's a combination of both.

The letters below, not published in *Reason*, by the Misses Estelle Epstein and Letitia Grant are satires. But, it should be noted that the paranoid views of the world held in jest by Epstein and Grant are only slightly more absurd than the outlook, seriously held, by Efron and by many of her supporters. □

### From . . . Monica Swift The State the Enemy

I must defend Murray Rothbard, Roy Childs and Williamson Evers against the unjust attacks made by Edith Efron in your Viewpoint.

A Libertarian anarchist believes in his right to his private property, which includes his body and life. A Libertarian's resentment and "lack of reverence" toward the State has been created by the State itself by its continuous interference with this right.

Has not the State confiscated our monies and sacrificed lives to create a powerful USSR, which Ms. Efron so abhors? Was the State's attitude similar to those of the French under Hitler, who saw any alliance acceptable, provided the goal is to destroy the (another) State? These are Ms. Efron's words and are Orwellian in concept.

It is after all this State which actually uses everyday force against the individual — not the leftists, the pathetic Timothy Learys, *Hustler* magazine or even Mao Tse-Tung's followers.

Would Ms. Efron approve of a limited government or mini-State that can dictate an interventionist foreign policy and back it up with a military might and enforce that policy at home and abroad? No doubt she would approve of a law that would confiscate her fellow citizens' monies to subsidize the neutron bomb, thus sparing property, but destroying the State's enemy, whoever he may be at the time; or making it a national policy to finance Israel's economy and military expansion and leave the Arabs to tender Israeli mercies.

The above are just some of the many reasons why a Libertarian cannot show "outraged love" for the State.

My suggestion to Ms. Efron is to experiment with the concepts "free market", "voluntarism" and "non-intervention", the back-bones of Libertarian thought, and refrain from attacking individuals dedicated to Liberty.

Tempe, Arizona □

### From . . . Joseph R. Peden Nation Not State

The provocative and ill-informed attack by Edith Efron on anarchist libertarians will undoubtedly elicit much spirited debate. As the editor of the *Libertarian Forum* was identified specifically and linked with many different charges against the anarchists, may I be permitted to challenge and disavow at least one of these accusations.

In several places Ms. Efron says that the anarchist libertarians hate the nation and the State. We do indeed hate the State, with just cause, we believe. But, speaking for the anarchists associated with the *Libertarian Forum*, edited by Dr. Murray Rothbard, whom Ms. Efron names as leader of the offending anarchists, I deny categorically that any fairminded reader of our publication could say we hate any nation.

Nations are natural communities based upon the sharing consciously, by individuals of a variety of common attributes or experiences which they prize and which serve to create an affectionate social bond among them. Such shared attributes may include a common language, folkways, geographical setting, historical experiences, spiritual, intellectual or social values. In all instances, by habit or conscious choice, nations are born, live, die and are even resurrected. Nations exist prior to the State, apart from the State, and have only an accidental, not a necessary relationship to the State. It is true that nations, especially in the last two centuries, have more and more turned to the formation of a State structure as a means of protecting their nationhood from the cultural aggressiveness of imperial States. This has been more often than not an act of desperation in the face of policies of national genocide by more powerful, aggressive and Statist nationalities.

Now the *Libertarian Forum* has been a consistent champion of the rights of nations to be free of persecution by other nations or imperial States. We have expressed editorially our sympathy with the aspirations of the French Canadians, the Puerto Ricans, American Indians, Biafrans, Bengalis, Welsh, Scots and Irish, Bretons and Corsicans, Basques and Catalans, for national independence and rights to free cultural expression. Nor have we been intimidated to exclude the Palestinian Arabs from our sympathy for their rights to their own lands and cultural and political freedom. We wish them the same rights and national

freedom enjoyed by the Israelis. While we always question the wisdom and morality of nations seeking to establish State structures, we do not believe it any more sinful for one nation to seek such ends than another.

But if the case for the anarchist position on nation has been distorted, as I contend Ms. Efron has done, her attack on anarchists as unpatriotic deserves some elucidation also.

Leaving aside the old truism that "patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels", I believe that anarchists generally are great patriots in the sense that patriotism is an emotional commitment to those attributes or settings consciously perceived as valuable by those who compose the nation. Now any familiarity with living anarchists ought to tell Ms. Efron that they are just as patriotic as others, but the object of their patriotism may be more local—the village, the town or city, the region and its particular dialect, customs and artifacts. Anarchists hate the forces of standardizations and centralization and any kind of collective which submerges the particular and eccentric. The nation-State thus represents to them the destruction of all the diversity which the anarchist cherishes. Thus he can never be a patriot of the nation-State variety who usually gets his emotional kicks by contemplating the destruction of individuality and diversity in the interest of the unity and power of a single nation-State. Like Belloc who called himself a Sussex patriot, or Thoreau whose emotional loyalty found fulfillment at Walden Pond, the anarchist has a local patriotism as does any man of sensibility. We contemporary anarchists are patriots of natural communities, not worshippers of abstract, amoral, unnatural entities called States. □

### From . . . Tom G. Palmer Hoopla over Israel

..... Besides Irving Kristol, who has penned some excellent attacks on egalitarianism as well as numerous dismal attacks on statism, who else among Ms. Efron's new-conservative friends would she include among the friends of liberty? Surely not the "queer-baiting" Norman Podhoretz, editor of *Commentary*, the foremost neo-conservative journal, who recently blamed World War Two on the English being "homosexual" and who has consistently defended statism, albeit a more "efficient" version of the welfare-warfare state. The neo-conservatives hold a hodgepodge of pro and anti-liberty views, and I suspect that the primary reason that Ms. Efron embraces them with such loud hosannahs is their mutual hoopla over the socialist, militarist, religious state of Israel. If Ms. Efron wants to send money to defend a theocratic state (how quaint for an advocate of "reason, science, technology, individualism," etc.) she should be free to do so, but her stance is hardly appropriate to one sincerely interested in liberty.

Ms. Efron's defense of a "serious metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical base" is rather misplaced, along with her "reopen the anarchist-minarchist debate", I'm afraid. While such matters are important to libertarians and libertarianism, they have no place in a political context. Specifically, in the Libertarian Party to denounce someone as "slovenly" or "gutter-like" because he does not wholeheartedly embrace Ms. Efron's metaphysical *Weltanschauung* and is, say, a Kantian in epistemology, would be ridiculous. Such matters as these, along with the "anarchists-minarchist debate" should be threshed out in journals and magazines, not in the manner Ms. Efron imperiously hands down from on high (hate mail to libertarian patrons, denunciations, etc.) .....

St. John's College  
Annapolis, Maryland □

### From . . . Danny Shapiro Apologize!

It would probably take a ten-page essay to straighten out fully all the errors in Edith Efron's column, so I will limit my remarks to three major points: the attack on *Libertarian Review*, the attack on the anarchists in the movement, and the question of our putative neo-conservative allies.

Ms. Efron claims that since Roy Childs took over as editor of *Libertarian Review* it has become dependent upon the counter-culture

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## Apologize! — (Continued From Page 3)

for its social themes, and contains a heavy dose of "leftist" articles which are designed to "expose industry as corrupt and to render America militarily impotent." They are also, according to her, brimming with hatred. Ms. Efron gives only one piece of concrete evidence for her claims, namely Walter Grinder's alleged endorsement of the works of historian Sidney Lens, an anti-capitalist leftist; but this evidence can easily be shown to be no evidence at all. First, Grinder recommends one book, not the works of Lens. Second, Efron conveniently forgets to quote Grinder who says, referring to the revisionist works he is recommending: "most of these works have been written by historians who have ..... leftist biases." Grinder calls for free-market historians to take the facts uncovered by the revisionists and interpret them in the light of libertarian ideology, a process he calls "revising the revisionists." Grinder does not recommend Lens' book because he is a left-winger opposed to capitalism and hostile to the United States; he recommends it because he believes it contains a great deal of historical truth. Unless Ms. Efron plans to assert some competence in judging Lens' work to be lacking in historical truth, then we must apply her own strictures to herself! Ms. Efron admits that we should "acknowledge truths if they are spoken by the Left." If so, why can't he do the same??

Not only does Ms. Efron's one piece of evidence not make her case against L. R., but a survey of L. R.'s articles conclusively demonstrates that Efron's belief that a hateful, counter-culture anti-American leftism is creeping into L. R. is totally without foundation. Let us examine the first five issues of L. R. under Childs' reign (July through November, 1977). There have been a total of 24 articles in those issues, 18 of which would have to be considered unequivocally libertarian in content or concern. These are: the Rothbard article attacking Carter's energy proposals; an article by Roger MacBride outlining how controversial political ideas are repressed in America by federal campaign laws and other devices; a brief critique by Ralph Raico of historian Henry Steele Commager's love of statist Presidents; Charles Koch's case for a free market in energy; an interview with Friedrich Hayek; Rothbard's demolition of the myth of democratic socialism; John Kennedy Taylor's discussion of the attack on the First Amendment under the guise of fighting pornography; Roy Childs' slashing critique of Kevin Phillips' program for censorship of the media; Lawrence White's analysis of how the city government killed New York City; Don Lavoie's examination of socialism's retreat from radicalism; Henry Ferns' plea for a new radicalism in Britain to combat socialism; Tom Palmer and Tom Avery's summary of the 1977 LP convention; Jeff Riggenbach on why libertarianism so rarely appears in the media; Murray Rothbard on the tax revolt in Illinois; and David Brudnoy's expose of the *American Spectator's* obsession with attacking homosexuals.

This leaves a grand total of six articles in five issues which could possibly have raised Efron's fire: Joan Kennedy Taylor's piece on feminism; Seymour Melman (of SANE) on the war economy; Earl Ravenal on the relationship between liberty and "national security"; Joseph Stromberg's case for a non-interventionist foreign policy; Richard Barnett's dissection of the Committee on the Present Danger; and Murray Rothbard's attack on *Reason's* defense issue of July 1977.

Taylor's piece gives qualified praise to the feminist movement a la Betty Friedan for articulating the libertarian value of the individual leading his/her own life; this could hardly be considered a sop to leftist counter-culturists.

Melman's piece explains how the US has been transformed from a private capitalist economy to a war economy, that the latter is largely responsible for America's growing economic inefficiencies and capital formation problems, and its justification derives from erroneous Keynesian economics. This is a profoundly libertarian piece; rather than being an attack on business it demonstrates how state intervention, whether for "domestic" or "foreign" purposes, distorts genuine capitalism. This analysis can be used to show liberals that their dislike of military spending is inconsistent with their Keynesianism, and to show conservatives that their love of such spending is inconsistent with their alleged commitment to the free market.

Ravenal's article explains how the US government's obsession with national security and controlling the destinies of other nations leads to

assaults on liberty; once again, a libertarian, not a hatefilled or crudely "leftist" analysis.

Stromberg's article explains how libertarianism implies non-interventionism, and that the latter is part of the America tradition—sounds real real counter-culture, hate-oriented, anti-American, doesn't it?

The Barnett article soberly evaluates the unfounded claims of the Committee on the Present Danger and shows no evidence of a careening hatred for America; rather it is motivated by a desire to deflate the scare tactics which could precipitate nuclear war. Of course Barnett committed the apparently ultimate sin of being a co-funder of the left-wing think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies, but again we must cite Efron's statement that a leftist may very well speak the truth.

Lastly, Rothbard's piece argues that non-interventionism is a logical outgrowth of libertarianism; the only "leftist" statement I could find within it was the historical claim that the USA, not the USSR, is the major nuclear threat today. Unless Ms. Efron plans to give historical evidence that Rothbard is wrong, she should realize it is the height of chutzpah to claim that a denunciation of America's foreign policy is motivated by hate and designed to sap America's military strength.

Thus, after a thorough analysis of the first five issues of Childs' editorship, we find no evidence whatsoever (!!!) for Ms. Efron's vitriolic claims. We must sadly conclude that she is guilty of falsehoods and distortions; whether this was intentional or not one cannot be sure. However, since presumably Efron read L. R. before writing her article, one is tempted to believe that her campaign of falsification is in part a device to make libertarians shy away from engaging in radical anti-interventionist critiques of America's foreign policy, then one must protest that this is not reverence but a mind closed to the un-libertarian nature of America's foreign interventionism.

Efron's anti-anarchist polemic is on a par with her attack on L. R.: inaccurate and unfair. Rather than a huge gulf separating anarchists and limited governmentals—the former, according to Efron, being motivated by a burning desire to destroy everything American—the differences between the two sides are quite small. Tibor Machan, in a reply to a letter to the editor in the September 1977 issue of *Reason*, noted that "my own and Rothbard's position (on government) aren't that different," and this statement is merely a specific instance of the general state of the debate. In fact, in a recent debate between Professors Jeffrey Paul and Eric Mack on this issue at the American Association for the Philosophical Study of Society, it was hard to tell if the two sides really disagreed!

It is ridiculous to think that the small differences separating anarchists from minarchists would be such that the former were committed to a virulent anti-Americanism; if this were so, why are there Objective anarchists? I urge all open-minded readers of *Reason* to examine the writings of leading anarchists like Rothbard and Childs to see if they are simplistic, sympathetic with the counter-culture, and hostile to all aspects of American culture, as Efron claims. Even a cursory reading will show such claims to be laughable.

Ms. Efron's commitment to misreading and distorting facts apparently doesn't apply only to libertarians she disagrees with; it extends also to the neo-conservatives, whom she hasn't read very well. There is no way Kristol et al. could be considered our allies, but since I have an article analyzing and critiquing their views in the February and March issues of L. R.—an article I urge Ms. Efron to read, should she deign to pick up that journal—I will limit myself to three brief points. (1) Kristol supports censorship on the grounds that our "quality of life" needs improving, and has applauded the Prohibitionist movement for having a good conscience. (See *On the Democratic Idea in America*). In short, Kristol is one of those on the Right who believe that the State should help to inculcate virtue. That's an ally? (2) Kristol and other neo-conservatives are committed to welfare statism: they want the welfare state to be efficient and fiscally sound, but they have no objection to unemployment insurance, national health care, welfare and social security. (see *American Spectator*, November 1977). (3) Most important, the neo-conservatives are not fighters for capitalism and liberty. Their emphasis is on "practicality" not justice. Thus, they almost never invoke individual rights and their

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## Apologize! — (Continued From Page 4)

qualified support of capitalism is **not** based on moral grounds. Their main interest is not in **expanding** liberty so much as **opposing** extreme forms of statism like affirmative action or the push for "equality of result."

In conclusion, I call upon Ms. Efron to apologize to Childs and the other libertarians she has smeared; this way we can erase from the record the most vicious piece I have ever seen in a libertarian journal since I became a libertarian five years ago.

Department of Philosophy  
University of Minnesota □

### From . . . Joan Kennedy Taylor L. R. Not Leftist

I quarrel with the implication at the end of Edith Efron's **Viewpoint** (February, 1978) that **Libertarian Review** hides its libertarian values and alliances, does not wish to publish articles by those who support a limited-government libertarian position, or wishes to make an alliance with the Left. Any publication with the word "Libertarian" in its title is hardly hiding its light under a bushel, and the values of both civil liberties and economic freedom are constantly being reiterated and explained in LR's pages.

For those not familiar with the magazine, I would like to mention that the first four issues under Roy Childs' editorship contain not one but two negative analyses of democratic socialism, an interview with F. A. Hayek (a constitutional republican, in Miss Efron's words), an article by Roger MacBride (a constitutional republican), a twentieth-anniversary tribute to *Atlas Shrugged* by Ayn Rand (a constitutional republican) written by John Hospers (a constitutional republican). And a favorable review of *Affirmative Discrimination* by Nathan Glazer (a "neo-liberal") written by me (a constitutional republican).

There are also articles and editorials advocating such "conservative" positions as a free market in oil, the abolition of the minimum wage, the legalization of Laetrile, and the study of Austrian economics, all of which, for all I know, may have been written by anarchists, but certainly not with an eye toward conciliating the Left.

Since it is the articles on "social themes" as distinguished from "economic and political content" that Miss Efron feels to be "dependent upon the counter-culture" in these first few issues, and since I am the author of the only such articles in these first few issues, I would like to put forth my view of constitutional republicanism.

I happen to be a limited-government libertarian who is primarily interested in the study of the Constitution of the United States as it actually exists and is interpreted. Some **Reason** readers may have read an article of mine on the constitutional compromise over slavery, in Tibor Machan's *The Libertarian Alternative*. For the first three issues of the new LR, I have written articles on feminism, pornography, and affirmative action—counter-culture issues all—or are they?

My feminism piece was an analysis of Betty Friedan's growing awareness, as she chronicled it in her latest book, that Marxists and Maoists are against what she considers to be true feminism, that is, individualism and social freedom for both men and women; and her discovery that she is (in Miss Efron's words) a "reverent revolutionary." My piece on pornography was a discussion of the way in which the First Amendment has been interpreted by recent Supreme Courts and a defense of the absolutist position regarding it: this is the only constitutional right supported in absolute terms by members of the legal community today. My review of Nathan Glazer reported his brilliant legal analysis of what is wrong with affirmative action in busing, jobs, and housing, and his conclusion that "group rights" do not exist.

I consider that the most important point that I, as a constitutional republican, can make is that rights are an absolute that should limit government power in a Constitution. The next most important point is the libertarian corollary that human beings have both personal and economic rights. Unfortunately, a student of the American Constitution finds little in it to support absolute economic rights, and can only point out what

should exist in the area. Therefore, discussions of rights as they exist in the Constitution tend to seem to be left wing. This may also explain why there are no voices today on the conservative side of the legal spectrum for absolute restraints on government power. Conservatives in law tend to support strict Construction, states rights, and a "balancing test" in which individual rights are weighed against compelling government interests.

Rights are absolute and indivisible; libertarians cannot afford to sanction such a balancing test, or the liberal-conservative split that says the right to run a business is only a right-wing right, while the right to view pornography or take drugs is only a left-wing right. This view allows each side to advocate curtailing other people's rights for the "good" of society.

I do not claim that a fascination with legal issues is a necessary hallmark of constitutional republicanism; this is my particular view. But the fact that I am not only published in LR but have been made an associate editor should reassure your readers that there is no hostility toward the advocates of limited government in the editorial policy there. Roy Childs is an excellent editor who refuses to be identified exclusively with either the left or the right, and I think he deserves the support of all libertarians. So I would urge everyone who reads this to disobey Miss Efron and both buy and contribute to **Libertarian Review**.

New York City □

### From . . . Ross Levatter Without Having Read . . .

I do not want my motives for writing this to be misunderstood. I'm as free-market as they come. I'll square off against Edith Efron any day of the week in explaining the function of the pricing system and private property ownership in allocating scarce resources to their most value-productive ends, as well as detailing both the immorality and impracticality of a centralized economic system. I wax ecstatic over the virtues of the market-place every chance I get. I hate socialism — if pressed I will even assert it's anti-man and anti-life. But, even with so much in common with Ms. Efron, I do not understand her justification in writing, or **Reason's** justification for publishing, the issue of falsehood, non-sequiters, and overgeneralizations that comprised her February **Viewpoint**.

Let's set the record straight:

1) According to Dr. Rothbard, that amusing anecdote that starts off her article and constitutes her theme of rampant "non-compromise" is simply not true. Murray's never had a gun stuck in his ribs. This was certainly easy enough to check—have **Reason's** professional standards fallen so low that they make not even the feeblest attempt to confirm the claims they print?

2) The idea that Ralph Raico, Bill Evers, Roy Childs, Murray Rothbard, Leonard Liggio, etc., are deluded, blind followers of leftist revisionist historians is laughable. Virtually all of these people (all libertarians possessing high intelligence and integrity) are professional historians themselves, and even those who aren't, I suspect, have studied history far more carefully than Ms. Efron, who is forced to spend so much of her time watching television.

As Ms. Efron herself admitted, the issue is indeed contextual. None of these people have accepted leftist historical interpretations, they have only agreed with leftist-discovered facts, facts which are documented in far too much first-hand detail to deny. Is Ms. Efron totally unaware of the above people's contributions to libertarian revisionist history—of Child's pioneering work in historical methodology, of Rothbard's thesis on the relationship between history and ideology, or of Liggio's demonstration that Marxian social class theory is a stolen and distorted version of an earlier libertarian version of class analysis advanced by Nineteenth century French libertarians (e.g. C. Comte, C. Dunoyer, J. B. Say, A. Thierry), or of the Grinder/Hagel model of state capitalism? Does she really want to call this "blindly supporting" leftist historians?

And just what specific claims of her opponents does Ms. Efron object to? Does she think that third world citizens struggling to regain land taken from them by their government, are violating rights? Does she

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## Without Having Read —

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think that America should send aid to Israel, or risk nuclear war with Russia protecting it? Is Ralph Raico's pamphlet on gay-lib an example of anti-libertarian pandering to a statist collective? Is Murray Rothbard's "classic work" on Women's Lib an example of blindness to the coercive egalitarianism of that movement? Does Ms. Efron think that the CIA, FBI and Pentagon have not been violating individual rights or that dope addicts and pornographers are not worthy of having their rights respected? Does she still believe that Big Business is America's most persecuted minority?

3) Efron's claim that this ultimate evil of collaborating with the left logically stems from the "constitutional republicans" giving up the debate with the anarchists on the limited government question is overly bizarre. This is so obviously a strategic question, with archists and anarchists on both sides of the deal-with-the-left issue, that one almost marvels at Efron's ability to tie her particular pet hatred in with anything she happens to be writing on. Surely Reason's editors knew there was no necessary entailment in the anarchocapitalist position to deal with the left (at least one of the editors is a professional philosopher, supposedly trained in logic.) This merely confirms the growing suspicion that at least some Reason editors have lost all objectivity on the government question, and are willing to print anything as long as it is anti-anarchist.

And as for the "constitutional republicans" giving up—they did not give up: they were defeated. Where has there not been (pace Machan's denial) a defense of the minimal state that was not either replied to several times over (e. g. Nozick) or manifestly not worth replying to (e. g. Paul Beaird). On the other hand, for almost a decade there has yet to be an adequate response to the Childsean dilemma, outlined in Roy's now classic open letter to Ayn Rand. But, should they wish to, the "constitutional republicans" are welcome to reopen the debate—it's always good for a few more Ph.D. theses on the foibles of lesser minds. The differences between anarchist and anarchist intellectual defenses are well displayed in Efron's article: while Childs demonstrates from a logical paradigm that a government must necessarily violate rights, while Evers analyzes the adequacy of a title-transfer conception on contracts, while Rothbard grapples with the possibility of market defense and judicial services, Efron talks vaguely of "the value of nation, the necessity of a national culture," and the reverence of the limited government position. I'm truly surprised she left out hearth and home, motherhood and apple pie, etc. ad nauseam.

4) The fact that Efron's attack on *Inquiry* was based merely on pre-publication notes, and that she had not read any issues of *Inquiry*, would have led one to expect such a seasoned professional journalist to tone down her condemnation somewhat, in the name of objectivity, if not good manners. And lest anyone think that *Inquiry* remained unread simply because Efron couldn't obtain copies, let it be known that Roy Childs offered to bring her the first two issues and she simply refused to read them. (How reminiscent of Rand's condemnation of both Rawls' and Nozick's works without having read either of them!) How far need we look for an explanation of Reason's willingness to print an expanded Viewpoint condemning its two major competitors, written before one of them had even hit the stands?

5) Let's just look at the evidence and see how anti-libertarian the articles printed by *Inquiry* and *Libertarian Review* are (keeping in mind that *Inquiry* never advertised as a libertarian publication, and therefore cannot be said to misrepresent the libertarian viewpoint.) L. R. has denounced Carter's energy policy as fascism, bemoaned the turning of America's private capitalist economy into a perpetual war economy, advocated foreign non-interventionism, argued that "national security" claims and liberty don't mix, laughed at the power-hunger of recent Presidents, argued for a free market in energy, published Roger MacBride's piece on political repression of ideas, interviewed F. A. Hayek, claimed that socialism leads to brutality, detailed the bureaucratic killing of New York City, and brought sanity back to the question of U. S.-Soviet military balance. *Inquiry* has detailed several of Carter's misdeeds and special favors, discussed the tie-in between the CIA and the big banks, printed several columns by Thomas Szasz, argued against expanded defense spending, federal intervention in schooling and government subsidies to business, published a detailed analysis of the

story behind the Panama Canal treaty (better than Reason's coverage), given us brilliant arguments against gun control and regulation of professions, and given us non-hysterical analyses of the extent of Russia's threat to America. All in all, some excellent investigative journalism. And not terribly anti-libertarian, either. Condemnation of big government interfering with the voluntary lives of individuals—and yet, surprisingly, not even the hint that armed revolution is the answer, or that the solution, is to have the government pass restrictions more to our liking. Just what part of this program rubs Ms. Efron's constitutional republicans the wrong way?

And as long as we're comparing articles, let's not forget these libertarian favorites, courtesy of Reason: R. J. Rummel's piece suggesting that American defense spending be increased; Kizer's article claiming that when we drag unwilling "mental patients" away, kicking and screaming, for "treatment" we're not really violating their rights because they're "sick" and don't know any better, a piece written by two engineers who, in their off hours, discovered that those natural rights really aren't. And to continue the comparison, what are we to say of the libertarianism evinced by those writers of TV Guide's "News Watch" whom Ms. Efron is willing to collaborate with?

University of Cincinnati  
Medical School □

### From . . . Estelle Epstein Kill the Hate-filled Anarchists!

Edith Efron is right. Thank God that she has called all of us true libertarians to arms, to destroy the anarchists scum that has organized and run the libertarian movement for the last twenty years that we have looked the other way.

Look at what these accursed anarchists have done, ye gods! in the name of liberty. They have subverted our national culture and our deep love for the concept of the nation-State, and, I might add, of its sovereign Leader, the President. They have objected to the noble libertarian work of the CIA in bugging, wiretapping, and assassinating enemies of the American State. They have opposed the libertarian program of trying to bring freedom to Vietnam by destroying a large part of the population: in the great words of General Curtis LeMay, by "bombing them back to the Stone Age." These Commie-loving anarchists have even dared to oppose the draft, so necessary to preserve freedom and security to America. Hippies to the core, they have opposed the community consensus in outlawing drugs, pornography, and kinky s-x, all in the name of precious Liberty. Only anarchists and perverts could argue for such license; Miss Efron is dead right that no Constitutional Republican would ever do so! It is wonderful to see Miss Efron rehabilitate that genuine libertarian leader, Irving Kristol; she might also have added that Mister Kristol is a staunch advocate of both the draft and expanding censorship of immorality in literature and the arts.

I am also glad that Miss Efron zeroed in on the overwhelming importance of defending and nurturing the State of Israel—a task even more important for libertarians than exalting the American State. The key point is that rights to life, liberty, and property belong only to civilized men and women, that the Jews are eminently and superbly civilized, and the Arabs, being savages along with the rest of the dumb goyim, have no rights. QED.

I am delighted that Miss Efron did not allow any namby-pamby sense of privacy or ethics to prevent her from saving the Republic by disclosing private conversations by these anarchists. I, too, have heard such disclosures, and, inspired by Miss Efron's example, I am now willing to tell all. Murray Rothbard and Roy Childs have told me, in the strictest confidence, that they have personally murdered eighty-five Constitutional Republicans in their mad design to seize power over the libertarian movement, and then over the country. And they told me confidentially that their final aim was to take power and throw open the gates of America to the Cambodian Communists, whose first act would be to rape fair American womanhood!

(Continued On Page 7)

## Market Prospects for Nuclear Power

by Patrick L. Lilly

The ongoing debate over the future of nuclear-generated electrical power is a good example of how traditional political ideas obscure real political issues and lead to the erroneous conclusion that there are no acceptable solutions to our problems. Conservatives would have us believe that failure to go ahead with our existing nuclear plans will inevitably lead to virtual unavailability of electricity and a takeover by the Communists in the near future. From the left, we are told that unless we totally ban the development and use of nuclear reactors, nuclear bombs and reactor accidents will just as quickly render the world completely uninhabitable. Now, it should be clear that both these positions are extreme. What is less clear is that they both fail to address the real issues that the past quarter-century of nuclear development present us with. So let's look at the possibilities for nuclear development—or non-development—in terms of voluntarism and the free market for energy.

The problems we now have with nuclear energy technology can be traced directly back to the fact that from the very start, atom-splitting was an activity carried out only under the aegis of the federal government. Because of its close tie-in to that traditional statist bugaboo—"national security"—this monopoly was only slightly modified when research relevant to atomic power for peaceful uses was begun in the 1950's. As a result, through fiscal 1974, the government provided over \$8.25 billion, according to its own figures<sup>1</sup>, to directly subsidize research on and development of nuclear power stations—almost 47% of the total investment made in those stations. In 1975, the industry spent less of its own money to generate power from nuclear energy than the government did to support it<sup>2</sup>.

Yet, when a state law was proposed in 1976 giving the Colorado legislature veto power over the construction of nuclear plants which were deemed to be inadequately secured against various mishaps, these same companies and their sympathizers complained that this was unwarranted government interference with energy development. We were given the impression that valiant entrepreneurs were being frustrated by illogical regulations in their attempts to do us all a big favor. Nothing, of course,

could be further from the truth. The "valiant entrepreneurs" expected their schemes to be heavily subsidized, and their future profits absolutely guaranteed by the public, but declined to give that same public any role in the decisions to be made along the way.

It is not hard to see why the subsidization is necessary to nuclear development as we know it. As late as October, 1975, White House sources were parroting the same short-sighted drivel that we once heard about oil technology—that nuclear plants were "too...economically risky to be financed by the private sector alone"<sup>3</sup>. Pursuing that notion, the federal government has spent 25 years forcibly frustrating not only all alternative modes of developing usable nuclear energy, but all alternative sources of energy—such as solar—as well. This despite the

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### Hate-filled Anarchists —

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Fellow Constitutional Republican libertarians! We must act, and act now, to destroy the anarchist incubus in our midst! My one disagreement with Miss Efron's perceptive article is that her suggested measures are much too wishy-washy. Her prescriptions lack the high courage of her analysis. Boycotts and hate mail indeed! We must take up arms, and physically annihilate these monsters before it is too late! That is the true libertarian path, the path of a Constitutional Republican. Anyone who balks at such measures vital to our national security as unlibertarian damns himself immediately as one of the anarchist haters—and we know what to do to them! In the spirit of Edith Efron, I say happy hunting—with love and reverence, of course.

San Francisco, California □

From . . . Letitia Grant  
A Trotskyite Dupe

Edith Efron is either projecting, or deliberately hiding the truth. As Edith has told me in private conversation, it is Irving Kristol who stuck a gun in her ribs, to force her to go along with the neo-conservative line. Let us never forget that Mr. Kristol is a self-admitted "ex" Trotskyite Communist, and all true anti-Communists know that once a Trotskyite always a Trotskyite. Danny Bell, Marty Lipset, Nat Glazer, Norman Podhoretz, Milton Himmelfarb an all the rest are "ex" Trotskyites too. Edith has revealed to me that Mr. Kristol is the head of a sinister Trotskyite conspiracy to develop a phony "neo-conservatism" in order to split and demoralize the libertarian movement. It is unfortunate that, governed by fear and terror, Edith is allowing herself to become a conscious dupe and tool of Trotskyite Communist neo-conservatism.

Sacramento, California □

# IMPORTANT NEWS

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## Market Prospects —

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fact that, in 1974, a federally-authorized task force concluded that by the year 2000, solar technologies could provide four times as much energy as the most optimistic estimates of energy to be derived from nuclear fission, and that, at the most, the cost of development would be the same<sup>1</sup>.

As a result of these policies, the expected time when the enormous tax investment in nuclear power would begin to be repaid with cheap, abundantly available energy has been steadily pushed back, the yearly government outlay has steadily increased, and the unsolved problems associated with nuclear technology have steadily proliferated. Costs have risen astronomically not because of the emergence of requirements that nuclear developers refrain from polluting the world with their wastes (which have never been strictly enforced, anyway), but, rather, as a direct result of the government's tunnel-vision approach to the problem—and the inefficiency-encouraging "we can always get more money" attitude that it fosters.

It should be clear from the basic scientific considerations that nuclear reactors are at least theoretically capable of generating power with far less resource consumption than petroleum technology. But it is also clear from economic considerations that if nuclear power development were stripped of its subsidies tomorrow, it would come to a screeching halt the day after. How can we reconcile these facts? The answer is that by forcing nuclear research and development through the cumbersome process of "pilot studies", certification requirements, "demonstration plants", etc., the government and its monopoly-oriented cronies in big business have prevented nuclear technology from developing in a flexible way commensurate with people's changing needs and wants—that is, they have subverted the market. By requiring the taxpayers to take the developers' risks, the government has inhibited innovators from making investments—recoverable in the market—that would lead to safe and efficient nuclear power stations being built when and where needed.

Furthermore, despite this massive spoon-feeding of dollars from the public treasury, the companies and agencies who tell us that we "need" their version of nuclear power are actually further from finding economical ways to build nuclear plants and dispose of their wastes than they were 25 years ago. The ERDA spent almost \$88 million last year to try to find a way to get rid of the wastes that commercial plants are already producing<sup>2</sup>, although nuclear energy still supplies only about 1% of all our electricity, and no end to the waste disposal problem is even in sight.

In short, the existing nuclear industry is nothing but an economic creation of the federal government. That is why it has failed to produce the energy we need, and that is why it has produced dangerous wastes we don't need without any way to get rid of them. Ignoring the Rasdian maxim that "government research" is a contradiction in terms, the government has not only directly subsidized nuclear development, but has also enacted the infamous Price-Anderson Act, limiting the liability

of plant operators for any damage that escaped radiation, fires, or explosions might cause. A more complete deviation from market principles of research and implementation of new technologies could scarcely be imagined. Insurance companies quite sensibly refuse to insure nuclear developers at affordable rates because of the almost unlimited damage that their careless and short-sighted schemes could easily cause. The response of the industry was to transfer the risk, by statute, to the taxpayers, while keeping the (guaranteed) profits for themselves, all the while bemoaning regulatory interference with "energy independence".

Given the current high price of nuclear power plants—about \$1100 per kilowatt-hour of capacity for a light water reactor<sup>3</sup>—the size of known petroleum reserves, and the unknown potential of solar technologies, it seems unlikely that Americans will feel any "need" to turn, voluntarily, to nuclear energy as a major source of power anytime in the near future. Given the level of government involvement, it seems equally unlikely that they will be able to turn to nuclear energy should the need arise.

All that is needed for real energy independence is free world-wide trade to make the resources of the world available to the whole world. Remember here that we—America—still have the lion's share of the world's purchasing power. All that is needed for the rapid development of domestically-supplied energy technologies is to stop forcing the taxpayers to subsidize the schemes of Westinghouse and GE instead. The federal task force mentioned earlier concluded that solar collectors, developed for less than we plan to spend on nuclear plants, could provide electricity for about four cents per kilowatt-hour by 1995 for a total installation cost of less than \$2,500 per home. And, finally, all that is needed to make nuclear energy available when and if we do need it, in a form that is safe and at a price that people will be willing to pay, is to remove the security state's monopoly on the possession of the materials and information needed to carry out innovative and responsible development plans subject to the give-and-take of the free market.

### FOOTNOTES

- 1 Donnelly, W. H. "Federal Expenditures Related to Civil Nuclear Power, Fiscal Years 1948-74" (Congressional Research Service, The Library of Congress, manuscript of 22 June, 1973)
- 2 Welch, B. L. "Let the Dinosaur Die" CHEMTECH, May 1977
- 3 Office of the White House Secretary "Fact Sheet: Energy Independence Authority" (U. S. White House, 10 October, 1975)
- 4 Federal Energy Administration "Project Independence Blueprint, Final Task Force Report: Solar Energy" (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974)
- 5 Controller, U. S. Energy Research and Development Administration
- 6 Eng. News-Record, 1976

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# Strengthening the LP

National conventions and electoral campaigns are surely the most dramatic things about the Libertarian Party (or about any political party). But sometimes quiet and undramatic work in committee is of equal or greater significance. This is particularly true of the L.P., which, in contrast to other parties, is not merely interested in vote-getting or electing people to office. It is vitally concerned with transforming its ideas into political issues and hence into reality: hence the enormous importance of the L.P. platform. But it is also interested in a third endeavor: forging itself into a coherent instrument by which to effect libertarian social change.

The biennial national convention decides on the L.P. platform; local candidates are decided by each state, while Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates are chosen every four years at the convention; but it is the task of the national committee to decide upon and implement strategy for the party to achieve the aims set down by its platform and basic statement of principles. The national committee is chosen at every convention, half at large and the other half by regional groups of states. For its two-year term, the national committee is the democratically chosen voice of the Libertarian Party throughout the country.

Last summer, I had the honor of being elected as one of the at-large members of the national committee. This has given me a unique chance to report on the vitally important measures that the National Committee has taken to build a coherent party organization and to develop a strategic vision of how the party should go about effecting our common aims.

In the first place, the committee decided, at considerable cost in time and resources of its members, to double its number of meetings per year. We are now far more of an active and working committee. Secondly, and partly emerging as a result of more frequent meetings, we have developed a tradition which began at our Denver meeting in October 1977, of combining each meeting with speeches and workshops delivered at regional meetings of the LP held at the same time. In that way, national committee members can aid in improving party cohesion and spurring activism by members and sympathizers in the region of the meeting. So far, this had been done successfully at Denver, Atlanta, and Seattle.

Thirdly, the regional reps began to deliver reports on state activity in their region, thus giving national—and the other states and regions—important information on how each state party is doing and how it can be strengthened.

If the regional reps were to report on their particular regions, what work would there be for the at-large members to do? Carol Cunningham, an at-large member, decided to get the at-large members together before the October meeting at Denver to see what they might do. Out of that meeting emerged a new concept for the national committee: the adoption of a statement of purposes and strategy to guide the committee and the

party in the pursuit of libertarian goals. After lengthy discussion, the national committee adopted a slightly amended version.

And so the national committee now has a superb statement of purposes and strategy, a guideline for it to follow.

The following is the purposes and strategy resolution, in full:

### PURPOSES OF NATIONAL LP

#### I. To Educate

- a. To introduce the public to libertarian ideas and programs.
- b. To attract to our movement the type of intelligent, energetic, dedicated individuals who are capable of changing society.
- c. To educate our own members in developing their libertarian commitment and in applying libertarian principles to real world problems.

#### II. To Provide Political Activity for Libertarians

- a. To provide the means for useful and important political activity for libertarians to advance their cause in the real world.
- b. To reinforce libertarians' commitment by finding other libertarians in each area and helping them work together.

#### III. To Roll Back The State

- a. By influencing people, media, voters, opinion-molders.
- b. By pressuring politicians and other parties in a libertarian direction.
- c. By getting ourselves elected in order to be in a position to dismantle the State.

### STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL LP

I. We must hold high the banner of pure principle, and never compromise our goal—a world embodying the LP Statement of Principles. We must work to achieve our pure goal. The moral imperative of libertarian principle demands that tyranny, injustice, the absence of full liberty, and violation of rights continue no longer.

Any intermediate demand must be treated, as it is in the LP platform, as pending achievement of the pure goal and inferior to it. Therefore, any such demand should be presented as leading toward our ultimate goal, not as an end in itself.

Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty. Achieving liberty must be our overriding goal.

II. We must not commit ourselves to any particular order of destatization, for that would be construed as our endorsing the continuation of statism and the violation of rights. Since we must never

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# Block and the Rights of the Father

by Jocelyn Maxwell\*

In working towards a libertarian view of abortion, Walter Block developed some excellent arguments. Nevertheless, although he covered wide ground, I believe he overlooked some aspects of the rights of the various parties involved.

Because of the complexity of the issues relating to abortion I shall concentrate on a single facet only. I shall seek to establish the proposition that the foetus possesses no rights which it is entitled to assert against the mother.

My argument will be based on libertarian principles. These are that the individual possesses the right to self-ownership, including the ownership of his own body, his own labour and the fruits thereof. No one has the right to interfere coercively with the rights of any other. A person may voluntarily enter into contracts with others involving the use of his body, his labour and/or any other property rightfully acquired. All parties to contracts voluntarily entered into are morally obligated to abide by the terms of the contract.

I shall not attempt to argue whether or not the foetus is human. In order to do that it would be necessary to establish the attributes required to satisfy the definition of a human being. This approach is unsatisfactory, mainly because the attributes required to satisfy the definition can be disputed endlessly, but also because the attributes possessed by the foetus change with time. The difficulty in trying to establish the rights of an entity based on its attributes in this case is due to the fact that one would be discussing different entities at different stages of development.

In strict medical terminology the egg after conception, as it develops, is called a zygote, an embryo and finally a foetus. For the sake of brevity and also in order to maximise the status of the entity discussed, I have promoted the in-womb creature to foetus for the remainder of the discussion.

I shall assume that the foetus is a separate entity. If it is not, if it is simply a part of the woman, this argument ends forthwith for the part can claim no rights over the whole.

The basic difference between the status of the woman and the status of the foetus is that the woman's status is that of an independent being whilst the status of the foetus is that of a parasite. What is a parasite and what does it do? The Oxford Dictionary defines a parasite as an animal or plant living in or upon another and drawing nutriment directly from it. This describes concisely the actions of a foetus. A foetus lives within a woman and draws nourishment from her bloodstream.

To emphasize the nature of parasitism it is important to distinguish it from what it is not. It is the antithesis of independence. In its relationship to the host it is not therapeutic and not symbiotic (relating to the permanent union between organisms each of which depends for its existence on the other).

In fact a major characteristic of a parasite is that its existence is hostile to the well-being and health of the host. This must be so as the parasite takes nourishment which would otherwise go to protect, repair or fuel the body of the host. The parasite and therefore the foetus acts as an aggressor. It does not wait to be fed as does a baby or a child. It takes, even if by taking, deficiencies are created in the body of the woman. It therefore violates the property rights, i.e., the body and food input of the woman.

Because the actions of the parasite are inimical to the well-being of the host, the parasite has developed certain survival techniques that ensure it will not be expelled or ejected from the body of the host until its own needs have been met. These techniques may be listed as deception, invulnerability and persuasion.

Deception occurs where the host is unaware he or she is carrying any other creature. Therefore any actions towards expulsion will not occur. In the early stages of pregnancy it could be argued that the foetus uses deception to its advantage as it does not herald its existence in any conspicuous manner. With regard to the use of deception until the point of birth of a human baby, such cases today are rare but still do occur.

Invulnerability becomes a survival technique for a parasite when the host becomes aware of its existence but is unable to rid itself of the parasite without causing death to the host. Until about a hundred years ago this was the major survival technique of the foetus. There was no way a woman could rid herself of it without seriously endangering her own life.

Persuasion is also possible. Thus even with an unplanned pregnancy, the existence of the foetus may be persuasive enough to convince a woman she desires a child, and the pregnancy becomes a source of pleasure both present and anticipated. Today when technology has advanced to the stage where an abortion poses relatively little danger to the woman, persuasion is the only technique the foetus can rely upon.

By stating that the foetus acts as an aggressor in taking nutriment from the woman, this is not to state that the actions of the foetus are "irrational". Quite the contrary. It is bound to act the way it does because it has no other means of survival. If the woman wishes to bear a child she will, for the sake of both herself and the child, use every care to ensure that her own diet is adequate to the task of both maintaining her own body and building up the tissues of the foetus. To be adequate this diet will need to be more generous than before pregnancy, particularly in proteins and those vitamins which act as catalysts in tissue building. The assault on her own body should not be underestimated if through ignorance or lack of money she does not or cannot eat adequately. There are a whole host of ailments, some of them permanent, all resulting from food deficiencies, which will afflict her if she fails. The most severe of these is toxemia which can lead to eclampsia, convulsions and death. Toxemia can develop late in pregnancy and is generally acknowledged to be the result of multiple deficiencies. It is a condition associated only with pregnancy.

Thus the aggressive role of the foetus should not be underestimated. I am therefore bound to say that Walter Block's description of the foetus as a trespasser or an unwelcome guest (where the foetus is not wanted) is too mild by far. Those words conjure up the picture of a creature merely taking up room on property when it is not wanted. A ruthless raider of the larder would be a more apt description, for this is what a foetus does at the same time that it is enjoying shelter.

Because of the aggressive actions of the foetus it cannot claim the right to remain undisturbed within the womb until birth. To argue otherwise, to argue that the foetus does have this right, is to argue that because of its very existence, the mother must be slave to the foetus. Slavery is never justified, whether it be slavery for a lifetime, a number of years, nine months or nine seconds. We do not condone slavery on the grounds that the slave will be freed after an allotted time has passed.

There can be no question of contractual commitment to the foetus. As Walter Block has pointed out, a person cannot enter into a contract with someone who doesn't exist. One cannot contract with a nonexistent x that x be brought into existence.

The argument for equality of rights of fetuses is also a valid refutation of the theory that the woman has an obligation to the foetus because of her own voluntary acts.

This argument is as follows. The rights of all fetuses are equal. For it cannot be argued that the rights of the foetus conceived in rape are less than the rights of the foetus conceived as the result of a voluntary action. A woman is under no obligation to a foetus conceived in rape on the grounds of her own voluntary actions. But the rights of all fetuses are equal. Therefore a woman is under no obligation to a foetus however

(Continued On Page 3)

\*Jocelyn Maxwell is Education Director of the Progress Party of Queensland, Australia. Maxwell writes that the article expresses "my personal beliefs and are not necessarily the beliefs of the Progress Party, which is split on the issue of abortion."

## Rights of the Father —

(Continued From Page 2)

conceived. This will be so even if her own actions preceding pregnancy involved gross negligence.

Those who are concerned that a person acts responsibly at all times and bears the consequences of his or her own actions, and this surely includes all libertarians, often express a sense of injustice on occasions where women have appeared to act thoughtlessly, have become pregnant and have then, sought an abortion. They argue that she is attempting to escape the consequences of her own voluntary actions. But she is not doing so unless she gets the state to finance her abortion. The pregnancy is the consequence of her actions as well as the attendant necessity to seek an abortion with all the expense, pain and inconvenience involved. If I stupidly risk life and limb by climbing a tree which is beyond my capabilities to climb, and I fall and break my leg, the principle that one must bear the consequence of one's own actions does not require me to drag myself around for the rest of my life with a broken, unset leg. I am entitled, surely, to seek medical aid, providing I am willing to pay for it.

Of course, if a woman participates in sexual activity when stranded on a desert island where there are no medical facilities, the consequence could well be carrying the pregnancy through to term, provided she can survive up to that point. But these are not the circumstances in which most women find themselves.

As I have stated previously, to argue that the woman has no right to expel the foetus from her body is to argue that the woman should be slave to the foetus.

No doubt there will be many that argue that because the act of expelling brings about death, because the foetus cannot live outside the body, slavery is justified because it is the alternative to death of the foetus. But would these people argue similarly in other circumstances? Let me draw an analogy.

If there is a right to stay, there is a right to enter, or to re-enter a place once vacated. Suppose a technique which overcame the problem of changed breathing methods could be developed whereby a premature baby, battling to live, had a better chance of survival if re-inserted in the womb. Would any one argue it should be so returned despite objections of the mother?

If a dialysis machine were not available and a technique had been developed whereby dialysis of one person's blood by another could be achieved by a linking of bloodstreams for a few hours every day, should the mother (or father) of the person whose kidneys had failed be forced, if they were not willing, to undergo this procedure?

A very simple analogy of a case where one person makes use of part of another's body is a blood transfusion. Blood transfusions in many instances are life saving, but the contributing of blood is voluntary, not compulsory.

If the foetus has no rights on the grounds of its parasitism, no right to resist expulsion from the womb, does it then follow that the question of whether it should stay or go rest entirely with the mother?

Here, unfortunately, the rights of another party must be introduced. I say unfortunately because this admission of the rights of another adds greatly to the complexity of the whole issue, and makes the justice or otherwise of an act of abortion all the more difficult to determine. If only it were not so. But the heads-in-the-sand attitude of a large number of pro-abortionists on this matter does I believe undermine the strength of their own case.

If the foetus has no right of self-ownership on the grounds of parasitism, it is then the property of someone else. It is the property of the mother if she has been the victim of rape, if the man involved has expressly stated his disinterest in having children or has negated any rights he might have by his subsequent disregard for the woman once pregnant.

In all other cases the foetus is the joint property of the parents, and the question of whether pregnancy is to be terminated should be one for them to decide.

The grounds for the man concerned to have a say in the matter stem from the rights of an investor in a joint project. It would be difficult for a

woman to argue that when fatherhood was voluntary and not forced, the foetus was not the property of the father as well as the mother. Are his time and his energy worth nothing, not to mention the contribution of his sperm? In fact there is no way the foetus can be brought into existence without his participation. It may seem strange how seldom we hear men asserting their rights to be fathers. The reason of course is that those men who have campaigned most vigorously against abortion have nearly always done so in the name of the right of the foetus. In doing so they have virtually negated the right of the mother. Thus they cannot in logic assert that the father has rights. To concoct a principle whereby the father and the foetus are united to enslave the mother would be too much even for the most ardent male chauvinist to embrace. Therefore, ironically, it must be left to those who are basically pro-abortion in their beliefs to assert the principle that the father does have rights.

In the case of joint-ownership of foetus, problems arise when one parent puts a negative value on the foetus and the other parent values it positively.

To digress here, the different roles of the sexes and the nature of the sex act make possible a type of victimisation which is specific for each sex. These types of victimisation stem from the fact that rape is possible, pregnancy resulting from rape is possible, rape in all except rare instances is impossible to prove and fatherhood resulting from either rape or voluntary participation is impossible to prove.

If a woman is raped she is the victim of an injustice. She is the victim of an even greater injustice if she becomes pregnant as a result of rape.

A man becomes the victim of an injustice, if, following an agreement with a woman that she will bear his child, that woman on becoming pregnant has an abortion.

Sadly these injustices, even when acknowledged, have been accompanied by very little compassion from either sex when dealing with the other. This may be due to the fact that it is difficult to comprehend the horror of something that could never physically happen to oneself. There may be good practical reasons for dwelling on a horror that could happen, if for no other reason than it helps to ensure that steps will be taken to avoid it. But to dwell on something unpleasant that is either impossible or so unlikely as to be beyond the realms of possibility is normally a fruitless exercise. For this reason how many women are aware of the intensity of the sense of loss a man can feel in cases where a foetus he has fathered has been aborted, even in cases where that particular pregnancy was unplanned? Horrors which are specific to a woman are, in addition to rape, being forced to undergo a pregnancy she does not want and losing, through accident, a foetus she does not want to lose. The event of losing a foetus that is precious to her not through accident but human design i.e. abortion, is, because in the realms of science fiction, inconceivable to a woman. Yet this, in essence, is what can happen to a man. Similarly, because it is an impossible event for them how many men are completely oblivious to the horrors of an unwanted pregnancy? Startling evidence of the latter was offered in Karl Pflock's article entitled "It's a Matter of Life and Death" in "Reason", April, 1978. ("A normal pregnancy requires no extraordinary action on the part of existence, something any sensible person does anyway. She is not required to sacrifice herself to benefit another.")

To deal with these injustices which are specific for each sex, each has sought remedies through the law to strengthen their own position. Women demand that the law act more strongly against rapists. Men have sought to outlaw abortion. But it is because of the difficulty of proof of the actual circumstances surrounding the sex act that the law is an inappropriate vehicle for remedying the various injustices perpetrated by a member of one sex against a member of the other.

It is because of this, because of the possibility that the woman's participation in the sex act was not voluntary, that the law has no place in prohibiting abortion and should leave the question entirely to the woman. It goes without saying, of course, that if she wishes to terminate a pregnancy she will require the voluntary co-operation of a medical practitioner. Few doctors will consent to terminate late in a pregnancy.

What of a hypothetical case when a man secures a woman's written agreement to bear his child and the woman subsequently seeks an abortion? Should the law then grant an injunction preventing it? Depending on the terms of the contract, an injunction could well be

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## Assassination Revisionism

### I: LARRY FLYNT: OR, A LONE NUT STRIKES AGAIN

Someone has, indubitably, shot and almost assassinated Larry Flynt, creator and publisher of *Hustler* and other publications. Why did he do it? The Establishment theory is that a lone nut Christian did it, and indeed they picked up an authentic Christian at the scene of the crime, only to find that he was not the assassin.

Let us examine the alternative possible theories: (1) the Lone Nut Christian. But why would the lone Christian, however nutty, try to kill Larry Flynt shortly after he had converted from pornography to Jesus? Maybe before, but after Larry saw the light? Why would a Christian kill a newly found brother? Of course, he might have his doubts, as we all may, about the sincerity of Brother Flynt's conversion. But this way madness lies, for surely we can't kill all suspect newcomers to a proselytizing Church. And if someone like Chuck Colson remains unscathed, why pick on poor Flynt? And so soon? (2) Flynt might have been shot by a fellow pornographer, sore at Larry's desertion of their common cause to that of

Christianity. Dubious, for after all pornographers tend to be more interested in moolah than in ideology or solidarity, and so any pornographer would probably bid good riddance to a formidable competitor. And that leaves (3), the fascinating hypothesis, somehow neglected in press speculation, that Flynt's shooting may have nothing whatever to do with Christianity, but is rather related to the fact that only a few days previously, Larry Flynt had taken out ads all over the country, offering no less than \$1,000,000 reward "for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone involved in the planning or execution of President Kennedy's murder, or for information which makes it possible for the truth to come out." Oho! The Kennedy Assassination redivivus! In fact, Flynt had become such an Assassination buff that he had recently purchased the *L. A. Free Press*, and made the veteran revisionist Mark Lane the major editor of a new supplement, or Special Reports, on the Kennedy murder. The first supplement had just appeared on the stands. There have been so many murders, and mysterious deaths, surrounding

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## Block on Abortion

by Roger E. Bissell

In his article in the September 1977 *Libertarian Forum*, Walter Block correctly argues that the foetus is a human life—i.e., that it is alive and is human—and not merely a potential, but an actual human life (even from the two-cell stage of development, immediately after conception). He further demonstrates that "the foetus conceived in rape has many (or as few) rights as any other," that all foetuses are created equal, giving mothers of such foetuses no special right to abortion not possessed by other pregnant mothers.

Mr. Block wisely distinguishes normal, healthy pregnancy from "medically contra-indicated pregnancy," in which the mother's life is in danger. The latter, he shows, is a true "life-boat situation," where only one of them (at best) can survive. The mother is justified in having an abortion by her right to self-defense, to the preservation of her life in the face of the mortal threat (which continuing to carry the foetus would pose).

If only Mr. Block had stopped at this point, all would be well. But he goes on to say that a woman may have an abortion for any reason which seems compelling to her, any strong desire not to carry the foetus, not merely the fear of death. Interestingly, part of his preceding discussion provides a clue to just where his argument went off course and how it can be corrected.

Arguing from the analogy between a homeowner or host and the pregnant mother, Mr. Block claims that "if the foetus is unwelcome, it then becomes a trespasser inside the mother's body." What does one do with trespassers? By right, one can ask them to leave, or can otherwise remove them; for they cannot insist on a long-term sanctuary, nor is one obliged to provide it.

What of the helpless individual? The host, while not obligated to care for him, is certainly not entitled to kill him either. "What he can do," says Block, "is transport (him) to the 'church steps' or the modern equivalent, in as gentle a manner as possible." The homeowner may carry him to some "public meeting place where unwanted (are) commonly left for people to pick them up ...."

It now seems reasonable to ask: Why not extend this argument to the case of the foetus and the pregnant mother? Presumably because the length of time required is considerably greater for the pregnant mother to transport the nine-month dinner guest (her foetus) to the 'church steps,' than for other hosts with already physically separate individuals trespassing on their property.

Let's explore this facet of Mr. Block's argument some more. He claims that "a dinner guest has no right to insist upon a nine-month visit." Yet, if you invite a person out for an airplane ride, according to Block, your guest does have the right to be transported back to the ground (or at least

given a parachute), and not to be evicted from the plane at an altitude of 10,000 feet simply because one desires that he no longer remain in one's property.

True, plane rides are relatively short, but what of extended ocean voyages of several days or weeks, with no life preservers or lifeboats, through shark-infested waters? What of space voyages of several weeks, months or years? Is one any less entitled to have transport back to safety, rather than immediate eviction as a "trespasser," regardless of the consequences, merely because the required period of time to do so is longer?

It should be clear that the length of time one is morally obligated to spend in transporting an unwanted guest to the "church steps" is the minimum necessary time to do so. There is no arbitrary cutoff point beyond which one is no longer obligated to make an effort.

Naturally, as technology progresses, this minimum necessary period of time will be drastically shortened. As Mr. Block points out, life-preserving methods of removing foetuses will allow the unwilling mother to make the trip to the "church steps" relatively swiftly.

Even at present, it should be recognized that full-term pregnancy could be a lower-cost option of discharging one's unwanted guest, than is abortion, were one only permitted to sell one's guardianship rights over the baby on an open market. Here, then, is yet another example of state intervention creating a victimless crime, distorting and limiting the options open to individuals, while not only permitting the murder of non-life-threatening foetuses to go unpunished, but sanctioning such murder as well.

**The Editor Replies:** In his critique of Block's article on abortion, Mr. Bissell continues Block's point about the unwanted dinner guest, and escalates it to a ship or space voyage. Actually, the proper analogy would not be a dinner guest or an invited traveller who overstays his welcome, but a stowaway who aggresses against the ship or plane owner from the very beginning. But the important point is something else that needs saying: It may well seem like overkill, even if punctiliously correct from the point of view of libertarian law, to toss a stowaway overboard. But just as it is a far greater crime to murder or assault someone than to steal his property, so it is a far graver trespass against someone to invade his or her body than it is to stow away on his property. The fetus is an invader of, an aggressor against, a woman's body, and hence insisting on immediate ejection does not carry the same bizarre connotation as tossing a stowaway overboard. A woman should have the right to eject an unwanted parasite within her body as rapidly as possible—whether or not the parasite is considered "human". □

## Rights of the Father —

(Continued From Page 3)

justified. Certainly in the case of a written agreement the man would be justified in seeking damages if the abortion were carried out.

The determining of rights in cases of joint property ownership is always complex, and I do not wish to go beyond this point.

I merely wish to demonstrate that on the question of abortion, on moral grounds there are the rights of the two parties to be considered, the man and the woman. There is no one else.

On legal grounds, except in cases where there is a written agreement stipulating otherwise, the question of abortion should be one for the woman alone to decide.

### The Editor Replies:

Jocelyn Maxwell's cogent and hard-hitting article regards the fetus as not simply a parasitic aggressor and trespasser, but also as a ruthless and rapacious killer. This goes a little further than I would in characterizing the fetus, but it is an interesting and even charming contribution to the ever-growing libertarian dialogue on abortion.

Maxwell's stress on the rights of the father does indeed raise a neglected and interesting point, but I think the point is totally mistaken. In the first place, Maxwell suffers from an erroneous theory of contract, so that a purely written promise, one that does not transfer title to

property, is held to give the father some sort of property right in the mother's body.

On the contrary, I believe that the mother's right to her own body is inalienable, so that any previous surrender of such right can be revocable at will. Neither does the father have any sort of "moral right" to the fetus, as Maxwell believes he does even in the absence of an agreement. It seems to me monstrous that the father's donation of sperm should give him some sort of title to the internal organs and processes of the mother's body. Again, this violates the basic libertarian axiom of self-ownership, and each person's absolute ownership of his or her own body.

What about the baby after birth? Who, the father, the mother, or both jointly, should have the right of trustee-ownership, or guardianship, over the baby? It seems to me that, legally, the mother should have the sole trusteeship right to the baby (though, morally, there may be a good case for jointly-shared responsibility). This sole right of the mother rests on two points. First, the mother is the only evident and clear parent. Biologically, her parentage is the only one that is clear-cut; who the father is, is doubtful and murky, and surely does not have the evidential certainty of motherhood. In some cases, even the mother doesn't know for sure. But let us assume that blood tests or whatever can some day tell with certainty who the father is. In that case, second, the ownership of the baby should still rest with the mother alone. For, on homesteading principles, the mother is the first "occupier" of the fetus. Or, to employ a bad pun, on Lockean principles the mother and not the father "mixed her labor" with the fetus. Legally, then, the mother should have the sole right to trustee ownership of the baby. □

## Assassination —

(Continued From Page 4)

the assassination of Kennedy and Oswald (and of Officer Tippitt), that we would have to go with this unsung hypothesis as at least a likely explanation.

The press has hinted at a fourth explanation for those who cannot quite swallow the Lone Nut Christian theory: (4) that the Mafia gunned down Flynt for interfering with their magazine distribution monopoly. But the very raising of the point about the Mafia is dangerous for the Establishment, because there is much evidence that the Mafia was hip-deep in the Kennedy Assassination itself. So that is not likely to be a well-publicized theory.

Larry Flynt adds one more name to a growing roster of mysterious and unsatisfactorily explained political assassinations and quasi-assassinations in recent years:

John F. Kennedy; Lee Harvey Oswald; John Connally; and Officer J. D. Tippitt—all killed or wounded on or around Nov. 22, 1963 in Dallas. Robert F. Kennedy; Martin Luther King; George C. Wallace; and Malcolm X. All of these were ostensibly killed or wounded by lone nuts, with the exception of Malcolm, where the top "conspirator" claims that his fellow convicts had nothing to do with the murder. And then, on the possibly political level, there are the murders of Sam Giancana and Johnny Roselli, both supposed to be purely gangland killings of undetermined and trivial origin.

### II. THE HOUSE COMMITTEE

How goes the House Select Committee on Assassinations? The answer, unsurprisingly, is: not very well. It looks as if the well-orchestrated ouster of Richard Sprague early last year has drawn the Committee's teeth and assures yet another governmental whitewash of the Kennedy-Oswald and King killings.

The L.A. Free Press Special Report Number One, co-edited by Assassination Revisionist Mark Lane, reports that, when Rep. Thomas Downing (D., Va.) established the Committee, another leading revisionist, Washington lawyer Bernard Fensterwald, Jr., was offered the key post of chief counsel. Fensterwald allegedly told Lane that the CIA had levelled a death threat at Fensterwald if he should take the post, and that three other attorneys had been similarly warned off. After Fensterwald then turned down the post, it went to the abrasive, dynamic Richard Sprague, the successful prosecutor of the famous Yablonski murder case at the United Mine Workers.

After Sprague showed signs of taking the job seriously, he was subjected to an unprecedented, and seemingly coordinated smear-campaign in the press, after which he was fired by the new Committee chairman, Rep. Henry Gonzalez (D., Tex.) after almost hysterical personal attacks directed by the Congressman against Sprague. Was there any "old boy" Texas influence working on Gonzalez?

Since then, the Committee has been quiet, which L. A. Free Press hopes is a sign that the Committee is doing effective work behind the scenes. But the signs are not good, if we can credit the report in the Feb. 20 issue of *New Times*. For, apparently, the new chief counsel, G. Robert Blakey, has been so low-key that he has returned almost half a million dollars to the Treasury as unneeded. Many staff members have complained that Blakey's action has pulled punches in the investigation and has crippled its effectiveness.

There are more sinister aspects to Blakey's behavior than simple penny-pinching. For as soon as he took over the post, Blakey cracked down on his staff, required them to sign agreements that they would not acknowledge their jobs at the committee without permission. Violation will bring instant dismissal and a \$5,000 fine.

More troubling than the mere martinet aspects of the Blakey regime is its attitude toward the CIA, the self-same agency that allegedly threatened Fensterwald. For Blakey has refused to allow access to classified material to any staff member who cannot get CIA clearance. Not only that: any staff members who do read CIA documents must submit any notes they make to the Agency for review! Blakey's refusal to call former CIA director and admitted perjurer Richard Helms before his committee, is of a piece with a statement he once made about U.S. intelligence agencies: "You don't think they'd lie to me, do you? I've been working with those people for twenty years." Hmmm.

There is also an ambivalence in Blakey's attitude toward organized crime—which possibly had important links to the assassination (pace Giancana, Roselli, and, especially, Jack Ruby). After building a reputation as a crusader against racketeers, including a stint as Special Prosecutor in Bobby Kennedy's organized crime strike force, Blakey weighed in with an anti-free press affidavit supporting La Costa Ranch in its libel suit against *Penthouse Magazine* in the winter of 1976. Things get curiously and curiously.

At any rate, we may now judge that another Warrengate is in the works, that the Committee may eventually peter out with yet another rubber-stamp of the Oswald-Ruby-lone nuts thesis. So what else is new? □

## Strengthening the LP —

(Continued From Page 1)

be in the position of advocating the continuation of tyranny, we should accept any and all destatizing measures wherever and whenever we can.

III. The goal of liberty must always be the important consideration, not organizations or activities themselves. In short, the means must never be allowed to become ends in themselves.

IV. Since our goals and principles are radical enough, we should avoid any extra alienation of people by the form of our presentation or by our image. In short, our content should be embodied in an image appropriate to our status as a national party aiming to become a new majority. We must bear in mind, however, that we must always distinguish ourselves from the conservative movement and emphasize that we are not on the left-right political spectrum.

V. There should be no endorsement of candidates who are not libertarians.

VI. A detailed study should be made of setting up guidelines for LP candidates who will be elected to administrative or legislative offices. Should they accept salaries, should they vote consistently on every measure, etc?

The statement of purpose is straight forward: the party's aims are to educate itself and the public, to apply libertarian principles to real problems, to provide useful political activity, and to roll back and dismantle the State.

The statement of strategy deserves to be underscored. We are now committed to pure principle, and to our consistent goal as our overriding objective. In presenting any intermediate demands, we must always be clear that these are only way-stations to the ultimate goal. Above, all, the Libertarian Party is now committed firmly and squarely against "obligatory gradualism," against the corrupting view that we should prefer a more gradual rather than a more rapid pace toward liberty. To repeat the LP nat com's statement of purposes: "We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty. Achieving liberty must be our overriding goal." In keeping with this perspective, we then go on to conclude that "we must not commit ourselves to any particular order of destatization,"—to any four-year plan—"for that would be construed as our endorsing the continuation of statism and the violation of rights." In contrast to such a plan of ordered gradualism, and "since we must never be in the position of advocating the continuation of tyranny, we should accept any and all destatizing measures wherever and whenever we can."

With this statement, the LP now sets itself firmly against all forms of preferential or obligatory gradualism, against the sort of surrender of principle which says that we should not cut Tax A by more than X%, or that we should not repeal statist measure B until we can repeal C. Similarly, it sets itself against any sort of "alternative budget", in which libertarians declare how much each organ of government should be spending in the coming years. For if we name a particular figure, the implication is that this would be better than any alternative lower figure, which of course undercuts and contradicts libertarian principles. We will

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## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

**High Anxiety.** Dir. by Mel Brooks, with Mel Brooks and the gang. There is no such thing as a bad or a dull Mel Brooks movie. His films are either blockbusters in their consistent hilarity (*The Producers*, *Blazing Saddles*), or else merely first-rate, quieter and with a consistent charm (*Twelve Chairs*, *Young Frankenstein*). Brooks' latest, *High Anxiety*, is merely first-rate. It is a charming valentine and tribute to Brooks' cinematic hero, Alfred Hitchcock, and the comic-suspense plot is chock-full of familiar references to Hitchcockian touches (in *Vertigo*, *Psycho*, *Foreign Correspondent*, etc.) Brooks plays a prominent psychiatrist (a funny situation in itself) who takes over the shady Institute for the Very, Very Nervous in California.

The usual Brooks crew is on hand, ably seconded by Cloris Leachman as the new-Nurse Fletcher, and the charming Howard Morris as Brooks' psychiatric mentor. One of the great bits in the movie is Morris providing an instant psychoanalytic cure for Brooks' height phobia. The undoubted high point of the film, however, is Brooks' splendid imitation of Frank Sinatra singing the title song, *High Anxiety*. Brooks provides the definitive comic imitation of Sinatra, and that alone is worth the price of admission.

**Julia.** Dir. by Fred Zinnemann. With Jane Fonda, Vanessa Redgrave, and Jason Robards. Being left-wing does automatically disqualify a movie from being a superior film. *Z* and the *Battle for Algiers* are cases in point. But such a picture, since it is a "message movie", has to be lucid and skillfully directed.

*Julia* is just the opposite. It is not only left-wing; it is an abysmal movie, which has only ridden to fame and fortune by virtue of its fuzzy leftist credentials.

The problem with *Julia* is that it is all shot from the point of view of the Lillian Hellman character (Jane Fonda). And while the film is directed with extreme and almost sickening reverence for La Hellman—with constant boasting by her about her own brilliance, sensitivity, great writing,

and social consciousness—it is clear from the evidence of the film that Hellman was nothing less than a nitwit. Fonda-Hellman wanders through the murk of Europe without knowing a thing about European politics, except for being vaguely anti-Nazi and in favor of "workers". The problem is that, four decades later, Hellman seems to know no more than she did at the time, and so the audience doesn't know what's going on either. Who was the mysterious man who paid for Hellman's hotel room in Vienna, and why did he do it? What happened to Maximilian Schell? What happened to Vanessa Redgrave's daughter? Who knows, and who cares?

For no one can really care about any of these people, since they are only shadowy reflections of Fonda-Hellman, and of her silly and ignorant outlook on the world. Everyone else is there only as pale wraiths reacting to the narcissistic Hellman, and this includes, not only Robards-Dashiell Hammett, but even the eponymous Julia, who is on screen only a small portion of the time, and is confined to smiling a proletarian, anti-Nazi grin and looking fragilely heroic. The leftists in *Julia* are all good, insufferably good people, while the vaguely limned right-wingers are scoundrels who don't love their children, are interested only in money, and are the sort of people (indeed are the people) who sleep with their sisters. "Loaded" hardly suffices to summarize this drivel.

In addition, to all this, *Julia* is a slow, draggy, incredibly pretentious picture. As a veteran moviegoer, I could spot the way the whole movie was going to go from the very first murky and pretentious scene, where Fonda sits on a rowboat in a lake, while her voice utters sappy platitudes (If she doesn't exactly say "life is a river", she just as well could have).

Strip away the current Hellman cult, strip away the fuzzy leftism and the fact that Hellman was a Stalinist when it counted, and *Julia* would never have left the studio. If anyone should have the misfortune of finding himself seeing this movie, he might inject some interest into the proceedings by pretending that Hellman was pro-facist and then contemplate whether this turkey ever would have been produced.

## Strengthening the LP —

(Continued From Page 6)

seek and accept reductions of statism wherever and whenever we can, and we will never endorse its continuation in any area.

The rest of the statement presents a cautionary reminder that liberty is the goal, and that no organization, however worthy (including the LP itself), can ever be allowed to become ends in themselves to the neglect of our primary goal. It also points out that since our principles are radical, it is senseless—in view of our task of becoming the majority party—to add extra alienation by presenting a needlessly wild image.

Last fall, I submitted a paper "On Coalitions and Alignments" to the national committee for its consideration. After being printed in *LP News* and being subject to discussion and consideration for several months, the resolution was passed by the National Committee this May. (For the full text, see *LP News*, Jan.-Feb. 1978).

The resolution "On Coalitions and Alignments" begins by reiterating that libertarians must cleave to pure principles, while still acting effectively in the real world, and that it attempts to apply such a strategic policy to the question of coalitions.

In sum, the resolution says as follows: coalitions with non-libertarians are right and proper, provided they are on **specific issues** that will advance libertarian positions. Such coalitions must never be permanent organizational alignments. "We should always remember, then, that coalitions are for limited purposes, and that we should never extend uncritical support to groups who happen to be our allies on particular issues." Next, the resolution states that it is legitimate for LP organizers and activists to join, as individuals, non-libertarian organizations with whom we have ad hoc, specific issue coalitions. But there is a prudential proviso: that the LP activist should not join an organization that is so out of public favor that such membership would be counter-productive for the

movement (e.g., joining the Ku Klux Klan, even if it happens to be libertarian on one or two issues.)

Should the LP accept monetary contributions regardless of source? Yes, but with two provisos, one moral and one prudential. The moral: that we accept no money from the State, whether it be the CIA or the federal elections machinery. The prudential: that we do not accept the money if it would seriously embarrass us in the goal of becoming a majority movement in America (e.g., from the Ku Klux Klan.)

With whom should we form coalitions? Whether we form them left, right, or center on specific issues, it is always important to remember that the coalition be **against** the State, and not with it. Says the nat com resolution: "As an example of coalitions **not** to form, many conservative libertarians, in the late 1960's, allied themselves with the police and with government-run and financed universities, and against the student rebels against the statist institutions."

The resolution goes on to say that the potential libertarian constituency in America is all net taxpayers. It adds that as statism continues to founder and collapse, we can expect that even many government employees will become libertarians. Our policy on them: "These government employees should be welcomed in the libertarian movement, but we must always realize that the abstract convictions of these members continually cut against their own personal economic interests." We must beware when people's economic interests are for more government and therefore greater tax revenue.

The resolution proceeds to point out that while *ad hoc* coalitions on specific issues may be formed across the political spectrum, that "we must be far more wary of coalitions with **conservatives** than with other groups." Why this extra problem with conservatives? Because: "(1) most of the media and the public perceive us as being a variant of

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# Strengthening the LP —

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extreme conservatism' ... (2) ... the media and intellectuals tend to be anti-conservative, often for good reasons (because of conservative positions on civil liberties and foreign policy). (3) In fact, the greatest single threat to American liberty is the pro-war foreign policy of the conservative movement." I think it extremely heartening that the national committee of the Libertarian Party has gone on record as identifying pro-war foreign policy as the greatest single threat to American liberty.

The resolution then proceeds to an attack on "unprincipled logrolling". That is, neither the LP nor its elected legislators may ever engage in log-rolling, e.g. backing statist measure A because some other person or group will back our anti-statist measure B. It is vitally important that a libertarian legislator, for example, vote perfectly consistently libertarian straight down the line. He or she must be nothing less than 100% libertarian.

The resolution next reiterates that the Libertarian Party, if it is to be built as a libertarian organization, must not endorse non-libertarian candidates. But the "Coalitions and Alignments" resolution goes on to flesh out this simple assertion of the Strategy Statement: namely, "we should not endorse any candidates who are not libertarians, i.e. who fail to endorse our national Statement of Principles." This should be non-controversial within the LP; after all, the Statement of Principles is enshrined in our platform as not being amendable except by a 2/3 vote of all delegates registered at a national convention. And the resolution continues: that LP officials and members should not also be members of rival, statist political parties.

The resolution concludes with this brief paragraph: "It should be noted that by looking for this exclusivity of membership, of political commitment, we are not cutting against our approval of ad hoc coalitions. On the contrary, this is all part of a consistent strategic outlook for the LP; namely, that we form coalitions with non-libertarian groups on specific issues where our goals and principles are being fostered; but that we ourselves concentrate on building our own party of libertarians, who do not endorse non-libertarians for political office."

This is not all: the May meeting of the national committee also addressed itself to a question of principle that has vexed many libertarians: how can members of the LP, the Party of Principle, accept tax-looted salaries once they get elected to office? It is a question, as our Strategy Statement indicated, that needs study. At the May meeting, I introduced a resolution proposing that LP commit itself to attempting to pay all salaries of its elected officials through a blind trust, consisting of voluntary contributions to the LP by individuals not known to the official. I also proposed that, instead of simply tearing up his salary check and thereby leaving the money in the hands of the State, the official, should,

with all appropriate fanfare, announce that he is distributing the money in small checks at random to voters in his constituency. He will then explain to each of the recipients the point of the whole thing— that, in contrast to other, ripoff political parties, the LP, instead of living off the taxpayer, is committed to returning his funds. We can then ask the same taxpayer to contribute his "dividend" voluntarily to an LP blind trust. The blind trust resolution concludes: "The blind trust method, then, will satisfy our libertarian consciences, demonstrate to one and all, potential supporters, media, etc. that we are uniquely the party of principle, and also score a propaganda coup which the party and our candidates can use effectively."

The blind trust resolution was passed unanimously. In it, the Libertarian Party "commit(s) itself to attempting to pay the salaries of our elected officials through a blind trust or other voluntary means," and appoints a sub-committee to work out the details.

The LP national committee has done several other great things since last fall:

(1) It has formally joined the Campaign to Stop Government Spying, a coalition of many diverse groups and organizations dedicated to one vital issue: the abolition of government spying on political dissidents.

(2) It has established a finance committee, to raise funds on a serious and systematic basis. Ray Cunningham, now of Connecticut, is chairman of the committee.

(3) It adopted unanimously a resolution on "Assistance to State Parties," committing the national LP to assisting state parties in setting up a newsletter, press release programs, funding programs, membership programs, Young Libertarian Alliances, etc. When we can afford it, we will employ a Field Coordinator for the task; in the meanwhile, the regional reps to the national committee will bear primary responsibility in assisting state parties in their region. In a follow-up resolution, the national committee particularly stressed the importance of a regular newsletter as at least a necessary condition of a seriously functioning party.

Through its national committee, The Libertarian Party has taken giant steps forward in forming itself into a coherent organization, in forging a strategic vision of how it will implement its ultimate goals. On the Labor Day weekend, September 6-9, 1979, we will have another mighty extravaganza, our next Presidential nominating convention at the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. When we consider our next Presidential ticket, we must take care to pick candidates who adhere, not only to our Statement of Principles and our national platform, but also to the strategic vision that has been hammered out these past months. □

\* Jacelyn Maxwell is Education Director of the Progress Party of Queensland, Australia. Maxwell writes that the article expresses "my personal beliefs and are not necessarily the beliefs of the Progress Party, which is split on the issue of abortion."

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## Victory for Tax Revolt!

For several years I have been going up and down the country addressing libertarian gatherings, and preaching the good news that the time of "long-run" victory for liberty is now fast approaching, that we are at long last seeing the light at the end of the dark tunnel of statism. In a movement that for decades has been suffused with the spirit of doom-and-gloom, my message has been regarded—to the extent that it has not been dismissed as insincere pep-talk—as optimism of an almost incredible naivete. Not seldom I have encountered libertarians who even get hot under the collar at the good news of imminent salvation. (A curious reaction indeed!)

Now, this optimism has been vindicated, and in spades. Who would have thought a year, even six months ago, that the national media would be falling all over themselves to proclaim the strength and the might of a new tax revolt, and even to depict it in favorable terms? But that is what has been happening, even over at CBS and NBC, ever since the great day of June 6, 1978, a day which should go down in song and story, the day when Proposition 13 ("Jarvis-Gann"), mandating a drastic cut in property taxes and providing rigorous safeguards against any compensatory rise in taxes, swept to victory in California by a mammoth 2:1 majority.

Jarvis-Gann won after an unremitting smear campaign using all the media, in which day after day the voters of California were informed that the police, the firemen, even the streets would disappear on June 7 if the dread Prop. 13 should possibly win. This hysteria has won time and again before; it was a time-tested method of beating back voter sentiment for tax cuts. Not only did the teachers and the government employee unions keep up a drumfire of attack on Prop. 13, but so did the entire establishment, ranging from the politicians to big business; one of the major financial opponents of Prop. 13 was the mammoth Bank of America. The Jarvis-Gann forces had no money and less organization; how could they hope to combat the entire array of the government-media-business-union complex lined up against them.

But this time it was different; this time something wondrous happened. This time, as the usual liberal hysteria mounted, it proved to be counter-productive. This time the voters defied the blackmail threats, the vindictive bureaucracy, and the media hype, and determined more than ever to drive through the tax cut. And they did it, by the millions, in a landslide victory.

By doing this, we sent a message to politicians and the Establishment all over the country, a message saying that this time the masses are rising up angry, and will not be denied. Government is going to be slashed, even with a "meat axe" that will cut deep. That the politicians are trembling in their boots is clear by the obscene haste by which, from the night of June 6 on, they have been scrambling with each other trying to claim that they indeed love Prop. 13 and that, as in the case of the egregious Governor Jerry Brown, who fought Prop. 13 tooth and nail, he even originated the idea.

For, just as we knew it would, the landslide victory for Prop. 13 has sparked a mighty wave of similar tax cutting and tax rebellion movements throughout the country. The public is transformed as, at last, they can take hope, and rouse themselves out of the lethargy which, in the

old motto, equated "death and taxes" as equally inevitable. The New York Daily News and even the old liberal New York Post hailed the tax rebellion, and the News for several days printed coupons for their readers to send in and express themselves on the tax question. Remarkably, hundreds of thousands of readers swamped the News, all of them calling for drastic cuts in property, sales, and income taxes.

And not only did Jarvis-Gann win, but voters in Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio voted down school-bond issues even though they were told that the public schools would have to close this fall as a result.

The tax rebellion is here, and we must seize this great opportunity to ride the wave. Above all, libertarians must lead, and never tail behind, the tax revolt. That is, we must never find ourselves being more conservative, more cautious, than the masses in our eagerness to slash taxes and government spending. We should not, I suppose, begrudge crusty old antitax fighter Howard Jarvis his day in the sun after twenty lone years in the political wilderness, but still it was disheartening to find Jarvis willing to be embraced by the same politicians he had rightly been calling "liars" and "fools" a few days earlier.

But more disquieting is the possibility that conservative moderates might seize control of the nationwide antitax movement that is building and deflect it into "safe" and therefore innocuous and losing paths. The main danger is the National Tax Limitation Committee, the group which includes Bill Rickenbacker, Milton Friedman, and Ronald Reagan. What they want is not a direct and outright tax cut, but rather a complex constitutional amendment, on the state or federal level, limiting the rate of future growth of government spending. Thus, if government spending is now 8% of the total state product, then the amendment would limit future spending to the same percentage. In this way, government would not only not be cut, but would continue to grow and to increase taxes. It would be tragic if the Tax Limitation people should be able to seize control of the movement. They may have the money, but they don't have the guts or the vision, and they cannot excite the masses, for their plan would confer no actual cuts and therefore no direct and tangible benefits upon the public.

We must not deflect or tail behind the masses. We must, in every state and on the federal level, push constitutional amendments that will cut and slash taxes here, there, and everywhere. We must have the courage to be radical, to extend the courageous and anti-establishment spirit of Jarvis-Gann across the country. We must push for property tax cuts, for sales tax cuts, for income tax cuts, for cuts everywhere, and then, to copper-riquet the slashes by pushing for balanced budget amendments to cut government spending. (A balanced budget amendment without mandated slashes in taxes will bring about disastrous tax raises, and thereby increase statism.)

An example of these contrasting approaches to the tax revolt is the two constitutional amendments on the Michigan ballot for next November. The radical measure is the Tisch amendment, named for its originator Robert Tisch, which would cut property taxes in half, limit the state income tax, and forbid deficit spending for any new local programs. The conservative measure is the Headlee amendment, named for its leader,

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## Solidarity — But Not Forever

by Justus D. Doenecke

James Weinstein, *Ambiguous Legacy: The Left in American Politics*. New York: New Viewpoints, 1975.

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David Caute, *The Fellow-Travelers: A Postscript to the Enlightenment*. New York: MacMillan, 1973.

Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Since at least the 1930's, it has usually been the domestic left—not the right—that has engaged the attention of historians. For every Ronald Lora or George Nash, there are ten Melvyn Duboskys or Irving Howes who chronicle Marxist movements. What graduate student today wants to tell the story of the Committee for Constitutional Government, *Rampart Journal of Individualist Thought*, or Congressman George Bender when there is yet another trade union local or another radical newsletter to explore? However, amid such abundant research, there is much revisionism, and new material highlights the self-destructive tendencies among individuals once so supremely confident about the coming utopia.

James Weinstein, former editor of *Socialist Revolution*, offers a provocative and occasionally idiosyncratic overview. He begins at the turn of the century, when American socialism had real power. Before the Great War, over 340 cities had elected some 1,200 Socialist Party members to office. Among them were mayors of seventy-three cities and towns, including Milwaukee, Schenectady, and Berkeley. In addition, Socialists controlled such important unions as the Machinists, Western Federation of Miners, and Brewery Workers, and were influential in such unions as the United Mine Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Control of the state federations of labor in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri only added to their influence in the American Federation of Labor. Socialists also spearheaded the birth control movement, contributed to several woman suffrage victories (including New York and California), and helped establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Socialist Party was the only political organization to oppose American participation in World War I, and for years after the war, the party's wartime resistance remained its greatest asset. Yet the conflict took its toll, for the SP was so harassed that some 1,500 locals in the rural South and Midwest were destroyed. In addition, its membership often lost faith in any international brotherhood of workers, and government reforms undercut the Industrial Workers of the World. (The AFL supported the war, with one of its organizers, William Z. Foster, making dozens of speeches for Liberty Bonds. The IWW tried to ignore the conflict, with its leader "Big Bill" Haywood, fearful of state repression, claiming that it was "of small importance compared to the great class war.")

At first, almost all Socialists welcomed the Bolshevik revolution, and the SP applied for membership in the Third International. (International president Gregory Zinoviev, in turning down the application, insisted that he was not running "a hotel"!)

The freshly organized Communists saw the United States ripe for insurrection, and split from the more skeptical Socialists in 1919. In so doing, the pro-Bolshevik groups established centralized cadres, military discipline, and preparation for "merciless civil war." Even when the Communists emerged from the underground in 1921, their major asset remained identification with Soviet Union, a nation beginning to move towards industrialization. (The Communist Workers Party platform was simply a rehash of Socialist demands of 1918 and 1920.) However, they became so involved with the bitter factionalism overseas that they ignored developments in their own country. The

Socialist Party, by now bitterly anti-Soviet, squandered resources on the La Follette movement of 1924, the year both movements reached a dead end.

During the famous Third Period, lasting from 1924 to 1935, the Communists did not seriously attempt to capture political power, but rather focused upon trade union work. Why did Communists neglect the ballot box, which Weinstein finds "the only avenue to power available to working people"? Because they believed that the factory would increasingly be the center of American society. Party emphasis was always on "workers as workers," not "workers as potentially self-governing citizens." The CP severed its short-lived alliances with Farmer-Labor groups, formed independent unions (in a process called "dual unionism"), and became increasingly isolated from other Socialist and left-liberal groups. Yet only in the fur industry, where Ben Gold gained power, did the Communists exert control. Weinstein finds party activity during the Third Period "horrendous," for the comrades blindly assumed that capitalism was collapsing, and that Russia, not yet an industrialized power, was nevertheless the model for American emulation.

Such an orientation was disastrous. True, in the thirties the CP's syndicalist orientation, and experience in organizing independent Communist unions, proved helpful in launching the *Congress of Industrial Organizations*. However, in the long run—so Weinstein claims—it did itself much harm. Again, why? Because it emphasized industrial workers as an interest group, indeed a vanguard class, doing so "at the expense of the working class as a whole." In the CP model, workers would not—and party leader William Z. Foster made this clear—really organize production, but only defend their immediate interests; social priorities would be left to newly-created Communist bureaus. "At best," writes Weinstein, Communist rule would mean a benevolent paternalism, in which the workers would be infantilized, and in which dictatorship would be of the party, not the proletariat. Yet the CP's accomplishments, even immediately after the crash of 1929, were sparse, in fact substantially less than the Socialists before World War I.

Strength is one thing, insight another, and Weinstein finds "partial truth" in the Communist charge that Roosevelt's National Recovery and Agricultural Adjustment acts were "fascist legislation." In both measures, he writes, "various class interests were balanced within the framework of preserving corporate capitalism." In fact, both the NRA and AAA were "similar to the corporate statist ideas of Italian fascism." Weinstein further claims, in a point that needs elaboration, that "in many ways the Republicans represented no greater threat to constitutional government in the United States than did New Dealers—indeed, in many ways the Roosevelt administration had more contempt for democratic procedure than did their Republican predecessors."

The Communists radically shifted their position in 1935, becoming part of the Popular Front established in Western democracies to defend Russia and check German power. Hence, as Weinstein notes, they backed New Deal efforts to "smear" Huey Long as a "fascist" and worked to pin the label of "economic royalists" on FDR's opponents. Abandoning dual unionism, Communists labored to build up CIO unions, with their influence greatest in the ILGWU and National Maritime Union. (To obtain office in the latter union, one had to serve the CP). They were one of several important factions in the United Electrical Workers and the United Automobile Workers, and at times played a most moderate role. (In 1939, for example, Communists, acting under direct orders of party secretary Earl Browder, backed the union's centrist candidate for UAW president, not the one self-proclaimed leftist). However, Communists had little power in such bodies as the UMW and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. An in the United Steel Workers, they served as "hired hands" of Philip Murray.

As the CP became part of the mainstream of mass unionism, and as it subordinated socialism to New Deal liberalism, it abandoned all pretense of seeking an independent class politics. The Communists, so Weinstein claims, generally represented the interests of rank-and-file union members, but often acted undemocratically. "Socialism," he continues,

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"did not emerge as an issue because the Communists never put forth a serious socialist position for which to argue as an alternative to the New Deal." They did not—the author keeps stressing—attempt to organize a popular party for socialism; instead, they sought only to gain control of union bureaucracies. Playing the game of "interest group politics" to the hilt, they were co-opted by "the corporate liberals of the New Deal." The Corporate capitalists, in turn, writes Weinstein, found New unions valuable "to the degree that they stabilize the work force, help discipline the workers, and limit themselves to bargaining over wages and working conditions."

Weinstein claims that there were genuine alternatives. Rather than back Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party of New York, both simply devices to get more votes for Roosevelt, the Communists could have fought as socialists in the electoral arena. They could, in short, have abandoned the Democrats and set up labor-socialist alliances, and thereby have built "a popular socialist movement among millions of workers and unemployed."

All this, however, is what might have been. During World War II, the Communists stood firm with the forces of order. They opposed trade union militancy, fought A. Philip Randolph's plans for a black protest march on Washington, advocated no-strike agreements, and endorsed Roosevelt's prosecution of Trotskyist teamsters under the Smith Act. Even after 1945, according to Weinstein, the party subordinated socialism to a liberal capitalist program, acting in the hope of maintaining the pro-Soviet coalition with liberals that had lasted throughout the war. Such a tactic explains Communist backing for the Progressive Party of 1948, but after the failure of Henry Wallace's "Gideon's Army," the CP lost all sense of direction. By the 1940's, its organizing talents were no longer needed, and closeness to CIO leadership was not sufficient to keep it in power there. With the Cold War emerging, the label "Communist" took on decidedly "anti-patriotic" overtones. Philip Murray of the USW and Walter Reuther of the UAW wasted little time in dumping the left, while Joe Curran of the NMU and Michael Quill ("Red Mike") abandoned fellow-travelling.

The Communist Party, says Weinstein, never possessed an authentic vision of a socialist America; Soviet life was its sole model. Only in the 1960's, with the rise of the New Left, was there a revival of genuine radicalism, but this diffuse body stupidly shunned workers, ignored the aged and farmers, abandoned theory, and often adopted a "politics of despair and adventurism." *The need to build a new socialist movement*, writes Weinstein, still remains, although we have the political base to construct it.

Weinstein's book is most valuable in its analysis of Communist expediency, far less helpful in comments concerning other aspects of American life. Does America really possess "the potential of building a substantial mass movement for socialism," for example then there are historical questions. Did the Third International really focus national attention on "the Negro Question"? Did Foster's opposition to "American postwar expansionism" really reflect "world realities" more than did Earl Browder? Could an independent left party have taken millions of votes from the New Deal? Could the Communists have ever prevented "business unionism" from taking over the CIO? Is there such a thing as "the world capitalist empire" and "the world class"? Does "corporate capitalism" possess an "inhuman nature"? How much white support for black civil rights resulted from the need "to rationalize and integrate the labor market"? If a Marxist analysis illuminates some areas of the past, it hides others, and Weinstein's book shows both tendencies at work.

Given the partisan nature of Weinstein's survey, better understanding might be reached by concentrating on certain figures and movements. And without doubt the leading Socialist for some forty years—from the twenties through the sixties—was Norman Thomas, the subject of W.A. Swanberg's book. As Swanberg's biography is sprawling and undisciplined (not a new feature in his writing), it is really a kind of source book, but one that contains fine portraits of many Socialist leaders. The subtitle ("the last idealist") is no misnomer, and such old friends as Ella Wolfe and Sidney Hook still testify to Thomas's intelligence and integrity.

Unlike many reformers, Thomas came from the middle class, not

patrician wealth, for he was the son of a rigorously orthodox clergyman in Marion, Ohio. He studied at Bucknell, Princeton, and Union Theological Seminary, after which he became a Presbyterian minister, and there are those who say that he never really left this vocation. (This essayist heard Thomas speak several times; the nature of the man's fervor was as appropriate to the pulpit as to the podium). Pastorate in Harlem made him a Socialist, World War I turned him into a pacifist—a conviction strengthened by the imprisonment of his brother. However, even when he joined the Socialist Party in 1918, he confessed "a profound fear of the undue exaltation of the State," voiced opposition to "any sort of coercion whatever," and said that a party's only justification lay in winning liberty for men and women."

Although a candidate for many public offices, including the Presidency, his major work lay in reform. He was never a doctrinaire Marxist, for he rejected both economic determinism and dialectical materialism. Always he stressed his belief in egalitarianism, doing so in such a way that, as one Socialist quipped, "Any Rotarian can understand him." In a sense, Thomas was an oldtime progressive, downplaying immediate nationalization of basic resources in an effort to tap middle class liberals. His wife possessed independent means and he was at home with those corporate leaders represented by his Princeton classmates. As Swanberg writes, "To people who equated Socialism with rioting in the streets, he was the gentleman personified, the man you would be proud to have living next door, soft-pedaling Marxism and making nationalization sound eminently reasonable."

Yet, even given the man's grace, leading such a movement was not easy. Recruited by Morris Hillquit (who, writes Swanberg, saw Thomas as a means of bringing more Gentiles into the overwhelmingly Jewish New York party), Thomas soon broke with the SP's Old Guard. He attacked Hillquit for serving as legal counsel for Standard Oil and Vacuum Oil, two companies striving to regain petroleum lands nationalized by the Soviet Union. To the Old Guard, Thomas was unaware of Communist duplicity; to Thomas, who was not yet bitterly anti-Soviet, the Old Guard's loathing for Communism was not based on principle, but rather on the competition the Socialist unions in the AFL were getting from Communist ones.

Taking on the Old Guard pitted Thomas against a formidable machinery, for the Old Guard controlled the *New Leader*, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the needle-trades unions, the Rand School, and radio station WEVD (the last three call letters standing for Eugene Victor Debs). The issue came to the fore at the party convention of 1934, when the Militant faction of the SP pushed through a Declaration of Principles. The Declaration, though drafted by pacifist Devere Allen, feared a fascist coup. It spoke in terms of meeting fascist violence by seizing command of the nation's resources, crushing "the reckless forces of reaction," and replacing "the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarianism by a genuine worker's democracy." In addition, it would meet any declaration of war with "massive war resistance," including a general strike. All this, of course, was quite a tall order, particularly for a party claiming only 23,000 workers and not all of these in good health. Thomas wanted to tone the statement down, but the Old Guard first prevented its modification, then condemned it. Other issues causing fissure included the Old Guard's doctrinal rigidity (all the more ironic in light of its apathy towards Arkansas sharecroppers) and co-optation of leading SP members in New Deal administrations. By the fall of 1935, the Old Guard had barred Thomas from speaking to groups under its control.

The Militants fought back. They established the weekly *Call*, formed a rump New York party, and admitted some 300 Trotskyists (the latter done through the mediation of philosopher Sidney Hook). The Old Guard in turn retaliated by establishing the Social Democratic Federation, a group that Thomas called "neither Socialist, democratic or a federation but merely a halfway port to Tammany Hall." It also helped form the American Labor Party of New York, a New Deal mechanism for bypassing the regular Democratic machine in securing the labor vote. (Ironically, it was through the Old Guard's protege, the ALP, that the Communists became so powerful in New York politics.)

Thomas kept denying what Roosevelt's rightist opponents had long argued—namely that the New Deal had stolen Thomas's thunder, leaving the Socialist leader without a real following. FDR, said Thomas, had not nationalized the banks; his social security program was a pale imitation of Socialist demands; the NRA stabilized capitalism while the AAA

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subsidized scarcity. "Roosevelt did not carry out the Socialist platform," Thomas quipped, "unless he carried it out on a stretcher."

By the 1936 elections, the Socialist Party lay in ruins, and subsequent events helped little. The stormy expulsion of the Trotskyists led to the exodus of much Socialist youth and to the death of the California SP as well. A new faction, the Clarity group, controlled the Call, and it bucked Thomas by wanting to limit the party to an elite of revolutionary cadres. Then Thomas's effort to recruit a Eugene V. Debs column for the Spanish Loyalists antagonized such militant pacifists as A.J. Muste. "By what right," asked the Socialist clergyman John Haynes Holmes, "does any Socialist today profane the sacred name of Debs by using it to designate a regiment of soldiers enlisted for the work of human slaughter?"

And if all this were not enough, Thomas faced more party defections and personal slander for his isolationism. In 1938 he helped organize the Keep America Out of War Congress so as to rally support for traditional neutrality. However, realizing that this group was impoverished, in 1941 he gladly cooperated with the far wealthier America First Committee. After Pearl Harbor, Thomas opposed internment of the Japanese-Americans and was furious when the American Civil Liberties Union refused to fight vigorously on their behalf. Furthermore, he debated feeding children under German occupation with Dr. Frank Kingdon, a clergyman who defended starvation with quotations from Scripture. Movies such as "Little Tokyo" and songs such as "Praise the Lord and Pass the Ammunition" aroused his ire, as did Jim Crow in the army and in his beloved Princeton. He found "obliteration" bombing utterly unnecessary, leaned toward the belief that Roosevelt had deliberately goaded the Japanese into attacking Pearl Harbor, was outraged by Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and saw Dumbarton Oaks as "as dangerous attempt to underwrite a temporary and unstable cartel of empires."

In his later years, he became more and more anti-Soviet, and he favored the Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, and American participation in the Korean War. In addition, he used CIA money (unknowingly, says Swanberg) to promote the Institute for International Labor Research, of which he was chairman.

However, he sided with Walter Lippmann's critique of containment, while voicing suspicion of Lippmann's call for balance-of-power diplomacy. He criticized the Truman Doctrine, fearing that "American intervention in Turkey (will) become more and more imperialistic, more and more tied to the politics of petroleum." Thomas attacked the Mundt-Nixon Communist Control bill and House Committee on Un-American Activities. He briefly joined the American Friends of Vietnam, a front for the Diem regime, but balked at the Indochina conflict. When Reuther and the UAW endorsed the conflict, Thomas wrote him, "President Johnson and the Chamber of Commerce must be glad to know that they can always trust labor when it comes to policing the world with bombs."

Thomas spoke on other things as well, and sometimes quite sharply. The former clergyman opposed Zionism for linking religion to a nation-state; peace to the Palestine area, he said, would never come until displaced Arabs could return to a federated homeland. When he visited Israel in 1957, he raised the question of Israeli expansion Golda Meir—much to her discomfort. His faith in all-out socialism slipped, and not only because of the Russian experience. Mass collectivism, and the inevitable bureaucracy it bred, could always kill individual freedom. By 1951, he was allowing a large sphere for private ownership, with nationalization limited to the "commanding heights" of the economy.

A more learned defense of Thomas comes from Frank A. Warren of Queens College, who debates such "realist" critiques of American socialism as Daniel Bell, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Bernard Johnson. The "realists" find Thomas so staunch in support of "absolute" goals that he failed to realize that politics was always "the art of the possible." Socialists in general, such scholars argue, are too wedded to ideology, too optimistic concerning man and history, too unable to comprehend the workingman's bread-and-butter aspirations—in short, Socialists are too impractical. Unable to reconcile the tension between millennialism and immediate demands, they cannot not get things done", and are hence irrelevant to American politics.

Warren dissents on all counts. The Socialists of the thirties, he writes, kept alive "a resistance to oppression and an intransigence against the forces of state and industry that can overwhelm us." On the other hand, the SP of the 1960's, by backing such "pragmatists" as Johnson and Humphrey, betrayed its birthright.

The author begins by challenging the "realists" philosophically. Socialists, he says, offer solutions that lie at the root of the nation's problems, doing so not in any doctrinaire manner but in the spirit of pragmatism offered by John Dewey. Mainstream American politics, on the other hand, offered superficial remedies that merely looked pragmatic. The Militants, writes Warren, were correct in attacking Old Guard ties to the AFL, for the American Federation of Labor had within its ranks groups guilty of racketeering, red-baiting, and strong hostility towards industrial unionism. Cooperation with the American Labor Party and the CIO simply meant co-operation, with radicals becoming transformed into liberal reformers. It is those like the "realist" theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, who assumed that the Democratic Party would be the instrument of meaningful social change, who were the truly "naive" ones, not the Socialists with their stress on ethical imperatives based on a more rigorous standard of justice.

Thomas, claims Warren, was no narrow sectarian, for he did all he could to gain a broad base for his party. In fact, he did more nationwide proselytizing among workers than did the Old Guard. In addition, Thomas attacked Russian atrocities before the Old Guard ever did. And unlike certain liberal apologists, the Thomas Socialists were among the first Americans to analyze the bureaucratization of Stalin's terror. Freedom, they believed, meant genuine control, certainly not the practice of the Soviet state.

Warren also praises Thomas's critique of the New Deal. Roosevelt's domestic policies, the historian argues, combined "a welfare program for the masses and a domesticated unionism with a maintenance of the essential power relations of society," and Thomas saw this. Not only did Thomas find New Deal social programs inadequate, but he was disturbed by centralization of power in the Presidency and warned against incorporating unions in the structure of government. Furthermore, the Socialist saw the New Deal creating, not socialism, but state capitalism, in which government intervenes to preserve the prevailing profit system.

In his chapter on World War II, Warren faults Thomas for working with America First and for exaggerating the danger of domestic fascism. Warren himself does not support Thomas's opposition of aid to the Allies. Yet Warren opposes the temptation of historians to "put down" isolationist intellectuals, while applauding liberal ones. (He denies that Thomas was an isolationist, in fact, finding Thomas's willingness to defend the Spanish republic a healthy contrast to the international feebleness of the "capitalist New Deal.")

It is the interventionists, writes Warren, who did much to poison American culture. Poet Archibald MacLeish's attack on "irresponsible" anti-war intellectuals implied that artists and writers should serve as adherents of the state. Critic Louis Mumford claimed in 1940 that the conflict resembled "the armies of the Christians and the Saracens when they met on the battlefield of Tours," thereby speaking in the arrogant language of Pax Americana. The New Leader was no real friend of democracy when, in January 1941, it criticized the ACLU for attacking legislation aimed at Communists and Bundists. Nor was it any real friend of tolerance when, in 1942, it published an article entitled "Scratch a Jap, and You'll Find a Fanatical Shinto Priest—An Essay in Nipponese Psychology."

On the other hand, Warren finds Thomas and his followers genuine prophets. They saw that the New Deal, "bankrupt in ideas and drive," was increasingly relying upon "armament economics," and that this trend would remain a permanent fixture of American life. They opposed conscription as a totalitarian device, one that—once entrenched—would be difficult to alter. Unlike a whole herd of silent liberals, they fought apathy towards Jewish refugees and opposed the fire bombings of Dresden. If Popular Front liberals wanted to share nuclear power with Russia, only the Socialists addressed themselves to the moral issue of the actual use of the bomb. Warren is particularly scathing on Civil liberties during the New Deal, and he goes so far as to write, "German Bundists were tried on vague charges, with very little protest and some applause, from pro-war Socialists and liberals. The government policy during the

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war was not enlightened on civil liberties; there simply was not much opposition to the war."

Radicals of the thirties are given a different look in monographs by Constance Ashton Myers and James Burkhart Gilbert. Myers, a professor at the University of South Carolina, tells the story of American Trotskyists. The movement, of course, was founded in 1928 when James Cannon, former general secretary of the IWW and chairman of the Workers (Communist) Party, attended the Sixth Comintern Congress in Moscow. Expelled from the party he had help to found, he established a new party that went under various names—The Workers (Communist) Party, Left Opposition; the Communist League of America (Opposition); the Workers Party; and the Socialist Workers Party. Under all these labels, one thing was clear: the new group would be as intolerant of dissent as the old. As Myers notes, "leaders demanded docility in their 'revolutionary' followers—a dangerous demand for a radical party, because inevitably comes a weaker and less creative critique of capitalist values." Yet, "to question Trotsky's analysis of world events, to disagree in the finest detail, was to court expulsion or denied membership."

What was the Gospel according to Trotsky? Well, it involved a series of tenets: Leon Trotsky as the sole authentic heir to Marx and Lenin; the need for "permanent revolution," as no state can remain socialist in a capitalist world; "boring from within" established trade unions and united action groups; and opposition to pacifism and class collaborationist farmer-labor movements. What was its greatest asset? The prophet exile himself, drafting manifestoes to his followers as he moved from one place to another. And almost in passing, Myers notes that Stalin had not abandoned permanent revolution any more than Trotsky suddenly advocated "counter-revolution." "The plain truth," she writes, "was that a dynamic and influential figure like Trotsky posed too formidable a threat to the monolithic regime Stalin thought necessary to bring industrial technology quickly to a technically and socially medieval land."

In 1935, Trotskyists co-opted A. J. Muste's American Workers, with the new group totally abandoning Muste's pacifism. (Pacifism, said Trotskyist James Burnham, was a "subtle and dangerous enemy" that "socialists must oppose"). Soon afterwards, Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party, acting in order to fulfill a specific Trotskyist strategy called "enterism." This union was short-lived, although when Trotsky's followers were expelled, they took some 1,000 Socialists with them. All this time, the party was recruiting a number of intellectuals, including Dwight MacDonald, Irving Howe, Leslie Fiedler, Saul Bellow, and Bert Cochran. (Later a large number of youthful Trotskyists would make their mark on the discipline of sociology, wrestling with the concept of bureaucracy that they found so glaring in Stalinism and in their own movement).

The coming of World War II created more splintering. In 1937 Burnham claimed that American involvement in war was inevitable, for United States ties to the world market system were strong and its commitment to uphold world capitalism firm. When in September 1939, conflict broke out over Danzig, Burnham and Max Shachtman, editors of *New International*, wanted no support for Russia, calling her an "imperialist" power. Cannon, however, sought "unconditional defense" of the Soviet Union. Having Trotsky on his side, he used the party machinery to purge the more extreme antiwar faction. (Shachtman and Burnham forged a new Workers Party which lasted eight years. Burnham himself renounced Marxism and left the group within a month).

During the war, some twenty-eight Trotskyist leaders in Minneapolis were convicted under the Smith Act, an action strongly supported by the Communist Party. Roosevelt, Myers implies, was repaying Dan Tobin, general president of the AFL teamsters union and a strong interventionist on the war question. Tobin had long been in conflict with powerful Trotskyist locals, particularly the 4,000 member Local 544 of Minneapolis. The presiding judge compared the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party to the Nazis: "Hitler once ran around in a greasy old overcoat and was belittled for his efforts." FDR's action, Myers writes coyly, "illuminates a less familiar facet of the Roosevelt years and reveals that the president followed a pattern his predecessors established when beset by similar problems."

Particularly fascinating is Myers's account of Trotsky's death, an event that took place on August 20, 1940. She notes how deeply American Trotskyists were involved in the "prophet's" coterie in Mexico, with one follower an unwitting accomplice of the assassin's. Trotsky, she argues, was killed by Stalin simply because "he knew," and was going to share much of this knowledge with J.B. Matthews, investigator for the Dies Committee.

To the very end Trotsky was spirited. When a representative of the newly-founded Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace met with the exile, Trotsky commented, "A fine name. The war capitalist imperialism, the social revolution rising out of the war, and the lasting peace that will follow." The Institution representative merely responded, "I doubt if Mr. Hoover would approve of that interpretation" (*Stanford Daily*, April 30, 1940, p. 1). Without Trotsky, the movement would never have held together, and once he died, it had even less impact on American life than it did before.

Yet one should not judge things too fast, and it is the strength of Gilbert's book that he shows the wide influence a group of Trotskyists had through the *Partisan Review*. (The work has helpful chapters on early Greenwich Village culture, and on the literary revolt of the twenties, but its real contribution lies in its material on the late thirties). The *Partisan*, edited by William Phillips and Philip Rahv, was far from the standard Marxist journal. T.S. Eliot used it to publish "East Coker" and "Cry Salvages," and in the *Partisan* first appeared Franz Kafka's "Penal Colony." Other contributors included Allen Tate, Gertrude Stein, Lionel Trilling, Ignazio Silone, and Mary McCarthy.

Unlike the Communists, who attempted to merge socialist realism with the American past, Rahv and Phillips denied that Marxism had much to do with the American tradition (The magazine did present several "realists," such as John Dos Passos and James T. Farrell, but both men were unpopular in CP circles). Objects of particular scorn included Van Wyck Brooks, Lewis Mumford, and Malcolm Cowley, with the former in particular claiming that old American forms of collectivism lay at the root of her civilization. Brooks's focus dovetailed nicely with the new Communist position, for by 1937 the CP was no longer supporting "revolutionary" culture; rather it was paying homage to FDR, traditional liberalism and democratic ideals.

The Trotskyists, on the other hand, demanded a culture based upon European—not American—experience, and were not afraid to flirt with existentialism. Rahv found the politically "reactionary" Dostoevski, for example, offering more insight into the nature of Stalin than any contemporary writer. Trotsky himself, incidentally, was dubious about the *Partisan Review*, for he did not believe it struck out sharply enough at the Communists.

Undoubtedly, the *Partisan's* most able editor was Dwight MacDonald, former staff writer for the *New Yorker* and *Fortune*. (MacDonald's wartime essays in *Politics* are matched in their bite only by Milton Mayer's articles in the *Progressive*). Half-anarchist, half-aristocrat, MacDonald found Trotskyism appealing "because—'he wrote'—'it was founded by Trotsky, whose career showed that intellectuals, too, could make history.'" Trotsky, said MacDonald, was "a father to many of us in the sense that he taught us our political alphabet and first defined for us the problems to be solved, so that even when, in the manner of sons, we came to reject the parental ideas, our very rejection was in the terms he taught us." MacDonald's own rejection came about quickly indeed, for his first article in *New International* was a bristling attack on Trotsky's role in the Kronstadt rebellion. Always a foe of American intervention, MacDonald soon found such pro war luminaries as Henry Wallace and Henry Luce in fundamental agreement: both men linked liberalism and imperialism together, seeking to refashion the world in America's image.

Many of the attitudes opposed by the *Partisan Review* are ably described in David Caute's work on fellow-travellers. Caute destroys the myth that the fellow-traveller is merely a watered-down Communist who lacks the courage of his convictions: rather, Caute sees the fellow-traveller as a true child of the Enlightenment, one who "heartily welcomed the torments and upheavals inflicted on the Russian peasantry during collectivization, arguing that only by such drastic social engineering could these backward illiterates be herded, feet first, into the

(Continued On Page 6)

## Solidarity — (Continued From Page 5)

modern world. Neither an orthodox Marxist or a revolutionary, the fellow-traveller is less radical, and hence less disillusioned with Western society, than the Communist. He retains partial faith in the parliamentary system and civil liberties. In fact, fellow-travellers disliked Trotsky for one simple reason: he wanted world revolution and they didn't. In effect, the fellow-traveller finds Bolshevism (as they say in 1966 and All That) "good thing—but always for someone else!"

Conducted tours of the Soviet Union encouraged many intellectuals to become its defenders. Theodore Dreiser approved of Russia's easy divorce system: in the Soviet Union, he saw "the only sane treatment of the sex questions I have ever encountered." George Bernard Shaw described Stalin as "simply secretary of the supreme controlling organ of the hierarchy, subject to dismissal at ten minutes' notice if he does not give satisfaction." To Shaw's fellow Fabians, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "There are ends more important than additional food supplies for immediate consumption," an opinion undoubtedly not shared by starving kulaks. Historian G.D.H. Cole could think of no other way to "socialize" the minds of peasants than a "forced march" approach, while novelist Upton Sinclair noted that starvation was, after all, a Russian tradition. Commentator Maurice Hindus reflected a whole generation of fellow-travellers in remaining silent about slave labor; Siberia, he said, was simply, "a new world for a new humanity." Journalist Alexander Werth admitted in 1967 that he pulled his punches about what is now called the Gulag, since he feared the truth would agitate Cold War tensions. Jean-Paul Sartre commented to Albert Camus in 1952, "Yes, Camus, like you I find these camps inadmissible, but equally inadmissible is the use which the so-called bourgeois press makes of them every day."

Stalin, of course, was almost canonized. Historian Bernard Pares, speaking of the Russian dictator, said, "He has shown that his heart is in his own country, that he has set his reputation on a purely practical object of vast scope, (Russia's) radical transformation for the benefit of all." Cate could only comment, "For that was Stalin's appeal: pipe-smoking back-room boy; did his homework; prodigious worker, up all night, mastering the statistics; listened to others, took his time, but once his decision was made he never flinched." This, for many fellow-travellers, was Stalin in a nut-shell; he was the Man of Steel who symbolized social engineering, who epitomized the ability to master one's environment.

The intellectual price was a high one. As George Orwell wrote, "The sin of nearly all left-winger's is that they have wanted to be anti-fascist without being anti-totalitarian." Or as Trotsky commented, "The 'left' intelligencia of the West has gone down on its knees before the Soviet bureaucracy." Neither man was exaggerating.

Cate draws some skillful portraits, including those of Bertold Brecht, Julien Benda (whose *Betrayal of the Intellectuals* (1928) had condemned all such partisanship), Anatole France, Harold Laski, and J. Robert Oppenheimer. The book also has some wonderful phrasing. Journalist Anna Louise Strong, who grew up in Protestant Pietism, had "fallen in love with the biggest Sunday School of them all." Laski's praise of Soviet courts, published in 1935 after his lecture tour there, "was very much like writing a study of justice for the blacks of the Southern States without mentioning the Ku-Klux Klan." British publisher Victor Gollancz's Left Book Club was "a Popular Front in microcosm." W.H. Auden's poem "Spain," so Cate writes, "proves that you don't have to feel deeply about something to write about it well." (But then Orwell called Auden "a gutless Kipling"!.) Occasionally the reader comes across a splendid anecdote, such as the embarrassment Hewlett Johnson ("the Red Dean of Canterbury") faced when the prelate was awarded more lines in the Soviet Encyclopedia than Jesus Christ.

Knowledge of the actual workings of Communist parties might have curbed such naivete, though one should not count on it. Joseph Starobin's history of the postwar American CP, written by a veteran of the movement, reveals bitter internal rivalries, so bitter that they eventually broke up the party. Unlike Weinstein, who sees a hollow shell, Starobin finds a dynamic and broadly based group. By the middle of World War II, so he claims, American Communism had recruited about 100,000 members, with an influence far exceeding this numerical strength. Unlike the 1920's, its base was no longer foreign born and working class; rather, it recruited heavily from professionals and businessmen of Anglo-

Saxon and Nordic background. Although half the members lived in New York State, comparatively large blocs dwelled in the industrial East and Midwest, Minnesota, and the Pacific Coast. "It was not unusual," writes Starobin, "for Communist Party legislative directors or state secretaries to be given cordial attention in the offices of senators, congressmen, mayors, governors, and intermediaries of the White House." One-third of the CIO leadership, representing over a million workers and perhaps a third of the CIO, were identifiably of the left.

On the surface, General Secretary Earl Browder, born in Kansas and the son of Populists, set the tone. Heading the party "doves," Browder claimed that "Marxism was never a series of dogmas and formulas." America, he continued, was not really headed for socialism. Indeed, efforts to push collectivism within the United States "would divide and weaken precisely the democratic and progressive camp, while they would unite and strengthen the most reactionary forces." Browder downplayed any search for Communist votes, hoping instead to make CP an indispensable bulwark of the New Deal.

As part of his strategy, Browder favored the securing of foreign markets. U.S. participation in the world economy, he maintained, would not only result in absorption of American goods; it would help revive a war-shattered world. And in so doing, it could easily serve as a vehicle for cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Opposing what he called the "explosion of class conflict," Browder discouraged strikes. He criticized strike threats made by UAW's Reuther and, in the spring of 1945, sided with Murray and Hillman in their effort to reach a detente with the US Chamber of Commerce. Similarly, in 1944, the CP did not back Hillman and Murray, when the two CIO leaders favored Wallace as Democratic nominee for Vice President. Rather, it backed "the man from independence," acting in the belief that Truman, a less controversial figure than Wallace, would promote coexistence with Russia more skillfully.

Browder's tenets were challenged by William Z. Foster, a man whose background—in some ways—was quite similar to his own. Both men started out as Socialists; both were leaders of the Trade Union Educational League, with Foster its chairman and Browder editor of its *Labor Herald*. Unlike Browder, however, Foster saw the war creating "the crisis of world capitalism." It was, in fact, this impending economic crisis that would make American imperialism a most aggressive force. "Comrade Browder," Foster commented, "goes too far when he says that world capitalism and world Socialism have learned to live peacefully together." A fundamental critique of capitalism, he continued, was needed, not just talk of "structural reform." The Communist Party, said Foster, must not trail after the decisive sections of capital, but "rally the popular masses of people and resist the forces of big capital now." While Browder saw the Roosevelt government as expressing the will of "intelligent capitalists," Foster found it a type of Popular Front. And as capitalism—in Foster's eyes—could not be anything but reactionary, American-Soviet confrontation was inevitable.

In April 1945, French CP leader Jacques Duclos challenged Browder's views, doing so in the Comintern journal *Cahiers du Communisme*. The concept of "peaceful coexistence" was opposed in the hardest possible terms, with Browder accused of engaging in "notorious revision of Marxism." (Ironically, at the very time he was writing his attack, Duclos's own French party was consciously collaborating with a bourgeois government). The National Committee of the American CP must have agreed, for when matter came to a vote, Browder stood alone. "Outwardly the exponents of the brotherhood of man, they had all been living in a jungle"—so comments Starobin.

Browder would not recant, and the party soon became immersed in "near-hysteria," victimized by its own irrelevance and by a steady exodus of the faithful. By 1947, the party—according to Starobin—had "lost its way." Ties to Russia were its "Achilles heel," for its own desires were "neither reciprocated nor respected by Moscow." In fact, the Soviets saw the American CP as expendable. Yet to recover influence, Foster first toyed with the idea of winning the Democratic Party to a "progressive" presidential candidate, then turned back to the notion of a third party. Such a movement, so Foster maintained, would be led by "the workers," with "the poorer farmers, the Negro people, ... the bulk of the veterans (entering in joint political action against the common enemy, monopoly capital." In this strategy lay the seeds for Communist

## Arts And Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

An *Unmarried Woman*. Dir. and written by Paul Mazursky. With Jill Clayburgh and Alan Bates. Speaking of tedium, ideology, and narcissism with a female focus, if *Julia* qualifies as one of the worst big movies of 1977, then surely *Unmarried Woman* takes the prize for 1978, at least so far.

*Unmarried Woman* comes with raves and hosannahs from the critics; which should put one on guard right away. Sure enough, this film is tedium and boredom unrelieved. A longish film anyway, it seems at least twice as long as it really is. The critics were presumably trying to push its feminist ideology, since the film deals with the movement towards independence of its heroine, Jill Clayburgh. But, ye gods, there were hundreds of films of the Old Culture that portrayed women who were ten times as independent and a hundred times as intelligent as the drip Erica,

portrayed by Jill Clayburgh. Think of all the movies with Katharine Hepburn, Bette Davis, Claudette Colbert, Joan Crawford, Susan Hayward, etc! Clayburgh, whether at the end of the film or at the beginning, has no ideas, no wit, no career, no nothing.

The movie has virtually no plot, no dialogue worth mentioning, no insights. Erica is a soft-focus woolly-head who drifts from one scene to another. As in *Julia*, the other characters are in no way believable; they are there as shadowy reflections of the ideas (none) and interests (men) of the heroine. Most of the film is soft-core (very soft) porno, with Clayburgh wandering around various apartments, including her own, in her underwear. But the porno qua porno is almost worse than any other aspect of the picture, so don't expect any entertainment there. The movie is almost insufferably tasteless: witness a lengthily and gratuitous monologue by Clayburgh (to her "psychotherapist", natch) about how she felt on her menstrual day.

The movie is also insufferably trendy: everything about Erica and her lifestyle is "in", from psychotherapist to jogging to modern art to places where she hangs out (East Side, Washington Square, SoHo). In many ways, an *Unmarried Woman* is exactly the sort of life and attitudes so brilliantly satirized in *Semi-Tough*, ironically enough Jill Clayburgh's previous picture. What *should* be satirized however, is taken by director and writer Mazursky with the utmost seriousness. Particularly obnoxious is the "psychotherapist", an ugly, ungainly six-foot female, who emits idiotic and trendy platitudes in a dimwit manner. (The publicity assures us that, not being able to find an actor or actress to play a shrink in a realistic enough manner, Mazursky turned to a real psychotherapist—which adds a grisly, Grand Guignol aspect to the film.) The shrink's deep insights consist of a lisped: 'It's OK to feel lonely; it's OK to feel rage; it's OK to feel emotions.' The only emotion not OK in "Tania's" world outlook is guilt: "Take a week's vacation from guilt." And, insipidly: "I just get livid when people tell me they feel guilty."

To top off the general tastelensness, obscenity is rife throughout the picture. But, in contrast to *Semi-Tough*, where the obscenity was pointed and funny, it is here as pointless and flat as the entire picture.

The ambience is as trendy and false as the rest of the picture. Mazursky's intent is to celebrate New York, and he tries to load the dice by photographing only the most glamorous parts of the city. But even so, and without dumndum Mazursky's realizing it, the essence of New York manages to shine through: dirty, crowded, hectic, littered, ugly, unpleasant.

There is another important aspect of this picture which no critic has mentioned, either because the critics are too inured or too polite to point it out. This is a very Jewish picture. Aside from Clayburgh and her husband, virtually all the characters are Jewish, either in name or in fact. At a restaurant, Jewish characters eat grossly and yell at the waiter (note, however, that in contrast to *Goodbye, Columbus* and many other satirical films, these people are treated favorably—not only favorably, but as if this is simply what life is!) Alan Bates is Jewish "Saul Kaplan", presumably because Mazursky could not conceive of a Sensitive Male who is not Jewish. When Clayburgh is not flouncing around in her underwear or yakking with her psychotherapist, she is eating lunch with "the club", a group of girlfriends who are clearly all Jewish and who spend their time bitching about men and talking about how unhappy they are. (Is it any wonder that Clayburgh finds them a teeny bit wanting?) In this totally Jewish world, Jill Clayburgh sticks out like a sore thumb. Perhaps Mazursky should have gone all the way, and starred Barbra Streisand. Then our cup truly would have runneth over.

Does this turkey have no redeeming feature? Yes it does, but is only lasts about 60 blissful seconds, after which we're back in Dullsville. In one of the interminable soft-core underwear scenes, suddenly, an old Billie Holiday record appears on the sound-track. So, if you happen to find yourself trapped in this awful picture, when Billie's record comes on, for God's sake close your eyes and listen to that marvelous voice: because that's all there's gonna be.

## Solidarity — (Continued On Page 7)

backing of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.

All, however, ended in a fiasco. The CIO refused to endorse the Wallace movement, and even left-leaning Michael Quill refused to split the CIO over the issue. Progressives could not recruit one single major labor leader or one single city or state labor federation, and Wallace himself feared the "Communist" stigma all through the campaign.

After Wallace's defeat, Communists engaged in internal purges, and their own "McCarthyism" equalled that of the Senator from Wisconsin. Not only were "Browderites" and "Titoists" ferreted out, but a crusade against "white chauvinism" was carried to an absurd length. Some party leaders were deposed, words like "whitewash" were banned, and novelist Howard Fast, something of a Communist showpiece, apologized for some "racist" dialect that, in reality, was quite appropriate to his narrative. Beginning in 1949, the party proclaimed that "the vanguard of the battle against imperialism was no longer the working class as a whole but the black component of it" (emphasis Starobin's). As whites could not "understand" blacks, much less work in the same organization with them, Negroes had to take over leadership roles.

By the time Khrushchev gave his Twentieth Party address of 1956, the party was in shambles. But then American CP efforts to keep in step with the international movement was always a sort of "international Còueism," for it never really knew what was expected of it. "Moscow gave little advice," writes Starobin, "basically because it had no advice to give."

Starobin's book has received kudos from such varied commentators as David A. Shannon, Theodore Draper, and Zbigniew Brzezinski. However, one should treat parts with care, for the author greatly exaggerates Communist strength. It is difficult to see the Communists of the thirties establishing the strongest, most influential radical movement in American history, or the Communists of the forties building "something approaching a mass movement." Claims that Communists grappled with the concept of "black power" since the 1920's are vastly overdrawn, and one looks for evidence that it was the sports editor of the *Daily Worker* who persuaded Branch Rickey to hire black baseball players for the Brooklyn Dodgers.

As we have seen, the history of American left, as with the history of many other mass movements, offers classic cases of cannibalization. In fact, the smaller the stakes—and left movements were often quite weak—the greater the bitterness. One finds heroism to be sure, and the names of Dwight MacDonald and Norman Thomas come most quickly to mind. But the heroism remains that of solitary individuals, people who were able to rise above the dogmatism and expediency that so often surrounded them. As for the movements themselves, one must ask why people ever fought so bitterly in order to recover a heritage and a community that, in reality, had never existed. □

# Tax Revolt — (Continued From Page 1)

Richard H. Headlee, which would simply freeze total state and local taxes at their present percentage level of total personal income in Michigan (9.7%), which of course would raise future taxes as inflation and economic growth raise income levels. The Headlee amendment is typical of the tax limitation approach: a measure that obfuscates and deflects the antitax momentum, that badly misleads the antitax masses. It is far better for the cause if the people vote Yes on Tisch, and No on Headlee, to show the world and the Establishment that they cannot be deflected by conservative tricks: that they mean to cut taxes, and cut them now.

Meanwhile, the Libertarian Party across the country can take pride in the role of libertarians in general and the LP in particular in the fight for Prop. 13. The LP was the only political party grouping that was totally dedicated to Jarvis-Gann, and it was better organized than the Jarvis-Gann forces themselves in most areas. Libertarians spoke long and hard for Prop. 13, and the only San Francisco victory celebration on the night of June 6 took place in the Libertarian Review offices. It was a historic moment, and enjoyed by one and all.

Following is the text of a speech that the editor of the Lib. Forum delivered at the final pro-Prop. 13 rally, on June 4, in the East Bay area, put on by the Jarvis-Gann forces of Contra Costa and Alameda counties. The speech, happily, proved to be prophetic.

### SPEECH FOR PROP. 13

This is a great day—for me and for all of us. I am honored and delighted to be here, to speak at this historic rally—because I know that on Tuesday we're going to win! On Tuesday we're going to send them a message that will make them tremble—not just in California, but all across the country.

For all over this nation there is a rebellion going on against oppressive and crippling taxation. Property taxes are forcing people out of their homes who have worked for these homes all of their lives. Last summer, in Cook County, Illinois, the assessors doubled people's tax bills, and one taxpayer wrote to the local paper: "I bitterly resent the government trying to steal my house from me, and that's what they're doing." In Cook County, the property owners got so mad that they organized a tax strike, and this forced the bureaucrats to lower their assessments.

Rebellion against taxes is an old American tradition. All during the colonial period Americans rose in revolt against the age-old desire of government to keep increasing taxes. When King George said that every transaction in America had to have a high-priced British stamp on it, Americans rose up against the hated Stamp Tax, shouting "Liberty, Property, and No Stamps!" And we all know that the American Revolution began when, in the Boston Tea Party, the people rebelled against the tax and threw the tea into the Boston harbor.

Well, now the eyes of the whole country are on California, and on

Tuesday we will have a California tea party. We are going to pass Proposition 13.

We are going to do it, even though we have been subjected, day after day, to an unprecedented and unremitting campaign of scare and smear against Proposition 13. All the Establishment groups—you name them—are against us. But on Tuesday we will show them that, yes, everyone is against Jarvis-Gann—everyone except the people!

Let us look closely at our opponents: who are the enemies of Proposition 13? Invariably, they are the vested interests. They are the politicians of both parties and the bureaucrats, those leeches who have lived too long and too high off our hard-earned tax dollars. It is bad enough that they have oppressed us for so long with outrageous taxes. Now they are adding insult to injury by using those same taxes to try to scare us, to try to blackmail us out of voting for Proposition 13.

For make no mistake: that is what they are trying to do. They're telling us that if we dare to keep a little more of our own money in our own pockets, they are going to pay us back and make us suffer. But we're going to show them on Tuesday that we're not going to fall for their scheme, and we're not going to pay their blackmail.

We all know enough by now never to trust or believe politicians' promises. So why should we believe their threats?

They tell us that if we pass Jarvis-Gann, there will be no more policemen and no more firemen, that the library books will all go up in a puff of smoke, that the streets and roads will disappear. Well, I'm here to tell you that I come from New York City—where we've gotten along for years with no real police, no firemen, and no streets. But seriously, the total state and local government budget in California will only be cut by a moderate fifteen percent if Jarvis-Gann wins. Is anybody going to tell me seriously that there isn't fifteen percent of fat, of waste in the government budget in California? Are we going to believe that? Frankly, I wish we were going to cut the budget by fifty percent! But that's all right—because Proposition 13 is a great start in the right direction—the direction of bringing runaway government to a halt.

Believe me, the most that will happen after next Tuesday is that some bureaucrats will be set free to seek honest employment in the private sector, where they can submit to paying some taxes for a change instead of living off them.

To get back to us and to our opponents—we are the taxpayers, the people of California and the rest of the country. They are the ones who live off taxes—first the politicians and the bureaucrats, and next their allies in the Establishment: for example, the banks and the bond dealers who live off tax-supported municipal bonds.

The smear artists have been saying that the supporters of Proposition 13 are the rich—a peculiar notion when we realize that the Bank of America is on their side. On Tuesday, we are going to show them how many we are. Millions of people, young and old, from all walks of life, from all over California, are going to the polls and carry Jarvis-Gann to a landslide victory!

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THE

# Libertarian Forum

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## Camp David and After

Now that the hoopla and the hosannahs from Camp David have died down, we are in a position to evaluate what actually happened there, and what the agreements portend for the future of the Middle East.

One thing we are certain did not happen: peace for all time and justice for all peoples in a spirit of mutual concessions were not achieved. For the true meaning of Camp David has become increasingly clear: Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, in betrayal of his long-time commitments to the other Arab nations and to the Palestinian people, has made a separate peace with Israel. What Sadat accomplished was solely in the interest of the Egyptian State: the return of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sinai, and the removal of the Zionist settlements there. And even that sovereignty will be limited; for the Sinai will be virtually demilitarized, and there will be a permanent stationing of United Nations troops in the Sinai near the Israeli border. To top it off, Jimmy Carter has sweetened the deal even further for Israeli Prime Minister Begin by agreeing to build two air bases for Israel near the Sinai border at a cost to the American taxpayer of \$500 million.

Israel's gain from Camp David is enormous. In addition to preserving the Sinai as a buffer zone against any possible Egyptian attack, with the help of the US and the UN, Israel's major gain is simply the separate peace. For Egypt is the strongest Arab military power, and the peace treaty means that Egypt has abandoned the Arab struggle, making another conventional war virtually out of the question for the Arab states.

In return for these inestimable gains, all Begin had to give up was the Zionist settlements in the Sinai. This he accomplished very cleverly by throwing the problem open to the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament), and letting "democracy" decide. As the leader of the ultra-Zionist bloc in the Knesset, Begin was able to cover himself with his own party and to throw the onus for abandoning the settlements on all the political parties in Israel.

It is no accident that clearly the happiest men at the televised proceedings at Camp David were Begin and Carter. Begin has knocked Egypt out of the war. Carter has revived his flagging popularity, restored his image as a strong statesman, and has brought back Zionist funding sources for his reelection campaign.

Sadat, on the other hand, is in much shakier shape. Sadat's own Foreign Minister, Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel, thanked by Begin for his part in negotiations, resigned immediately in protest at the agreements. But just as Carter desperately needed an agreement—any agreement—at Camp David to restore his political fortunes, so Sadat needed some positive conclusion from his quixotic gamble in flying to Israel last November and returning empty-handed. To save his face, Sadat, too, needed an agreement. While Begin, sitting pretty on Israeli conquests, could afford to bide his time. Hence, Begin was able to wait and pick up all the marbles.

But Sadat desperately needed some way to cover himself in Arab public opinion, both for the betrayal of the Palestinians and for the betrayal of his allies. The consequent widely trumpeted "Framework for Peace in

the Middle East" is, simply, a grisly hoax. The Framework is merely a warmed-over version of the Begin plan for localized autonomy for the West Bank which Sadat had angrily rejected last December. Briefly, there is no assurance whatever that Israeli troops will ever leave the West Bank, or that the Zionist settlements there will not be expanded in the next five years, much less dismantled. Begin reaffirms his intention to assert eternal sovereignty over the West Bank, and only agrees to negotiate. Who the negotiators on behalf of the Palestinians will be, or who will represent them in the local government accorded them for the next five years, will depend on the veto of Israel. This means, of course, no role for the major Palestinian group, the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as no role for the millions of Palestinians exiled from both the West Bank and from Israel proper. They will not even be represented, much less assured the right to return to the homes, lands, and properties seized from them by the state of Israel.

As for the other Arab nations, not a word is said in the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East" about Israel's returning the Golan Heights to Syria, or about restoring the holy Muslim places of East Jerusalem to the Palestinians. Jordan is merely allotted the thankless role of supervising the Palestinian "representatives". Despite its long-standing pro-United States and anti-PLO role, Jordan, the bulk of whose citizens are Palestinians, cannot afford to seem too eager to jettison Palestinian interests. Moreover, Jordan's financial and political mentor, Saudi Arabia, devoutly Muslim, has been angered by the failure of the Framework to resolve the problem of East Jerusalem. As a result, Jordan and Saudi Arabia have so far firmly though not very heatedly rejected the Camp David accords. Without Jordanian collaboration, it is doubtful that Egypt alone would try to implement the phony provisions for Palestinian autonomy. As a result, the "Framework" is probably destined to remain a dead letter although still providing Begin with a coverup to assuage American opinion, and Sadat with an even flimsier coverup for the Arab world.

In the short-run, the state of Israel is now in an excellent strategic position. Egypt, the strongest Arab power, has been taken out of the war and effectively neutralized, leaving Israel free to take an even tougher line with the other Arab states. Jordan on Israel's eastern flank, has always been militarily passive, and there are no PLO guerrillas based there ever since "Black September" of 1970, when King Hussein of Jordan turned savagely upon the PLO camps and massacred them. The PLO are mobilized only in Lebanon, but Lebanon, too, has been neutralized by this winter's invasion by Israel. Southern Lebanon is now occupied, partly by UN troops, and partly by anti-Palestinian Christian fanatics in an army organized by the fascistic Phalange and subsidized and equipped by Israel. Both serve as a buffer against any PLO incursion in force into Israel. This leaves only Syria, effectively in control of civil war-torn Lebanon and confronting Israel at the Golan Heights. But Syria is only one nation, far weaker than Israel. (Moreover, rumor has it that

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# Abortion and Rights of the Child

by James Sadowsky, S.J.

Both Murray Rothbard and Walter Block have written articles in this review to the effect that abortion never violates the rights of the unborn child. The womb, being the sole property of the mother, the child becomes a trespasser by the very fact that the mother no longer desires his continued presence. Like any trespasser, they continue, he may be dislodged at the pleasure of the owner. The subsequent death is not intentional (desired as an end or a means) but merely an unintentional byproduct of his expulsion. That this is so is highlighted by Walter when he says that where possible a life-preserving means of expulsion must be used: if this is not done, we are confronted not with just knowingly causing death but with murder. I trust that this is an accurate summary of their position.

My first comment is that the majority of abortions do not fit the above description. What is wanted in most cases is precisely the death of the child. Most of those seeking abortions would be horrified at the thought that the child might survive his expulsion. Just ask your friends if all they are after is simply a premature birth. The recent trial of Dr. Waddil is a good indication of the pro-abortion mentality. He is on trial for the intentional killing of a child who had survived the termination of pregnancy. In a remark attributed to him he expresses his puzzlement about the fact that the same act is acceptable when the foetus is in the womb and is reprobated as infanticide as soon as it is outside. I must say that I share this puzzlement. All of this illustrates the fact that in the eyes of most people abortion is intentional killing although many of those who procure abortions do not realize that what they intend to kill are in fact human beings. Surely the above norms would rule out abortions for

eugenic reasons as well as those obtained in order to "destroy the evidence"?

Nonetheless, adherence to Murray's norms would allow for some abortions. A woman might simply wish not to be bothered with going through a pregnancy. On the other hand she may not care whether the child lives or dies. In this case the death would not be intentional: the mother is interested only in ejecting the "trespasser."

Let us grant for the moment that the child is indeed a trespasser. Does this of itself justify the draconian response that Murray and Walter permit? Does the mere fact that a man is a stowaway justify our throwing him out of the aircraft? Ought we not in the absence of overriding reasons to wait until the aircraft lands? Both traditional natural law theory and the common law have it that our response to aggression should be proportionate to our need to resist and the nature of the attack. Suppose that the inflicting of a lethal wound is the only way to recover a stolen nickel. Is that enough to justify such an act? Of course, one might say: "So much the worse for traditional natural law theory and the common law." But I should think that the burden of proof rests on him that would depart so far from what seems a commonsensical intuition.

At least the stowaway leaves the aircraft in the condition in which he arrived. If the abortion is successful, it is not a living, healthy child that leaves the womb. It is a corpse. Is this any way to treat even an unwanted house guest? While the death of the child may not be intended, this can

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## Camp David — (Continued From Page 1)

Syria's President, Hafez el-Assad, who has played a vacillating centrist role in the Middle East, may be mortally ill. If so, Syria will be weakened still further, at least for a while.

In addition to all that, it is true that such radical Arab states as Iraq, Algeria, and Libya remain fiercely anti-Zionist, but they can do little about it, since they are not front-line or "confrontation" states contiguous with Israel. They can offer financial aid and moral support to the Palestinians, but little else. Camp David has put the quietus, once and for all, to what might be called the official "dove" peace plan, sponsored by doves in the U.S. State Department and by various "soft" Zionists and the peace movement within Israel. The dove plan entailed Israel's withdrawal from all its 1967 and post-1967 conquests, including the West Bank, and the establishment of a genuinely independent Palestinian state in that area, in return for which the new Palestine would pledge to recognize Israel's post-1948 borders and presumably not serve as a base for further assertion of Palestinian rights to the remainder of Israel. The dove plan is now dead, buried by Camp David; and the Israeli peace movement seems perfectly content with the Begin-Sadat-Carter agreement.

In the long-run, however, Israel's situation is not that favorable. Instead, Israel is sitting on top of a cauldron of Palestinian rights to their property, homeland, and national self-determination which have been trampled on and remain as remote as ever. For the major burning question in the Middle East, the rights of the Palestinians, remains unresolved. The most hopeful development of the past decade for the Palestinians has been their resolution to rely, not on the weak reed of Arab nation-states, wedded to their own state interests, but rather on themselves alone, on their national spirit and popular unmilitancy. Until 1967, the Palestinians were content to have their interests fought for by the Arab nations, and the result was a tragic series of expulsions and defeats. After the 1967 rout, the Palestinians developed their own national consciousness, and the PLO emerged as the internationally acknowledged representative for the millions of Palestinians at home and in exile. It is the PLO's struggle, based on the widespread support of the Palestinian people, which offers the only long-term hope for vindication of their rights.

In the last few years, a grave split has occurred within the PLO and between it and other Palestinian political and guerrilla organizations. The PLO "moderates," headed by charismatic leader Yassir Arafat, are willing to accept the pre-1967 solution propounded by the State Department doves. The radicals have angrily spurned that solution as a sellout of the ultimate Palestinian aim: the restoration of the rights and properties of all Palestinians, and a consequent secular, democratic state (with freedom for all religions) in all of Palestine. In the last few years, conflict between the moderates and the radicals has led to armed clashes and the recent assassination of leading moderate PLO diplomats in Western Europe.

We can expect that Camp David, by putting an end to the dove proposal, will serve to unify the PLO and other Palestinians around the more radical program—at least until events might revive the old pre-1967 proposal. But there is another, less heralded but still important, reason for the split among the Palestinians, and this problem is not so easily resolved. For the Arafat wing believes that all Arab nations can be mobilized to aid the PLO in its struggle, that the Arab states can serve as a healthy rear zone to enable the Palestinians to concentrate their political and armed struggles against the Israeli enemy. But many of the radicals, particularly the "rejection front" headed by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and its leader Dr. George Habash, are far more pessimistic about any reliance upon the Arab nations, at least those in the front lines against Israel. They cite, in addition to the current sellout by Egypt, the Jordanian actions of Black September, and the Syrian crushing of the PLO-and-Lebanese Left during the recent civil war in Lebanon. The radicals hold that the quickest way toward victory for the Palestinians over Israel is actually the roundabout way: through safeguarding the Palestinian rear by first promoting the overthrow of the conservative, pro-U.S. governments of the Arab confrontation states, and their replacement by radical regimes which would be thoroughly anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian. How this question will be resolved it is far too early to tell.

At any rate, regardless how the dispute over the Arab regimes eventually turns out, the PLO is bound to be unified and strengthened by the agreements at Camp David, and Arab support for it is bound to increase. Neither Begin nor Carter has heard the last of the PLO. As a PLO official in Beirut commented on Camp David: "It's true there can be no war without Egypt. But there can be no peace without the PLO." □

## Abortion and Rights —

(Continued From Page 2)

hardly be said of the lethal and brutal attack on his body. That attack is the means whereby the expulsion takes place; the foetus does not die as the result of the mother's failure to extend the means of life—it dies of the attack itself. This assault lies altogether too much in the background of the two articles I am criticizing; it is treated as if it were something that took place *en passant*. Clearly this is not the case. If with Murray and Walter you grant that what gets aborted is a child, a living human being; you must then ask yourself what conduct on the part of a human outside the woman would justify the response that occurs when an abortion takes place. It seems to me the one's trespassing must cause us the loss of something of enormous value if we are going to respond to it with a violence that is similar to that inflicted upon the foetus. Does mere annoyance, the loss of comfort justify such an attack on a trespasser? I think not. So even if we accept the trespasser theory, the only permissible abortion would be that which was required to preserve the mother's health. Perhaps, therefore, Sharon Presley is right in her contention that the position we have been discussing is fundamentally an anti-abortion one.

But is the infant a trespasser the moment his presence in the womb is no longer desired! Does he have no right to be there? Murray and Walter simply assume that the infant has no right to be in the womb. Yet it is by no means evident that their answer is the correct one. To say that x is trespassing is to say that he is somewhere where he ought not to be. But where should a foetus be if not in its mother's womb? This is its natural habitat. Surely people have a right to the means of life that nature gives them? If the home in which the infant grew were outside the mother's body, we should all see that to expel him from that home would be to deprive him of the nature-given means of life. Why should the fact that his nature-given home lies within a woman's body change the situation? What is a woman's womb for except to house the infant's body? It is nature that gives the child this home, this means of life. It is from his home that the helpless child is being expelled. When we cast him out, we are depriving him of that which nature gave him. To do this is to violate his rights.

### The Editor Replies:

In the first place, to correct a misunderstanding, while Walter Block and I agree on many things, we are not a monolith. In contrast to Walter, who agrees that the foetus is human, I simply made the assumption for the sake of argument, in order to grant the anti-abortionists their best case. In fact, if I had to "vote" on the issue, I would probably say that the foetus only acquires the status of human upon the act of birth. If so, then of course the foetus has no rights, and the thorny abortion question would be eliminated forever. It seems to me that the problem with the Block-Sadowsky thesis of asserting the foetus to be human is that that act of birth, which I had always naively assumed to be an event of considerable importance in everyone's life, now takes on hardly more stature than the onset of adolescence or of one's "mid-life crisis." Does birth really confer no rights?

As for the womb being the foetus's natural habitat, no doubt, but so is the body of the host the natural habitat of the parasite. Their two natures conflict, and so it would be impossible, even if the two beings could understand language and abstract thought, for either to agree to the natural rights of the other. If vampires existed, theirs and our natures would be in irreconcilable conflict, and we could not grant vampires any natural rights status. Similarly, when unwanted, the foetus simply becomes a parasite whose needs and interests are in irreconcilable conflict with the mother. And even if the foetus is considered to be human, no human has the right to reside unwanted within the body of another. If anyone has any rights at all, as Jim Sadowsky has acknowledged elsewhere, then each person must have the absolute right to own one's own body. If the foetus is unwanted, then it is violating that right, and, nature or no, the mother has the right to eject it posthaste. Even if a woman's womb is "for" the housing of an infant, human beings have, and ought to enjoy, absolute freedom of individual choice. We all have the capacity to do and be many things that we may not choose to undertake. I may have the capacity to jog every morning but I have the

right to choose not to do so. A woman has the absolute right to choose not to bring her womb into use.

Jim Sadowsky is worried about ejecting a stowaway on an airplane. Yes, I suppose that that would be "overkill", to coin a pun. But the point here is that, just as an assault on someone's body is a more heinous crime than the theft of his property, so the trespassing on or within a person's body is a far more heinous trespass than merely strolling on his land or stowing away on an aircraft. For the crime of trespassing within a person's body, any means necessary to evict the trespasser should be legitimate.

Jim Sadowsky asks what conduct of a human outside the woman would justify the response similar to the brutality of abortion. Judith Jarvis Thomson trenchantly offers an analogous case. Suppose that you are kidnapped and find yourself hooked up via a kidney machine to a pianist who needs continuous infusion from your kidneys in order to live (his "nature"). Furthermore, to complete the analogy, he only will need your kidneys for nine months, after which he will be unhooked, and there is no danger to your own kidneys or health in the meantime. I say that you would have the right, not merely to unplug yourself from his kidneys, but to be damned "brutal" about it if necessary to get your body out of its enslavement, even if it kills the pianist in the process. Would Father Sadowsky say differently?

Jim Sadowsky stresses the point that most mothers who commit abortion in fact desire not only the ejection, but also the death of the foetus (or, as he persists in referring to it, of the "child.") Here I don't think the intention of the parent makes any difference. If the objective act itself—the ejection of the foetus—is licit and not an act of aggression, then the subjective intentions of the parent make no difference.

Jim writes that "if the home in which the infant grew were outside the mother's body, we should all see that to expel him from that home would be to deprive him of the nature-given means of life." I'm not sure I know what "expel" would mean in this context. But in the relevant possible future case of a "test-tube" foetus, grown of course in a man-made means of life, it surely would not be "murder" to pull the plug, to cease investing resources in keeping the foetus alive. □

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

**Echoes of the Thirties.** In our May, 1977 issue, I reviewed "Rare Big Band Gems, 1932-1947", 6 LP sides issued by the Nostalgia Book Club, and available only to book club members. This marvellous set was selected by one of the country's leading experts on jazz and pop recordings of the era, Neil McCaffrey, until very recently head of the Nostalgia Book Club. Now, another set of records, "Echoes of the Thirties", has been selected by McCaffrey and issued by the Nostalgia Book Club on the same basis. Only membership in the club can give you access to these recordings.

"Echoes of the Thirties" is an even more mammoth contribution: here are ten LP sides, the recording arranged chronologically from January 1930 to December 1939. Once again, McCaffrey has selected good but obscure and forgotten contributions characteristic of the era. This time, however, McCaffrey has attempted, not so much to cull the forgotten bests of the great bands, but to convey to the listener a representative panorama of the pop music of the Thirties. He has succeeded admirably; but, as a result, there are several novelty and kitsch recordings which can well be skipped on rehearing. I think particularly of such well-deserved obscurities as: Smith Ballew and his "Sing, You Sinners"; the California Ramblers "The Peanut Vendor"; Connie Boswell-Glen Gray and "Washboard Blues"; the always execrable Phil Harris and "How's About It?"; Raymond Scott's "Twilight in Turkey"; and Slim and Slam's "Flat Foot Floogies" (and the floy, floy!) But if we count up these and other turkeys, they make up only 14 out of the 70 records in this set. (Unfortunately, the first two sides have a high proportion of the turkeys, so the listener may be well advised to start with the third side and work back to the first two after he has heard the treasures they contain).

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## Arts — (Continued From Page 3)

Apart from these novelty tunes, the rest of the records are fine and some are outstanding. It is, overall, an excellent and worthy collection. Some of my particular favorites: The Dorsey Brothers' "Home" (1931), featuring Wes Vaughn on the vocal, Tommy Dorsey on the trombone and Charlie Margulis on trumpet; the marvelous Ruth Etting's vocal on "When We're Alone" (1932), with the great Joe Venuti on violin; Eddie Cantor's "Look What You've Done" (1932); Gertrude Niesen's vocal, "You're Mine, You" (1933); the superb and underrated vocalist Russ Colombo's "Let's Pretend There's A Moon" (1934); Benny Goodman's "When Love Comes Swinging Along" (1934), with Benny on clarinet and Peter Cantor on vocal; Red Allen's "I'll Never Say 'Never Again' Again" (1935), with Red on trumpet and vocal and Dickie Wells on trombone; Mildred Bailey-Red Norvo's "Little Joe" (1937), with the marvellous Mildred vocal; Duke Ellington's "Lambeth Walk" (1938), with Cootie Williams outstanding on trumpet and Lawrence Brown on trombone; and Benny again in "Rendezvous Time in Patee" (1939).

But I must give special mention to several records by artists of whom I had never heard, and who turned out to be real revelations. Greta Keller's vocal on "I Wake Up Smiling" (1933) was one such revelation; as were Midge Williams and her Jazz Jesters, "Love is Like Whiskey" (1938), featuring Midge on vocal and Pete Brown on alto sax; and, another surprise, Jerry Kruger and her Orchestra, "Summertime"

(1939), with Jerry on vocal, and the great Buck Clayton on trumpet.

My Number One favorite, and revelation, from this stellar collection was a vocal by Carl Brisson, on a song I had never heard of, "Be Careful, Young Lady" (1935). Sung with what appears to be a slight but marked German accent, Brisson delivers a masterful blend of melody and lyric:

Be careful, young lady,  
This is the only heart I own,  
Be careful, young lady,  
Your're stepping in the danger zone

Your eyes are saying  
Things you know are indiscreet,  
Why start in playing  
Games you'll never dare complete?

Be careful, young lady,  
The moon is dangerous and bright,  
I'm warning you, lady,  
I'm not responsible tonight

Watch out where you're heading  
It's slippery ground you're treading,  
Be careful, young lady,  
Before it's too late.

(The Nostalgia Book Club can be reached at 165 Huguenot St., New Rochelle, New York 10801.) □

# Slaves Contracts and the Inalienable Will

by Sheldon Richman

In his letter to Thomas F. Bayard in 1882, Lysander Spooner, the individualist-anarchist and constitutional lawyer, wrote, "No man can delegate, or give to another, any right of arbitrary dominion over himself; for that would be giving himself away as a slave. And this no one can do. Any contract to do so is necessarily an absurd one, and has no validity."

I wish to argue here that Spooner is correct; that so-called slave contracts can have no rational legal standing.

At first blush, it may seem that the issue is of no importance outside the ivory tower. After all, how many people seek to become slaves? But I believe this issue is crucial for two reasons. First, it is of abstract philosophical importance because our solution will shed light on our conception of self-ownership and the right to life. Secondly, it is of concrete importance because our answer will determine our solution to such problems as military desertion, breach of personal service contracts, etc. If slave contracts are invalid, it shouldn't matter if the contract is for life or for a shorter period of time.

Spooner's statement may stop some natural-rights advocates short. If you can't "give yourself away as a slave," isn't this a severe limit on individual liberty? And if this limit can be demonstrated, why not others? In short, isn't this point of view profoundly anti-libertarian? Shouldn't one be free to give up freedom?

Stated this way the issue is obscure. Surely no one would argue that one has no right to work for another person under mutually agreeable terms. And those terms could conceivably RESEMBLE slavery in that A could agree to do whatever B commands. But as we shall see, the agreement, by logical necessity, is a qualified one. In other words, I intend to demonstrate, as others have, that the logical qualification to the agreement is "as long as A wants to."

Why is this so? The reason comes into view after a careful look at what a slave contract would mean. A slave is one who belongs—mind and body—to his master, one who doesn't own, i.e. possess the right of use and disposal of, his will and person. It is important to realize that all slavery entails the subordination of one will to another. The necessity of using the

possessive "his" despite the slave's status indicates the contradiction involved.

A slave contract would mean the willful giving up of one's will. The contradiction shows its face further.

How can one give up one's will? The will, after all, is the thing that makes a person a person. It is the self. It is that about a person which is aware, which intends, which values, which feels, which OWNS. Can one give up ownership to that about him which owns? What is giving up what? If the will is being given up, what's doing the giving? If the will is doing the giving, what is it giving up? To say the will is giving itself away seems a peculiar, if not an absurd, statement.

This becomes clearer when coupled with the fact that a person can never transfer control of his inseparable will. It is impossible for anyone to directly control another will. A will can only control itself and no other. If Jones commands Smith to perform an action, the action will be performed only if Smith wills it. Threats of force notwithstanding, Smith has to exercise his will to perform the action. Jones cannot exercise it for him.

(This by no means undermines the moral evaluation of coercive interaction. To say that an action is involuntary or "against one's will" doesn't mean that the aggressor exercised the victim's will. It means that the victim would not have exercised it in that particular way were it not for the threat of force. In this sense, all actions are voluntary.)

This has devastating logical implications for slave contracts. If you can't give up your will, how can you give up your right to exercise it? The right of contract is built on the foundation of the free and sovereign will. But if that's so, there can be no contractual obligation where there IS no free and sovereign will. To invoke such an obligation is to be guilty of a logical contradiction or, as the Objectivists say, of the fallacy of the stolen concept.

This means that an unfree and unsovereign will—if there were such a thing—could have no obligation to obey its master.

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## Slaves Contracts —

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We can take this one step further. Not only is there no obligation to obey, but an act of obedience would violate the contract because the slave would have to assume control, i. e. ownership, of the will. It may be objected that the master, in giving a command, is giving the slave permission to resume control of his former will for a specific purpose, just as you could give someone permission to borrow the car you just purchased for him.

But this objection doesn't hold. Because in order to give the slave permission to "borrow" his will, the slave would first have to exercise it to listen to and grasp the nature of the permission. But how could he legally exercise a will to which he has no right before being granted permission? He would first have to get permission to use the will for the purpose of getting permission to perform the action.

But that obviously leads to an infinite regress of permission-granting.

To sum up, if slave contracts are somehow construed as valid, the slave has no obligation to honor his master and, indeed, has an obligation to refrain from honoring his master.

That which makes the contract legally binding—the necessity of a sovereign will—is what makes it invalid.

The whole contractual structure collapses in ludicrous contradiction because the philosophical rug has been pulled out from under it.

It conjures up the helpful and clever image used by Williamson Evers in his article, "Toward a reformulation of the law of contracts" (*The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Winter 1977). Writes Evers, "Using a piece of equipment mounted on the upper stories of a building to knock out the foundation of the same building will do nothing but bring down the entire edifice." (I recommend Evers' article and Murray N. Rothbard's "Man, Economy and State" for full discussion of the responsibility for certain damages when labor contracts are broken.)

The upshot is that one may not be forced to perform services regardless of promises made. Most important here is the absolute moral right to quit the armed forces even—or should I say especially—during war. □

## The Street Peddler

by Walter Block

The street peddler has always come under criticism. He is uncontrolled, unlicensed, under foot. He takes unfair advantage of the local merchants who have to pay rent. He cannot be easily taxed, so the city loses revenue. He clutters up the sidewalk, making it difficult for pedestrians to pass by. The street peddler is likened to the fly-by-night businessman who, having no permanent address, is able to cheat customers without risk of being caught.

The peddler is a convenient target for those who wish to rail against non-uniformity. When a Congressman, Ed Koch (D. N.Y.) seemingly based his entire re-election campaign on an anti-street peddler platform. He went out of his way to lecture the street peddlers (in front of the television cameras, of course), berating them for their supposed lack of respect for pedestrians, their greediness, their refusal to comply with the anti-peddler laws.

In spite of this sniping at the peddler, or perhaps rather because of it, we would do well to consider the case in favor of the street peddler. For we can never go far wrong on the principle that if a prominent politician is attacking a group, there must be **something good** about it. And in this case, as we shall see, there is much merit in the principle. For not "only" are there many beneficial effects of street peddling that have been overlooked, but it is also easy to show that the street peddler has as much right to be on the street as anyone else; certainly more right to be on the street than other groups who could be mentioned, such as the politicians who are so busy attacking them.

One good effect of the street peddler is that he serves as a natural inhibition of street crime. The street peddler has an interest in the prevention of crime because he is one of its principal victims. One of the great inhibitors of street crime, as Jane Jacobs has demonstrated in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, is the presence of many "eyes on the street". No one, it seems, is very comfortable committing a crime while being watched by other people. But the street peddler's self-interest keeps his eyes firmly focussed on the street looking for customers, thereby contributing to the stifling of crime. And yet it is the self-same politico who complains most bitterly about the street peddler for violating the commercial law, that is also a staunch advocate of law and order. We cannot have it both ways. Either we defend the right of the peddler to transact business and to hell with the lost city tax revenues, or we defend the "right" of the city to its tax revenues, and to hell with the safety and comfort of the people. One is either for the people or for the city government, and it is clear where the self-interest of the big politicoes lies.

Another good effect of street peddling is that it imparts a sense of festival to our city streets. There is perhaps nothing that livens up 8th street in the Village, or 125th street in Harlem, more than its many peddlers, hawking their varied wares, putting on impromptu concerts, and generally entertaining the passers-by. Every time the police break up a steel band performance, or a jazz recital, or entertainment by a solo violinist, they earn the rightful enmity of the crowds and disrupt just a bit of the carnival atmosphere New York City so desperately needs. It is the bureaucratic impulse to control, control, control, that underlies city ordinances which limit such concerts to a very few restricted areas and completely stifle it elsewhere.

We have in New York City a severe unemployment problem and skyrocketing welfare rolls. Yet the reaction of the "responsible" politicians to the spectre of people taking the initiative to start their own businesses is one of repression. Instead of applauding the ambition, the pioneer spirit, the protestant ethic exhibited by the street peddlers, the full force of law is ready to swoop down and repress.

The option of going into business by renting a store is not really open to many poor people. One must pay sometimes up to six months rent in advance as security for a lease on a store. Surely a great obstacle to free enterprise. When we look at the pictures of New York City street life at the turn of the century, we are impressed with the omnipresence of the pushcart peddlers. What would be the fortunes of many of our present day store merchants had their parents suffered under the same repressive ordinances that burden the economic "outs" of today? Not very good at all. It is therefore the grossest hypocrisy for these beneficiaries of an earlier free enterprise system to complain about a later generation of free marketeers.

The argument that street peddlers take unfair advantage of the store merchants is likewise without merit. It is the duty and unique ability of the entrepreneur to bring to the customer the product at the lowest price possible. If the peddler can take advantage of cost savings to sell the product cheaper and take business away from competitors, that is all to the good. Efficiency and cost cutting best serve the public. It is no more unfair for the peddler to take business from the department store than it was for the supermarket to take business away from the grocery store. In each case a better product and better service was enjoyed by the public.

The origin of the problem, of course, is that there is no clearly defined owner of the streets and sidewalks. To say that they are publicly owned is really no answer at all, because if we all own it, no one really owns it at all. □

## Why Free Schools are not Free

by Frank Chodorov

Ed. Note: Frank Chodorov was one of the giants of libertarianism in the 1940's and '50's, someone whose courage, genuine individualism, consistency of thought, and felicity of style were an inspiration to us all. Chodorov was Albert Jay Nock's leading disciple, and brought Nockianism to us after Nock himself had passed from the scene. It is a shame that Chodorov is unknown to the current generation of libertarians. His collections of essays and other volumes, published during the nadir of libertarianism and scarcely read even then, are out of print and forgotten today. This essay, we hope, will do a little to bring back Chodorov from obscurity. It is reprinted from his marvelous one-man monthly broadsheet, *analysis*, October, 1948.

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DIXON is an obscure mountain village in New Mexico; population 1,200. Its obscurity is presently disturbed by a problem of democracy: the divorcement of secular and religious training in tax-supported schools. Reports have it that the Catholic citizenry, who seem to be politically in the ascendancy in New Mexico, have got hold of the management of the Dixon school system, introducing their catechism into the curriculum and putting the teaching nuns on the payroll. The Protestant minority vehemently denounce this as an abuse of democratic principle, as well as a misuse of public funds, and have brought the matter to law. Non-Catholic elements outside New Mexico have come to their support, and thus the contention becomes national in scope. Dixon is no longer a village; it is a new battleground in the old war between ecclesiasticism and secularism in education.

The issue will not be settled in the court of law, which can come up with only a temporary compromise, for involved is the larger question as to whether schooling is a proper function of the State. If we admit that it is, then we must also admit that the subject matter of education will be decided by those in control of the political machinery and will vary with the incidence of control. It is silly to think otherwise. The notion that a political institution can be divorced from politics is typical American jabberwocky.

Right now the group most concerned with getting control of tax-supported schools are the theologians. Catholics are particularly active in this effort—for reasons inherent in their faith—but that they have the support of other creeds was shown in the fight for "released time" in New York. Practically the entire clerical fraternity (except Jews, whose religious classes are conducted in the evening) joined in demanding that time be set aside for out-of-school religious education. Suppose the children prefer to devote this time to play, rather than the designated purpose, suppose they are encouraged to do so by their non-religious parents, will not the clericals carry on? Will they not strive to put religious training into the regular curriculum? In the matter of "released time," and in the demand that public funds be used to convey children to parochial schools, the clericals have shown that they can throw their political weight around. How can they be prevented from asking that their teachers be permitted to give religious instruction in the school buildings? Or, perhaps, that these teachers be put on the public payrolls?

Let us extend the doctrine of "separation" to other than religious subjects. Large gobs of Socialistic doctrine have seeped into our school text books and teachers of that persuasion are its protagonists. While Socialism is not organized along church lines, the element of faith in it gives the ideology a religious tinge, and the attitude of Socialists toward nonbelievers as sinful and wicked suggests a further similarity. Well, how did Socialism creep into the school curriculum if not by the political power acquired by its devotees? The outlawing of the teaching of evolution by the anti-Darwinians is another case in point. Then again, because the Constitutionalists were in the ascendancy in the beginning of our country, the Federalist point of view never got into our history books. How can it be otherwise? As long as schooling is a function of the State, the dominant political group will determine what and how the children will be trained. And for good reason.

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The business of education is the transmission of ideas from those who

have them to those who are lacking; that is, from elders to youngsters. But, all ideas acquire value, and those which carry the greatest weight with the elders are the ones which the pupils will be exposed to. Education, therefore, can never be free from the prejudice and preconceptions of elders; even if the teacher enjoys "academic freedom" he is not free from the values he has built up in his mind. Objectivity is impossible save with a mind that is incapable of weighing facts. A transcendentalist will somehow drag in the concept of "natural laws" even in teaching physics, and the pragmatist will go out of his way to denounce it; a collectivist cannot help insinuating that Jefferson's "natural rights" is an archaism,

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## Free Schools — (Continued From Page 6)

nor from extolling the modernism of Hamilton's centralization idea. Can the free-trader avoid berating protectionist history?

It is because of this value-emphasis that private schools are established and endowed. The parent selects for his son a classical school or a military school because he puts a higher value on that kind of education; he believes his son is deserving of what he considers better, even if "better" is mere ostentation. One may question the judgment of the parent, but one does not question his right; it is his son and his money.

When we get into adult education the heterogeneity of values is most confusing. There are schools for the teaching of anarchism, the mystic religions, existentialism, decentralism, every shade of Marxism, the ideas of Mary Baker Eddy, of Henry George—schools without end, to say nothing of purely vocational schools. Every enthusiasm has its discipline, and so as long as private opinion and private property are not outlawed there will be institutions designed to propagate it. Society is none the worse for this practice; in fact, it can be socially beneficial, so long as it remains a private purpose, for the more values flying around in the cultural air the less likelihood of its being fouled up with a uniformity.

The tax-supported school cannot permit such free flight to intellectual enthusiasm. By right of ownership every citizen feels that his values should be included in the curriculum, but by the same right others press their values and in the end somebody must be cheated. The monopolist objects because his line of business is disparaged in the economics course, the chauvinist denounces the history teacher for debunking national heroes, the classicist decries the emphasis on modernism, and—above all—the secularization made necessary by a diversity of creeds satisfies nobody except the irreligious. The tax-supported school is adomination to somebody, no matter what or how it teaches.

The State as teacher tries to keep to the middle road, which is a denial of all values and satisfies nobody. But, even as a compromiser the State is a failure, for it is compelled by political considerations to favor the values of dominant elements in the community. The Texas school reader glamorizes the oil industry, trade unionism must be treated gingerly in industrial centers, and in the South "white supremacy" is intimated even by the fact of segregation. Furthermore, the attempt to find a compromise is abandoned and bias reigns supreme when the State grinds its own axe in the schoolroom. In mentioning our fiscal system can the tax-paid teacher even hint at the immorality of taxation? Can he void the glorification of political scoundrels in the school books? And now that we have gone in for State-captialism in a big way, how can he question the correctness of TVA, public housing or the monopoly of the mails?

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The private school—the school in which you pay for what you want—would be ideal if it were truly private. But, as in all human affairs, the tentacles of the State reach out into this sphere of education and create disturbance and iniquity. Escape from political interference is impossible as long as men use political means to advance their private purposes.

In pushing their claim for tax-paid transportation for parochial school pupils, the Catholics maintained that under our fiscal system they were paying double for the education of their children; they taxed themselves for the kind of education they deemed desirable and were levied upon for the maintenance of secular schools. Though the transportation issue was finally decided by the weight of the Catholic vote, not by reason, there is an enticing plausibility in this argument; but, when you extend it you come to disturbing questions. Since the general taxpayer provides books and lunches and equipment for the public school pupil, as well as transportation, why not spread this largesse? Should not the private school teacher be put on the public payroll? On the other hand, if the taxpayer contributes anything to the maintenance of the private school why should he not have some say in the subject matter taught?

Furthermore, private schools forfeit their right to complete privacy by asking and getting tax-favors; exemption of their real estate from local levies for one thing. Not only is the property they use for educational purposes untaxed, but in some localities even the property they rent out to commercial institutions is similarly favored. The exemption amounts to a subsidy. For, the values of these properties, frequently located in city

centers, are enhanced by the conveniences provided by the taxpayers; the amount of this subsidy is sometimes considerable, as can be ascertained when a school, or a church, disposes of its old site.

There are other tax-favors which make the private school beholden to the State. Where sales taxes obtain, its purchases are frequently excused. If it carries on any commercial venture in connection with its educational business, such as publishing, that venture pays no tax profits. Then, of course, there is the big advantage of being able to advertise that under its "charter" contributions to its treasury are deductible in computing personal and corporation income taxes.

Thus, the private school sacrifices its integrity on the altar of special privilege. It cannot claim immunity for its values simply because it regularly sells out its immunity. Under the circumstances, "academic freedom"—vis-a-vis the State—is a specious assertion; no private school is likely to jeopardize its privileges by teaching what the State may consider "subversive," and should the State decide to make use of the school's facilities (including the faculty and the curriculum) for its own purposes it would be entirely within its rights.

In the full sense of the word, a free school is one that has no truck with the State, via its taxing powers. The more subsidized it is the less free it is. What is known as "free education" is the least free of all, for it is a State-owned institution; it is socialized education—just like socialized medicine or the socialized post office—and cannot possibly be separated from political control. As for being "free" in the sense of being without cost, that is one of those impostor terms we like to use to hide ugly facts from ourselves; our public education is fully paid for, with all its deficiencies and inadequacies. And it is paid for mainly by the poor, not the rich, because the poor in the aggregate constitute the largest segment of society and therefore pay the most in taxes. It would be an interesting, though useless, exercise to compute the number of private schools that could be maintained with the total amount exacted from us, locally and nationally, for politicalized education.

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The root-question raised by the Dixon affair is not the separation of the church from the school; it is the separation of the school from the State. The channelling of education along religious lines is a consequence of socialization. These days we associate the effort to introduce ecclesiasticism into the schoolroom with the Catholic church. But, the fact is that in the early history of our country the Protestant denominations fought bitterly against the secularization of all American institutions, including the school, and their lack of success was due mainly to their rivalries; wherever any sect was in the saddle its particular catechism was obligatory education. Even in the lifetime of the present writer, the reading of the New Testament in the daily school assembly was objected to by the Jews, who were promptly rebuffed with the assertion that this is a "Christian country." It should be recalled that only the agnostic leanings of several Constitutional Fathers prevented the official designation of the new nation as a "Christian country"—which, by a strange twist of bigotry, meant an anti-Catholic country; there were few Jews and fewer Mohammedans in the colonies.

If we start with the premise that education is a proper function of the State we must be prepared to accept the corollary: that the kind of education the State dispenses will be that which those in control consider desirable. For the State is not an impersonal or impartial deity; it is a committee of persons, replete with desires, prejudices, values. To the Catholic the highest values are embraced in the sacraments of his church—enjoying divine sanction—and his conscience impels him to promote acceptance of these values. For a thousand years, therefore, he has been preeminently a teacher. When the opportunity falls into his hands, as it has in Dixon, to use political power to advance his cause, he would indeed be lacking in integrity if he failed to take advantage of it. Would it be any different if a Hindu, a Baptist, an atheist or a communist fell heir to political power?

This wrangling over ecclesiasticism in education is a tweedledee-tweedledum argument. If we would reform our educational system basically we must de-socialize it. We must put it back where it belongs, in the hands of parents. Theirs is the responsibility for the breeding of children, and theirs is the responsibility for the upbringing. The first error of public schooling is the shifting of this responsibility, the transformation of the children of men into wards of the State. All the other evils follow from that. □

# The ABM Rises from the Grave

by Bill Birmingham

Picking the greatest Pentagon boondoggle of all time would be a difficult task—considering the competition (the B-1, Condor, C-5A, Matador/Regulus/Snark, TFX, Skybolt, the “atomic airplane”, and so on according to the taste and stamina of the reader)—but the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) would surely head a lot of lists. In the late 60s the conservatives made support for ABM a litmus test of one’s devotion to “national security”, and proposed to spend as much as \$50 billion on it. Objections that no ABM system could be perfect, and that even a perfect system could be “saturated” by a sufficiently heavy attack, left them unmoved. But anti-militarist forces prevailed, and the proposed “thick” ABM system was scaled down to the “thin” Safeguard system.

Then came SALT I, and the US and the Soviet Union (whose own ABM efforts, such as they were, were naturally billed as proof positive of aggressive intentions) limited themselves by treaty to just two ABM sites each, one protecting each nation’s ICBM’s and one its capital city, with no more than 100 missiles at each site. However, someone noticed that Washington could not be defended by an ABM. Its coastal location meant that there would be almost no warning of a submarine-launched missile (SLBM) attack. The incoming SLBM could only be destroyed, if at all, at such a low altitude that Washington would be wiped out by the ABM’s own nuclear warhead—a prospect that hardly pleased our rulers. So a new treaty reduced the US and USSR to one ABM site apiece with only 64 missiles—coincidentally the exact number the Soviets had at their one site guarding Moscow. (The conservatives, of course, have never given the Soviets any credit for this unilateral concession on their part.) The only American ABM site was built near Grand Rapids, N.D., at a cost of over \$6 billion. Eventually even the most rabid warhawks admitted that the 1064 American ICBMs couldn’t be protected with 64 ABM missiles, and the Pentagon finally pulled the plug on ABM in 1975. (See “The AMB Slips Away”, Lib. Forum, January 1976.)

Or So we thought! For according to the prestigious Aviation Week and Space Technology (“Quickened Pace Sought in Missile Defense”, May 22, 1978), the Pentagon is hard at work trying to breathe life into the ABM’s mouldering corpse. The Army (who is responsible for the ABM as part of its “air defense” function) is presently investigating new concepts for an “improved” ABM; and if you thought the old Safeguard system was a boondoggle, read on and see what the new ABM may be like.

Safeguard used a “layered defense”; the long-range Spartan missile (tipped, by the way, with an enhanced radiation warhead—a “neutron bomb”) was to destroy incoming missiles above the atmosphere, while the short-range Sprint took care of those that got by Spartan. The new ABM is to be “layered” also. But under the Spartan/Sprint-type layer(s) may be such things as:

—A “single-silo intercept” system. The Army thinks that some of its current anti-aircraft missiles (Hawk, Hercules, etc.) can be “upgraded”

so that they are capable of hitting incoming ICBMs. Just give the contractors enough money. That also seems to be the reasoning behind:

—“Aimed projectile” concepts. Such items as “Porcupine” (lots of steel darts), light gas guns” (a glorified air rifle. Perhaps Daisy will get the contract), and “salvo guns” are under consideration. Existing air defense guns (perhaps firing “depleted-uranium projectiles”), cannon firing atomic shells, and terminally-guided artillery shells such as the Martin-Marietta “Copperhead” may also find a place in a new ABM system. True, shooting down a rocket with artillery is now thought to be impossible, but for \$X billion maybe some automatic fire-control system can be built to do the job. If not, there are still:

—Barriers”. “Lollipop, an “unguided nuclear missile” (and wouldn’t it be fun to live next to that?), will detonate at a preset altitude to blast anything that happens to be up there. Closer in, nuclear “rockpiles”, atomic bombs buried like landmines, could throw up enough dirt and gravel (it says here) to destroy enemy missiles on the shrapnel principle. (Lots of fallout for the folks downwind, but c’est la guerre.) And for really close in defense, the Army is seriously considering “a bed of nails concept with 5-7 ft. steel rods deployed in ICBM fields to impale reentry vehicles before impact and detonation.” (I swear by Rand, Branden, and the Holy Galt that I am not making this up. You can read it for yourself in AW&ST.)

You think it’s funny, comrades? Well, maybe you’ll stop laughing when I tell you that the Army will spend \$355.1 million in fiscal 1979 to study these things. Or when I tell you that they have the support of the House Armed Services Committee, which wants them ready for testing by 1981, two years ahead of the Pentagon’s schedule. Or that “In some cases,” as AW&ST puts it in the aerospace industry’s spavined prose, “the ABM treaty . . . will have to be amended or abrogated to enable a deployment decision.” And, to the best of my knowledge, the general media have yet to notice any of this.

Why is the ABM making a comeback? According to AW&ST, it’s to counter that ever-popular bogey, the “Soviet first-strike capability.” Supposedly, by 1985 or so the number and accuracy of the Soviet Union’s nuclear missile warheads will enable her to destroy virtually all (“90%”) of the United States’ Minuteman ICBMs in a surprise attack. You or I might not think this very important (see “The ‘Defense Gap’ Mythology”, Lib. Forum, April 1976), since the US would still have some 5000 nuclear warheads left on her SLBMs alone. Still, REASON’s House Warmonger, the egregious R. J. Rummel, has said that “no American president” would use them to retaliate in the event of a Soviet first-strike. Alas, I don’t know why Rummel said this, and can only quote Demeunier: “It is clear that this is nonsense, and one is not able to give a reason for nonsense.” Which, in the last analysis, is also all one can say about the new ABM. □

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## Lessons of People's Temple

It is less important to wallow in the horrible and bizarre details of People's Temple than to draw lessons from the terrible event for ourselves and for the future.

Lesson No. 1. Shun as the plague all cults and gurus; if you find yourself getting drawn into one, run, don't walk, to the nearest exit. It is unfortunately not enough to claim that libertarians, with their devotion to the independence of the individual, are immune from the temptations of cults. Inconsistent it may be, but we all know better. While our most rabid cult died a decade ago, libertarians are still too often prone to cultic seizures.

How do you know if the group you're in is a cult? Much has been written of this subject since the charnel-house at Jonestown, but a few of the symptoms are particularly important:

(a) Beware of any group that places one man—or woman—on a pedestal, so that this person becomes the ultimate decider of all questions, and loyalty to him or her becomes the highest good. Loyalty to one person must never be allowed to supersede an individual's independent judgment. In short, shun the Cult of Personality.

(b) Beware of any group that tries to mould and dictate every aspect of each member's life and personality. That is, shun totalitarianism—the total commitment and subordination of one's being to any group.

(c) Watch out for any group that uses degradation of the individual to recruit and maintain his or her membership. Invasion of privacy, dictation, insults, "punishments", assuming control of a member's life—any use of such tactics should be enough to hurry one out the door, and pronto.

In short, you don't have to be the State to be a totalitarian monster, although, of course, it helps.

Lesson No. 2. The washing of hands, the haste to justify their at best criminally negligent actions, makes the responses of many of our left-liberal politicians even more repellent than usual. For the Rev. Jones was quite the darling of left-liberalism in San Francisco and elsewhere. Even after the People's Temple in California was exposed in a prescient and courageous article by Marshall Kilduff and Phil Tracy in *New West* in July 1977, such liberal Democratic politicians as California Assembly Speaker Agnos and Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally angrily defended the People's Temple from the article's charges. The defense that these politicians didn't know any better just won't wash. Certainly after the charges and even before, it was the responsibility of these politicians to investigate the People's Temple a bit before leaping to its defense.

One thing everyone should surely learn from this episode: pay no attention to the fulsome encomiums that one politician lavishes on another. We now find that all of this is just routine.

Lesson No. 2 also demonstrates how to acquire influence over left-liberal politicians: sound nice and bring out the troops in campaigns. The blend of "altruism" and self-interest becomes irresistible.

Lesson No. 3 can emerge by examining two pro-Jonesian lines that have emerged on the liberal-left to try to justify their previous support to the Rev. Jones and People's Temple.

One variant we might call the naive pro-Jonesian line. The naive pro-Jonesians sigh that Jones created a beautiful "paradise" in the jungle by "helping" people, building "community", etc., until, tragically and suddenly—maybe due to drugs or fever—the Rev. Jones "went mad." But this fable simply won't wash. All the lineaments of the cult—the physical beatings, the tortures, the totalitarian control, the sexual oppression—had been going on for years, and ex-victims had been trying to warn the authorities in vain.

More significant is the sophisticated pro-Jonesian line: that the Jones cult always had two schizoid sides: "the beautiful side" in which Jones helped people, fed the poor, constructed farms, etc., and the "dark side" in which he exercised brutal power and control over his subjects. The fatal flaw in this view is that it ignores the inextricable linkage: for both are two sides to the same monstrous coin. The "beautiful help" was the means by which Jones achieved total power over his deluded subjects. It was the bait to lure the suckers.

Moreover, if we examine the "help", we find that it too was phony. For the upshot of the free lunches and the rest was that the cult members were induced to strip themselves bare to donate their life's savings and assets to the Rev. Jones. We must never forget that Jones not only amassed total power over his cultists; he also piled up millions from their contributions to his welfare.

That's another point about cults that one must always watch out for: the flow of funds (as well as labor services). Invariably, the flow goes rapidly upward: from the deluded member up to the guru and his minions.

Jones, his wife, and their crew, by the way, all sounded like walking villains straight out of the *Fountainhead*. Old friends and acquaintances of Jim and Marcelline, even back to childhood, kept saying about them after the carnage: "All Jim (or Marcelline) wanted to do was to help others." The kind of "help," of course, which led inexorably to the mass murder-suicide at Jonestown.

Let us take the opportunity to examine Jones's alleged "madness." Let us skip over for a moment the paranoid fantasies which, very much like the Weathermen at the end of the 1960's, saw American society and the American public as so hopelessly evil that drastic measures had to be taken to remove the cult from American society—and eventually from the world itself. Let us instead consider that Jonesian cult structure before the final cataclysm. Was Jones's totalitarian behavior truly "mad"? But Jones was getting out of all this huge amounts of three of mankind's deepest and most pervasive goals: money, sex, and power. However repellent he was, Jones was getting it all, and it seems to me that he was in fact crazy like a fox. The people, the motivations that I

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## People's Temple — (Continued From Page 1)

can't understand are Jones's followers—the suckers who were contributing money, sex, and power to Jones and who were so obedient to their guru that most of them were willing to commit suicide at his command.

Oh, I've heard the explanations: fear of freedom, search for community, wish to make someone else responsible for one's choices, and all the rest. But even if these are correct, I regard them as descriptions and not causal explanations for the behavior of the cult members. To me their psyche remains as inexplicable as that of some Martian or of members of the giant multi-organism that "took over" people in the *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*.

Lesson No. 4 can be summed up in the black humorous note of a friend of ours: "The blend of Christianity and Marxism leads to insanity." And Jones was both; in fact, he claimed to be the living reincarnations of both Jesus and Lenin.

But socialism has a lot to answer for, and there is evidence that the Christianity and mysticism were a shuck to cover the Rev. Jones's Marxist aims. In a profound sense, Jonestown was socialism in microcosm: the "helping", communal living, and racial integration as a cover for elitism, brutality, totalitarian control, and economic exploitation of the masses by the ruling elite.

For their part, most socialists have been quick to disown the Rev. Jones, as they have tried to disown brutal socialist societies in the past and present as "not really" socialism. They have claimed that the Rev. Jones was not a genuine socialist because, instead of trying to achieve power in the U.S., he moved out of America altogether into a retreatist utopian community.

Of all the socialists, we have to hail the weekly *In These Times* for being honorable enough to avoid this easy way out. In a soul-searching article from Guyana, David Moberg mournfully admits that the Rev. Jones "did bring his agricultural colony in Jonestown, Guyana, close to—perhaps several steps beyond in some ways—the most die-hard anti-communist vision of a socialist future." (David Moberg, "Revolutionary Suicide", 1978", *In These Times*, Dec. 6-12, 1978, p. 3). Moberg admits that it is easy to dismiss Jonestown as lunatic or as an example of religious cultism, but that "the dark side of Jonestown was a perverted product of the left as well."

Moberg adds:

"Jim Jones spun out paranoid fantasies of CIA machinations. He caught himself up in the dilemma of secretly being a socialist while publicly appearing a religious crusader. He exaggerated the political oppressiveness of American society to the point that he saw no hope for change. He justified ruthless authoritarianism as 'proletarian dictatorship.'

He wrote off the majority of Americans as inevitably reactionary and believed anything was legitimate to pursue his goal of socialism. These political tendencies were not incidental to the deaths at Jonestown; they were directly connected with them.

'I heard Jim Jones say so many times, "The end justifies the means"', said Harold Cordell, 42, follower of Jones from Indianapolis for the past 24 years . . . "You can imprison large numbers of people. You could kill thousands to make things better for others.'

Jones, Moberg explains, was influenced by the bizarre concept of "revolutionary suicide", a contribution to social thought provided by Black Panther leader Huey Newton. The author concedes that Jones was a socialist from his early days, and that "to the very end, he maintained his support of the Soviet Union as the vanguard of world revolution." One of his aides explained that socialism in American has limited appeal, whereas "as a preacher you could get a large audience." Let Moberg tell the story of the cult structure:

"Jones focused all attention on himself. He tried to maintain distrust among followers, even while he encouraged general communal warmth. He doled out secret

information among various loyal associates, on a 'need to know' basis. He discouraged close family ties . . .

He tried to separate members from anyone on the outside of the People's Temple . . . His paranoia and megalomania set upon each other in a deadly spiral. Having elevated himself so high, having shown the hubris to challenge the gods and claim perfection, Jones could tolerate no deviation from his desires, and apparently came to see the whole world revolving around him. Thus, every disagreement, every infraction of a rule, every question from outside, became part of a conspiracy to bring him down. No criticism was ever permitted.

His closed services . . . began to include more discipline, more embarrassment, more punishment. He picked up from Synanon and other groups ideas about 'confrontation therapy.' . . . But as the effort to solidify the community under his control increased, so did the threat that came with anyone's departure."

In a second, follow-up article, Moberg analyzes the meaning of Jonestown, an encampment that various prominent California leftists referred to as "paradise" or "the future." (Moberg, "Prison Camp of the Mind," *In These Times*, Dec. 13-19, 1978, pp. 11 ff.) To this "prison camp of the mind", Jones had attracted disciples with talk of community, love and security, and yet "his practices were designed to destroy them as individuals and to eradicate their sense of judgment, independent confirmation of reality, personal needs and self-esteem. He dictated a new reality that concentrated all power in his hands. . . . He turned the desire for collectivity into the service of tyranny. He turned the desire for a humane moral order into an amoral terrorism."

An "extreme ideology of service and sacrifice" was used by Jones to "make members feel guilty about satisfying any needs of their own" (a weapon that did not apply, of course, to Jones himself.) If the inhabitants of Jonestown suffered from "the sin of being 'ruled by food'" —that is, if they wanted a decent meal—they were hit by the oldest ploy in the world: How dare you! Think of the starving blacks in South Africa!

Any sense of individual identity or self-esteem among the members was rooted out by Jones as evil "elitism", selfishness, and "capitalism." Anyone who balked to the slightest degree at the totalitarian "structure" of the People's Temple was called a "selfish, inconsiderate capitalist", and—worst of all, an "anarchist." As one former inmate of Jonestown reported, "Being called an anarchist was the worst thing that could happen."

Moberg cites an authority on cults as summing up the tactics used to cement cult control: "creation of a group identity that supercedes and eliminates individual identity, isolation from family and friends . . . , exhaustion, repetition of extreme and pervasive threats and the humiliation and shaming of members."

In a sober and searching editorial, *In These Times* (Dec. 13-19) engages in exemplary "self-criticism" of socialism itself:

"Too often those of us on the socialist left will support movements, such as the People's Temple, and overlook their undemocratic behavior, because we feel 'they are on our side'. . . . But in so doing, we abandon our principles of democracy and our view of the social relations we believe a socialist movement should be seeking to develop, for the sake of short-term advantages. . . .

A democratic society requires strong individuality, exercises in people's freedom of association and thought. Or, as Lewis Mumford once put it, a strong community requires strong egos. A 'community' of conformist, unthinking people is what Marx referred to as a false community. . . .

Leftist support for authoritarian or cult-like tendencies . . . reflects and nourishes the all too frequent adoption of authoritarian values and cult-like habits within socialist organizations."

The ITT editorial then goes on to detail the disturbing parallels between the cults and socialist groups past and present. One is "fascination with

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## People's Temple — (Continued From Page 2)

organizational technique (structure) at the sacrifice of clearly stated and publicly debated principles." Another is "deification of a doctrine as an eternal canon, to which the 'sinful' world must adjust or be damned, and reducing thought to sloganeering and static formulas, cutting it off from studying the historical world." A third is "segregation of members from the 'outside' world, instilling fear and distrust of 'outsiders'." A fourth is "idealization and exclusive identification with imagined 'allies' external to one's own people (the Third World, China, the Soviet Union, Cuba, etc.)"

A fourth is "perversion of 'collectivism' and 'self-criticism' from true collegiality based on the honest exchange of views and the encouragement of diversity in gaining greater knowledge, into a bludgeon for smothering the individual's critical judgment . . . and for enforcing conformity and a blind faith in a leader (or leaders.)" And the final "perversion of our virtues" (the title to the editorial): "perversion of the idea that 'the personal is the political' from a reasonable observation of the social character of personality, into an authoritarian weapon against privacy, dissent, variability, personal judgment, and critical thought."

The ITT editorial concludes that all these characteristics are to be found among socialists, that socialists must therefore hold their "virtues" up "continually to critical judgment." For if they don't: "if we don't grasp the implications of the People's Temple horror as signifying the need to quicken those critical efforts, we may consign ourselves to the treadmill of 'keeping up with the Joneses'," and Guyana's jungle may be closer than we think to the streets of America."

To these noble sentiments we would simply plead that thoughtful socialists examine the view that the "perversions" of the socialist ideal are inherent in the implications of those ideals themselves; that the "personal as political" inevitably leads to totalitarianism and that a collectivized community will necessarily lead to the horrors which *In These Times* so eloquently rejects. The very fact that everyone of the socialist models—from Stalin to Hitler to Cambodia to Jonestown—has done so should particularly give democratic socialists considerable pause.

Lesson 5. It is difficult to end a grisly topic of this sort on a humorous note, but oddly enough Jonestown has coughed up a bizarre example. I refer, of course, to the incredible role of the egregious Mark Lane. Jonestown, in fact, seems to have stripped many people and institutions to their bare essence. Socialism and cultism appeared, at last, naked in their full totalitarian horror. And Mark Lane, too, became a sort of quintessential Lane: leaping from one strongly held position to another in a matter of days and hours; jumping from one paranoid thesis to another contradictory one; but always, manically hogging the spotlight. Lane did courageous and important work as first Kennedy Assassination revisionist. But he can't hope to rest in the public esteem on that one act. One particular deed, shortly after the massacre was uncovered, strikes one as perhaps the most tasteless and exhibitionistic of Lane's performances: expounding at length and with some gusto on TV on the details of the Rev. Jones' sexual peccadilloes. It seems to me that whatever remaining shreds of good taste remain in American culture require that we all resolve to tune out Mark Lane from now on. If we can't solve the major problems of our time very quickly, we can at least get rid of this minor irritant. □

## Bring Back Belloc

by Tom Palmer

Review of *The Servile State* by Hilaire Belloc, Indianapolis, Liberty Classics, 1977, 201 pages, \$8.00 for hb, \$2.00 for pb.

It is often true that social commentators, while proceeding from a fundamentally non-libertarian foundation, manage to make important contributions to libertarian analysis. Such is the case, for instance, in various Marxist critiques of slavery in the Old South, in works like Gabriel Kolko's *Triumph of Conservatism*, and in many studies of the Welfare/Warfare State and its supporters, e.g., the Council on Foreign Relations and the Tri-lateral Commission, emanating from the New Left socialist writers. Unfortunately, such is not the case with Hilaire Belloc, whose major political tome, *The Servile State*, has just been re-issued by Liberty Classics Press.

Belloc states the central thesis of his book thus: "The capitalist state breeds a collectivist theory which in action produces something utterly different from collectivism (that is "pure" collectivism): to wit, the servile state." Belloc defines the servile state as "that arrangement of society in which so considerable a number of families and individuals are constrained by positive law to labor for the advantage of other families and individuals as to stamp the whole community with the mark of such labor." The insight that the impact of socialist ideology over the past few hundred years has been to entrench the rule of "state capitalism" is certainly neither brilliant nor new, though, to be fair, it may have been somewhat more novel when advanced by Belloc in 1912.

Belloc begins with a rather pedantic series of definitions which manage to set the tone for the whole book. While rigor is always appreciated, there is a certain attitude toward it which narrows the work by so defining matters as to leave out many important questions; lamentably, this is the attitude which Belloc demonstrates throughout.

After establishing definitions, Belloc begins the substance of his work with the assertion, correct in my view, that the roots of western politics lie in the servile state. Belloc focuses on the institution of chattel slavery in the Roman agricultural villa which preceded the feudalism of the dark ages; this is, he maintains, the basic productive/organization of ancient

society. His treatment of this subject is brief and fails to address the underlying basis of slavery in classical antiquity. DeCoulange's classic *The Ancient City*, whose depth is nowhere approached by Belloc, creates a much more complete picture of the roots of western society, but it is not my purpose to harp on such a shortcoming in so short a book as *The Servile State*. Also, Belloc does not take account of the fact that the Roman villa did not survive in England through the Saxon invasion, and hence his historical analysis does not apply in this case.

Belloc then proceeds to outline the change in the status of the chattel slave through the Dark Ages and the Medieval period into that of the serf and eventually to peasantry and what he calls the "distributive system" of small freeholders and "cooperative associations." He lays this change at the door of the Catholic Church and Christian dogma. Nowhere does he support this important claim, which he reiterates at the end of the book. He claims that a change in the status of the slave came about after 1,000 years or so of church dominance, but the reader is left to himself to supply a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* line of reasoning to account for the change: the change came about during the rise of the church; therefore it came about because of the church. Belloc's unsupported assertions are in sharp contrast to those in *The History of Freedom in Christianity* by Catholic Liberal Lord Acton, which eloquently makes the case that, by establishing a transcendental standard of right, Christianity placed a severe limit upon the actions of rulers of until the Reformation. In any case, Belloc offers no reasons to support this vital claim.

Belloc characterizes the conditions of Tudor England as the peak of western freedom. In this society, he claims, property was widely dispersed over a large segment of the population and labor and capital "cooperated" through restrictive guilds, common lands, and such institutions. Upon Henry VIII's seizure of church property (some 30% of English land) and subsequent loss of it to the privileged aristocracy came, Belloc asserts, the decline of the "distributive state" and western freedom. Later in the book he treats this setback for the organized church as though it were solely a spiritual decline among Englishmen which then led to those evils he maintains are inherent in industrial capitalism. His thesis regarding the role of the church is muddy and poorly defended, here as earlier.

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## Belloc — (Continued From Page 3)

This concentration of land in the hands of the aristocracy led to the further dispossession of the small landowner (the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, etc.) and, coupled with the mass production of the Industrial Revolution, led to the creation of a large and permanently propertyless proletariat. He dismisses the Industrial Revolution as simply a coincidental series of inventions which were seized upon by the wealthy aristocracy as a means to advance their own profit. Further, and this seems to me one of the main blunders of the book, he claims, "It was in England that the industrial system arose. It was in England that all its tradition and habits were formed; and because the England in which it arose was already a capitalistic England (that is, in Belloc's terms, most of the property was in the hands of a few), modern industrialism, wherever you see it at work today, having spread from England, has proceeded upon the capitalist model." That is, an arrangement of society which arises independently in many different nations is necessarily influenced, not by local conditions, but by the conditions of the first place where it arises. Hence, the industrialism of America, though arising in a society where feudalism had never taken root (outside of the non-industrial south), was necessarily determined in form by the decaying feudal conditions of England. This seems to me, to quote Belloc's own critique of the views of this opponents, "not only unintelligent, but false."

Once the capitalist system is established, being based on the distinction between a small propertied class and a large unpropertied class it is beset by numerous crises which necessitate a fundamental change. This unstable system cries out for a replacement, which must be either the servile state, in which, in exchange for security, the proletariat submits to compulsory labor; the collectivist state, in which all property is seized by the state and operated "for the benefit of the community"; or a return to the "distributivist state," whose virtues Belloc extols. The often repeated claim that the capitalism of 1912 was "in crises" is nowhere explained, save by cavalier statements to the effect that its dilapidated state is obvious to all and by stale and absurd socialist cliches that under such a system the entire proletariat starves to death, leaving no one to run the machinery. This is another case of shallow argumentation and further distracts from the book's slight value.

In any case, Belloc claims that, in order to obtain security from starvation for the proletarian mass, certain measures are taken by the state, under the pressure of socialist reformers, to institute minimum wages, compulsory state-run insurance, state welfare program, and all the other trappings of the oppressive welfare state. In so claiming, Belloc fails to take any great account of the individual motivations that lead state capitalists to adopt such programs. His dialogues between imaginary socialist reformers, proletarians, and capitalists are highly improbable and most unconvincing.

Laying aside these objections, however, we may proceed to Belloc's establishment of the truly servile state. With such supposed benefits being ladled out to the proletariat, in reality paid for out of their own toil, though Belloc seems to think otherwise, come various positive requirements imposed by the state. These begin, of course, with such "minor" invasions of privacy as registration of workers, required reporting of one's whereabouts, licensing (in fact, a return to the restrictive guild socialism which Belloc so highly praises), state/inspections, regulation of living habits and the like. He who pays the piper, Belloc affirms, calls the tune. While the ultimate source of funds is the proletarian qua exploited taxpayer, the immediate distributor is the state, and it is the state which calls the tune. This is strikingly evident in so-called welfare reforms, wherein a close watch is kept on welfare recipients and numerous strings are attached to the receipt of state funds. The call by Reaganites and others for compulsory work on state labor farms by welfare recipients would of course, if implemented, be one such major step toward the servile state.

The conclusion, that the impact of socialist ideology on state capitalism simply leads to more entrenched statism in the interests of the ruling class, is sound. The process by which Belloc arrives at this notion, however, is as wrong-headed as can be. Belloc bases his entire theory of exploitation, so central to his argument, on the labor theory of value, wherein surplus values are expropriated by non-productive capitalists who lie (as it were) by a kind of economic vampirism. This fallacy has

been dealt with so many times that it is tiresome to rehash the matter. A brief treatment, however, is in order.

Each party to a voluntary exchange clearly expects to benefit, else he (or she) would not have embarked on the exchange in the first place. That is, each party expects to end up after the exchange in a more highly valued position than if he had not made the exchange. Further, the value of a good is determined, not by the "amount of labor" extended to produce it, but by the valuer and his goals; no good will have precisely the same value to all men, because men differ in one respect or another. Specifically, the exchange of valued goods between a capitalist and a laborer in a market economy (that is, in a situation wherein neither violence nor fraud resorted to by either party) leaves both in a more highly valued condition. In such a competitive market, the worker tends to earn his marginal value product (or contribution to the finished good) discounted by the rate of interest, that is, by the fact that he is paid money by the capitalist in advance of the scale of the good and the realization of income by the capitalist. Both parties benefit, unless the state intervenes to subsidize selected interests, as in the modern corporate state.

The support given to Belloc's thesis by a theory of exploitation would have been greater had he based it on the privileged position under statism enjoyed by state-capitalists (and their associates in the powerful established unions), but nowhere does he make this narrower claim; instead, he rests his case on the spurious wider doctrine of surplus value. In short, his important thesis remains, to a large extent, in the unenviable position of resting on a mass of hackneyed socialist cliches and misconceptions which fall to the first rational analysis.

Among the other shortcomings of Belloc's work are his defense of a near-feudal condition of society, in which one's social position is determined at birth, namely, the closed society of guild socialism; his defense of lands held "in common," a system in which an individual owner is unable to capture the full capital value of his assets and hence overutilizes or mismanages it; and his constant maintenance of a methodological collectivism (he states, "society can do anything to itself;" hence, I suppose, "society" could kill off half of "itself" and be morally justified as an individual can morally justify causing physical damage to himself in pursuit of a higher end). Further, Belloc treats the case for collectivism or complete socialism in a most respectful manner, failing to recognize that socialist states, like all states, have rulers too, who will seek to maintain their rule at the expense of the productive classes.

To conclude, Belloc has presented an idea, neither new nor overly brilliant, which he manages to rest on a foundation as solid as that underlying phrenology. Socialist or "anti-business" ideologues, often supported by business interests, serve only to entrench the rule of state capitalism (through outright subsidies and socialization of entrepreneurial cost and risk). They do this providing an intellectual cover for the rulers and beneficiaries of the state. One tragi-comic historical example of this process is that of the pathetic self-styled "progressives" and anti-trusters who prattled on about the evils of the trusts while they pushed for the very laws which created and nurtured monopolies by shielding them from the rigors of competition and guaranteeing a profitable return. Still worse, these deluded crusaders were powerful all the while being subsidized by financial interests. That such ideologues think that they will ever reign in the seats of power (something which most of them wish for, at least secretly) is one of the greatest jokes of all time. They are dupes, not, as the fever-swamp right-wingers would have it, of the "communists," but of the beneficiaries and rulers of the corporate-state, the state-capitalists. The born-again socialist, the true believer, remains, however, completely impervious to any such criticism. His thick armor of closed dialectic or muddle-headedness or both protects him from reason while he seeks his goal of a society characterized by magical production, wherein, with the capitalists "exploiters" gone (whether of the state-capitalist or market-capitalist variety, a distinction most socialists are unable to make), the worker will be blissfully cared for by a benevolent state. Such a scenario is never actualized, of course, and in its place his beloved new super-state will exploit him to an extent never before imagined, for the benefit of the state, which is often comprised of the former state-capitalists. The conflicts of state capitalism are resolved not by the statism and slavery of socialism, nor by Belloc's restrictive feudalism with its society of status, but by the peaceful operation of the stateless free market. □

# Shall the State Educate the People?

by Thomas Hodgskin

(Ed. Note—Thomas Hodgskin was a fascinating personality and a brilliant political philosopher and writer of early and mid-nineteenth century England. A radical Lockean and individualist anarchist, Hodgskin has unfortunately been enshrined in histories of economic thought as a "Ricardian socialist." For several years in the late 1840's, Hodgskin was an associate editor of *The Economist* (London), then a dedicated *laissez-faire* journal. During those years he took in hand a promising young assistant on *The Economist* staff, and converted him to *laissez-faire* and quasi-anarchism. The young neophyte was Herbert Spencer, and out of that conversion came the path-breaking and magnificent *Social Statics*. The following piece—abridged by us—was an unsigned editorial that Hodgskin wrote for *The Economist*, attacking the idea of State education. (The editorial appeared in the issue of April 3, 1847. England at that time did not have compulsory attendance or an extensive system of government schooling, but agitation for such a system had already begun. We are indebted for the article to George H. Smith.)

There are two questions, on which there is a universal concurrence of opinion; one is, that our present parochial and common schools are as bad as can be; the other is, education ought to be extended and improved. We fully share these opinions. We differ, however, from our contemporaries as to the best means of educating the people; and our present purpose is to explain our reasons for objecting to that being undertaken by the State.

To form a correct opinion, we must look at what the State has already effected. That the protectionist party, irrevocably given up to the delusion that the State can regulate wages, settle profits, and increase production, still smarting from their overthrow in one of their strongest positions (the Corn Laws—ed.), and threatened in others, should seek to extend their principles in another direction and, essay to control, by education, that knowledge which is so adverse to their doctrines, seems quite natural. We give them credit for much sagacity in the undertaking. We have long seen that their present devotion to social improvement is the offspring of apprehension. The case is different with the free trade party. They have just practically established the great doctrine that the State cannot beneficially control wages, profits, or production, and invariably does mischief by meddling with them. That those who embrace the principles of free trade should all at once, as to education, adopt the protectionist principle, and claim the interference of the State with education, does not convert us to their creed, but makes us infer that they do not fully appreciate the principles on which they have been induced to act. Before they can with propriety ask the State to extend its interference with education, they ought to prove that its interference with trade has been beneficial. But they know, and therefore it is not necessary for us to illustrate the point at great length, that the State never has interfered with trade but to derange, paralyse, and destroy it.

The State has, for example, at various times undertaken, with the best intention, to promote the manufacture of linen, the catching and curing of fish, the increase of shipping, the extension of agriculture, and it has, to attain these ends, given bounties, established monopolies, and devised elaborate schemes of navigation and corn laws. But every one of these schemes has in the end turned out failures. No man can point out, either in this or any other country, a single branch of trade or industry, born of state regulations, and nourished by them into healthy, profitable, and vigorous existence. Not only has the State everywhere failed to promote, by its regulations, the material wealth of the people—failed to encourage fisheries by bounties, and trade by monopolies—failed to beget abundance of ships and corn, but it has been continually compelled, in order to make room for the advancing wealth of society, and not further to damage the public welfare, to put down bounties, abolish monopolies, gradually to relax, and finally to suspend, because they could not be sustained, the navigation and corn laws. The natural progress of population, carrying with it extended knowledge, new arts, a further and further division of labour, and more and more rapid communication, has obliged our Legislature, after withstanding the progress, after shirking its demands, and stopping it or shoving it aside by one pretext and one inquiry after another, as long as possible, to give up as erroneous, a great party of its most elaborate and best devised schemes for increasing the

national wealth. If ever we could deduce a law of nature from many successive facts, the necessary and continual abolition, in modern times, under all parties, before as well as since Parliament was reformed, of the most highly prized regulations for the encouragement of trade have clearly established the existence of a law of nature which is hostile to the State regulating the trade and the industry of the people. That law of nature is the law of free trade, and being thorough free traders, we believe that law is as applicable to education as to the manufacture of cotton cloth or the supply of corn.

If the State, meaning well, have been unable to advance, by its regulations, the material wealth of the people, is it likely that it can advance their mental power or immaterial wealth? The mode of increasing the quantity of corn is far better known than the mode of increasing useful knowledge. It is easier successfully to cultivate the ground than the mind. All the means of increasing material wealth are tangible; they almost fall within common arithmetic. The means of increasing knowledge, exciting proper motives, and regulating the mind, are not visible nor tangible; and, at the very least, the State is more likely to mistake the means of advancing the moral than the material improvement of the people. From the failure of the State, therefore, in its attempts to augment wealth, we infer the certain failure of its present schemes to improve education, and therefore we object to its attempting to educate the people.

We regard its past exertions in that direction as failures. By its means and its power the two universities (Oxford and Cambridge) are endowed and maintained; and there is no doubt that their revenues might be much more beneficially applied to the promotion of useful education than at present. Were those revenues, and the other funds set apart by the piety of our ancestors for the religious and moral education of the people, now properly applied, no further calls for this purpose would be requisite on the public purse. But the State sanctions and ordains the present improper application of those funds, and what reason have we to suppose that it will not also, after a short time, sanction some improper application of the funds now proposed to be applied to education? The application of the funds for education to purposes hostile to useful education, leads to the erection of an erroneous standard of scholastic acquirements. Education is neglected or perverted throughout the country, and generally ill understood, because it has long been misapplied and perverted at Oxford and Cambridge. To the men educated there, who have long been the general teachers, the present condition of education in England is mainly to be attributed. They have fastened upon us forms for substance—false grammar for good sense—and heathen ignorance for modern science. The funds intended for the teachers of Latin, Greek, and Theology, a completely false appreciation has got abroad of the money-value of scholastic acquirements; and while schoolmasters on the Continent are at once highly respectable, zealous teachers, and very moderately paid, here they are, in the main, greedy after great emoluments, comparatively uninformed, and zealous chiefly to rival in outward splendour the Master of Westminster, the Provost of Eton, or the Heads of Houses.

Our contemporaries justly condemn our common schools. But surely there is no nation in Europe where the State has devoted larger funds for the education of the people. Most carefully has it preserved all the old institution to that end. Very much, too, has it increased their endowments. During the last thirty years it has never ceased to foster education, and the result is, according to the *Times*, that "The children

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## TRUTH

The unwelcome landlord  
Who arrives  
To demand the rent  
From a politician

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—Agustin De Mello

## State Educate — (Continued From Page 5)

came out of school as incapable, as giftless, as mere parrots as they went in." The bulk of this system of education has been in the hands, and under the control of men educated at the two national universities, which are preserved in all their rich endowments by the State. The State has meddled with them only to protect them from needful reform. The people are now, in fact, State educated; and what the *Times* describes is State education; and from that we conclude that the State is quite as incapable of promoting good education as profitable trade. If these be not conclusive arguments against the State meddling further with education, as least they inculcate great caution, and warrant great mistrust.

One of our correspondents asks us, whether the State should not educate the people, in order to prevent the crimes which it is obliged to punish. That leads us to reply, that the State has been equally unsuccessful in preventing crime and in promoting trade. Within a short time it has had to avow that its scheme of transportation is a failure. The other schemes of silent and solitary punishments, its hulks, its goals, have all been failures. The gibbet, in spite of the State, has almost been abolished, because it was a failure. From these facts, and many similar facts, we cannot do otherwise than suspect that the State is quite as incapable by its acts—except as it may protect property and person, its proper and its only functions—of promoting the mental as the material improvements of the people. At the same time, every one of its acts involves considerable cost—some restriction—some additional paid officers—some more visits of the tax-gatherer; and being the zealous advocates of *laissez-faire*, of trusting to the people, we object to every system of which the good, like that of the State education, is doubtful, while the cost is certain.

We have another objection on principle, and we state our opinions freely, because we know that they are extensively canvassed, and not very gently criticised. Whether for good or for evil, they do not fall on barren ground. Education is of less importance to the community than subsistence. Without subsistence there will be no people to educate. Vain, too, will be the best education to prevent or repress crime unless subsistence be abundant. If it be the duty of the State to provide education for the people, it must *a fortiori* be its duty to provide them with plenty of food. If it be the duty of the State, as proposed by the minute of Privy Council, to rear good schoolmasters and pension them, it must *a fortiori* be its duty to perform the more important part of rearing good cultivators of the soil, and securing them a proper payment. It has attempted that, but egregiously failed. If it undertake to pay schoolmasters, it must undertake to pay farmers and all other useful labourers. It must, as it is now by some persons required to do, feed the people, and it must in spite of the laws of nature, in seasons of dearth or famine like the present, secure, as well as at every other time, to every man in the community, as well as to the schoolmaster, a fair day's wages for his work. But, as all reasonable men admit the utter impossibility of the State undertaking the major and more important duties which are implied in its undertaking the minor, we conclude, on principle, contrary we know to the present set of the popular current, that it ought not to undertake to teach the people, and has no business to rear, and pension, and reward schoolmasters.

We are at the same time perfectly convinced that our present system of school education is as bad as possible. But we are also convinced that our system of cookery is far from good in England. It is extremely wasteful. The people generally speaking are ignorant of the chemical properties of food, and ignorant of the art of making it at once tasteful and nutritive. We are of opinion, too, in common we believe with many other persons, that the means of subsistence are unfairly distributed. We are sensible of the existence of many evils in other parts of society as in education, but as we do not conclude that the Government should equalise the means of subsistence, and reform the national cookery; neither can we agree with those who affirm that it should provide education for the people. We reprobate its interference with education, because we do not see how it can then object to equalising the means of subsistence and reforming our cookery. Now, we are convinced, that from calling on the State to educate the people, to calling on it to equalise property, the stages are few and short.

We value education too highly not to be anxious that it should not be brought into discredit. The State certainly has the art of contaminating

that which it touches. The numerous prohibitions against importing and exporting various commodities, carry with them a conviction that the thing prohibited is essentially advantageous, and smuggling is stimulated both by that and the desire of profit. The converse of the rule equally holds good; and when the State undertakes to promote any object, by bounties and encouragements, it implies that there are difficulties to be overcome or pain to be endured. The schemes of education involve compulsory taxation. Our Government, from administering and controlling which a large part of the people is excluded, is necessarily unpopular, and for the State to meddle with education, is to bring education somewhat into discredit. In many cases it now happens that the people, instead of regarding school education as beneficial to them, regard it as the contrary, and reluctantly send their children to school, as a favour to their masters and employers.

We are not surprised at such a result. Education is, with much parade, provided by one class for another; after many years of schooling, the children have learnt little more than their catechism, and, perhaps, some little contempt for their less-instructed parents. After leaving school, it is a chance whether they ever find any use or advantage from what they have been taught. Were education left untouched by the State, its own beauties and inherent advantages are so great that the people would be as naturally attracted to it as they are to high wages, and would be as eager to obtain it as they are to get plenty of fine clothing and wholesome food. We advocate *laissez-faire* in education, therefore, as in trade, because our firm conviction is, that it is the best, and, indeed, the only means of ensuring that improved and extended education which we all desire.

We must take leave to say, that we doubt the frankness and sincerity of many of those who now advocate State education. Individuals of both parties appear to us to entertain an ulterior and unavowed purpose. The hidden thought of the lower classes is, "Let us get knowledge, and we shall know how to use it. Let the Government, or the State, or the middle classes, teach us and our children—let us get from them all we can—and then we shall be able to help ourselves in opposition to them." The unavowed thought of State, or the upper classes is, "The people are getting intelligence for themselves—they are becoming powerful through their acquirements as well as by their numbers—and if we do not direct their progress, they will escape altogether from our control." Some promote education, then, with a view to preserve power; others, in towns at least, willingly accept it as the means of destroying the superiority of the class which promotes education. We see clearly that this mode of proceeding must increase the expectations and power of both parties to do mischief, till it ends not in the gradual subversion of what is false, but in a hostile collision. Were the people left to educate themselves, real knowledge—not theories and systematised errors—would continually be evolved in both classes, and both would gradually learn to get rid of false expectations, and abate reciprocal pretensions. □

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## Newsletters of Libertarian Interest

From time to time, we like to recommend reading materials of libertarian interest which have come to our attention, but for one reason or another are not well-known generally. The following fall into that category:

1. **Growing Without Schooling:** 308 Boylston Street, Boston, Ma. 02116. \$10 for six issues. Editor, John Holt, performs a vital service in bringing together ideas, information and personal witnessing for the hardy but small band of deschoolers-parents who have totally withdrawn their children from both public and private schools, and are struggling to educate children in the home. Includes such valuable features as a directory of names, tips on books and teaching aids, Holt's own advice on methodology; battle reports from the legal firing lines, letters from parent-teachers. A sample copy costs \$.50. 8 pages. A unique contribution to radical alternatives in education. Issue number six has just been published.
2. **Private School Monitor:** Center for Research on Private Education, University of San Francisco, Ca. 94117. Editor, Prof. Donald A. Erickson. The first issue, Spring 1978, is intended as a journal of abstracts of articles appearing in scholarly journals focused on private education, normally ignored in the public school-oriented professional journals. A valuable tool for all who wish to keep abreast of the current research in the field, statistical data and trends. 10 pages. Write for a copy.
3. **Inform:** Center for Independent Education, 1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, Ca. 94025. Editor, William Johnson. Six issues annually. Free on request. 4 pages. News of scholarly research, conferences, fellowships, publications, events in the field of private or non-public education. Lively and useful for those who wish to be kept up to date on the work of CIE and of scholars working in research on private schooling.
4. **The Private Elementary and Secondary School Outlook:** Council for

American Private Education, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Editor, Barbara Blaes. Free on request. Four page monthly report largely reflecting current trends in legislative and administrative policies which will have an impact on private schooling. Excellent watchdog over the courts, the department of HEW, trends in organizing support for private school interests. Unfortunately, it reveals a tendency for private schools to want a slice of the tax payer's money, and even stronger aggressiveness of private school lobbying in Washington and the state legislatures.

5. **Liberty:** 6840 Eastern Avenue NW, Washington D.C. 20012. Six issues a year. \$3.75. Published by the Religious Liberty Association, this fine 34 page magazine reports on national and international events and issues impinging on the right of freedom of religion. It is firmly anti-statist on this issue, though reflecting a largely sympathetic Judeo-Christian perspective. Libertarians will find most articles informed and exceptionally useful and scholarly in content, though directed at a non-scholarly audience. A recent issue on "Civil Disobedience" had a triple color portrait on Grandhi, Thoreau and King.
6. **Galatians Seven.** Edited by Lee Shubert. 10 Harwich Rd. Morristown, N.J. 07960. Free on request. A four page newsletter of a fellowship of Christians who are members of the Libertarian Party. Its object is to alert the libertarian movement to matters of concern in the field of Church-State relations and to bear witness to the compatibility of Christian belief and libertarian philosophy. Hopefully, the libertarian movement will not repeat the folly of the 19th century liberals whose anti-clericalism doomed them to minority status in continental, Christian Europe, or of the libertarians who identified their libertarianism with militant atheism, and thus severely restricted their political growth and impact.

—J.R.P.

□

## Towards Freedom of Choice in Education

by Joseph R. Peden

For libertarians, the breaking down of the public school monopoly has a very high priority in our strategy of destatizing American society. Education was one of the first major areas of our economy to be socialized. Public schools, along with the post office, now show themselves to be the most unpopular government enterprise among the general public, and the most likely to succumb to a determined libertarian assault.

But the question remains. How can we undermine this enormous bureaucratic Leviathan which employs directly and indirectly millions of people, and feeds a host of other corporations, universities, unions and other socio-economic institutions and interests? Apart from a constitutional prohibition of State activity in the field of education—a strategy suggested by Prof. Stephen Arons' analysis in his essay *The Separation of School and State: Pierce Reconsidered* (Institute for Humane Studies, Menlo Park, Ca. 1977)—two other approaches offer some hope of amelioration of the present statist monopoly: the voucher system and tuition tax credits.

The voucher system is increasingly popular with a wide range of the public, and even among some public school educators. While several plans have been offered differing in detail, by Milton Friedman, by E. G. West, and most recently by John E. Coons and Stephen Sugarman in *Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control* (Berkeley 1978), many libertarians are not convinced that the voucher system would be a real step forward. Several serious objections come to mind: first, it is very unlikely that the courts would approve a voucher for religious schools for constitutional reasons. But the most widespread complaint of parents about public education is its inability to provide an education which strengthens the religious values of the child and family. Nor do courses in "values clarification" or "moral education" appear an adequate substitute. On the contrary, such government sponsored "moral education" is perceived as even more dangerous than no formal moral education at all! Secondly, the voucher system opens the door to an increasing amount of state supervision and regulation over those private

schools licensed to receive voucher funds. The situation in England, where acceptance of state aid by private schools has undermined thoroughly their freedom from government interference, suggests that bureaucratic dynamism would shortly assert itself against the autonomy of the private school management. Efforts presented underway by the IRS to impose "affirmative action" policies on private and religious schools through the threat of lifting their tax-exempt status indicate the lengths to which the state bureaucracy will go to impose its will. If the private schools were already heavily dependent on state financing through the voucher system, can anyone doubt their inability to resist any state directives?

Libertarian doubts about the efficacy of the voucher system in advancing freedom of choice are well founded. The voucher fails to deter the opportunity for state control, and excludes aid to parents preferring religious school.

Tuition tax credits have recently gained strong support. Unlike the voucher, the tax credit scheme offers no problem for those who wish to make use of church-related schools. The principle of tax exemptions for contributions to churches and religious foundations is well-established in law and custom, and has not the likelihood of attracting serious constitutional challenge. Thus a major constituency of support is guaranteed for such a program: all those who favor religious education, and oppose the present discrimination in the tax law against parents choosing such alternative schooling. (The so-called double tax argument). Another point in its favor is that, as the money never leaves the hands of the taxpayer, unlike the voucher system, there is virtually no extra cost to its use, no bureaucratic process beyond that already established for other tax credits in the internal revenue procedures. HEW would be virtually excluded from glutting its maw with new bureaus, inspectorates, auditing and dispersing bureaucracies.

But a question remains? What about the poor? The taxpayer who is so underpaid or has so many other exemptions that he pays no net taxes on

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## Freedom of Choice —

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income? Will the children of the poor be left destitute of an education through lack of family earnings? This presents a major problem for any scheme built around the system of family tax credits.

In a remarkable policy statement issued October 13, 1978 by Ed Clark, Libertarian candidate for Governor of California, I think we may find a breakthrough on the problem of the parent with too little tax liability to allow for a meaningful tax credit for educating his children. Clark proposes instituting a direct, dollar-for-dollar tax credit of up to \$800 per student for parents who choose to send their children to private schools. To care for those without sufficient resources, or net tax liability, he proposes to give the \$800 tax credit to any taxpayer for tuition paid by him for a student not related to him by parental ties. In effect, allowing anyone to transfer title to their tax payments from the state to a needy student! Further he would allow California corporations to take tax credits against their tax liability for tuition paid by them for students (up to \$800 per student or 25% of the corporations tax liability). Clark estimates these corporate grants would finance as many as 750,000 students per year!

While the details require further study and research, Clark's plan marks a significant improvement over the voucher and earlier tuition tax credit schemes limited to parent taxpayers. It is to be hoped that the plan will not die with the particular election which gave it birth. Between now and the next Libertarian Party convention, the plan should be thoroughly researched and discussed in preparation for its possible adoption by the National Party convention next year. But more importantly, this plan is extremely attractive to a wide audience of citizens seeking some way out from under the dead hand of state schooling. It should appeal to the rich, as a painless extension of their philanthropy, and to the middle class and the poor who will win a freedom of choice in education that is meaningful. Here is not charade in which such choice is made free of financial penalty, but in which the bureaucratic power of the state is enhanced rather than annihilated.

The Clark plan needs to be refined, "packaged" for public consideration, and a national drive instituted to press for its adoption. Also, the implications of Clark's approach ought to be explored. What he had proposed is that the tax payer select the recipient of his tax obligation directly, rather than through the mediation of the legislator or bureaucrat! It is direct democracy of a special kind seldom seen before. While all taxation is theft, it would certainly be a less bitter experience if the one robbed could select the robber or beneficiary of the theft. □

## Rub-a-dub-dub Three Men in a Tub

by Sheldon Richman

Advocates of the non-aggression ethic seem capable of coming up with infinite variation of the lifeboat situation. Newcomers to the libertarian philosophy especially spend a great deal of time wondering who has the right to do what in a sinking raft or on an island of shipwreck victims.

To the extent that these long and often tedious arguments are for the purpose of probing the perimeters of natural law, they may be fruitful. But this can go too far. Indeed, one clue to when that point is reached is when we are so busy sorting out "raft rights" we perhaps forget that it is the state that is responsible for most of the common disasters—war, unemployment, depression.

Persons becoming interested in the liberty ethic often insist on a simple, quick response to what could be called "rub-a-dub-dub three men in a tub" situations. It is as if an unsatisfactory answer topples the entire ethical and social structure built up from the non-aggression foundation. Clearly, this is not the case.

First of all, no other ethical system has anything to contribute to such debates.

The utilitarian would have to maintain that the three men in the tub (where only one can survive) must decide whose survival would be of maximum utility to society. Assuming utilities could be measured and computed, which of course they cannot, by the time the calculations were completed, all three would have perished in the foamy brine.

The altruist ethic is no more helpful, since all three would have to jump overboard while insisting that one of the others stay. (Which one would be a hopeless dilemma.)

Even hedonism, taking note of the need for consistency, fails to lead us out of the wilderness.

That such situations produce, at best, fuzzy and only partially satisfactory resolutions shouldn't be any surprise. Rights are derived from man's nature as a rational and social being. Because of that nature, his interests and ends can potentially be brought into harmony with those of his fellows. The market is the result. But by assumption, the ends and interests of three men in a tub CANNOT be brought into harmony. If all of life was a sinking, overcrowded lifeboat the subjects of rights and liberty would not arise, just as the solitary Robinson Crusoe need not be concerned with the non-aggression ethic.

Fortunately, life is not as these situations describe.

Ethical principles must be derived from and judged by the normal conditions of man's existence. Emergencies, by definition, are abnormal.

Curiosity about this is understandable and admirable. But it might be more fruitful to devote more time to probing the ethical value of free exchange and the ethical monstrosity of the state. □

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## LP Breakthrough

1978 was the breakthrough year—for the Libertarian Party and for libertarian politics generally.

It was like magic. It began in the middle of May, when the now-famous property tax slash, California's Proposition 13, was even in the polls. Then came the typical smears of the state's political, business, bureaucratic, media and labor establishment, threatening dire calamities if Prop. 13 should pass. This scare tactic had always worked before. But this time something new and wondrous happened. The terror tactics of the Establishment proved counter-productive; the more they poured it on, the more the voters rose up in anger and disgust, until, on June 6, Prop. 13 smashed through the solid front of "respectable" opposition by a margin of 2:1.

The tax revolt soon spread across the country, and this time the politicians of all parties were scared. Many, such as California's shrewd Governor, Jerry Brown, quickly bent to the new wind. "Fiscal responsibility" filled the air. The face of American politics was sharply changed.

Then, in the November elections, the Libertarian Party vaulted toward major-party status. In 1976, Roger MacBride has gained 173,000 votes in 32 states (including the District of Columbia), amounting to 0.33% of the total vote in those states. The typical LP candidate across the country received somewhere around 1 to 2% of the votes. Now, in 1978, the story was very different. Of the 176 LP candidates for whom voting percentages are available, the average LP vote was a remarkable 6.0%.

Of all the LP races, two stand out above all the rest. One is the victory of Dick Randolph, 42-year-old insurance man from Fairbanks, Alaska, for the State House of Representatives. A former Republican state legislator, Randolph was elected for one of the six at-large seats with 35.3% of the vote. Libertarian Bruce Boyd was just beaten out for another at-large post. We have a Libertarian state legislator! The Randolph victory was presaged in the MacBride race, when MacBride gained 12% of the vote in Fairbanks, by far his best showing in the country.

But especially remarkable was the showing of Ed Clark, 48-year old Los Angeles attorney, in his Libertarian race for governor of California. Clark, founding chairman of the New York Free Libertarian Party, had moved to California, and was elected in 1977 to the LP national committee. Now Clark, in a phenomenal performance, corralled no less than 374,000 votes, amounting to 5.5% of the vote in the nation's largest and pace-setting state. It was the largest number of votes an LP candidate had ever received. Clark obtained 15% of the vote of the Republican candidate Evelle Younger, and in the San Francisco Bay Area Clark garnered a scintillating 25% of the Younger vote. We have arrived!

It began when Clark became the first LP candidate ever to show up as a separate line in the polls, with 2% in September. He rose to 3% in October. The trend was up! Cabdrivers, strangers at non-political cocktail parties, random bumper-stickers, began to announce that they

were voting for Clark. But even your editor, a veteran optimist, underestimated the actual Clark vote by about 50%.

How did Clark do it? It was with money, for his vote per dollar ratio was about 1.5:1, considered remarkably cost-effective for a "minor" party candidate. He did it, as the *San Francisco Examiner* put it the day before the election, by "captivating the media." Clark was clearly a highly intelligent and articulate candidate, he had stature and presence, and his low-key approach went over very well in his TV appearances. The contrast between Clark and the cretinous American Independent Party and Peace and Freedom Party candidates was striking, as was his obvious superiority in intelligence to Evelle Younger. Moreover, Clark had the rare ability to cleave to radical and principled positions, while coming forth with transition programs consistent with principle that sounded cogent and reasonable to the media. The media then began to cover him favorably and at length. Long and favorable articles began to appear about Clark in virtually all the major newspapers of the state. The *Bakersfield Californian*, a daily newspaper serving a metropolitan area of 200,000 people, endorsed Clark, calling him and his ideas "the wave of the future", a phrase echoed by CBS-TV commentators on election night. With Clark showing well on TV, radio, and in the press, the public then caught the Clark fever, and we were on the way to the 374,000 votes.

Who voted for Clark? A private survey of voters in the Los Angeles area revealed the startling statistic that 70% of the Clark voters had not voted since 1971, in contrast to the Brown and Younger non-voters, which totalled only 5%. In short, the Clark campaign made significant inroads into the growing legion of independent voters who, disgusted with politics and government, identify with neither major party. Here is a rich field for the LP to tap far more extensively.

Roger MacBride received 56,000 votes in California, out of a total vote of 7.6 million; Ed Clark gained 374,000 votes out of a total of 6.8 million. If we convert these votes to the presidential total, and multiply by the same ratio that the total U.S. MacBride vote displayed to his California vote, we get a projected total vote for an L.P. Presidential candidate of 1.26 million votes. And since the L.P. Presidential ticket will undoubtedly be on many more state ballots this time, 1.5 million votes seems almost probable. And much more if the breaks are right.

But for this, for the Libertarian Party's arrival as a major party about to reshape American political life, we must prove to be a mature, responsible party, interested in real world political concerns. The convention committee has scheduled a superb theme for the national Presidential nominating convention next September 6-9, at the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. The theme is: "Toward a Three Party System", and all the speeches and workshops are built around national political developments in the light of the imminent entry of the Libertarian Party into the mainstream of American political life. We

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# And Gladly Teach: Power and the Professors

by Justus D. Doenecke

Richard D. Mandell. *The Professor Game*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977.

Professor X. *This Beats Working for a Living: The Dark Secrets of a College Professor*. New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973.

Russell Kirk. *Decadence and Renewal in the Higher Learning*. South Bend, Ind.: Gateway, 1978.

Sidney Hook, Paul Kurtz, and Miro Todorovich, eds. *The Philosophy of the Curriculum: The Need for General Education*. Buffalo: Prometheus, 1975.

Sidney Hook. *Education and the Taming of Power*. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1973.

"As with our colleges, so with a hundred 'modern improvements'; there is an illusion about them."

—Henry David Thoreau, *Walden*

Few areas in American life are so often criticized as higher education. After decades of celebration, the tone has changed markedly, with one book after another presenting indictments. From the calibre of the student admitted to college to the folkways of the professoriat, academe is under hostile scrutiny. And to cap things off, there are relatively few suggestions for reform, and many of these are either offered in a moment of whimsy or incapable of mass adoption. Hence today's writing often takes on a sardonic tone, with an author's indictment hiding a sense of desperation.

Mandell's book is typical of this genre. A historian at the University of South Carolina, Mandell deals with many aspects of faculty life, including tenure, sabbaticals, and publication. The bulk of the book is perceptive, although the work is marred by an almost unrelieved cynicism and obsession with sex. In his fictionalized profiles of faculty "ideal-types," Mandell shows signs of becoming a Grace Metalious when we need a Nathanael West.

## Never a Golden Age

From 1762, the year Rousseau wrote his *Emile*, the academy—Mandell notes—was based upon certain liberal premises: that man is essentially good; that environment either fosters or perverts this goodness; and that learning should be pleasant and natural. In America, we have the notion that all "real" campuses should take the form of well-tended parks, for bucolic surroundings are bound to generate both discipline and wisdom.

Yet Mandell denies that there was ever a golden age in higher education, correctly stating that relatively few American students have ever been genuinely interested in their courses. Until the 1950's, Ivy League students could get by with studying ten to fifteen hours a week; at many other institutions, the pace was even less, and the "honest grind" was a social pariah. Graduation, in fact, was difficult to avoid. (When this reviewer went to college, a straight-A average made any student an object of curiosity; only participation in contact sports and frequent use of latrine language permitted admission to some of the more prestigious fraternities.)

Mandell, of course, could trace ignorance much further back. In 1845, Thoreau wrote, "Even the college-bred and so called liberally educated men . . . have really little or no acquaintance with the English classics; and as for the recorded wisdom of mankind, the ancient classics and Bibles, which are accessible to all who will know of them, there are the feeblest efforts any where made to become acquainted with them"

Even now, so Mandell notes, many institutions are dominated by a loose anti-intellectual atmosphere, where students sleep often, professors act like genial buffoons, and administrators assume a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards all who come their way. It is ironic that a leading Shakespeare scholar has to defend standards against the very administrators that should be supporting them. For Ronald S. Berman goes even further than Mandell, writing that "The sooner that pass-fail options, late withdrawals from courses, incompletes, and other practices that evoke sympathy but do little for productivity are dismissed, the sooner intellectual work will find its natural relationship to standards of performance." (*Teaching and Academic Life*, *Imprimis*, Jan. 1979).

## The Lost Bonanza

There are, of course, occasional periods of bonanza. During the 1960's for example, our government was so eager to sink billions into a general crash program that we had branches of state universities built in practically every county. During the middle of the decade, for example, community colleges were opening at the rate of one per week. Amid such scare rhetoric as "disastrous shortage," "major national scandal," and "frightening gap," any decent Ph.D. candidate could choose among several juicy positions. In a seller's market, candidates were bribed by competitive salaries, lowered teaching loads, and generous research grants. In the better universities, the number of teaching hours was cut in half, while salaries increased at rates faster than the cost of living.

One example tells the story. A public college that did not even have a sociology department in 1962 might hire a chairman in '63. This chairman, the following year, would attend the national sociological meetings, where—on the spot—he was authorized to hire two full professors, three at the associate level, three assistants, and two instructors.

## Parsons Writ Large

Only in the late sixties did the job market dry up, and campuses begin the retrenchment we know today. A declining birthrate, soaring inflation, and disgruntled state legislatures soon took their toll, and now even some well-published scholars find permanent employment difficult. Perhaps a third of our students put in their time at institutions inferior to that of the now-defunct center of learning and scholarship, Parsons College of Parsons, Iowa. "One can almost assume this," writes Mandell, "of the black colleges and the financially strapped private and (to a lesser extent) public colleges that admit and cherish anybody who might be called 'a student.' The trained attendants who staff these colleges are called professors, but they are usually demoralized opportunists incapable of doing other work at anything like the same pay."

By now, Mandell claims, much of the university has become hopelessly corrupt. Tenure, originally designed to protect academic freedom, is "often used as a shield for indifference." Grade inflation goes hand in hand with lower performance, and both have permeated the best of institutions. In June 1975, seventy per cent of Harvard's graduates made Phi Beta Kappa, and in the same year 49 per cent of the grades given by the history department at Northwestern were A's. Such courses as "communication skills" have high enrollments, while the numbers of students in French and German steadily drop. (Incidentally, Mandell notes that the greatness of a graduate department can be measured by its hard line on the language requirement.)

The outlook is bleak. Student judgements of faculty are usually so kind, Mandell argues, as to draw little line between good instruction and bad. If earnings remain good, faculty salaries have not kept pace with inflation. Because of the job crunch, the median age of professors in 1990 will be 48, and one can only wonder how many of these people will keep up in their fields.

## Class, Caste, and Status

Mandell does much with the institutional rankings made by the professors themselves. You have ten universities at the top (e.g. Harvard—really in a class by itself, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Stanford, Chicago, Berkeley), twenty-five in the category of "great": (e.g. the Big Ten, Cornell, Duke). Two minor points: less than one-fifth of the professoriat are in these two groups, and faculty here pride themselves on being called "Mister," not "Doctor."

Private colleges are in a different category. We begin with a small number of outstanding ones (e.g. Swarthmore, Reed, Oberlin, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Williams) where professors "have considerable self-respect, but they are a little aside from the usual pyramid of prestige. Once accustomed to these pleasant places, the teacher tends to stay in the league, for the demands on one's time and a quiet prejudice against outside fame are such as to work against his or her establishment of a

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## Gladly Teach — (Continued From Page 2)

reputation (i.e. publication) in the discipline-oriented national mainstreams" (emphasis his).

Immediately below, one finds about a hundred respectable colleges and universities (e.g. Wayne State, Notre Dame, most of the state campuses of the California and New York systems). Mandell defines "respect" in a charming way: when you go to a convention, you don't have to explain where the place is located. Perhaps a thi

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But beneath all, there is "academic Siberia"—the under-endowed church-related college, the regional branches of many middle-ranked state schools, those black colleges emphasizing social life, certain experimental schools, the many private women's college that are really finishing schools. (Mandell suggests that Alaska might be a more accurate term than Siberia, for Siberia "undoubtedly has many institutions of superior quality.") Such places keep those enrolled out of the employment agencies and offer "some sort" of education, but they continually demoralize the competent teacher, who wants to leave.

This reviewer notes that professors here are almost always called "Doctor" (or lovingly "Doc"), and if they never receive the Ph.D., there is no fear. At some time in their career, their students (who will never be corrected) will bestow the degree upon them. Some faculty even list "Doctor" in phone books or put it on stationery envelopes, and more than one professor has signed his name "Howard Jones, Ph.D."

### The Disciplinary Pecking Order

Professors, however, not only rank institutions but disciplines as well. Historians and political scientists rate highly, for they dress conservatively and intrigue with skill. Philosophers are just as articulate but often stay out of power struggles. Sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists rank low, possessing coarse manners, wearing acrylic knits, seducing coeds, and sweating under the arms. English professors are of high to middling prestige, being "apt to develop tics, to fight like sopranos, and to carry grudges for years." Foreign language faculty rate low in the hierarchy, for they are "likely to dress like tropical birds and are even whackier." (Their departments, says Mandell, are often called "zoos.") Scientists possess high prestige, although "they are rarely able to sound convincing when they explain just what they teach or how they do research."

The lowest of the low are the professors of education, and Mandell's description is a classic: "These isolated and scorned souls are bewildered in committee meetings, where they tend quietly to grind their teeth and to blink their eyes slowly. When challenged or otherwise required to say something, their mouths go dry. They speak as they write, in passive voice with added filler words of 'situation,' 'process,' 'meaningful,' and ceaseless 'y'know's.'" Among this group the title "Doctor"—usually an education degree, not the Ph.D.—knows no bounds, and educationalists "glow appreciatively when they hear it."

### An Overpaid Profession?

But prestige is not the only factor that makes people prefer university teaching to working for Sears or Three M. "For what they do," argues Mandell as he looks at salaries on an hourly basis, "professors are very well paid and they have great amounts of time to dispose of exactly as they please" (emphasis his). The academic year is short and, in large institutions, teaching assistants do much of the grading. (In many schools, both large and small, many teachers give only perfunctory attention to term papers, which are returned to students without any comment at all—only a letter grade).

The busiest professors subscribe most enthusiastically to "academic self-government," fritting away their lives on issues really decided elsewhere. (A Brockport economist aptly calls them "whirling dervishes.") The committee system is a bane, unless some needed lobbying is in order. Indeed, according to Mandell, disillusioned professors write "so much about silliness in committees because only at these times do they see in action those of their colleagues who are not close friends."

### Publish or Perish: A Major Myth

To Mandell, the phrase "publish or perish" might be a myth, indeed a paper tiger. One would hope, he writes, that "the professor's self-respect as an intellectual, a scientist, a professional, or a worker" would induce him to "think hard and creatively," but such is seldom the case.

He offers some damning statistics to prove his claim. "Roughly half of the professors now in place," he observes, "have never published anything—not even a two-page book review, a pasted-together chapter in a textbook, an edited document, an anecdote for a genealogical journal. Another twenty-five per cent never publish anything of substance that was not originally in their doctoral dissertations. Roughly 15 per cent of the professors labor along perhaps publishing a second book (or its equivalent in a nonbook field) requiring ten or more years of work. Fewer than 5 per cent of the professors who have been on the job five or more years are indeed strenuously engaged in scholarly work." In short, about three-fourths of our faculties publish little or nothing.

True, some twenty to thirty leading universities set such guidelines as an article a year, a book every five. (If an article is twenty pages and a book 400, we have a total of 500 pages in five years, a figure that equals a hundred pages a year or two pages a week. Many professors certainly expect more than an average of two pages a week from students requested to submit term papers.) However, due to tenure, this rule is impossible to enforce anywhere, and it is little wonder that less than five per cent of the Ph.D.'s in history maintain this pace.

### One Scholar's Claim

Historian Thomas C. Reeves, an able and rigorous scholar (and, as this reviewer can testify, a most generous one), gave his interpretation as to why. He writes, "The great majority of us toil in obscure institutions that passively if not actively discourage the labor related to research and publication. Rewards are distributed to those who, regardless of means, win student popularity and maintain high enrollments. Moreover, college teaching is much less demanding than the production of articles and books—as any honest professor will admit. To be increasingly rewarded for doing little is almost irresistibly attractive."

To Mandell, many such individuals are just plain lazy. They will "just not think hard and consecutively, pull their chairs up to their desks, return to their quiet laboratories after supper or during the summer vacation. Nor do many of them read with care the newer journals in their fields or attend scholarly congresses for the purpose of finding out where the exciting problems in their fields are likely to be in the years ahead." Mandell here makes some telling points, for many a student has witnessed seminars led with no preparation and has heard really "in" professors continually claim that leading journals were worthless. The facts never change, the pseudo-scholar will pontificate, as he boasts that he has read little in his discipline in ten, fifteen, even twenty years.

### The Case of the Adored Amateur

One can only elaborate on this point. Books get unwritten, then unread, and we end up boasting about it all. Often, incidentally, such flippancy is combined with *ex cathedra* pronouncements on everything from Brueghel paintings to the quantum theory, or a desire to teach advanced courses in at least five different, and quite diverse, disciplines. One distinguished historian of the American Civil War refuses to read

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## Gladly Teach — (Continued From Page 3)

seminar papers not grounded in primary sources, remarking that "Any one who has not done the required work has no right to any conclusions." Now, so it seems, formal ignorance denotes an intuitive wisdom, and no Transcendentalist of Emerson's day celebrated the untutored spirit with greater fervor.

One is reminded of the comment of historian John Lukacs: "There are many symptoms which suggest that the dangers of professional intellectualism are now the opposite from what people thought: instead of pedantry, sloppiness; instead of the narrow burrowing of the parochial bookworm, the sleazy superficiality of the professional intellectual."

### An Academic Jonathan Swift

Mandell's remedies are desperate, perhaps serving as a kind of counterpart of Swift's "modest proposal." Making employment conditions less attractive will cut into recruitment, thereby alleviating the job glut. For example, one could increase teaching loads by one third, and demand an eleven month working year and a thirty hour week. Technical education would be shunted to community and junior colleges. All but elite institutions would abolish attendance requirements and credit, and professors would be required to engage in a variety of tasks, ranging from ushering at rock concerts to clinical counselling. Tenure would be available to those willing to accept a one-third cut in salary; for others, successive three year contracts would be the norm.

Mandell, however, is not the only cynic. "Professor X," evidently a professor in Western history at a Great Plains institution, offers a short, emotional indictment based upon personal experience. Much of his book is impressionistic, bordering on the shallow and sensationalist; it should be seen as a gossipy, occasionally amusing tirade. Permeating the volume is a political conservatism, not surprising in a man who backed Nixon in 1968 and who deploras a "my-country-may-it-always-be-wrong" attitude he finds pervading the campus.

To X, the Ph.D. has become "a license to steal, inasmuch as the position of college instructor demands little work, less intelligence, and no courage." Writing as one who has just discovered sin, he berates his colleagues for pomposity, elitism, and obsession with power at the expense of truth.

### The Slothful Scholar

Sloth, X finds, is the greatest academic sin. "The professor," he writes, "spends very little energy revising his lectures or grading or researching or writing—or even reading. Especially not reading in his own field of specialty." X quotes the distinguished frontier scholar Walter Prescott Webb, who said, "When you publish, never expect understanding and appreciation from the people you most normally would expect it from, your own colleagues. They will make fun of your efforts, carry tales about you, belittle you. This they did to me—until I became president of the American Historical Association. Then they were glad to drop my name."

On several items, X is particularly perceptive. The first deals with committees. Contrary to myth, so he claims, administrators encourage these peculiar institutions. Why? Because they realize that committees provide excellent therapy, give participants the illusion of power, and allow faculty to plead business when questions concerning productivity are raised. He writes, "Any professor who has a gripe, legitimate or otherwise, can be referred to a committee where his proposal will be buried under an avalanche of words, or procrastination, of debate. And should his proposal get favorable action in one committee, it can always be referred to yet another one. By the time a solution or change is recommended, the passage of time has lessened to such an extent that no action is needed. Thus the committee becomes a means of keeping faculty discontent at a minimum."

X also calls the shots correctly when he defends publishing. His claim that "the producing scholar is also the best lecturer" is quite overdrawn,

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for many distinguished scholars cannot keep an audience awake for five minutes. However, X is on firm ground when he asserts that "Without any exception the professor who would do well in the classroom must continue to research. Advancements in every discipline make it necessary for the professor to research constantly, else he will become hopelessly outdated (emphasis his)"

Indeed, to elaborate on X, those very faculty who are the most behind boast the most that they have long ago mastered the fundamentals of the discipline; such people now claim to be engaged in more cosmic issues, ranging from the rise and fall of the West to the food service in the college cafeteria. We all seem to forget Chaucer's classic description of the scholar in the *Canterbury Tales*, with his phrase "and gladly teach" prefaced by "and gladly would he learn." Real teaching, of course, is always dependent upon continual learning.

### Models Needed

We all, of course, have our cynical anecdotes that could match any by Mandell or X. And we can all produce some damning statistics. But if higher education is ever to change, models are needed. Some of us have had the privilege of attending lectures in which the material is updated to the very moment of delivery. (Here the names of such historians as David Herbert Donald, Wesley Frank Craven, and Arno J. Mayer come to mind). Or we have had research rigorously criticized page by page, paragraph by paragraph, line by line by professors who saw painstaking rigor as integral to their vocation as scholars. (One thinks of a host of individuals—Arthur S. Link, David Herbert Donald, Forrest McDonald, James T. Patterson, Alan Peskin, Thomas Reeves). One pious academic, writing in another age, called rigorous criticism of his own quite distinguished work "an art of grace." Now the slogan is second-themotion, no matter how deep the ignorance, and even the pointing to grammatical faults can be grounds for bitter enmity.

Perhaps those of us who studied under a curriculum that stressed a common corpus of humanistic learning will always remain dissatisfied. This reviewer found the core program of Colgate University crucial to his intellectual growth; his wife had a similar experience with the University of Chicago's extension curriculum required of all students attending the Art Institute of Chicago.

Most memorable of all were those faculty who saw their vocation in humanistic terms. This reviewer will never forget Earl Daniels, literature professor at Colgate, who once snapped, "You know, in the *Nigger of the Narcissus*, Conrad, doesn't give a damn about racial problems!" Or Jonathan Kistler's empathic treatment of Eliot's "Gift of the Magi", Or Rodney L. Mott's exposition of Marbury vs. Madison, Or M. Holmes Hartshorne on Dostoyevski's "Grand Inquisitor".

Secondary schools too had their greats, perhaps more of them. One thinks of Walter Clark and Miles Kastendieck at Brooklyn's Poly Prep, Pierson Curtis and D. Bruce Lockerbie of Stony Brook School. Then there are such headmasters as Allan B. Healy of Lawrenceville, Lewis Perry and William Saltonstall of Exeter, the late Rowland Cox of Groton, Claude M. Fuess of Andover, and George Van Santvoord of Hotchkiss. They had a range of learning, a degree of personal integrity, and an ease in communication that put many of our college administrators today to shame. In a very real sense they were eighteenth century men, men of broad diffuse culture; now it is a rare administrator who writes without jargon, much less draws upon the cultural traditions of the past.

### Enter Russell Kirk

Of the few Americans perpetuating this great tradition, the name of Russell Kirk is foremost. Those who celebrate the joys of traditional, humanistic learning should find his book the most helpful. It is Kirk who addresses himself time and again to the curriculum, and who even offers models of what good education should be.

"One the whole—to express myself mildly—the higher learning in America is a disgrace," he says. "A great many are schooled; very few are educated." His indictment is legion, and with much of it we are familiar: the "open" curriculum, the swelling empire of the educationalist, quasi-professional sports, giantism of all sorts at Behemoth U. Today's college, he writes, has something for everybody—except for the student concerned with wisdom and virtue and the professor who adheres to some coherent body of knowledge.

### Porn Queens and Thurgood Marshall

But if his is a story that has long been told Kirk still tells it well, and some of his revelations are "marvelous" in the generic sense of the term. His brief sketch of Goddard College, or of the porn queen who enrolled at

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Michigan State, can match anything Mandell or X can offer. And outside of Dwight MacDonald, few could offer the kind of damning critique given to insipid high school English anthologies. One editor, Marjorie B. Smiley, not only filled her collection with absolute trivia but modestly included one of her own poems as well. "A judge is a man/ is where he's come from/ is what he's done/is/where he aims to go," the latter the concluding lines of "Mr. Justice Marshall." (Deep, deep). "For my part," replies Kirk, "I'd rather not be judged by a magistrate who 'is where he aims to go'; I'd prefer one with knowledge of law."

For Kirk, World War II began it all. At that time, many intellectuals abdicated their professional responsibilities to serve uncritically the patriotic cause. Said philosopher George Boas of Johns Hopkins, for example, concerning the soldier, "All the learning of the world is not worth the experience he will gain from his military career; and if he is killed, at least he will not have asked some one else to die for him." John Erskine, who pioneered in general education at Columbia, claimed not to dread the blows the war struck at humane letters.

### John Hannah and George Eliot

To Kirk, it was in 1953 that deterioration really began to set in, for many administrators sought increased enrollment at any cost. Symbolizing this surge was John Hannah, president of Michigan State and a booster worthy of Sinclair Lewis's Gideon Plantis. Although he only possessed one earned degree, a B.S. in poultry husbandry, he bore proudly an honorary doctorate conferred by MSU when he became its head. He had married the daughter of the former president.) Not a man of particular learning, he would for example, refer to "that great man" George Eliot. Under Hannah's aegis, writes Kirk, "MSU's fat catalogue offered curricula for every taste except refined taste." (To read Kirk's essays in the fifties, one would not think there was a worse administrator in the nation. There were some, and there still are).

By the sixties, higher education was experiencing a great barbecue, with bonanzas offered to private and public schools alike. Who pays the piper calls the tune, of course, and soon the price was to be paid. And now administrations who were so eager for the abundant soft money are facing federal regulations that make serious faculty recruitment, not to mention decent teaching, more and more difficult.

Recently state interference has taken some particularly grotesque forms. To receive money from New York State, Roman Catholic institutions must rid themselves of required chapel services or theology courses, remove any religious statement of purpose from university publications, eliminate hierarchy officials as trustees, and permit Protestant theologians to examine libraries and interview faculty. One almost wishes for the none-too-benign influence of Cardinal Spellman, who at least would not back off from a fight.

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### The Myth of Relevance

Kirk's comments on student demands are equally telling, particularly the demand for relevance. "In the long run," he writes, "the sort of education which most profoundly affects the civil social order is that education which lifts the student above the confusion of the hour's quarrels. The function of the college is not to gratify material desires, but to introduce students to long views. The function of the college is not to rouse the young to revolt against the nature of things, but to acquaint them with the wisdom of their ancestors. The function of the college is not to promulgate an extravagant ideal of human perfectibility, but to teach us the joy and the tragedy of the human condition. The function of the college is not to inflame the passions, but to lead us toward right reason."

Hence, to Kirk "the calm analysis of Tocqueville was more relevant to 1968 than the burning of draft-cards or the Poor People's Campaign in Washington; Virgil's advocacy of *labor, pietas, fatum* had more meaning for 1968 than the black flag waving above the Sorbonne." No authors are more relevant to our predicament than Augustine or Plato. Confucius remains more significant than Mao, Aristotle than Sartre.

Kirk's remarks on academic freedom are particularly telling. "Every right is married to a duty," he asserts. "The duty which corresponds to the right of academic freedom is that the scholar must be dedicated to the conservation and the advancement of truth. He must be the guardian who reconciles permanence and change, and the active thinker who remembers the wisdom of our ancestors. . . . He must be a temperate man of intellect, in short; and though he ought to hold steadfastly by his principles and ought not to be a mere trimmer to the breezes of the hour, still he ought to remember that, by his vocation, he has forsworn the lust after power. If he wishes to be an ideologue or a sophist, he should take himself out of the academy into the market place."

### Demythologizing the Past

Nothing if not an iconoclast, Kirk challenges the prevailing notion that the great universities of the past were governed only by undergraduates. Ordinarily they were religious institutions, subject to ecclesiastical authority with students as acolytes. Jumping ahead several hundred years, Kirk denies that any McCarthyite reign of terror took place in the 1950's. And on quite a different point, Kirk—like Mandell—sees no Golden Age in the fifties. In 1955, the dean of Columbia Law School suggested that many liberal arts colleges teach next to nothing. Their graduates were not only ignorant of literature and American history; they did not know how to use a dictionary, much less read with dexterity.

Many of academe's woes, claims Kirk in an argument that goes back as least as far as Albert Jay Nock, are rooted in over-enrollment. Too much of the student body is a purposeless mass, a bewildered and bored Lonely Crowd that would be better off in vocational training. Just before the intense activism of the late sixties, Christopher Jencks estimated that only one per cent of the student body sought to master a serious intellectual discipline, two per cent a more general education, and perhaps five per cent an introduction to middle-brow culture. (Except for a relatively few institutions, one doubts if the ratio has increased today).

Yet for a man so conservative, Kirk has some surprising notions. He by no means endorses promiscuity, but concedes that *in loco parentis* has been interpreted too strictly. He recognizes that teaching and research assistants have long been exploited. And he praises anarchist writer Paul Goodman, finding Goodman's attacks on Philistine administrators particularly valid.

### A Model Institution

Kirk takes much time outlining what an ideal institution should not be. It should avoid building more physical plant, drop out of quasi-professional athletics and vocation training, refuse to admit standard students, and prohibit permissiveness. His ideal college would not engage in depth psychiatry. Students with serious emotional problems, he says, "should be transferred to another sort of institution: despite its recognition of moral worth, this model college should be engaged in the improvement of intellects, not the curing of psychoses." A school of business administration might be the greatest snare. Denying that a business degree means anything to today's employers, he writes, "I declare it a very odd concept that in a time when junior executives stand by the thousands in the unemployment-compensation queues, we ought to turn out more of the breed by forced draft, at the expense of liberal learning."

But a school is better defined by what it is than what it is not, and here

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Kirk justly stresses the curriculum. In his model curriculum, he calls for study of the nation's past, claiming that a people uninterested in its history might cease to be a people. Political theory he finds equally crucial, and here he gets quite specific. Names are named, and students would have a working familiarity with Sophocles, Thucydides, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, St. Paul, St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, Burke, and Adam Smith. Although a Roman Catholic, he includes both Luther and Calvin. Grecian glory, Roman virtue, Christian wisdom, the growth of European order, the Reformation, British constitutionalism, those movements in our own time that stress "authority and freedom, the inner order of the soul and the outer order of the commonwealth, the complementary character of permanence and change"—all would be essential to the curriculum.

### Community: Cliche or Reality?

Kirk is at his best in redefining that much over-worked word "community." Genuine community, he notes, is knit together by certain enduring norms. Without these, people pursue only selfishness or hedonism, and the weak innocents (to use the words of Shaw) "stand by in helpless horror."

To foster a sense of true community in the academy, the basic disciplines—literary, philosophical, and mathematical—must lie at the core. The study of literature would encompass both classical and modern languages, with the philosophical meaning of great works stressed. Much history would be subsumed under literature. Philosophy would be equally sweeping, as it would include metaphysics, ethics, and politics. As sociological knowledge is "the crown of social studies, not the footing," it—and psychology—would be treated as aspects of philosophy. Economics would stress the great economists and their theories, biology the philosophical understanding of organic life. All the arts would be taught philosophically as aesthetics; there would be no studio work. Such "practical" courses as public administration, technical engineering, or education would go by the boards. Instead, the effort throughout would focus on the development of young people who want to cultivate intellect and conscience, and who are willing to give up immediate specialization in order to do so.

Kirk even outlines an ideal high school literature program, one that includes study of St. Paul, Shakespeare, Milton, Twain, Melville, Dickens, Eliot, Conrad, and Swift. (This reviewer would not have eliminated Beowulf, some short Anglo-Saxon poems, Everyman, the Second Shepherd's Tale, the Canterbury Tales, and Hardy.) Noting the decline in reading proficiency, Kirk comments that "all the Xhosa children in the autonomous republic of the Transkei, in South Africa, study *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, by the way; but that is too much to expect of New York Children."

Such concern with literature at all levels of schooling reveals one of Kirk's major concerns: that is that genuine relevance is related to things that are permanent, not to the potential issues of the moment. We are dealing, he continually maintains, with nothing less than the splendor and tragedy of the human condition. "When images of Dante are rejected, the images of LeRoi Jones will be applauded," and political order—not just the cultural one—will become nihilistic.

### Great Programs and Great Books

Kirk praises certain educational programs and institutions: the Integrated Humanities Program of the University of Kansas, International College in Los Angeles, St. John's College, Cardinal Newman College, Thomas Aquinas College, St. Mary's of northern California. Yet he is not totally uncritical, even of these. For example, he finds that the Great Books program of St. John's can neglect historical continuity, not include enough imaginative literature, omit such conservatives as Burke and Newman, and employ its methods a trifle pedantically. Thomas Aquinas College, which Kirk sees as the best college in the nation, does not do enough with history and humane letters, too much with metaphysics.

Most helpful of all, in some ways, is Kirk's recommended reading. On the purpose of liberal education, C. S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man*; Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*; William Oliver Martin, *Order and Integration of Knowledge*; and T. S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture*; On religion and education, Alexander Miller, *Faith and Learning*; Robert Elliott Fitch, *Odyssey of the Self-Centered Self*; Denis Baly, *Academic Illusion*; and Philip Phenix, *Education and the Common Good*. On able pedagogy, Gilbert Highet, *The Art of Teaching*. On syllabi, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *The Art of Reading*. Indeed, one may safely say

that Kirk's reading suggestions are an education in themselves.

### Where the Reviewer Differs

There are some claims with which this reviewer differs. Small colleges can be just as much of a wasteland as Behemoth U. and many are. Michigan State, Kirk's whipping boy, has harbored some distinguished scholars—Russell B. Nye, Paul A. Varg, and Warren I. Cohen come to mind—and has pioneered in the concept of an honors college. Research need not be a retreat for a scholar but integral to serious intellectual development—and to teaching. The John Dewey attacked by Kirk bears little resemblance to the man of disciplined intelligence eulogized by Sidney Hook. Kirk may rarely have heard a union official "speak of wisdom and virtue," but one wonders what wisdom and virtue lie in the bureaucratic fight. Not all intergrative courses substitute facile generalization for serious knowledge; some pursue selected topics intensely and with rigor.

A more fundamental difference concerns the whole role of skepticism. Some doubt of established verities is crucial to growth, for the intellectual life—at its heart—involves the asking of questions. A reading of Hume's "Inquiry into Human Understanding," or Bertrand Russell's "A Free Man's Worship," or John Dewey's "A Common Faith," or Sidney Hook's "The New Failure of Nerve" can lead to far more religious and philosophical maturity than exposure alone to Augustine, Aquinas, and Luther. (See also my comments concerning Kirk in "That Noble Dream," *Libertarian Forum*, Oct. 1977.)

But more than any other educational critic, Kirk has shown us the way. We are permanently in his debt.

This is not to say that there are not other efforts, and some are quite perceptive. The president of Amherst College, addressing the opening convocation in September, 1977, said, "Name any decent college or university in the United States these days, and you will find a committee on the curriculum at work." The Hook anthology testified to this observation, made by John William Ward, and it is a work that should be continually consulted. The volume is based on a conference held by the University Center for Rational Alternatives at Rockefeller University, New York, in September 1973.

### Student Irrationality

The present picture, as many of the contributors note, is a dismal one, and fault in part lies with the students. Many are doctrinaire ideologies, suffering—not from an overdose of skepticism—but from a total lack of it. Others tend to celebrate the private, personal, and mystical to such an extent that they hold conventional rationality in contempt. All too often, so the contributors argue, young intellectuals take their own personal experiences, not reason or tradition, as the sole touchstone of truth. Such sages as Charles Reich, for example, advocate a Consciousness III that stresses what is vaguely called "the total experience of life" at the expense of logic and analysis. (One college president was so enthusiastic about Reich's work that he bought multiple copies for faculty reading.)

If a college responds to the interests of certain vocal students, the curriculum cannot help but be distorted. As Nathan Glazer of Harvard writes, "In the social sciences unfortunately it is possible, and even respectable, to respond to students' interests by changing what one teaches: to give up Max Weber for Frantz Fanon or a pluralistic approach to American society and culture for a Marxist one; to replace Western civilization with Eastern or African studies." Such foolish pandering reaches absurd lengths when, as noted by Brooklyn College sociologist Ernest Gross, excellent New York City institutions advertised courses in astrology and pornography.

### Faculty Irresponsibility

Yet professors too are at fault, and Hook—now with the Hoover Institution—makes no more telling point than his comment that many academicians do not believe in the validity of what they are doing. (To

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push the point even further than Hook, academe provides a haven for those who find their own businesses, the stock market, pro football, deep-sea diving, and social activism their true calling). Far too often, professors see their role as the training of apprentices only, not novice students, and communicate in a technical language understood only by the initiated. As the Columbia economist Charles Issawi notes, "We social scientists excel at producing turgid, flatulent, pretentious paragraphs, full of jargon that, at least four times out of five, is quite unnecessary."

And even bookstore owners are not immune. Physicist Gerald Holton of Harvard notes that students who wander through the Harvard Coop "will find the whole category 'Science' is banished to one distant set of five-foot shelves, largely devoted to ecology, Issac Asimov, gardening, Immanuel Velikovsky, and manuals on the care of cats and dogs. To reach that section, in this and most similar stores, one must take care lest one gets lost in labyrinthine spaces given over to what really seems to sell today—the occult, sci-fi, transcendental musings, handbooks on shamanism or mushrooms, and the achievement of joy through various types of athletics."

### Experiment: Encounter Group over Augustine

Many experimental programs only compound the problem. "In the name of all that is new and relevant," claims Herbert I. London of NYU's University Without Walls, "Plato and Confucius become the flotsam and jetsam of history and Malcolm X and Hermann Hesse the only heroes. In the name of egalitarianism, academics ignore their roles and let students decide what is worth reading. And in the name of self-actualization, an encounter session leads to personal growth while an evening reading *The City of God* is considered an exercise in Futility."

Traditional expectations, such as research papers, are lost, and students receive credit for irrelevant life experience. Non-directed field work is defined *per se* as possessing a learning experience, ignoring the adage of George Bernard Shaw that "You can take an ass around the world and he won't become a horse." Sometimes students spend so much time deciding what to do that they never get around to mastering specific material of any sort. The comment of André Gide, "Art is born of discipline and dies of freedom," would find few adherents among some devotees of experiment, including those young people who deny the possibility of objective standards. When London asked a group of them how to make professional judgments, one replied, "Man, you know, you just know."

### The Need for Requirements

To assure a serious education, requirements are necessary. Hook aptly comments, "The proposition that most students, upon immediate entry, know what their genuine educational needs are seems to me quite

### LOST CAUSE

Sixty thousand men  
Laid down their only lives  
For the Johnsons  
And the Nixons  
Who made them  
Take their ride

Whoever will remember  
Their futile bloody gore  
When the history books  
Are opened  
In fifty years  
Or more

\* \* \* \*

—Agustin De Mello

dubious. As a rule, they no more know what their educational needs are than they know their medical needs." The prominent philosopher continues, "The notion that the generality of students . . . can make an informed and intelligent decision about their abiding educational needs before being exposed to the great subject matters and disciplines of the liberal tradition is highly questionable." For an administration to say this, of course, and to prescribe minimal requirements, takes courage.

For Hook, essential to liberal education is the need to communicate clearly, to possess knowledge of one's body and mind and of the world of nature, to have historical perspective, to be aware of contemporary conflicts of value, to master principles of inquiry, and to be familiar with the artistic and cultural legacies of civilization. Such mastery, Hook argues, involves mastery of fact as well as method, and it is the whole concept of fact that is too often on the defensive. Such goals might appear utopian in today's peculiar environment, but they are truly indispensable to serious pedagogy. Stress on "intuitive knowledge" and "residual concepts," this reviewer argues, irresponsibly downplays mastery of substance, cheapening the entire academic enterprise.

Hook makes another point. It is, in Hook's eyes, particularly mastery of scientific principles that permits one to be "truly sane," for some knowledge of our place in "an orderly, noncapricious cosmos" is needed for survival. Unfortunately, he notes, there are more students enrolled in astrology than in astrophysics.

Hook fortunately is not alone. Philosopher Ernest Nagel of Columbia concurs: knowledge of natural science method is essential; for centuries, it has been regarded as "the most effective way men have yet devised for acquiring competent knowledge of the nature of things." Ronald Berman, in a different but equally valid insight, stresses that "education means access to the best of what is thought and said" (emphasis his), and here he notes Milton and Shakespeare. If a student does not know why he is a Western man, asks Aldo S. Bernardo of Verrazano College, can he ever expect to realize what it means to be a non-Western one?

### History: The Shame and the Glory

Several contributors stress historical consciousness. As Wm. Theodore de Bary, provost at Columbia, notes, "If the past should not be sacrificed to the present, neither should the present be sacrificed to the past." Conscious neglect of the remote and unfamiliar, writes Frederick A. Olafson, philosopher at UC-San Diego, ends up ultimately with the only voice heard being our own. On the other hand, as Issawi notes, history shows how people actually behave—not how the utopian theorist or the amateur politician says they do.

Even history, however, can be taught irresponsibly, as Gertrude Himmelfarb of CUNY tells us. True, most historians cannot compete with the president of the Modern Language Association, who declared the study of all literature (or was it only Milton?) obsolete. Yet, a form of historical relativism—stressing the "interesting" nature of an interpretation at the expense of its truth—is dangerous. So is the claim that the psychic character of the historian necessarily enters into the history he writes. And so too is the assertion that "only Black historians are competent to write the history of Blacks, and women historians the history of women."

Several of the contributors would differ with Russell Kirk, or at least modify his classic and Christian emphasis. Hook, for example, warns against attempting to derive the curriculum from some overall view of "first and last things," claiming that no consensus on such matters is possible. M.H. Abrams, professor of English at Cornell, warns against converting disciplines into dogmas: "the humanistic search for truth," he writes, "is always in process and is never finished." Paul Kurtz, editor of the *Humanist*, repudiates obedience to what he calls "dicta or law", but stresses that freedom from authority and tradition need not lead to anarchy or promiscuity. One's own experience and reflection, he argues, can lead to responsible moral judgments, an inescapable ingredient of any serious education.

### The Problems Within

Such position papers often suffer from a surfeit of rhetoric. It is easy to invoke the muses, more difficult to plan concrete programs. One wishes for more concrete examples, more model syllabi, of the type that Kirk provides.

Then there are some confessions of weakness. Glazer, for example, confesses to a general foundering among the social sciences. He admits that "We are well past the enthusiasm for social planning and engineering of the New Deal period, past our self-confidence about

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reshaping a democratic and productive world with the aid of the social sciences in the post-World-War-II world." However, he finds no principle for determining what social theories should be put aside, what ones should become the basis for serious work. And if the fellows at Stanford's Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences are fragmented, what hope is there for the average college curriculum committee? To UCLA economist Thomas Sowell, many general education courses encourage diffuseness and dilettantism, with those in the social sciences particularly prone to misinformation and low standards. Arguing for depth, not breath, he claims that "a course devoted solely to William James has more chance of success than a course that sweeps across the centuries in a semester." (This reviewer must dissent here. A thorough introductory course is often a much-needed guide into an area. Otherwise, how would the student know where James stood vis a vis Plato, Kant, Hempel, and Ryle?)

### The Taming of Power

Hook elaborates on his ideas in his own 1973 anthology, a collection that encompasses essays written from 1939 to 1972. Here again, we have Hook's long-standing opposition to politicization of the campus, and his equally longstanding defense of John Dewey, Hook's mentor and a much misunderstood man.

If Hook opposed a totally fixed curriculum, he finds that demands for "revelance" are often politically inspired or the product of a narrow utilitarianism. "Relevant to what?" he asks, noting that Einstein's theory of relativity—when first propagated—had no practical use. Moving to the problem of tenure, he stresses that tenure should be "considered an accolade to the earned" (emphasis his), not a right automatically conferred. "Where there is doubt, the answer should be 'no,'" he writes. Indeed, administrators who seek to give everyone tenure will only destroy the system, thereby placing everyone's job in jeopardy.

### Two Vocations?

Hook deals with many other subjects, but my remarks will now remain limited to his comments on the teaching vocation. He distinguishes between teaching on the graduate and undergraduate levels. Graduate teaching, he notes, focusses upon primary research, with the instructor operating on the frontiers of knowledge and leading and inspiring co-workers. The undergraduate teacher, on the other hand, has quite a different task. "He must try to develop persons who are intellectually sensitive, emotionally mature, and methodologically sophisticated at the same time he helps them to find themselves and to make the choices of calling and career that are so decisive in their lives. The good teacher at the college level must be not only a schoolmaster but, as Karl Mannheim put it, a lifemaster, by which he means not merely a purveyor of knowledge but a directing, inspiring, correcting force in the life of those he teaches." But Hook continues that no one starts out to be primarily a good college teacher: "He resigns himself to it only when he surrenders his hopes to make a distinctive or creative contribution to his field."

This reviewer concurs with the thrust of Hook's distinction, but makes one qualification. The college teacher must engage in some research, that is some primary investigation, even if this reasearch does not always lead to publication. Otherwise, he can fall into the role of a genial "Mr. Chips," regurgitating old material year after year in a way that—no matter how dynamically or cleverly presented—can only mislead students. Eloquent testimony to "lifemasters", in short, can apply to some excellent classroom teachers who have never published a line in their lives. But it can, and often does, hide a multitude of sins, permitting the incompetent and the banal to justify sheer laziness. Sociologist Robert Nisbet stated the case eloquently when he said that the most able pedagogues from Abelard to Marcuse were listened to not because they were "great teachers"; rather it was because they had something to say.

In conclusion, there are probably as many different philosophies of education as there are educators. The followers of Kirk will always seek a different kind of education than the followers of Hook. This reviewer finds both thrusts necessary: stress on the scientific method can only supplement the classical tradition, and vice versa. The important thing is not to fall into the kind of cynicism engendered by the findings of Mandell and X. For no matter how many disappointments we face, and no matter how many times we have been subject to exploitation, there is hope so long as such people as Kirk, Hook, Berman, and Nagel continue to articulate educational philosophy and plan programs.

One line in Frost reads "One could do more than be a swinger of birches." Perhaps the poet was talking about more than trees.

## LP Breakthrough —

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must endorse this theme, and repudiate the last-ditch efforts of "futurists", fantasts and space cadets to deflect the convention to the contemplation of the lotus-land of their looney fantasies. And, above all, we must select a Presidential candidate with great care. We must select someone who will look like a credible Presidential candidate, who will make fine showing on national television, and who is knowledgeable about all the important political issues of our time. The LP presidential candidate must be a man of stature and not a showman. He must be able to "captivate the media" on a nationwide scale.

The choice of Presidential candidate is one of the most important decisions we shall ever make. If Roger MacBride had not been nominated in 1976, the Libertarian Party would have collapsed and never reached its current stature. Now our choice will determine whether we are to burst forth into a major party or remain waiting in the wings. We must make our decision, not on the basis of factions or personal resentments, but after giving a long and objective look at which candidate is best equipped to bring the Libertarian Party into the mainstream of American life.

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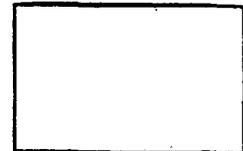
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## The Space War

Something has happened to the Libertarian Party on the way to glory. Right now, it is too soon to say whether this is merely an ephemeral and temporary zag on the inevitable zig-zag road that every growing ideological movement must travel. We don't know whether these are just growing pains that will be swiftly overcome. Let us hope, or for some of us in the movement, let us pray.

As I wrote in last issue's editorial ("LP Breakthrough," November-December 1978), the LP is moving rapidly toward its great Presidential nomination convention this September 6-9 (or, for those who want to catch the platform committee hearings, Sept. 4-9) at the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. The theme of the convention is slated to be "Toward a Three Party System", and the speeches and workshops are to be built around national political concerns, in the light of the imminent breakthrough of the LP into the mainstream of American politics. The eyes of all the media, of three TV networks, will be on us, and we should act as if we are indeed about to be a third major party in America. That does not mean, of course, any watering down of our glorious principles, which are the whole point of our enterprise. But it means acting like adults, in the real world, like "real people", to use a provocative but correct formulation of my own over the years.

When Ed Crane, chairman of the convention committee, presented this theme and program to the national committee of the LP meeting in Las Vegas on January 14, everything hit the fan. There ensued a highly illuminating debate on the nat.com. The opponents of the theme began to whine: "This program is all about politics;" "politics is a downer;" "Who cares if we become one of the major parties" And, "none of this motivates people." I was astonished: how could an LP national committee member fail to become ecstatic over the prospect of us actually becoming a major party, over moulding real-world politics in the direction of freedom? And if they are not so motivated, why in blazes are they in the Libertarian Party at all? It turns out that what the opposition wants, in varying degrees, is not real-world politics but the contemplation of various space fantasies of what a libertarian future would presumably look like. To them, the real world is equated with gloom; optimism they only equate with technocratic fancies and millennial dreams of the alleged future. Not freedom, but these visions, are their motivation.

My own reaction to this may be found in the February issue of *Libertarian Review* ("The Menace of the Space Cult"). I have found, over the weeks since, that friends whom I've told about the controversy think that I'm exaggerating the problem, until I send them the various documents that have piled up since the Jan. 14 meeting. For shortly after the meeting, L. Richard White, regional nat.com. representative from Nevada, kicked off a series of hot and heavy letters that have been circulating within the national committee. There is White's first letter; replies by myself and by Ed Crane, followed by a pro "futurist" letter by Tonie Nathan, regional rep. from Oregon and Vice-Presidential candidate for the LP in 1972. Followed next by White's second letter and by my reply to Nathan. Some of the material is basically procedural maneuvering (e.g. discussion of the nat.com. "veto" over local party conventions), but the important material—the sharply clashing

philosophical and strategic views held by the two different camps—shines through and is well worth reading. There are other letters, some written from outside the nat.com. and some within, but these are the major documents in the dispute. They deserve to be read by all libertarians and LP members and not just by nat.com. members, and so the *Lib. Forum* presents these documents, **completely unedited**, as a public service to the movement and to the party—and maybe, to future historians. Let everyone make up his or her own mind!

An amusing footnote to this affair: The monthly *frontlines*, the movement's own *National Enquirer* published by the Reason clique, wrote up the Vegas committee meeting with nary a mention of the space dispute (Feb. 1979 issue). So much for the intrepid "reporting" so typical of *frontlines* (or shall we call it *backbites*?) Perhaps the reason for the oversight is that *frontlines* was too busy trumpeting the majesty and greatness of one Michael Emerling, Bill Hunscher's campaign manager in the contest for the LP Presidential nomination. At any rate, in their March issue, *frontlines* made up for this lack by publishing an edited version of only one side of the space dispute: Tonie Nathan's manifesto. The new version, for example, omits Ms. Nathan's statement that "Freedom is not necessary for grub eaters." So much for *frontlines*' much vaunted "objectivity" and claim to be above all factions!

At any rate, there now follows, in sequence, the documents in the great space war dispute. Happy reading!

by Rick White

January 17, 1979

Dear Natcom member,

Before proceeding to the real meat of this letter, I would like to address another issue. In the discussion at the Las Vegas Natcom meeting, there was never any question of using veto power, at least not in my mind. In fact, according to the new rules, if I am not mistaken, only Dave Bergland has this power.

Since Dave does have the veto power in this particular case, it was unquestionably a sound tactical move to include him on the '79 convention program committee. He is much less likely to veto something he has had, to all appearances, a direct hand in. Though from another viewpoint Dave has iron-handed control over the program, should he choose to exercise it, since any aspect he doesn't like is subject to immediate veto. It must be pointed out in this context that Dave resisted intense pressure to use the veto in the past, and in fact is one of the few people I know of in whose hands this perilous power does not make me overly nervous.

During the whole Natcom discussion, I was thinking in terms of input and "moral suasion." These are not veto power. What I believe is desirable here is a positive change of attitude which will lead to a different emphasis in the entire philosophy of the program. Obviously the veto, a negative measure, is entirely helpless to accomplish this. However, since the new veto rule was suggested and passed at the behest

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## Space War — (Continued From Page 1)

of, among others, Ed Crane, it is difficult for me to see what objections he could possibly raise if this power were indeed leveled against him.

Now to the meat. The political process is only part of other large processes, not the least of these being the mental processes that motivate those individuals participating in it. Why do libertarians choose to become politically active? Undoubtedly, there are those in the movement to whom the lure of political activity and power per se are sufficient motivation to keep them spending inordinate amounts of time and money pursuing their goals. They of course do have their place in the movement. I would suggest, however, that they are and should remain in the minority. I would further suggest that for the majority of libertarians, it is a vibrant, glowing, free vision of the future which most effectively motivates us to spend inordinate amounts of time and money, not visions of press release writing and petition circulating!!

It might be argued that all those attending Libertarian Party conventions are already so motivated and don't need further encouragement. If this were indeed a valid point, then salesmen, who have the strongest motivation around, namely a quick buck, wouldn't need a sales manager and constant pep-talks. And speaking as a rather strongly motivated "hard-core" libertarian, I would like to say that I can always use a little more motivation myself. Besides, people don't become instant Libertarians (or for that matter, instant anything). It's a gradual process. Many, if not most, of those attending the '79 convention will be somewhere on this road. For them, the motivational aspects of the convention will be by far the most important aspects. It will be these aspects which encourage them to willingly attend the "nuts and bolts" political action workshops which are also an indispensable part of the convention. They will attend not because there isn't anything else available, but because they have been motivated and actually, wonder of wonders, WANT to be there.

In this context, it is not entirely irrelevant to note that probably the main problem with public education is that the majority of students don't WANT to be involved, and so don't take an active part in the learning process—and so don't learn!! In fact, if the program doesn't offer anything other than "nuts and bolts," many people who would otherwise attend and be further exposed to our philosophy and positive view of life and man—won't! If we wish to be bored to death by "nuts and bolts" politics alone, we might just as well become Democrats or Republicans. We already know that's all they have to offer.

I believe the preceding to be a pivotal issue in the future of the Libertarian Party, and I believe that because of its self-evident nature it will eventually be accepted. If so, why not now?

In summation, I would strongly urge a reevaluation of the '79 convention/proposal and theme to incorporate less limited and more motivational viewpoints than that of isolated political action alone. I would strongly suggest motivational aspects, vivid and concrete views of an expressly libertarian future, be built into the convention as individual events (specific speakers and topics, or possibly panels (it might be helpful to consult Neil Smith and/or Tom Laurent for specific suggestions) ). Motivational themes should also be consciously woven into the fabric of every event, no matter how "nuts and boltsy," and indeed, into the very fabric of the convention itself. An appropriate theme for such a convention might be something like "WHAT THE COMING LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY WILL BE LIKE AND HOW THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY WILL BRING IT ABOUT!!"

P.S. If you agree with this analysis, at least in general, please let the members of the program committee know. No vetoes, please! The members of the committee are: Ed Crane, Dave Bergland, Bill Webster, and Ed Clark. Write to them NOW, while you're still thinking about it!!

by Murray Rothbard

Jan. 20, 1979

Dear Fellow National Committee Member:

Rick White's letter of the 17th performs an important service in drawing the lines of disagreement and in confirming my view of the extreme importance of the debate within the committee on Jan. 14.

The L.P. stands at a crossroads, and the Raleigh meeting may well be the most important one we have ever had. It is no accident that just at this time, just when libertarianism and the Libertarian Party stand on the verge of making a major impact on American political life, that the anti-politics forces within the Party should make a last-ditch stand to block that progress and to deflect us toward the contemplation of space fantasy and science fiction.

As someone who has battled for liberty for over thirty years and who has seen the movement grow from a literal handful to near-major party status, I may be pardoned for becoming emotional over this issue. I for one am interested in fighting for liberty in the real world of politics. I have zero, indeed negative, interest in being part of a space fantasy cult. To me the choice is clear. And the great puzzle is: what are those people opposed to politics and political action doing in a political party

by Ed Crane

January 22, 1979

Dear National Committee Member,

Rick White's letter of January 17 raises several important points to which I would like to respond. Before addressing the more substantive issues I'd like to see if you agree with my assessment of the first three paragraphs of his letter. Am I wrong or is Rick trying to cloak himself in the purity of being opposed to the "perilous power" of the veto while at the same time encouraging Dave Bergland to invoke it? Rick's right, I did argue in favor of giving the National Chair that power over the program director—and I'm perfectly willing to have it used against me. I would not want to be hypocritical. But what about Rick? Although he clearly favored the program that was being put together in Boston he argued against the veto, we were told at the Seattle meeting, not because he favored the program but because as a self-described "radical decentralist" he was opposed to the veto on principle. Now it seems his principles move him to suggest that some kind of poetic justice would be served if the veto were to be used against me. Certainly the last sentence of his third paragraph seems to indicate that he would experience something less than moral revulsion if the veto were invoked as a means of implementing his ideas instead of mine. But perhaps I've simply misinterpreted what Rick was getting at.

Less ambiguous is what Rick refers to as the "meat" of his letter. Although there are no names named, it is clear that Rick has divided the movement into two groups: there are those futurists like Rick White who believe in a "vibrant, glowing, free vision of the future"; and there are those like Ed Crane and his ilk who are motivated by the "lure of political activity and power per se." As I say, there is no ambiguity here. Now, for one libertarian to accuse another of lusting after political power is a very serious matter. I believe Rick has unjustly insulted some very committed libertarians—including myself—with this specious and irresponsible analysis of what "motivates" a libertarian. I hope you agree with me that Rick owes most members of the National Committee an apology.

But on the main issue. Why do we have a Libertarian Party? Because we seek Liberty. Period. The Libertarian Party has proven to be the most effective vehicle for spreading the ideals of a free society in two centuries. Its potential for actually rolling back the power of the state has grown immeasurably as a result of the recent elections. The media has developed a solid respect for our ideas and our potential. In short, we stand on the threshold of creating—with our very own hands and against overwhelming odds—a three party system in America.

It has been suggested that such a development would not be very exciting, that it would merely be "political" and, hence, a "downer". I beg to differ. Think for a moment what the emergence of the Libertarian Party as the third major party means. It means our ideas and philosophy will at last have an opportunity to compete on equal footing with the statist parties. It means people will come to understand that there exists a consistent alternative to the status quo which places their rights as individuals above all else. Are there any among us who don't believe that we will prevail under those circumstances?

But we will achieve none of this unless we devote every ounce of our energy to the task of building the LP organizationally, learning the issues,

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electing the candidates and ultimately returning to the people the right to run their own lives. That, I suppose, is political. It's also what the LP is all about. Our job is to throw off the chains of the state and put an end to its disruptive, oppressive and sometimes devastating activities. It is to set men and women free to **choose their own future**—not to tell them what that future may be. For one thing, a simple understanding of economics tells us that we have no way of knowing what the future holds. For another, what's an appealing and appropriate goal for one person is unappealing and inappropriate for another. Rick White's cup of tea probably ain't mine. It is simply wrong-headed to claim to know what a future "libertarian" society "ought" to be. Such visions are for fortunetellers, not libertarians. As Hayek puts it, "A free society is a pluralistic society without a common hierarchy of particular ends". I say, laissez-faire to the future.

And why **can't** a convention devoted to the "real world" of politics be exciting? What does it take to charge people's batteries—spaceships or freedom? Were the American revolutionaries driven by a vision of horseless carriages in their future or by a passion for liberty? Was Thomas Paine fighting for the chance to see television one day or for the dignity of free men and women?

We live in a society that oppresses people with divergent lifestyles and interests. We can end the oppression and for me that's exciting. We live in a world constantly threatened with a nuclear holocaust. We can decrease and even end that threat and to me that's exciting. We live in a society that systematically robs men and women through taxation and inflation. We can end that robbery and to me that's exciting. The list is endless and, I fear, hopelessly "political." But goddammit that's why we started the Libertarian Party: To engage in political activity in order to roll back the state. Let's not blow it just when people are starting to listen.

by Tonie Nathan

Jan. 19, 1979

Towards a free Society

Politics has been defined by some as the "art of the possible." Traditionally, political organizations survey and document voters' views, then plot strategy catering to those views. Occasionally, in some creative instances, political party leaders attempt to move voters towards new positions. Such actions require much money, highly skilled promotional help and persuasive leaders who are visible and charismatic. Then, slowly, after being bombarded with media clout, the voting public begins to react, rejecting or accepting the change aimed in its direction.

Obviously, this is what the 1979 LP Convention Committee had in mind when it adopted the theme, "Toward a Three Party System." "We should attempt to tie the LP into the 'real world' of major party politics," says Edward H. Crane, III, convention director. "The program should emphasize politics and not philosophical/social/business concerns." This may be what the LP wishes to do, but I am disappointed.

As one of the party's founders, I believe the LP's appeal has been to those who are sick of "politics as usual." Yet here we are, joining the club. . . On convention stationery, the theme bleats forth its self-conscious status in sallow green and is so conspicuously "me-tooism" that it almost obliterates any distinction the LP may have justifiably won in the past.

Look! the logo seems to say. Another party has arrived on the scene. Move over, tweedle dee and tweedle dum—here comes tweedle doo! See? We, too, can play the game . . .

Strange, I thought we had spent the last six years carefully explaining that we did not belong on the same political spectrum with the other political parties in this country and that we were practicing a different kind of politics. Everywhere I spoke, my emphasis was on the uniqueness of the LP. We were a party of principle, I said. We were not just seeking votes or political power. First, we wanted to educate, to change minds, to change society. The votes would come when people recognized that freedom, justice and individual rights were moral absolutes that could not be watered down to pour into a politically expedient vase labelled, "Third Party." Our political activity was necessary in order to carry our

ideas effectively to the public. Running candidates was one way of spreading ideas. But electing Libertarians would be meaningless **unless** the electorate was committed to the concept of a voluntary society. People had to understand why freedom (and therefore, the Libertarian Party,) was necessary.

Well, why **are** freedom and the Libertarian Party necessary? Here one finds some revealing differences of opinion. Some Libertarian leaders say we need a free society so each of us can do our own thing. "Some people may want to live in trees and eat grubs," Murray Rothbard says. "Who knows what a Libertarian society will be."

I agree that no one can know the shape of the future and that, indeed, some may want to live in trees and eat grubs. But this is not a cogent nor inspiring argument for liberty. Mr. Rothbard then says he has become emotional over the issue of "fighting for liberty in the 'real world' of politics" and asks, "What are those opposed to politics doing in a political party?"

Personally, I have never believed that politics, as currently practiced, is the "real world." Further, I have never considered the LP merely another political party, but primarily, an educational party. In the "real world," as Ayn Rand points out in her powerful novel, *Atlas Shrugged*, the battle is ideological, not political. It is ideas, not votes, that ultimately solve social problems.

It is not a three party system that Libertarians desire, but a free society. It is not recognition of the LP as a third member of the non-real political system that we desire, but recognition of the principles of Libertarianism. And I certainly hope it is not a powerful party we are building, but a powerful political philosophy. Perhaps we can do both. Perhaps we can engage in political action without acting like other parties. There are several reasons why we should do this.

Access to the media is one obvious reason for playing the conventional political game. Most of us who have been engaged in building the Libertarian Party have recognized all along that political action is one of the quickest ways of getting our ideas before the public. It is also an excellent way of influencing those in office who see the logic of Libertarian rhetoric.

But now that we have established some degree of influence and visibility, it is no time to divorce the means from the ends. We need not let the unfortunate choice of convention theme set the tone of the convention. Instead, we should focus on the difference between rational politics based on Libertarian ideology and the irrational self-defeating politics of other parties.

In outlook and practice, the LP is not like other parties and should not attempt to be. Activists in other parties want political solutions enforced by law; we want political freedom unrestricted by law. They want politicians to make decisions for them; we want politicians to allow us to make our own decisions.

Among other political parties, politics is simulated war. Political conventions are training grounds for the troops where they learn non-violent ways of subjugating the people. Activists vie for the unearned spoils their leaders plan to confer after winning power. All the hoopla, speeches and publicity surrounding such events are the positionings of factions within opposing camps that seek control over their party. Each party's leaders win allegiance in proportion to the favors they can bestow on their supporting delegations or constituency. "Who will rule?" is the question the Reprocats ask of each other.

Is this what we want at the LP convention—power brokering? I think not. Libertarians seek something different. Libertarian delegates seek leaders worthy of their ideals—leaders who use ideas, not favors, to woo their supporters. Instead of money or power, libertarians are more attracted by clarity of thought, hard truth and inspirational personality.

Libertarians attend LP functions hoping to find objective evidence of the workings of a free society—hoping to experience an atmosphere of creative thought, of new horizons. Libertarians sniff out new lines of reasoning new solutions to old problems and new products or services with market potential.

In contrast to other political groups, Libertarians do not look for provider patrons or authoritarian decision makers. Instead they seek

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ideologues who project moral fervor into the arguments for liberty. Libertarians look for inspiration, not directives.

Perhaps the major difference between Libertarians and other party activists is genuine optimism, idealism and a positive view of human nature. We Libertarians have a boundless faith in a beautiful, productive and fruitful future because we know what a free society can produce. We tend to believe most persons who are introduced to our vision of a free society will produce, not people who live in trees, but people who can travel to stars—people who aspire to new experiences, new delights, new challenges and independent thinking. If this is not what attracts Libertarians, why else seek freedom? Freedom is not necessary for grub eaters. Freedom is necessary for creative persons who want to put their ideas into action.

Looking back, historians and economists can explain why freedom is good in the aggregate. They can see the results the invisible hand has produced. Historians and economists can explain business, artistic and scientific successes after the fact. But they cannot document or analyze what is yet to be. They cannot know beforehand what special circumstances will motivate individuals to produce the goods, services and ideas that enrich human life. It is the artists, poets and writers who paint the future and inspire action. Their dreams, their imagination, their inquiries, light fires in the brains of inventors, entrepreneurs and workers. And the human spirit, unquenchable in its search for new values, soars forth crystallizing dreams into attainable goals.

I do not believe grub eaters dream; Grub eaters look for grubs. Grub eaters are the natural constituency of other political parties that promise grubs.

But Libertarians dream. And because they dream, they create.

Let us, therefore, lace our Libertarian Convention with dreams. Let us interface our politics with imagination and project the future for those who want a vision of something worth striving for. We need not offer a non-contestable plan or mandatory goal. Nor need we produce fiction or fantasy. But we can suggest possibilities and rewards, non-existent under the present repressive society, that can become available in a free society. Let us explore the shape of the future.

What is the shape of the the future? No one knows. But show me your vision and I will show you mine. To reach a star, I will willingly follow a path untrod by others, even if, at last, I end up alone in a strange world. But I suspect I will not be alone, but in a Libertarian society. For Libertarians are motivated—not by security and an ample supply of grubs, but by challenge, opportunity and a vision of a better life. We act, not on behalf of a system, but on behalf of ourselves. Our loyalty is not to our party, but to our principles and ideals.

Encourage us to dream at our convention. Stimulate our minds, whet our appetites and show us a vision of future freedom. Achievement and growth will come, and they will be our own.

by Rick White

Feb. 9, 1979

Dear NATCOM member,

I was quite surprised at all the furor surrounding my last letter. There are many possible reasons for the furor; I prefer to think it's mostly a matter of misunderstanding.

Apparently I had better begin by indicating what I'm NOT doing here first. First, I am NOT touting science fiction or fantasy. Just as Murray, I have negative interest in being part of a "space fantasy cult." Nor am I speaking here for the Prometheus Award.

Secondly, I am NOT putting down Libertarian political action or activists. At the time I wrote about "power per se" libertarians, I was creating a straw man to help me make my point. I'm truly sorry if Ed or any other libertarian took it personally. (The veto thing however is another matter.) It is in fact because I am dedicated to effective Libertarian political action that I am writing.

There was only one important issue in my last letter. It is the same one I wish to address in this one. It involves no personalities, no institutions,

but only ideas. That issue is the program theme of the '79' convention.

The present theme reflects a conscious decision on the part of the program committee to emphasize political action at the 1979 convention. Unfortunately the committee seems to believe that to emphasize politics, something else equally important must be de-emphasized, perhaps even excluded, from the convention program. Political action, yes; but political action in what context?

It is in fact ironic that the very thing which is presently marked for de-emphasis in favor of politics is the most potent political tool ever known. That element marked for de-emphasis is a positive, inspiring vision of the near future, in this case, a Libertarian future! It is I believe, this vision, this dream of a multiplicity of non-conflicting individualized futures and a world with a minimum of need and a maximum of pleasure which not only motivates us as Libertarians, but which is also our strongest political weapon. — If we will only begin to use it!! DREAMS SELL!!

What's wrong with the Libertarian dream? An often asked question is, "What would things be like if you Libertarians got elected?" The stock Libertarian answer is, "Well, I don't really know." The only proper response to that is something like, "Well, if you're crazy enough to try to change the world into something else, but don't know what that something else will be like, don't expect me to waste my time with you. I've got more important things to do—like sleep and watch cartoons on TV."

As Tonie Nathan pointed out in her article, "It is the artists, poets and writers who paint the future and inspire action." Too corny? Not "real world" enough? Please consider: Individuals have consistently had notable success from just the rhetoric of the vision, the talk of the dream. John Kennedy sold his presidency on the "Dream of Camelot." Meaningless? Perhaps—but effective! It's well known that Martin Luther King "Had a dream." Bobby Kennedy often used this quotation; "Some men see things as they are and ask 'Why?' I dream dreams that have never been and ask 'Why not?'" All three were successful political leaders. It was not an accident that the dream/vision was a central element of each style. Indeed, dreams do sell!

But those dreams were somehow dishonest, and besides people are diverse and we don't want to dictate how they will live? About that vision of the future: there are probably as many as there are libertarians—and people—to dream them. And, strangely enough, in a libertarian society they can ALL come true. We are the only group around that can speak of such dreams and make them believable in the real world. That's because we know the incredible power of the free market to satisfy not only diverse needs, but desires, whims, yes, and perhaps even a fantasy here and there. WE CAN DELIVER!! So where's the harm in painting some of these futures for others to see? Ed's vision of the future comes through in the last paragraph of his last letter. And Murray paints an optimistic and bequiling picture with his "Future of Freedom" talk. I think they're both great—and should sell like hotcakes at a sausage dinner! Practical politics? The Libertarian dream IS practical politics! Come on fellas, don't ditch our most potent weapons—cultivate them!

There's nothing really magic about the kind of dreams we're talking about here, only about their results. Dave Nolan had a dream of a Libertarian Party and, lo, it came to pass. THE RIGHT DREAMS WORK!! Dreams, the type we're discussing here, serve simple and indispensable functions. Let's put this on a simpler scale. Suppose you have a pile of wood and you want to build a table. Before you can do anything meaningful to build that table, you have to have a picture in your mind, and preferably on paper, of just what you want that table to look like. This isn't to say that the picture can't be changed and modified as you proceed. However, the picture, vision, or dream of what you want to accomplish is the primary requirement. It is only after you have this vision firmly in mind that the project can begin in earnest. The best tools in the world won't help you if you don't have your vision, your goal, to guide you.

THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY IS A TOOL, NOT AN END IN ITSELF. We might look at it as a special jig we need to help us build the table of a libertarian society. Our ultimate goal IS a libertarian society is it not? And while the construction of the jig does require special attention, this only makes sense in the context of the table it is designed to build. This is

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## Space War — (Continued From Page 4)

especially true when the construction of the tool requires aid. If we focus merely on the building of the tool, those we recruit to aid us will just naturally tend to think of the tool as an end in itself. And those people, should they take over the project, may decide to use it for things other than building the table. We may indeed gradually evolve into just another political party, but please, let's not hasten the process.

I want to make it clear that I am not arguing for the exclusion of political action from the convention. Quite the contrary. DREAMS AREN'T PREDICTIONS OF WHAT THINGS OVER WHICH WE HAVE NO CONTROL WILL BE LIKE; THEY ARE SPECIFICATIONS FOR WHAT WE WILL MAKE HAPPEN. We need tools and techniques to make the dreams happen. We can't build the table without tools anymore than we can use the tools without a design! It is the tools and techniques Department where most dreams break down in fact.

In terms of the convention and its theme, this means we need BOTH our vision of the future AND "nuts and bolts" politics. It is because I believe both aspects must be strongly bound that I suggested as a possible alternative theme "WHAT THE COMING LIBERTARIAN SOCIETY WILL BE LIKE (a vision of the (near) future) AND HOW THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY WILL BRING IT ABOUT!! (That's the political action part.) Either half is useless without the other. If we fail to emphasize either, we cannot hope to succeed as quickly, or perhaps, not at all. It is simply NOT a matter of either political action or visions of a libertarian future. It is more a matter of BOTH—or nothing at all.

And it is clear from the choice of theme and Ed's explicit mind-set that at present, the program is leaning dangerously to the "nothing-at-all" side. It is true that some of the speakers are inspirational, and also true that, on occasion, Ed himself lets a Libertarian dream or two slip out, but the theme itself makes absolutely no mention or implication of the Libertarian dream. And the theme is very important because it, more than any other single factor, influences the atmosphere of the convention, the actual verbal content of the talks and workshops, the convention's effect on Libertarians, and the overall perception by outsiders and the press of just what the Libertarian Party's all about. Do we wish to appear to the press as just another third party? Because without constant explicit exhibition of what it is we are working for, that is exactly how we will appear.

At a time when the other two major parties are grabbing at least the rhetoric of every politically advantageous Libertarian issue from deregulation to balancing the federal budget, the one thing we have that sets us apart, the one thing they can't grab, is the Libertarian Dream. And they can't field any convincing dreams of their own—the only dreams they have are of more power for them and higher taxes for everyone else. If you doubt they can offer no dreams, listen to Jerry Brown. So, in the present political atmosphere, we have one of the few remaining natural monopolies. Let's not burn our stock.

We can't even take it for granted that every "Libertarian" knows just what it is we are working for, unless we tell them, any more than we can assume everyone knows how to do political action. Partly because of our permanent ballot status here in Nevada we have had a large influx of new members who know little or nothing concerning what we are really about: some of them will be attending, others will be delegates. Especially at this point in our history, when we can expect explosive growth and a great influx of neophytes, the vision aspect of the libertarian movement must be made as explicit as the advice on how to form a campus organization, raise money, or write a press release.

If indeed we must err in the balance between dream and politics, and I hope we won't, it would be far better to err on the side of the dream. Political savvy can be obtained better through direct experience than through a convention. It can also be found in books and learned from P.R. firms and politicians. If people are motivated enough, they will get this knowledge there as well as from the convention. The motivation which comes from dreams is much harder to come by. One of the few places from which it is obtainable is at a gathering of other libertarians—like for example, at a convention!

One final observation on dreams. Some of us have been rather good at using negative dreams about the Libertarian future. You know "There will be a greatly reduced danger of nuclear holocaust, you won't be

mugged as much, etc." That's good. But positive dreams are even better! If we really want to super-charge our success, I suggest we master something I've just been getting the knack of recently. That something is the POSITIVE dream. Things like "You'll have twice the spendable income, you'll be able to travel at only half the present cost, etc." So, if it's decided to maintain the present "politics only" theme, might I suggest one a bit more positive. It appeared on Colorado stationary. It said, "THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM IS NOW A THREE PARTY SYSTEM." IS NOW A THREE PARTY SYSTEM" Why not claim we've arrived? I think we have. And, as Thomas Szasz says "Define or be defined."

I'm quite sure this will leave some Libertarians still feeling ill-at-ease with dreams, and preferring to deal with the "real world." May I respectfully suggest that the "real world" of today was yesterday's dream. And if we don't dream the dream that becomes tomorrow's "real world," we can be sure someone else will. And dreaming isn't enough—the blueprint must always be available for everyone to see.

by Murray Rothbard

Feb. 7, 1979

To Fellow Members of the National Committee:

I have no desire to prolong this debate *ad infinitum*, but Tonie Nathan's paper "Towards a Free Society" articulates some of the ideas that animate the "pro-space" wing of the committee. It is surely an unfortunate presentation.

Ms. Nathan writes that "freedom is not necessary for grub eaters. Freedom is necessary for creative persons . . ." Later, she writes that "grub eaters are the natural constituency of other political parties . . ." We, apparently, are supposed to rely on the creative "artists, poets and writers." Ms. Nathan's doctrine is shockingly elitist. The whole point of liberty, of individual rights, is that they belong to *everyone*, regardless of how plodding or how creative. The grub-eaters as well as the visionaries. It is no wonder that Ms. Nathan appears to believe that accepting the votes of the public is somehow deplorable; for she would restrict the constituency of liberty to a handful of creative artists, in which case, of course, the LP would *deserve* to be doomed.

Ms. Nathan denounces the professionalism of the convention presentation (including the green color) because, she asserts, we are thereby "joining the club" and being just like the other political parties. The remarkable thing is that Ms. Nathan omits the distinctive feature of

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## An Anarchist Without Adjectives

by Wendy Grosscup

To Emma Goldman, Voltairine de Cleyre was "the greatest woman Anarchist in America." But because most of her influence was through unrecorded lectures and articles now buried in obscure journals, she herself is obscure. This is an oversight that Paul Avrich has corrected in his excellent biography of Voltairine de Cleyre, *An American Anarchist*. Drawing from previously unknown or unused documents, and using what first hand accounts still exist, Avrich provides what libertarianism so sadly lacks—a sense of its own history.

Voltairine de Cleyre (1866-1912) lived through and influenced the most turbulent period of American Anarchism: the Haymarket hangings (1887), the Homestead strike (1892), McKinley's assassination (1901), and the Mexican Revolution (1911). She was broader, in many ways, than her contemporaries and more fully reflected the radical spirit of the late 1800's. She became a freethinker at nineteen and shortly thereafter declared herself a socialist—a position which proved to be only a way-station on her road to anarchism. De Cleyre ran the anarchist continuum: beginning as a Tuckerite individualist, she evolved into mutualism and finally came to advocate "anarchism without adjectives". "I am an Anarchist," she told Emma Goldman, "without economic labels attached . . ." (She was not, as commonly believed, a Communist; she explicitly rejected that title.) As an ardent feminist, she demanded equal liberty for women while recognizing that the State—as the common enemy of men and women—must never be used as a tool of enlightenment. She was,

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# The Political Economy Of Inflation: Government and Money

by Tom G. Palmer

The relationship between government and money is of a more complex nature than that between government and other commodities because of the special role played by money in an exchange economy. When the state redistributes goods by means of open violence, e.g., by forcibly seizing A's house and awarding it to his neighbor B, the effect is obvious; B had benefited at the expense of A. Hence, regulatory activity by the state (to take one example) benefits some, typically those with political power, at the expense of others, usually those whose pecuniary interests are not sufficiently concentrated to make counter-action in the political arena cost-effective. Because of the unique function of money as a facilitator of exchange, as an intermediary good between the exchange of one commodity for another, the situation becomes more complex and hence less easy to analyze in terms applicable to other state actions. Nevertheless, despite difficulties of understanding, the fundamental relationship remains the same; wealth is transferred to one group of people, usually those able to exert political influence, from another group. The former are beneficiaries of the latter's victimization.

## MONEY: DISSEMINATOR OF INFORMATION

Complicating the fundamental gain/loss relationship basic to governmental economic policy, monetary or otherwise, is the fact that prices, the exchange ratios between particular goods and money (the most marketable of all goods insofar as it is capable of having exchange ratios with nearly all other commodities), are the means by which knowledge, held by numerous and diverse market participants, is disseminated to investors, entrepreneurs, and consumers. This "division of knowledge is no less fundamental to an advanced economy than the more often cited division of labor. In an advanced market economy, a printer need not know the specific facts about timber production all around the world in order to allocate his limited funds for paper products. All of this information is "encapsulated" in the prices for such products presented to him as a buyer. If there is a shortage of wood due to a shortage of labor arising from plague conditions in Brazil, all of this information is presented in the prices charged by 1) laborers (now in short supply due to the sick workers' absence), and 2) wood dealers (some of whom are forced out of the market by rising costs), faced with an unchanged demand, who charge a higher price for a smaller output in order to maximize their income (and thus "clear the market"). The printer then allocates his resources to his most highly valued ends based on the higher prices presented to him, that is the say (other things being equal) he conserves his paper, e.g., by printing more words per page.

This complex and "spontaneously evolved" system for the dissemination of knowledge is hindered by government interference. In certain circumstances this intervention results in incorrect information being presented to market participants, that is, in prices which do not reflect the real conditions underlying economic activity. We shall investigate this more thoroughly later.

## RISE IN PRICES

One of the central problems in current public debate over governmental "monetary policy" is: what constitutes inflation? For members of the general public, the most obvious thing one can say about inflation is that it is a condition of "ever-rising prices." The complexities arising from money's position as an intermediary good lead many to lay the blame for inflation on businesses ("after all, they're the ones charging the higher prices"), unions ("they're always demanding higher wages"), or "piggish consumers" ("they're the ones who consistently pay the higher prices"). Such views are subject to criticism and rejection on logical and empirical grounds. First, one need not have read Book V of Euclid's Elements to know that if a ratio is increased while the consequent term remains constant (or itself increases), the increase in the ratio must be due to a relative increase in the antecedent term. While "goods in general" (the consequent term in the ratio) remain constant, yet "prices in general" (the cumulative expression of the ratio between money and other goods) rise, it must be due to a relative increase in the antecedent term, money. In the market, if the price of one good rises, then the purchaser retains less money to spend on other goods (assuming that the same amount was still purchased, or at least that the reduction in purchases amounted to less than the rise in price, both cases resulting in greater expenditures on the now more expensive good), and the demand

for those other goods falls, leading to lower prices for such other goods. Hence, without an increase in the money stock (and/or stock of money substitutes) there can be no "general" rise in prices. Second, the view that unions or businesses are responsible for inflation (in this view, defined in terms of ever-rising prices) is founded on the fallacy that sellers can "pass on" all of their costs to buyers. If this were so, then sellers could incur infinite costs and hence charge infinite prices without experiencing a loss of sales. As prices are not infinite, we must conclude that sellers do not simply "pass on" their costs to purchasers; such a one-dimensional view only incorporates the supply side of the transaction, leaving out the unwillingness of purchasers to buy at prices which they deem to be too high. (The commonly held notion that increased costs, e.g., new taxes, are "passed on" to the consumer is not altogether unfounded, in as much as consumers do in fact bear the burden of new "business taxes." This is effected through a reduction in the number of suppliers, not through a "passing on" of costs. The increase in costs results in the elimination of marginal competitors, now faced with a diminished cost-price differential; this decreased supply of good leads to a higher marginal utility per commodity unit, and hence to higher prices.)

## MONETARY INCREASE AND INCOME REDISTRIBUTION

The general rise in prices then, in the absence of a decrease in the quantity of goods (a case that need not be considered here), must be attributed to an increase in the stock of money and money substitutes. As this new money enters the market, some people are awarded a larger monetary fund and are therefore able to bid away goods from others by offering to pay higher prices. The important word in the foregoing sentence is **some**. New money must enter the economy somewhere; there is no "helicopter effect" to distribute money evenly over all sectors of the economy and to all market participants. Milton Friedman, a noted proponent of the "helicopter effect" view, is correct when he remarks that poor people and people on fixed incomes are harmed most by inflation of the money supply, but this is in direct contradiction to the "helicopter effect" hypothesis which states that there are no distribution effects to monetary inflation. It **does** make a difference who gets the new money first, for by this means the exploitative relationship central to government policy is effected. If A receives a windfall of one million dollars in new fiat money from the government, his increased purchasing power comes at the expense of B, C, D, E, . . . , etc. For when A enters the market to purchase goods he is able, by means of his new money, to bid goods away from others. A enters the market before the prices of goods in general have risen due to the monetary increase. When he buys a good from R, it is at a higher price than R was able to get from his other customers. R now has an increased stock of money before prices in general have gone up. He purchases a good from Z, etc. By the time B and C, e.g., recipients of relatively fixed incomes, receive a portion of the new funds, the prices of goods have already gone up relative to their incomes. There has been a net transfer of buying power from B to and C to A.

## MONEY AND THE BUSINESS CYCLE

Further complicating the whole procedure is the manner in which a great deal of the new money enters the economy. Rarely is it in the form of outright one-time grants of counterfeit cash, printed up by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and then handed out to political favorites (though this has not been unknown to happen). Rather, much of the new money enters the economic system in the form of expanded bank credit, either through central bank creation of paper assets ("open market operations") or through a lowering of reserve requirements within a fractional reserve system. The former creates credit (loanable funds) out of whole cloth and then makes it available to investors and other borrowers. The latter allows banks to engage in what would be condemned as fraud in any other enterprise, namely, to loan out more funds than they actually have on hand. In both cases the rate of interest is depressed below its market level where the plans of savers and investors are coordinated such that the sum of funds saved tends to equal the sum invested.

It is in this manner, namely a lowering of the interest rate, that the

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## Inflation — (Continued From Page 6)

pricing system, whereby information is disseminated throughout the market, is distorted. Such a distortion of interest rates (viewed by the entrepreneur as the "price of loanable funds") leads to an amount of investment greater than the amount of planned savings. Hence, the real conditions of the market are misrepresented to entrepreneurs, who over-invest in "production goods" (distinguished from "consumer goods" because they are not immediately consumed; "production goods" serve to produce goods which produce goods . . . which produce goods which are consumed). Such malinvestments must eventually be liquidated as consumers reassert their desired ratio of savings to consumption after receiving in turn the "fiat credit" as wages, rents, and other income. Such a liquidation of assets means a reallocation of capital goods and labor which, being heterogeneous and at least to some extent specific in their productive capacity, remain unemployed during the process of adjustment. These hardships go under the name of depression, another charming aspect of governmental policy.

Hence, we see that it is government action which must be blamed not only for ever-rising prices (which impose so many hardships on so many people), but also for the disruptive crises into which interventionist "political capitalism" is periodically thrown. In contrast, increases in the money supply on the free market (e.g., an increase in the stock of gold specie) do not lead to such hardships because, while admittedly causing a relative increase in the prices of goods (or a decrease in the price of money expressed in terms of goods), such an increase in the stock of money does not redistribute goods or purchasing power in a manner different from other voluntary market transactions, where goods are traded between transactors in order for more favorable states of affairs to be realized by each one. This is so because the "rate of return" on gold production will tend to be equilibrated with the "rates of return" in other industries. In short, such market increases in specie do not constitute a veiled form of theft or fraud. Also, increases in specie do not lead to the malinvestment and subsequent dislocation of the trade cycle of "boom and bust" outlined above. Specie increases, when loaned out or placed in banks by their holders, do lead to increased investment through a lower interest rate. However, such increases in loanable funds, unlike increases in "fiat credit," do represent a real increase in the ratio of savings to consumption because the new gold-holder did, in fact, save his new money holdings rather than spend them on consumption. Hence, in a market economy planned savings will tend to equal planned investment, and no capital or labor reallocation will be necessary at a later date beyond those due to everyday self-correcting entrepreneurial error.

### MARCO AND MICRO

In any analysis of complex economic phenomena, it is the task of the analyst to reduce "macro-economic" movements to their "micro-economic" foundations, that is, to explain aggregate states of affairs (mass unemployment, depression, etc.) in terms of the goals, plans, and actions of consumers, investors, entrepreneurs, and other market participants. The problem with orthodox analysis (including the "Keynesian" and "Friedmanite" versions) is that it focuses on phenomena which are not considered by market participants. The general price level, for example, is not relevant to the actions of entrepreneurs; they are concerned with the relative prices presented to them when making decisions to allocate resources among various opportunities. Such relative prices are distorted by monetary manipulation, leading entrepreneurs to make mistakes on the basis of incorrect information. This explains why it is that, while entrepreneurs are constantly making mistakes (and experiencing the consequences, thus providing incentives for self-correcting behavior) large numbers of such mistakes often come in great clusters, namely as widespread economic dislocation (i.e., depression, recession, side-wise movements, panics, etc.). Entrepreneurs do not act on the basis of a mythical price-level (in any case an arbitrary collection of averaged prices which is often misleading with respect to the real conditions of production, trade, and consumption) but on the basis of a system of relative prices; when governmental credit expansion distorts this system of relative prices incorrect information is transmitted and the coordinative mechanism of the market is thwarted, leading to painful consequences.

### CUI BONO?

Further, when investigating governmental policy entailing net beneficiaries and net victims, it should be a goal of the conscientious

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the LP: that we are the only political party that consistently and uncompromisingly upholds the idea of liberty and applies it to the political arena. That she seems not to care one iota for this distinction belies her claim that she is especially interested in the idea of liberty. Instead, the convention proposal adheres to Point IV of the National Committee's Strategy statement passed in October 1977: that "Since our goals and principles are radical enough, we should avoid any extra alienation of people by the form of our presentation or by our image. In short, our content should be embodied in an image appropriate to our status as a national party aiming to become a new majority." But, of course, if Ms. Nathan wants to turn away the voters, and restrict the LP to a party of creative artists, then her approach makes sense.

Ms. Nathan states that the LP should not be "merely another political party, but, primarily, an educational party . . . It is ideas, not votes, that ultimately solve social problems." But the LP can only educate to the extent that we obtain votes, and therefore make the media and the voters sit up and take notice. Seeking votes is what a political party is supposed to be doing, and that is what the LP should do so long as we set forth and do not compromise our libertarian principles. Moreover, ideas *per se* never accomplish anything; ideas do not float by themselves in a vacuum. They must be adopted and carried forward by *people*, and by people working in institutional structures. The Libertarian Party is the institutional embodiment of the ideas of libertarianism in the political realm.

Let us then, while holding high our libertarian principles, advance, as rapidly and professionally as possible and without shame or apology, into the political arena. First as a third major party and eventually as the majority party. Let us proceed, not only to educate, but roll back the Leviathan State.

policy analyst to ask the time-honored question, who benefits? Governmental inflation of the supply of money and credit entails a massive transferral of income from one group to another. Who are the beneficiaries, and is it possible to draw a clear link between their political power and the governmental policies which benefit them? Such links can be drawn (and have, in fact, been drawn by others in the past), but it is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to do so. The matter of indentifying the beneficiaries, proponents, and opponents of inflationary policies is of great relevance to a satisfactory solution to the problem in political terms.

### A WAY OUT

Is there a way out of this system of monetary manipulation and exploitation? Happily, the answer is yes. The solution is obvious and simple. Remove government entirely from any and all control over money. In Nobel Laureate F. A. Hayek's terms, "de-nationalize" money. Money is too important a commodity, incorporating all of the important functions described above, to allow its supply and allocation to be determined by political means. Money is a commodity and can be and has been provided on the market, where it is responsive to and serves the needs of voluntary transactions rather than those of political manipulation and fraud.

The practical problems involved in disengaging the state from control over this vital commodity are great but are not insurmountable. As in any political strategy, the beneficiaries and "behind-the-scenes" proponents of a particular policy must be identified and assessed (the victims, in this case the bulk of the population, are not hard to identify). Unfortunately, in "political-capitalism" mere economic interest is often insufficient to provide a motive for reduction or elimination of state involvement while, on the other hand, it provides motives in plenty for increasing such involvement. The interests of the recipients of state largesse and privilege are "concentrated;" the benefits accruing to them as individuals are typically far greater than the individual losses to very large numbers of people victimized by the particular state intervention in question. Hence, in addition to the economic interests of the victimized masses of the population, a great campaign, an "ideology," must be set forth which will reveal and condemn interventionism as *immoral and unjust*. The motivating ideology of the American and classical liberal revolutions must be resurrected to once again bring down a system whereby power preys on man and society.

## Anarchist Without Adjectives —

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moreover, a poet and an artist who deeply regretted her failure to achieve recognition in literature.

In spite of this diversity, Voltairine de Cleyre represents important trends within the early anarchist movement, such as the shift from pacifism to the condonation or advocacy of violence. At the time of the Haymarket explosion—in which the deaths of several policemen were blamed on a group of demonstrably innocent anarchists—Voltairine was nineteen. Four of the anarchists were hanged and Voltairine de Cleyre became an anarchist. She did not become so radical, however, as to sanction the violent inclinations of her mentor, Dyer D. Lum. "I see no end to retaliation, unless some one ceases to retaliate," she declared—a Tolstoyan stance for which Lum labelled her "Moraline" and "Gusherine". Nevertheless, she believed it was "not the business of Anarchists to preach . . . acts of violence. For truly Anarchism has nothing in common with violence, and can never come about save through the conquest of men's minds." Although not approving of their actions, Voltairine de Cleyre, a few years later, came to the defense of those who used discriminatory violence; she viewed their acts as inevitable responses to the greater violence of the State. Her defense of Czolgosz, President McKinley's assassin, solidified this shift away from pacifism. She previously maintained that to admit resistance "is at once to admit—the State." But she now wrote of the State:

"These creatures who drill men in the science of killing, who put guns and clubs in hands they train to shoot and strike, who hail with delight the latest inventions in explosives, who exult in the machine that can kill the most with the least expenditure of energy . . . who ravish, and burn, and garrote, and guillotine, and hang, and electrocute, they have the impertinence to talk about the unrighteousness of force!"

She became the loudest American advocate of the Mexican Revolution. The last year and one-half of her life was devoted to publicizing and collecting funds for this cause. With the Mexican Revolution, Voltairine de Cleyre shed the last vestige of pacifism.

Another trend de Cleyre exemplified is expressed by the label "anarchist without adjectives". "Anarchy without adjectives" was coined by the Spanish anarchist Fernando Tarrida del Marmol to designate that Anarchism is the axiom compared to which economic systems are, at best, secondary. This was in contrast with the individualists who maintained that anarchism could not be divorced from economics, that one's view of compulsion rested on one's view of property rights. Voltairine de Cleyre's adoption and advocacy of this term was perhaps due to her inability to find an economic system that fit her conception of liberty. For "Socialism and Communism would beget more regulation than is consistent with ideal Anarchism," and "Individualism and Mutualism . . . involve a development of the private policemen not at

all compatible with my notions of freedom." Moreover, she was distressed by the in-fighting, typified by Benjamin Tucker, which splintered the movement into groups more willing to fight than to cooperate. Along with such prominent anarchists as Malatesta, Reclus, and Nettlau, de Cleyre attempted to unite anarchism under one title, an attempt foredoomed to fail.

There were many ways in which Voltairine differed from her fellow American anarchists. She took little part in international anarchism; she condemned prison systems of any sort; she refused to substitute the word "liberation" for "anarchist"; and, unlike Emma Goldman, she accepted no money for her activities. In many ways, she resembled the European anarchists for whom she had so much admiration: Kropotkin, Proudhon, Louise Michel, Tarrida del Marmol. When a former student attempted to kill her, she followed the example of Louise Michel and refused to testify against him, preferring instead to collect funds for his defense and to appeal for his release. Like Rudolph Rocker, she lived and worked among Jews—in her case, the Russian immigrant population of Philadelphia. She tutored them and in the process developed such respect for their independence that she learned Yiddish and contributed often to *Fraye Arbeter Shtime*, the leading Jewish anarchist paper. Like Kropotkin, her ideal society was a rural one of farmers and craftsmen.

Paul Avrich has done a remarkable job of original research in *An American Anarchist*, the first in his projected biographies of American anarchists. His clear and entertaining style makes this densely-written book a delight to read. Unlike so many biographers, Avrich does not psychologize or interject his own opinion. He gives a balanced, scholarly account of a woman totally dedicated to liberty. His knowledge of Voltairine de Cleyre and of her context is both comprehensive and detailed. Of particular interest is his account of the Jewish immigrant influence in the anarchist movement. He reports, for example, that at one time there were 400 to 500 anarchists in Philadelphia, of whom 145 were active. Fully 75 of these activists were Russian Jews.

The one disagreement I have with Avrich is his high assessment of Voltairine de Cleyre's artistic ability. "She possessed a greater literary talent than any other American anarchist . . ."; to this statement, and similar ones, I must object. Thoreau was a far better writer. In fact, having examined the prose and poetry in Voltairine de Cleyre's *Selected Works* (Mother Earth, 1914), I find her to be a competent essayist and a poor poet. Her poetry is so overwhelmed by exclamation marks, flowery adjectives and the-moral-of-it-all that it resembles an actor badly overplaying his part. There is no subtlety and little technique. Carried away by excesses of language, she never manages to tame it.

But this criticism is a small matter beside Voltairine de Cleyre herself, as a radical and as the sensitive human being revealed in *An American Anarchist*.

To neglect a heritage is almost to disown it. Libertarian history is rich with individuals who cared deeply about the future of mankind. We are their future. The least we can do is to care about them. □

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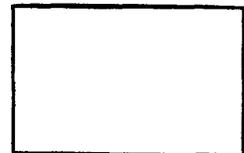
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## Ten Years Old!

That's right, your own dear **Libertarian Forum** now celebrates its tenth (10th!) anniversary. In a movement of short-lived flashes in the pan, in a period where libertarian — or other ideological — publications don't even last as long as the average marriage, the **Lib. Forum** continues to survive and flourish.

The idea of the **Lib. Forum** was conceived in the winter of 1968 on a rainy trip down the New Jersey Turnpike by our soon-to-be publisher, Joe Peden. It was announced at the first of a series of Libertarian Dinners in New York City in January. The dinners were launched because we perceived that the movement seemed, oddly enough, to be growing a bit larger than could continue to be housed in our living room. As I remember it, we thought that about thirty friends and acquaintances would attend the first dinner; we got about eighty, most of whom we didn't know, and many from far out of town.

Although the libertarian movement was then teeny and clearly, to any rational person, no threat to anyone, we were subject to intensive police surveillance from the very first dinner. A friend of ours who was then big in New York State YAF and a friend of certain police elements, would tell us on Sunday mornings virtually word for word what our speaker had said at the previous night's dinner and who had attended. We hope that the members of the Red Squad who attended were edified by the often arcane disquisitions on political theory that they heard at these dinners.

Presumably this — at the very least — egregious waste of the taxpayers' money was a spillover from the growing police and intelligence agency confrontation with the New Left during that period. Undaunted, we decided that the growth of the movement warranted a general libertarian meeting, to which we issued a call to all and sundry in the **Lib. Forum**, to take place at the Hotel Diplomat over Columbus Day weekend in 1969.

Let's face it, the meeting was pretty much of a shambles. Expecting about a hundred, we had once more underestimated the turnout, which was several hundred. But what a melange! An inchoate mixture had poured in from the Midwest, the South, seemingly from everywhere, containing every movement tendency from Randian silver-coin dealers with dollar signs to revolutionary anarchists from Michigan sporting black leather gloves (?) By the third day, the meeting had virtually dissolved under the impetus of about half the attendees, who quixotically persuaded themselves to abandon discussions of libertarian theory and strategy in order to launch immediate physical struggle against Fort Dix, New Jersey. Needless to say, Fort Dix managed to stand the test. The task of disruption, begun by these left-adventurists, was completed by the *polizei*, who had moved from quiet surveillance to evident and swaggering harassment.

So it was back to the old drawing board, and in a sense back to the living room. It seemed clear that a general call to one and all could only lead to a shambles that would be counterproductive in building any sort of viable

libertarian movement. A corollary problem during 1969-70 was the burgeoning of Left Deviationism, within the New York movement, tending not only toward adventurist armed struggle but also toward becoming leftists, that is socialists, themselves. The problem with Left Deviationism in that era was that even though the idea of a coalition with the New Left against the draft and the Vietnam War was **strategically** correct, **tactically** libertarians proved too weak, unorganized, and miniscule themselves to survive such alliance without becoming absorbed. So the spring of 1970 was largely spent in the **Lib. Forum** denouncing the flaws and dangers of Left Deviationism. We were also among the first to announce the death of the New Left in the early summer of that year, a death which was generally acknowledged by the fall term on campus.

But meanwhile, during the summer of 1969, an event had occurred which marked the first organizational stirrings of the modern libertarian movement. In the spring of 1969, we found that a strong Libertarian Caucus had developed within the bowels of the Young Americans for Freedom, managing to control the California, Pennsylvania, and Virginia chapters. The draft was the big issue on campus in those days, and the libertarians within YAF fought not only against the draft but in favor of draft resistance, a stance which was of course anathema to the dominant forces in YAF. Partially inspired by our special **Lib. Forum** anti-YAF issue, "Listen, YAF", the Libertarian Caucus, spurred on by the more radical Anarchist Caucus, broke dramatically from YAF at its biennial August, 1969 convention at St. Louis. The dramatic issue that brought the split to a head was the public burning by one of the Libertarians of his draft card.

The expelled Libertarian Caucus combined with the small, Maryland-based Society of Rational Individualists to form the Society for Individual Liberty, based in Philadelphia, which for years was the only libertarian presence on campus; while the California Libertarian Caucus members formed the California Libertarian Alliance, which put on several meetings for a couple of years in Los Angeles.

These organizational and developments of the 1969-70 period were indispensable to the later creation of a healthy, viable, consistent and self-subsistent libertarian movement. For the danger of the Left Deviationism of 1969-70 was that libertarians would remain a miniscule group tied to, and eventually absorbed by, the Left. The danger of continuing as part of YAF was that libertarians, as they had done for fifteen years before, would remain a miniscule group tied to, and eventually absorbed by, the Right. But the death of the New Left and the dramatic break from YAF meant that libertarians, small though they still were, would remain **on their own**, cleaving to their own consistent and well-thought-out principles, subordinate neither to conservatives nor leftists, making only *ad hoc* alliances on specific libertarian issues with

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# Abraham Lincoln

by Lance Lambertson

From time to time American historians are polled by newspapers to give their judgment as to whom they regard as the greatest of American presidents. Invariably the presidents who rate the highest are those who are alleged to have accomplished the most in the service of their country; men such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt and of course Abraham Lincoln. In most of these polls Lincoln is found to be the most popular and thus the greatest of all the presidents. Yet with the possible exception of Jefferson what these alleged "great" presidents had in common was either their ability or the amount of effort they put into expanding the power of the executive—and not merely at the expense of the legislative and judiciary—but at the expense of the liberties of the American people.

The very conducting of these polls, and the results that accrue from them, are indicative of a collectivist and statist mind-set that permeates the thinking of the American public and the historical profession. Collectivist in that the newspapers who conduct these polls hope their readers will judge their findings as a definitive determination of truth. That by deferring to the consensus of historians—men and women who should after all "know" these things—the reader of these polls will also come to know who were the greatest American presidents. The reason this whole process of evaluating greatness is erroneous is because although an historian has more knowledge of historical facts than the layman, he by no means necessarily has a better set of values, and if one is to critically judge the choices most historians have made in these polls, one can readily claim that their values are inferior to that of the layman. Yet the layman often allows himself to be sucked into presuming that consensus among scholars can be equated with truth, without even knowing the political biases of the resulting consensus. By a process of deference the layman accepts the view of the majority and relinquishes his independent judgment. That is why I call the conducting of these polls as dependent upon a collectivist mind set.

Be that as it may, the results of these polls are most interesting in showing how deeply our interpreters of the American past are imbued with statist ideals. By their choices they have equated greatness with the expansion of state power. And being consistent in their statism they have chosen the most virulent of statist presidents to be considered the greatest.

It is a sad and depressing commentary on the American people and the ideals that most Americans espouse that they have chosen to venerate that American who was most successful in oppressing them. A quick review of the actions and policies of this pragmatic politician will show that the rosy portrait drawn of him by such slavish admirers as Carl Sandburg have little basis in fact.

A libertarian critique of Lincoln must start from the assumption that secession is an inviolate right of any people, and any government which attempts to impose its authority on those who have voluntarily chosen to no longer sanction that governments' authority, is initiating force. This Lincoln did, and in a cunning manner which was to become the hallmark of this "practical politician." He was determined to bring the South back into the Union and was convinced by April of 1861 that force would be necessary to accomplish this. Not wanting to alienate the wavering border states, he had to make it appear that the South was the aggressor. Lincoln was a genius in the use of ambiguous language, so on April 6, 1861 he had a note sent by messenger to Governor Francis W. Pickens of South Carolina which read, "I am directed by the president of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only; and that, if such attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

To southerners this note carried the threat that Sumter was going to be provisioned so it could hold out and, if resistance was even attempted, arms, men, and ammunition were going to be supplied. To northerners he could claim (and did) that he was trying to save gallant men from

starvation, and that he was giving the South fair warning of his benevolent but nonetheless firm intentions to hold Fort Sumter against Confederate assaults. So by the art of ambiguous language Lincoln succeeded in throwing upon the South the seeming blame of firing the first gun. But in the words of Confederate Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens, "The aggressor in a war is not the first who uses force but the first who renders force necessary."<sup>1</sup>

Lincoln's abrogations of human rights during the Civil War were in many cases first precedents. He did more to remove America from our libertarian heritage than any president before or since. He enforced conscription of soldiers for the first time in American history; he suspended the writ of habeas corpus; he refused Confederate offers of prisoner exchanges despite the horrendous conditions of the war prisons on both sides; he sanctioned the wanton destruction of civilian lives and property by Sherman's army in its notorious march through Georgia and other parts of the nearly defenseless South; He stifled freedom of speech and press throughout the North. He closed down anti-administration papers and had a certain Congressman Valandigham arrested and then exiled to the South for making a speech critical of the Administration. Lincoln's cold blooded and ruthless execution of the war was exemplary of the philosophy which he lived by but seldom preached—that unjust means justify allegedly desirable ends. If the ends were justified Lincoln might be conditionally forgiven his excesses; but that clearly was not the case. Like any tyrant Lincoln used brute military force to subjugate a weaker foe.

In today's context, the most unpalatable aspect of the Lincoln legacy, aside from the dangerous precedents he established, is that he is held up as an example of American greatness. Ignorance as well as deliberate distortion for the Lincoln myth. School children are fed a Carl Sandburgian version of Lincoln as the great emancipator; as one who wanted only peaceful reconciliation with the South; as the great man who held our country together; as a loving husband and father; as a man of enormous compassion who wrote touching letters to bereaved parents; and of course the most absurd distortion of all—the honesty of Abe. Yet even in his role as emancipator the underlying motivations were to keep England out of the war, to encourage the development of a 5th column resistance force within the Confederacy, and to give the war a moral purpose since anti-war sentiment was growing rapidly in the North by 1863. With the exception of perhaps being a loving father and husband there is little to recommend Lincoln for admiration.

It is not surprising that Lincoln is hero-worshipped as much as he is considering the amount of propaganda used to promote his image. The question to be asked is: why so much propaganda on his behalf? What is to be gained in deifying him? A terse answer would be "For Reasons of State." It serves the interests of those who seek to enlarge the powers of the state to deify a man who was so instrumental towards that end.

In the process of attempting to de-mythologize Lincoln, we should recognize that people have a profound need to be proud of at least some aspects of their national or cultural heritage, and the accomplishments of the United States in the realm of political science is impressive by any standard. There are a number of men whose words and actions are worthy of high praise, and as libertarians we should in the process of debunking the Roosevelts and Lincolns of our past, point to worthy substitutes who sought to circumscribe state power. We have men such as Paine, Jefferson, Calhoun, John Taylor of Caroline, John Randolph of Roanoke whom we can offer as true examples of American greatness. It is timely and no less than imperative that we resurrect the anti-statists of our past and bury those who for too long have been regarded as the opposite of what they in fact were. □

<sup>1</sup> In his book, *The Late War*.

# The Thatcher Myth

by David Ramsay Steele

It now seems overwhelmingly likely that by the time you read this, Margaret Thatcher will be Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Until a couple of months ago her chances appeared slim. Opinion polls showed Labour and Conservative alternating with very slender majorities — not auspicious for the Conservatives in view of the common tendency for support to swing towards the government just before an election. Furthermore, Callaghan's personal popularity with voters was consistently much greater than Thatcher's

## Race — simmering

A year ago Thatcher made a "tough" speech about immigration, which immediately boosted her support, but the boost lasted no more than a few days. It probably dawned on voters that Thatcher was not prepared to spell out any really severe measures against immigrants, especially as she found it necessary to backtrack almost immediately with a speech assuring blacks that the Conservative Party meant them well.

Britain's racial heterogeneity is a product almost entirely of the post-war period. There is a strong undercurrent of resentment against blacks, especially among blue-collar workers, and since the black influx is comparatively recent and sudden, it is not fantastic to contemplate sending blacks back where they came from (the West Indies, Pakistan and Bangladesh), either by compulsory repatriation (advocated by the minor racist party, the National Front) or by irresistibly generous cash inducements (proposed by maverick ex-Conservative Enoch Powell).

However, the major leaders of opinion, Conservative, Labour and Liberal, have expelled any such proposals from the realm of decent discussion. Any major party which committed itself to them would find it had bought the loyalty of a substantial anti-black opinion at the price of furious opposition from most "decent" (respectable and articulate) people, including, for example, virtually all the Christian churches. An astute politician like Thatcher is well aware that such a course would probably spell the end of the Conservative Party as a contender for power, for decades to come.

Thus, despite widespread strong feelings about race (and in some districts, daily physical attacks on Asians by gangs of young white thugs), it cannot be a serious electoral issue between Labour and Conservative parties under present conditions. After an alarmingly rapid growth, the National Front has recently declined. Only a very great increase in the severity of the economic crisis could change this situation in the near future. Thatcher's attempt to play the race card was no more than an opportunistic peace of speculative vote-catching. The public support it received from none other than F.A. Hayek was as ill-informed and maladroit as it was unprincipled. Her remarks did, however, serve to confirm her image among the progressive-minded as an ugly throwback to pre-Neanderthal days.

Nostrils filled with the heady scent of power, Thatcher went through all the shrill and undignified capers of the vote-grubbing politician, but it seemed fruitless. It began to look as though the Labourites had firm possession of the mantle of "natural party of government", that they had acquired the enviable reputation held by the Conservatives in the fifties, of being, however bad, so much safer than the dangerous crackpots in the other party.

## The strike wave

Screaming abuse at the Conservatives for being monetarist doctrinaires who would bring back the unemployment levels of the thirties, the Labour government has been quietly practising gradual but firm "monetary restraint", i.e. reducing the rate of growth of the money stock from its spectacular magnitude under the previous Conservative administration. Partly in order to disguise the significance of this fact from their socialist supporters, and partly out of mere confusion and ignorance, Labour has accompanied it with an "incomes policy". Not a

"statutory" policy, in which the mailed fist of the state is used to compel wage settlements below a specified percentage per annum, but a supposedly "voluntary" policy, based on agreement with the trade unions, and (it was thought) to be enforced by the threat of "sanctions": those firms granting "excessive" pay rises would be penalized by cancellation of government contracts.

Last year the percentage "norm" for wage rises was 10 per cent, largely window-dressing since many workers wouldn't have obtained 10 per cent even without a norm. But all those who settled for less than 10 per cent could be claimed as a "success" for the government's policy, rather as a witch-doctor might claim that his technique of skull-rattling and wailing incantations had "succeeded" because the sun did rise next morning. Those workers who obtained more than 10 per cent could be averaged with the others, and since the average rate of increase wasn't much above 10 per cent, this showed the government's policy had been broadly successful.

The policy was not wholly decorative, as there is among trade unionists a fear of the "union-bashing" Conservatives, and the unions will go to some lengths to co-operate with Labour on the grounds that Tory rule would be worse. But insofar as the unions held back their wage demands through loyalty to Labour and the "national interest", they expected that before long they would be able to recoup these losses. Why should they be penalized for their patriotic self-sacrifice? They could be heard muttering that a genuine socialist incomes policy, in which all wages were centrally controlled and all prices fixed at will by the state, would of course be paradise on earth, and they would be only too pleased to go along with it. But as long as the capitalist law of the jungle prevailed, why should they suffer more than others?

The 10 per cent norm expired and the government had to decide what to do next. Some Conservatives, and many trade unionists, urged an immediate return to "free collective bargaining". More timid souls spoke of "an orderly return to free and responsible collective bargaining". A few Conservative MPs pointed out that the Conservative Party now had the same wages policy as the Trades Union Congress — no state interference!

At this point, Callaghan's crew made the fateful decision which may have doomed them. Our 10 per cent policy, they said, has been very largely successful. The rate of inflation (they meant price rises) has fallen. Now we must make further progress. For the coming year, the norm is five per cent! Meanwhile the money supply and price index were still rising at around 10 per cent, the unions were deciding it was time to recoup their losses, and workers were being rapidly dragged into higher tax categories where their nominal (and much quoted) rises were being whittled down to almost nothing.

There was a big strike at the Ford car plant. Ford's gave in and granted a wage rise considerably in excess of five per cent. The government tried to impose sanctions against Ford's but none of the smaller parties in the House of Commons would support the government in this, so the sanctions could not be implemented. The government's much-vaunted pay policy was in ruins.

None of this in itself would have seriously injured the government's electoral chances. There is a widespread sentiment in Britain that the unions have far too much power, but that nothing should be done about it. The Conservative government of Edward Heath (1970-74) tried to tame the unions in the only way which people could understand: government licensing and regulations, followed by a head-on collision. In 1974 during the big miners' strike, Heath spitefully imposed a three-day week on industry, and shortly afterwards called an election. Instead of the voters' anger at the unions giving Heath a bigger majority, the hostility was

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## Thatcher Myth —

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(justly) directed at Heath, who lost power to Labour.

Since then the Conservatives have been associated with strife, confrontation and class war. Many people would dearly love to see the unions' power reduced, if this could be done painlessly, at the touch of a switch. But they do not want the serenity of their day-to-day lives to be rudely interrupted by strikes, power cuts, three-day weeks and the like.

The Labour government has played on this fear, and told the people: "We have a special understanding with the unions. The Tories want to get tough with them, but this will only cause trouble and upset. **We can keep the unions quiet.**" And the people believed it. They grumbled every day about the over-powerful unions, but preferred to go on grumbling rather than have their daily routine violently disturbed.

When it became clear that Callaghan's five per cent was finished, that did not automatically lead to the government's being discredited. There were even signs that the government could turn the collapse of their pay policy into a positive advantage. Was it not the Conservatives who favoured free collective bargaining, non-interference by the state, and therefore objectively supported the rising wave of union militancy? The Labour Party consisted of civilized, reasonable people who hoped to bring some order into industry. The Conservatives had wrecked Labour's well-intentioned scheme, and favoured a tooth-and-claw struggle of each against all.

Now all this has changed. A deluge of strikes descended, which might have been calculated to lose Labour the election. There was a national lorry (truck) drivers' strike accompanied by "secondary picketing" on a vast scale. Trade union committees became a sort of second Customs and Excise service, solemnly deliberating which goods they would magnanimously allow to be transported from any one place to another.

Then, there were strikes by "public service workers", low-paid government employees of all sorts, their living standards severely eroded by inflation. The dustmen (garbage collectors) struck, so bags of rubbish piled up in the streets, and there were rumours of rats. (Why, if this continued much longer, the streets would be almost as disgusting as New York City's.)

The British passion for grumbling ineffectually about the unions has always been eagerly fanned by the press, which gives an enormously exaggerated account of the impact of strikes. But now they certainly had material to work on. Almost every hour brought a fresh atrocity more hateful than the last. In some areas, we were told to boil our water because of the threat of typhoid. Hospital workers and ambulance drivers struck, permitting only what they considered life-and-death services. Their criteria of life-and-death were in all cases less rigorous than those of medically qualified people. Angry arguments were conducted in public between physicians and strikers, with one doctor allegedly retaliating by refusing to treat trade union members. A hospitalized woman, knowing she had at most a few weeks more to live, pleaded publicly to be allowed to die with some remaining dignity, which was impossible because of the closing-down of "inessential" hospital services, such as laundries. Ambulance drivers "working to rule" discovered that an injured man was just outside the border of their territory, and returned to base leaving him to die in the street. The gravediggers went on strike, so corpses piled up in the freezers. It was planned to dump them in the sea, and some irate bereaved announced they would go and dig the graves themselves.

The public reaction was decisive: a furious lurch to the Conservatives. For the first time, the personal popularity of prim and posh Mrs. Thatcher exceeded that of jovial farmer Jim Callaghan. The voters were prepared to forgive a Labour government a lot, but they were witnessing exactly what a Labour government was supposed to avoid. People had voted Labour to placate the robber unions, in exchange for peace and quiet. Now, it appeared, Callaghan had grovelled to the unions, the unions had walked all over him, yet still peace and quiet had fled.

Taken aback, Labour politicians tried to play down what was happening, but as one strike followed another, they appeared ridiculous. They retreated from five per cent to the magically discovered figure of

8.8 (eight point eight) per cent, but the unions smashed through this equally brusquely, with well-publicized rises of up to 35 per cent.

The Conservatives were as confused in their propaganda triumph as the Labourites were in humiliation. Conservative MPs swore loudly that none of them had ever breathed so much as a word in his sleep about free collective bargaining, or keeping the state out of industry. They had always been in favour of "responsible" collective bargaining, not (perish the thought) "free" collective bargaining. They evaded the question of exactly what they would do if the unions simply failed to be responsible, but although Labour tried to blame the Tories, this cut little ice. The current disaster could only be blamed on the party in power, and everyone knew the Conservatives were union-bashers at heart.

Most people in Britain see the situation in crude terms. Rising prices are due to union militancy; union militancy is due to grasping avarice. The solution is for unions to be less selfish, more responsible. Failing that, the government has to get tough with them.

The idea that a complicated latticework of privileges and entrenched attitudes has given the trade unions their awesome power, buttressed by the rigidity of a largely statified industry, and further encouraged by government incomes policies, is far too subtle for most people to grasp quickly.

One of Thatcher's specific proposals illustrates this perfectly. She has suggested that trade unions be compelled to hold a secret ballot of all members before calling a strike. (The usual practice is for unions to decide on strikes by public show of hands at a mass meeting). This proposal, if implemented, will do nothing to reduce industrial strife. The idea, fondly cherished by many Tories, that union members are all terrorized into going on strike by a few Communists is sheer fantasy. Those who ballot and then strike will have been given an additional political weapon. The unions will, however, rightly feel persecuted by the state, which feeling, if it does anything, will put them in more of a fighting mood.

It would be idle to tell Conservatives that unions should be voluntary associations, left free to conduct their internal affairs as democratically or undemocratically as they please, and that compulsory secret ballots are merely another small step on the road to a totalitarian dictatorship. Most Tory politicians would be quite unable to understand such an argument, but even if they could, they would be unable to sell it to the voters. Either there is unbridled greed, free-for-all, anarchy, law of the jungle — or the government must regulate, curb, control, suppress. This is the way most people view the alternatives. Thus Thatcher's proposal is seen as salutary, because it is a symbolic gesture that the government can take a big stick to the unions.

### The government falls

In the British system, there is a maximum of five years between general elections, but an election may occur at any time. This is normally decided by the Prime Minister, with a view to his party's electoral chances. An election must also be called if the government fails to command a majority in the House of Commons on a vote of confidence, usually unlikely if the governing party has a majority. But the Labour government was a minority government, dependent for every measure on attracting support from one of the smaller parties: Liberals, Scottish Nationalists, Welsh Nationalists or Ulster Unionists.

Callaghan clung to office for as long as possible, first by means of a "Liberal-Labour Pact", then by the support of the Ulster Unionists, bought with increased representation for Northern Ireland in the House of Commons.

The government also bought support from the Scottish and Welsh Nationalist Parties, by dangling the carrot of "devolution", i.e. home rule for Wales and Scotland. Scottish and Welsh Nationalism are both nine-days' wonders, like bra-burning or skateboarding. Only a minuscule proportion of Scots or Welsh want either complete national separation or a federal Britain. Both Welsh and Scottish Nationalists built up their strength rapidly in recent elections, but it is certain that they will be slaughtered next month. Conservative and Labour parties have both moved to buy off Nationalist support by offering "devolution", but it has gradually occurred to everyone that in the absence of national separation or federation, devolution is a lot of nonsense. The fad for devolution

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lasted only so long as no one was sure what it meant. Now everyone knows it means a "national assembly", i.e. an **additional** army of bureaucrats and petty politicians superimposed on the existing structure. This is still supported by the **leaders** of the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists, who see it as a first step to separation, but those who voted for them have no wish to leave Britain, so the bubble has burst.

The Labour government gave the Welsh and Scots referenda on devolution, pledging itself to introduce national assemblies if the results were affirmative. The Welsh voted overwhelmingly against their own national assembly. The Scots voted very narrowly in favour — but this did not mean that Scotland wanted devolution. Afraid that devolution might be introduced because of a low turn-out in the referenda, the government had made a stipulation that, as well as an absolute majority for a national assembly, there had to be 40 per cent of the electorate voting in favour. Some time before the vote it became clear that, whichever way it went, there would be no 40 per cent in favour, and this fact was known to all potential voters. The "Yes" campaigners all insisted loudly that abstention was tantamount to a vote against. On the day, there was an enormous abstention, and the 40 per cent was missed by a wide margin. The Scottish Nationalists immediately changed their tune: abstentions were irrelevant. (Doubtless they will assiduously cultivate for years to come the myth that Scotland voted for independence and was swindled by the English.) Furthermore, Scottish Nationalism, like Welsh Nationalism, reached a peak, and then rapidly plunged. The Scots were only a little behind the Welsh: if the Scottish referendum had been held a few weeks later, the result would have been negative.

Callaghan still hoped to push Scottish devolution through Parliament, but it soon became clear that Labour MPs had had enough. Callaghan could now offer the Scottish Nationalists nothing, and they announced that they would support the Conservatives to kick the government out. The Ulster Unionists had extracted from Callaghan all he could give them, and their traditional Conservative connections re-asserted themselves. On March 28th, the government was defeated in the House by a single vote. (By last-minute political trading, Callaghan had made his numbers up, but one Labour MP was sick and could not be there to vote.) The general election will be held on May 3rd.

### The real Thatcher

It is widely expected that a Thatcher government will abruptly change the whole course of political evolution in Britain since the war, that it will introduce something fearsome called "monetarism", withdraw state handouts to ailing companies, foster self-reliance and (as Conservative politicians are wont to put it) the bracing winds of competition. During the election campaign, Labourites will certainly contend that Thatcher is the most reactionary Tory politician since Attila the Hun, that she wants to send little children up the chimneys and starve the old-age pensioners. Some Conservative MPs will employ a sprinkling of libertarian rhetoric, and gut libertarians up and down the country will find themselves tempted not only to vote Conservative, but to do so nursing the wild hope that something is about to be done to get the state off their backs. In the U.S., both *Libertarian Review* and *Reason* have suggested that there may be a substantial benefit from a Conservative government.

It is as well to put it on record at the outset: a Thatcher government will continue to maintain and operate the corporate state, very much as it would be operated by Labour. The only important qualification is that Thatcher may provoke a ruinous general strike.

It is true that Thatcher has come under the influence of Sir Keith Joseph, who has come under the influence of Hayek. It is true that there is an articulate "monetarist" and broadly free market wing of the Conservative Party. But like all major parties, the Conservatives are a coalition of factions and interest groups, and most of them are far from even the dubious and diluted libertarianism of Joseph.

When Edward Heath was elected in 1970, his rhetoric was more resolutely *laissez-faire* than Thatcher's today. We heard all about the bracing winds of competition. Heath said he would stop giving handouts to "lame duck" industries, never introduce a compulsory incomes policy, and cure inflation "at a stroke". The Heath government nationalized

Rolls-Royce (when it was found to be bankrupt), introduced by far the most draconian peacetime incomes policy since the seventeenth century, and did more to debauch the currency than any Labour government before or since.

The annual increase in the money stock was three per cent in 1969 (under a Labour government). It had risen to 27 per cent by 1973. Britain's inflationary problems are still largely the responsibility of the last Conservative government, though the Keynesian Labour politicians have been incapable of pointing this out. It has been pointed out by Enoch Powell, the most charismatic and popular of British politicians. He has strongly urged Britons to vote Labour in the last two elections, and will probably do so again. Powell, who is intimately acquainted with the Conservative Party, has also predicted that a Thatcher government will introduce a compulsory incomes policy.

There is certainly more intellectual substance behind Thatcher's present policies than there was behind Heath's in 1970. But there has been a "monetarist" shift right across the political spectrum, and this has affected the Labour Party too. The Labour government has made cuts in state spending which would have been unthinkable for any government a few years ago. On the other hand most Conservatives are still committed to state planning. They interpret the Heath years by saying that the free market was "tried", then the government was forced to take account of the realities of the modern world, etc. They are only waiting for the first few difficulties facing a Thatcher administration, to start howling that we must learn to live in the modern world, i.e. enthusiastically operate the fascist-style corporate state.

Many of Thatcher's speeches, prepared for her by Joseph's think tank, the Centre for Policy Studies, contain excellent libertarian analysis, in very general terms. The mere suspicion that a Tory leader could reveal some sort of worked-out ideology has startled many people, used to the Conservatives' inane anti-intellectualism. What has generally escaped notice is the modesty of her concrete commitments. In 1970 Heath made it clear that he ruled out compulsory wage and price controls. Thatcher has gone out her way **not** to rule them out, and has volunteered the opinion that they are necessary in certain emergency situations. In 1970 Heath made it clear that in his view unprofitable companies should be allowed to die, without state aid. Thatcher has gone to great pains to emphasize that this is **not** her policy, that instead "the lame ducks should be given a chance to fly", i.e. that she fully supports government subsidies to "save jobs", and merely upbraids Labour for continuing to give transfusions of cash for too long to hopeless cases. All the leading Conservatives have carefully avoided saying that they will abolish the National Enterprise Board (which "invests" the taxpayers' money in unprofitable firms). Thatcher has evaded the question of where her promised cuts in state spending will occur, but has shown no reluctance in saying where she promises considerable increases (mainly the police and armed forces).

This is not to deny that the growth of Hayekian thought in Britain will have immense political repercussions, and may transform the Conservative Party, but we should look ahead 20 years for that. Nor is it to deny that a Thatcher government will make some small improvements. They will make it easier for council tenants to buy their homes. (More than a third of the population live in subsidized public housing, called "council housing"). They will slightly loosen the crippling nation-wide rent control. They may cut off some of the funds to Labour's pet industrial money-losing projects. They may cut taxes a bit — though they cannot do this without increasing inflation, or making cuts more painful than they have shown any stomach for. (Probably they will not reduce the tax burden at all, but shift from direct to indirect taxation, in the belief that the latter permits more "incentive").

Against these little improvements we must set the negative features. They are more deeply committed than Labour to the European Common Market. They are pledged to make substantial increases in spending on "defence". They are tougher on immigrants. After a year or two of "monetarism", they will probably swing into a massive confrontation with the unions.

It would be as foolish to blame a Thatcher government for being corporatist as it would be to blame the distilleries for drunkenness. They respond to the demand. Thatcher is a wily and ruthless politician, or if you prefer it, a highly competent entrepreneur in the political market. The state of opinion in Britain, and in the Conservative Party does not permit much progress towards liberty at present. □

## In Defense of Free Immigration

by Richard Ebeling

Right at this moment hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Vietnamese are in the South China Sea. Some of them are heading for Hong Kong, others are heading for the Philippines or Malaysia or Singapore. But regardless of their destination, everyone of those Vietnamese has made a choice. They have chosen to leave the land of their birth, their culture, their heritage and make a new start. They have decided that their homeland has become intolerable for themselves and their children. They hope and pray for a better life than the one they leave behind under the choking hand of socialist statism.

It is estimated that hundreds of these Vietnamese will never see land again. Faulty navigation, lack of food and fresh water or disease will bring them to their death. Many probably could be saved. Ships will pass them by that could have taken them aboard and landed them in safety, but will not. The ship captains and owners are reluctant to give shelter and assistance because they know that at whatever port at which they land they will be quarantined, inspected and detained, for none of the Asian countries are willing to give free entrance to these new citizens of the world.

But even those Vietnamese who languish in detention camps in Malaysia or the Philippines are still better off than those countless people in Cambodia who had no chance of escape and were consumed in that human bonfire that served the ends of collectivist purity and so-called people's justice.

The Vietnamese refugees are not unique in their experience, either in facing oppression at home or in their decision to emigrate. Countless millions of others in the last two hundred years faced similar despotisms and chose to make a new life in a freer land.

What is different is that for most of those two hundred years there was at least one country that was open to those escaping from economic destitution, political oppression or social rigidity. Today there no longer exists any nation whose gates are spread wide welcoming newcomers. Today the gates are closed and only political pressure or public shock and indignation can push them ajar for a fortunate handful.

The inscription on the Statue of Liberty may still read: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . . I lift my lamp beside the golden door," but it stands there as a cruel joke to those who see the "golden door" barred to their entrance.

Almost no other country on the face of the earth has had its history so closely tied with and dependent upon the free movement of men and women as has the United States.

In the Declaration of Independence, one of the stated grievances against the British Crown was governmental barriers to freedom of movement. The King "has endeavored to prevent the population of these States," charged the signers of the Declaration. They accused the British government of "obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass (laws) to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands."

Not long after the Declaration was signed, the principle was generalized when Thomas Jefferson wrote of ". . . the natural right which all men have of relinquishing the country in which birth or other accident may have thrown them, and seeking subsistence and happiness wheresoever they may be able, or hope to find them."

Since the first English settlers reached America in 1607, almost 50 million people have migrated to the United States.

A good many of those 50 million came to America to escape from persecution, oppression and the control of the State. In the 19th century, four million Irish came across the Atlantic, leaving behind potato famines and British imperialism. Between 1850 and 1900, five million Germans found a new home in America, many of them escaping from the convulsions and high conscription rates caused by Bismarck's wars of the 1860's and early 1870's. Well over one million Poles arrived before World

War I, leaving behind acute poverty in territory controlled by Russia and the suppression of Polish culture and nationality in the portions of Poland under German domination. The same story can be repeated in the case of almost every other national group that contributed an ingredient to the American melting pot.

For every immigrant, America offered a new beginning, a second chance without the oppressive air of privilege and power. A Swedish immigrant wrote home in the 1880's that his "cap (is not) worn out from lifting it in the presence of gentlemen. There is no class distinction between high and low, rich and poor, no make-believe, no 'title-sickness' or artificial ceremonies . . . Everybody lives in peace and prosperity."

In the 19th century, it was mostly young men who would first arrive from another country, attempt to make a living and send money back home. For example, of the Italians who came to the United States 78 percent were male and in the case of the Greeks, 95 percent of the immigrants were male. In the 1850's Irish immigrants were sending over one million dollars a year to friends and relatives in Ireland, with half of that amount being sent in the form of prepaid tickets to assist others in coming to America. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, the estimate is that 25 to 75 percent of all immigrants coming to America did so with money sent from compatriots already in the United States. Almost every one of these immigrant groups tended to start at the bottom of the economic ladder, taking the jobs considered undignified or undesirable by others. And almost every immigrant usually began his start in America by settling in that section of the city predominantly occupied by members of the same nationality, culture and language.

Those who wish to immigrate to the United States today are fundamentally no different from those who came to America a hundred years ago. The Mexican who slips into the United States and resides here as an "illegal alien" tends to be a young adult male looking for work; when he finds a job he sends a good portion of his earnings back to his family in Mexico. He usually has had no more than five years of schooling and probably speaks little or no English. The "aliens" tend to gravitate to the lowest paying occupations that others prefer to turn down, and it's estimated that twenty percent of them make below the minimum wage. They live in various Mexican-American communities around the country and except for work come into very little contact with "Anglo" Americans.

But there is a unique difference between the 19th century immigrant and the 20th century "illegal" immigrant. The earlier immigrants worked in a relatively free and open society and could expect in a generation or two to advance themselves economically and socially compared to the living standards in the "old country" as well as to when they first began to live and work in America.

The 20th century illegal immigrants have no similar future to look forward to. They have only the present, and it is a present that yields nothing but fear and uncertainty; uncertainty that at any moment they may be discovered by the immigration authorities and deported, and the fear that any resistance or refusal to accept the terms set for them by their employers may result in their being turned in to the authorities.

However, the really fundamental difference between the 19th century and 20th century immigrants concerns the ideological undercurrents present then and now. In the 19th century, freedom of movement was generally seen as an integral part of a philosophy and policy of free trade. Just as the free movement of goods across frontiers was seen as the method by which individuals of the respective countries of the world could benefit from their comparative productive advantages, free movement of people was seen as the method by which individuals—each pursuing their own personal interests—could assure that labor would come to be distributed among the various geographical areas in the pattern that was most conducive to private and social prosperity.

The same economic influences that enticed owners of capital to shift

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## Free Immigration —

(Continued From Page 6)

their factors of production from one use to another, tended to operate on those who supplied labor services as well. Those countries that suffered from low productivity and low wages would "export" workers to other parts of the globe where wages were relatively higher and productive prospects were likely to raise the income positions of those who moved into the higher wage areas.

The advantages from the transfer of workers would tend to benefit everyone. In the case of the workers who immigrated, it offered the opportunity to compete in an alternative labor market where their relative income share could be larger. Free immigration benefited those who remained in the home country; the shrinkage of the domestic labor force due to the emigration of others, made labor a relatively more scarce resource in the market and tended to raise the level of wages in the home country.

The country into which the immigrants flowed benefited from the move, as well. The increase in the work force diminished the scarcity of labor services in various lines of production. The lowering of costs and the availability of more hands for production activities meant an intensification of the division of labor, a general increase in productivity and the opportunity for the production of totally new goods and services that had been beyond the reach of consumers in the past because of the lack of manpower to provide them.

The economic and social principles of *laissez faire* and *laissez passer* were intertwined and inseparable. The advantage that necessarily followed from the unhampered exchange of goods across the borders of different countries, could not attain their maximum potential unless the free movement of goods was matched by the free movement of labor and capital to where the greatest economic advantage was anticipated.

The advantages of *laissez faire* and *laissez passer*, however, require not only freedom of movement, but flexibility of wages and prices that enables an adjustment to change and progress. Need for adjustment can arise either from the demand side or the supply side.

If the pattern of relative consumer demand were to change, some industries would find their profitability enhanced, while other firms and industries would see their profitability diminished. A successful adaptation to the new circumstances would require a shifting of resources—including labor—from those areas where profitability had declined to those areas where it had increased. Resistance to lower wages, or reluctance to change occupations when the relative demand for a product declines, can only result in unemployment, a decline in output and income, and a general fall in the economic well-being of the country as a whole. The unwillingness of a few to adapt to new market circumstances rebounds to the disadvantage of all.

An increase in the availability of scarce resources necessitates shifts in the relative distribution of labor among industries as well. Labor is not a homogeneous glob; there are different types and degrees of labor skills, just as there are different types of capital goods and consumer goods. The arrival of new workers through the process of immigration means that in particular lines of employment, the increased labor supply will put downward pressure on some wages. To remain employed in their present occupation established workers would have to accept a lower rate of remuneration. If they find this unacceptable, then they may have to shift into other lines of work. While this job shift takes place, wages in the industries into which the older workers move may be lowered as well. This, in turn, may mean that existing workers in these other industries have to accept lower wages.

But regardless of the particular types of changes and ramifications an increase in the labor force brings about, the general long-run outcome will reflect itself in greater output and, through an intensification of the division of labor, a widening of choices and opportunities for all individuals, both as consumers and producers.

The expansion of rigidities through government-bestowed privilege and monopoly conflicts by its very nature with the free flow of men and material. To the extent that the protection of particular groups becomes the goal of the state, restriction on the potential competition of

newcomers must be imposed and enforced.

In the libertarian society, national borders—to the extent that governments may still exist—would merely be administrative boundaries designating areas of responsibility for the protection of life and property. In the Interventionist State, boundaries become lines of demarcation designating respective areas of privilege and power. As Wilhelm Ropke vividly expressed it, in the present era of nationalism and interventionism, "national frontiers have been changed into barbed wire fences."

When the welfare and employment of specially privileged groups becomes the duty of the State, protectionist quotas and tariff walls are soon joined by barriers to immigration. The arguments often used to support immigration controls easily bear this out. It is often said that if there were unrestricted immigration, welfare rolls would climb, neighborhoods would no longer maintain their present identities and qualities, and jobs would be stolen from American labor.

The fear of a swarm of immigrant welfare addicts is the logical terror of those who either operate or live off the dole. A crushing load of additional welfare recipients could easily arouse the wrath of the taxpayers and bring about the end of the welfare system. This is the logical fear of those who envisage the collapse of an economic privilege if too many other people should clamor for the same benefits. In fact, historically, the immigrant has usually been a young, hard working individual who has requested nothing more than a chance to make his own way. For example, in a recent investigation of 9132 welfare cases in San Diego County, only ten illegal immigrants were found on the rolls.

Neither neighborhoods nor their qualities can be eternally preserved. Values, preferences and personalities all change over time. Some land and property values grow and others decline, but regardless of which it is, this is the natural result of the free choices of acting individuals. It is as illusory to think that cities and neighborhoods can be frozen and maintained in their present form as it would have been to try to prevent natural forces from turning bustling western boom towns into decaying ghost towns. Those who attempt to use immigration barriers and other methods to resist change are not only fighting against the future, but the present, as well.

The fears of labor unions that a flood of immigrants will cause economic misery and mass unemployment is totally illusory as well. In a country such as the United States, more hands will almost always tend to mean more production and prosperity. Unemployment follows in the wake of an increased labor force only if rigidity and privilege prevents the changes in relative prices, wages, and employment that must occur if the benefits of immigration are to be reaped.

The most detrimental consequence of immigration barriers, it should always be remembered, is the personal tragedy, the economic misery and political despair, of those who find themselves locked into oppressive societies with no chance of escape. Wilhelm Ropke has suggested that "modern nationalism and collectivism have, by the restriction of migration, perhaps come nearest to the 'servile state' . . . Man can hardly be reduced more to a mere wheel in the clockwork of the national collectivist state than by being deprived of his freedom to move . . . Feeling that he belongs now to his nation, body and soul, he will be more easily subdued to the obedient state serf which nationalist and collectivist governments demand."

We can only hope the Ropke's deep pessimism is ill-founded, that the spirit of freedom will never be extinguished no matter how confining and all encompassing the power of the nation state. But how much more glorious if the motto on the Statue of Liberty once again embodied truth rather than hypocrisy—if America once again said to every nation: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free." □

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# Ten Years Old —

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any or all other groups. The libertarian movement was now on its own, ready for whatever growth might accrue to its ranks.

The movement was still very small, and had had no recognition in the mass media. The big media breakthrough came in early 1971. Just before the Senatorial election of 1979, the **New York Times** went looking for some political action to the campus of Columbia University, not long before the site of notorious and extensive riots and sit-ins by the New Left. But now there was nothing; the New Left was dead. Not only that, but lo and behold! the only active political group on campus was an odd outfit called "The Freedom Conspiracy," consisting of clearly hippieish and radical types, but arguing in favor of Jim Buckley for Senate. This odd phenomenon led to a news article, and then, early next year, to a front-cover article in the prestigious **New York Sunday Times Magazine** by the two leaders of that libertarian campus group, Stan Lehr and Lou Rossetto.

The **New York Times** article led to the first wave of national media interest in libertarianism and the libertarian movement, in organs ranging from the **New York Times Daily Op-Ed** page to **Newsweek** to the **Lib. Forum** articles as "Takeoff" and "Takeoff II". In a sense, of course, the media created as well as observed the new movement, as the publicity sparked new adherents throughout the country.

There is no doubt that the organizational vehicle largely responsible for the enormous growth of libertarianism and of the libertarian movement in recent years was the emergence of the Libertarian Party. This imaginative effort was begun by a literal handful of people in Dave Nolan's living room in Colorado, with meetings during the latter part of 1971, culminating in the first national convention in Denver in June 1972 and a Presidential race that year. Perhaps stung by the abortive attempt at a mass movement at the Hotel Diplomat, the idea of an LP and such an early Presidential race seemed quixotic to us at first. Happily, we were wrong, and Nolan was right, and the LP began to take off in every respect.

For soon it became clear that the Libertarian Party performed several vital functions at once. It provided hope and a means of activity to numerous veteran libertarians who had abandoned all hope of ever doing anything to advance the cause of liberty in the United States, in the real world. The forum of election campaigns provided vital education in libertarian principles to the public, and brought more libertarians into our organized ranks. And it provided a way, in fact the only possible way, to actually roll back the Leviathan State.

We are not going to bore our readers by reciting once again the great story of the triumphal and accelerating growth of the Libertarian Party and of other ancillary scholarly and educational and political groups in the libertarian movement. Libertarianism is now a powerful force, and it is clear that the Libertarian Presidential candidate will garner **many millions** of votes in 1980. Despite inevitable disagreements and faction fights, and quarrels over ideology and tactics, the Libertarian Party platform has gotten purer and more consistent each year along with its phenomenal growth, and has suffered none of the schisms and splits that have plagued other ideological parties. There are still problems, of course, and undoubtedly always will be. The L.P. has a very high turnover, and we will have to try to find ways to reduce the number of people leaving or "burned out." With new members constantly filling our ranks, we will have to find better ways of internal education in libertarian principles and issues, more than can possibly be done every four years in debates on the platform. We have to guard always against that inevitable parasite on growth and success: right-wing opportunism, the siren temptation of watering down or hiding our principles in order to gain votes and electoral victory. We have to guard against the view that libertarianism is only a form of "extreme" conservatism, or that we are merely, in the words of one ex-libertarian-turned-conservative, "conservatives who have fun." But these are problems we should be able to surmount. We can face the future with high hopes and a high heart.

That libertarianism is now a powerful movement can be seen in the June 8 issue of **National Review**. Virtually the entire issue, from the cover to two articles totalling 12 pages, is devoted to an hysterical smear of libertarianism and the libertarian movement, prominently featuring your editor.

Having been read out of the conservative movement (with my consent) by **National Review** twenty years ago, it is amusing to be read out, with considerably more fanfare and bluster, yet again. Not only is every knock by the enemy a boost, not only does this bluster demonstrate the power of the libertarian movement, but also the **National Review** anathema will have the useful effect of once again dramatizing and emphasizing our basic separation from conservatism, and of insuring against our being swamped by conservative adherents who don't understand this vital and basic difference.

The **National Review** hatchet-job only emphasizes the growing coalition between the liberal and the conservative wings of the establishment on behalf of the State. Only shortly before, libertarianism and **Inquiry** magazine were attacked by both **Commonweal** and the **Nation** for its dangerous anti-governmental tendencies. Now, **National Review**, supposedly at opposite poles, has openly joined the pro-government pack. But that's all right, Messrs. Left and Right. Because the people are turning against Big Government in all its forms, left, right, and center. The people are rising up angry, and they are rising up libertarian. □

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## Listen Again, YAF

Ten years ago this very month, YAF unwittingly played a vital and historic role for our times: it brought into being the modern, rapidly growing libertarian movement. YAF had attracted a large number of libertarians to its membership and its leadership—men and women who had been seduced by the occasional libertarian rhetoric of YAF and of conservatism into thinking that these were at least quasi-libertarian institutions. At the 1969 YAF convention at St. Louis the libertarians and the conservatives came to a dramatic showdown—a showdown at least partly helped by my first open letter, "Listen YAF", published in the *Libertarian Forum*, August 15, 1969.

I addressed that open letter not to YAF as a whole, but to the *libertarians* within YAF, to those who didn't realize that the conservatives never take their occasional rhetoric about liberty and free enterprise at all seriously. Every generation of YAF develops libertarians within it, and so it is again time to address you, and to urge you to leave YAF and join your libertarian colleagues outside the stifling and malevolent confines of the conservative movement. Ten years ago, the libertarian movement was just a hope and a prayer. Now it lives, and it grows stronger every day. Take a look at any conservative rally outside of YAF. Do you see anyone under 60? Then go to any Libertarian meeting; you will find it hard put to find anyone over 40. Libertarianism is a young and developing movement. The future is with us. Conservatives, who worship the past, are doomed to fade away into that past.

The issue that precipitated the YAF showdown in 1969 was the draft—the issue on which conservatives are mealy-mouthed and speak at best in terms of efficiency for the military. Libertarians know that there can be no compromise on the draft: that the draft is slavery, and that it must be combatted as an ultimate immorality. When the libertarians in YAF insisted on organizing to take a militant and principled stand against the draft, their leadership was summarily kicked out of YAF, and the libertarians all walked out to form the beginning of the current libertarian movement—to set up the Society for Individual Liberty and the California Libertarian Alliance.

The vital importance of the 1969 split is that libertarians at long last realized that they were *not* simply "more extreme" allies of conservatives, but that they are a separate and distinct ideological movement, and that in fact conservatism is one of their major enemies.

Conservatives are theocrats and compulsory moralizers, who want to use the police power to force their own version of religion and morality down everyone else's throat. Conservatives want to outlaw nearly everything: marijuana, pornography, prostitution, homosexuality.

At a confrontation that top libertarians and conservatives had at a Philadelphia Society meeting in Chicago this spring, the conservatives made their position all too clear: that the State is *the* overriding moral teacher in society. Libertarians don't believe in ever taking moral lessons from the State; *we* believe that the only proper moral teachers are individuals and voluntary groups such as private schools, families, and churches.

Conservatives are opponents of personal liberty: they are eager to

continue the snooping, prying, harassment and invasions of liberty and privacy of the FBI and CIA.

Conservatives are militarists and war-mongers. They believe that the bigger the military budget, and the military distortions imposed on the economy, the better. They favor American military and economic intervention everywhere, wherever and whenever they can cause trouble.

Libertarians are opposed to mass murder, and so believe in a peaceful foreign policy, a policy designed to defend America only, and not to meddle in the affairs of every country around the globe.

Conservatives *claim* to believe in a free-market economy, but they only give it lip-service. More and more, conservatives are sounding exactly like neo-conservatives and social democrats. When have *you* last seen any substantive differences, say, among Bill Buckley, Irving Kristol, Senator Moynihan, and Sidney Hook? When did you last see conservatives take a really *strong* free-market position? The conservatives now form a cozy part of the American welfare-warfare-liberal-conservative State Establishment. If you really want a choice not an echo, join the Libertarians.

And now, irony of ironies, the issue of the draft is back again. Congress is getting ready to reimpose compulsory registration, as the first step in bringing back the draft. Have you seen YAF leaping in to oppose this grave threat to the liberty of all young people? That'll be the day! No, it is the Libertarians who have rushed in to oppose with all their might any recurrence of the draft; such groups as the Students for a Libertarian Society and the Young Libertarian Alliance are in the forefront of the new anti-draft struggle. Which side will YAF be on?

So rapidly have we been growing in recent months that statistics of all breeds, left, right, and center, have been banding together to stop what they see as a threat to the power of their beloved State. The liberal Catholic *Commonweal* entitled its lead editorial in the March 16 issue, "In Defense of Government." There *Commonweal* complained that not for generations "have there been so many intelligent people bent upon proclaiming that the state is the enemy." It deploras what it sees as an anti-government movement led by "doctrinaire libertarians." Shortly afterward came a two-part article by Phillip Green, a member of the editorial board of the leftist *Nation*. In his *Nation* article, "Two Cheers for the State", Green chided libertarians for their "selfishness" and instead trumpeted the slogan, "the common good precedes the individual good." Cheering for the State, Green warned that "Weaken the state and it is almost certainly the collective capacity of self-defense against the powerful that will be most gravely weakened."

But the most scurrilous, hysterical, and frenetic attack on libertarianism and the libertarian movement came in the June 8 (followed by the August 3) issue of *National Review*. Twenty years ago, Bill Buckley and NR read us out of the conservative movement with considerably less fanfare and a lot more condescension. Now, apparently, we are a threat, and so Ernest van den Haag, who has not a single libertarian bone in his body, was assigned that task of chief hatchet-man. In the course of his diatribe, we find the true

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## YAF — (Continued From Page 1)

face of conservatism revealed. For van den Haag, an ultra-Keynesian and champion of the welfare-state, attacks Mises, Hayek, and Austrian free-market economics; denounces the gold standard as a "mystical article of faith"; strongly attacks any belief in natural rights, or the application of principles to politics; denounces libertarians for being rationalists who ignore the alleged centrality of tradition and of original sin; and opposes to libertarianism the doctrine of the French theorist of absolutism Jean Bodin that the State must be sovereign and above the law.

But the *National Review* articles, as can be seen from this summary, were scarcely high in intellectual content. But what could we expect from van den Haag, the last defender of Richard Nixon? In any case, we can scarcely expect profound content from a movement that tries to hide its theocratic authoritarianism in the tattered cloak of free-enterprise rhetoric. What NR really brought to this argument was a recrudescence of the discredited McCarthyite mud-slinging of the early post-war years. It seems, according to these imbecilic smears, that myself and other libertarians are some kind of Communists or Soviet agents. Because we favor liberty? Or because we oppose war and foreign meddling?

If you want to find out what Libertarians are all about, pay no attention to the desperate smears of liberty's frightened enemies. Read our own literature and our own statements. What are libertarians? Some of us are free-market anarchists, others are minimal statist. But we *all* believe that government must not stray beyond the strict confines of the defense of each individual's rights to liberty and property. We favor personal *and* economic liberty. And we believe in minimal government at home *and* abroad; we

oppose government intervention in the domestic economy *or* in the affairs of other nations. We are not pacifists; we want to confine the U.S. government to protecting its own citizens while aggressing against no one else.

If you wish to learn of the Libertarian approach to foreign policy, take a look at the platform of the national Libertarian Party, a platform which I helped draw up and fully endorse. The preamble to the Foreign Policy section states:

"American foreign policy should seek an America at peace with the world and the defense—against attack from abroad—of the lives, liberty and property of the American people. Provision of such defense must respect the individual rights of people everywhere.

The principle of non-intervention should guide relationships between governments. We should return to the historic libertarian tradition of avoiding entangling alliances, abstaining totally from foreign quarrels and imperialist adventures, and recognizing the right to unrestricted trade, travel, and immigration."

Commie? Stalinist? Only in the minds of desperate liars, out to use any weapon they can muster to stop the advance of libertarianism and the libertarian movement. The longer you stay in the conservative movement, the more you give countenance to the lies and calumnies of the enemies of liberty and individual rights. Come, break now with the old rubbish, and join us in the noble fresh air of freedom. We are not going to be stopped, least of all by the men who formed the last praetorian guard around Richard Milhous Nixon.

Yours in liberty,  
Murray N. Rothbard

## John C. Calhoun

Lance Lamberton

It has been readily agreed by most observers of the contemporary scene that our nation is sadly devoid of leadership that does not serve the self-interest of the politicians who wield power within government. The cynical statement by e.e. cummings that, "A politician is an arse upon which everyone has sat except a man," has recieved approval from observers on all sides of the political spectrum.

Recognizing the shallowness of today's politicians, some have harkened back to America's political heritage, where they hope to find a pleasing contrast to the present. Depending on the political predisposition of the observer, various men have been put forth as moral exemplars whom it would be wise for us to follow; men such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Webster, Lincoln, and Calhoun. Yet all of these men have, in varying degrees, sacrificed principle to political expediency at one time or another when the two have come into conflict. In my view it is inevitable that this should be so within any political system, and that to maintain and further a political career requires that one either sacrifice or alter principle to satisfy the requirements of one's political ambition. Therefore, in order to minimize or eliminate the harm to society which the self-seeking politician can impose upon it, it is necessary to limit the power which politicians have at their disposal, rather than seek persons who will wield enormous political power in an enlightened and disinterested manner. To attempt the latter is to have one's efforts end in dismal failure.

John C. Calhoun's more favorable biographers were disinclined to see him as a pragmatic and ambitious politician, (as all serious aspirants to the presidency must be) but rather as a vigorous and consistent defender of minority rights threatened by the tyranny of the majority. Professor Wiltse found him, "The supreme champion of minority rights and interests everywhere."<sup>1</sup>

Calhoun's more critical biographers, although not denying his valuable contributions to political theory, see him as a man whose words and actions were primarily designed to further his political ambition and the interest of his class and section, rather than the protection of minority rights.

Calhoun's political career can be somewhat neatly divided between his early nationalist period, and his later sectionalist period. In nearly all the major political issues which confronted him, the young Calhoun stood diametrically opposed to the views of the mature Calhoun. If such an about-face were to occur in the intellectual life of a scholar, it would be greeted with some surprise and would probably be attributed to some genuine and heartfelt change in values. But with a scholar it can be safely assumed (in most cases) that internal restructuring of values leads to an altered view of the external world. With a politician such as Calhoun, it was changes in the external world which led to a restructuring of internal values.

In order to verify this contention it is necessary to look at the positions Calhoun took during his nationalist period. In keeping with the fiercely nationalistic and patriotic sentiment endemic in the Carolina upcountry on Calhoun's entrance into Congress in 1811, Calhoun desired a strong and vigorous national government that could help catapult the young nation into power and wealth that would rival the great nations of Europe. He championed war with England, a protective tariff, internal improvements, a broad interpretation of the Constitution, and a national bank. Considering the prevailing sentiments of his constituents, it is not at all suprising that he should have held such positions. Gerald Capers has written that, "In view of his later reversals it should be emphasized that the Carolinian, in his high federalism of the postwar era, was a political pragmatist."<sup>2</sup>

Some may be sceptical as to whether Calhoun was truly in favor of a broad interpretation of the Constitution in his early career, especially considering that he was an early supporter and lifelong admirer of Thomas Jefferson, who was ostensibly the most renowned advocate of strict

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<sup>1</sup> Charles M. Wiltse, Vol II. *John C. Calhoun, Nullifier 1829-1839*. page 31.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald Capers. *J. C. Calhoun, Opportunist: A Reappraisal*. pub. 1960. page 58.

## CALHOUN — (Continued From Page 2)

construction. However Capers answers this criticism rather tellingly by writing, "A statesman who believed that the Federal Government had the power to draft citizens into the army, to charter a national bank, and to build national roads where it willed, necessarily placed a broad construction upon the Constitution."<sup>3</sup>

In regard to Calhoun's latter views on the Constitution, and his esteem for logical analysis, it is almost startling to read the following quote from him where he is arguing for federal monies to be used for internal improvements.

"I am no advocate for refined arguments on the Constitution. The instrument was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with plain good sense."<sup>4</sup>

The reason Calhoun's constituents favored the nationalistic policies which he advocated is because they were still a mobile and economically expansionist frontier people, desirous of internal improvements to expand trade into the interior; wanting to enlarge the nation's borders so that their prodigy would have to grow; and supporting the tariff of 1816 since it seemed at that time that South Carolina could also look forward to developing manufacturers in their state. Changing economic circumstances caused South Carolina to radically alter its political outlook, and Calhoun was forced, rather reluctantly, to follow the sentiments of his constituents and become their spokesman.

It was the Tariff of Abominations in 1828 which became the watershed of Calhoun's political career. By 1828 South Carolina no longer had any hopes of becoming an industrial state, and the economy had become rigidly tied to plantation agriculture. A tariff could only be seen as detrimental to Carolina's economy.

Prior to the passage of the tariff, Calhoun's political horizons seemed unlimited. He was Vice Presidential candidate with the immensely popular Andrew Jackson, and thought himself to be in line for the succession. His past positions on the tariff and internal improvements had made him popular in the North and had not yet worked against him in the South. The tariff crises forced him to take a stand for or against, and neither choice was palatable. Richard N. Current puts it succinctly when he writes, "Calhoun had to keep the State's support if he was to remain in politics. He needed Jackson's friendship and northern backing if he was to succeed Jackson as President. He could not do this if he joined the Carolina Revolutionaries. He could do still less if he defied them."<sup>5</sup>

Calhoun did indeed choose to remain in politics, and by so doing made a 180 degree turn on the major issues of the day. On the tariff he wrote, "The power itself is highly dangerous and may be perverted to purposes most unjust and oppressive."<sup>6</sup>

In 1837 he "admitted that when a young man and at the entrance upon political life, he had been inclined to that interpretation of the Constitution which favored a latitude of powers, but experience, observation, and reflection had wrought a great change in his views."<sup>7</sup>

So from 1828 until his death in 1850, Calhoun was to represent the minority interests of his state and section, and as so often happens to spokesmen of the minority, he was to advocate a limitation of federal power, rather than its expansion, as he had done when he spoke for the majority interests of the nation during his nationalist period.

Since political survival required Calhoun to defend the status quo of the South, he assumed his new political role with prodigious vigor, which perhaps can give us an inkling of the enormous personal commitment Calhoun gave to his political career, aside from his sincere convictions on the correctness of his ideas.

Prior to 1828, and before slavery became a major issue in the country, Calhoun did not speak in its defense. In fact he made the following remarks on the Constitution permitting the slave trade until 1808:

"It covers me with confusion to name it here . . . I feel ashamed of such a tolerance, and take a large part of the disgrace, as I represent a part of the Union by whose influence it might be supposed to have been introduced."<sup>8</sup>

Contrast this with his latter views, when it became politically advantageous for him to defend slavery:

"There has never yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of another."<sup>9</sup>

So unbending was his defense of slavery that Gerald Capers has commented that, "he defended it (slavery) without reservation as a positive good, adding the farfetched assertion that the bondage of the black man was the ideal base for the development of free institutions."<sup>10</sup>

Such vigorous defense of slavery is not at all surprising from a man who saw the expansion of slavery as the expansion of his political base, and its restriction, or the enlargement of the number of free soil states, as the reduction of his political power and a lessening of his political influence. Thus his political actions were geared to enlarge the Slaveocracy, such as his extra-constitutional measure as Secretary of State to have Texas annexed into the Union by joint resolution of both houses rather than by treaty, which requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

His opposition to the War with Mexico, apart from his conviction that Mexico was a non-belligerent in the conflict was also based on the fear that land won from Mexico would be admitted as free states.

Calhoun's uncompromising defense of his class and section sometimes led him to ideological inconsistencies, such as the Texas annexation, and the federal enforcement of the fugitive slave law. On this issue he wrote:

"But how stands the profession of devotion to the Union by our assailants, when brought to the test? Have they abstained from violating the Constitution? Let the many acts passed by the Northern States to set aside and annul the clause of the Constitution for the delivery up of fugitive slaves answer."<sup>11</sup>

When Calhoun sought to nullify laws detrimental to his state, he used a state's rights doctrine to justify it, but when Northern States applied the same kind of nullification doctrine to the return of fugitive slaves, he invoked the Constitution in much the same manner as those advocating a high tariff interpreted the Constitution to allow them to do so.

In defending southern agrarianism and the slavery upon which it rested, it became necessary for Calhoun to make fundamental departures from some of the ideals upon which the United States was founded. These departures followed, and did not precede, Calhoun's pragmatic desire to unite the South and West against the industrial North; a unification which, if successful, could have resulted in Calhoun's ascendance to the Presidency.

The natural rights doctrine which declared all men to be free and equal was attacked by Calhoun in the following manner:

"There never was such a state as the so-called, state of nature, and never can be. It follows, that man, instead of being born in it, are born in the social and political state; and of course, instead of being born free and equal, are born subject to the laws and institutions of the country where born."<sup>12</sup>

Calhoun saw the institution of slavery as a positive good in large part because upon it his political power and career rested. He thus employed the rationale that freedom is a condition bestowed upon the individual as the result of the cultural achievements of thousands of years of political evolution by one's ancestors and one's race. He expressed this view in his *Disquisition on Government*, where he writes:

"Liberty when forced upon a people unfit for it, would instead of a blessing, be a curse; as it would in its reaction, lead directly to Anarchy, - the greatest of all curses. No people

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 55.

Speech of February 4, 1817, *Papers I*, page 403.

<sup>5</sup> Richard N. Current, *John C. Calhoun*, page 13.

<sup>6</sup> Letter to brother in law, Summer of 1827.

<sup>7</sup> *Congressional Debates*, XIII Part I, page 866.

<sup>8</sup> *Works*, II, page 133.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, page 631-32.

<sup>10</sup> Gerald Capers, *J. C. Calhoun, Opportunist: A Reappraisal*, p. 224.

<sup>11</sup> "Speech on Henry Clay's compromise Resolutions." March 4, 1850.

<sup>12</sup> *Disquisition on Government*, page 66.

## CALHOUN — (Continued From Page 3)

indeed, can long enjoy more liberty than that which their situation and advanced intelligence and morals fairly entitle them."<sup>13</sup>

Slavery, being an inherently unfree institution, requires the suppression of other freedoms in order to maintain it. The pragmatic requirements on the part of Calhoun to defend slavery called upon him to advocate the suppression of abolitionist literature through the U. S. Mails, as well as the refusal of Congress to receive abolitionist petitions, even though the Constitution stipulates that the people have a right to petition their government for a redress of grievances. In light of this, his statement that "the bondage of the black man was the ideal base for the development of free institutions," must be seen as the result of a strong commitment to political pragmatism. Else how can a man so dedicated to logic be so illogical?

Calhoun was a man who forever desired to become President, but fate narrowed his base of support to the South, and so to that section, and the interests of its ruling class he was to remain loyal. He indulged in ideological inconsistency if it might serve the interests of the South and his political career. At the Memphis Convention of 1847, he advocated internal improvements to link southern and western trade and economic interest. Such a notion dismayed many of his admirers in the South who clearly saw such a program as a contradiction to the strict constructionist interpretation.

Calhoun used logic to support a conclusion already established in his mind, rather than to arrive at a conclusion. He used the power of his mind primarily to serve a political purpose, rather than to serve the interests of truth in the manner that we would hope most scholars would do. A prime example of this is his exposition on the nature of state sovereignty, where he declares:

"It is the supreme power of the State, and we might as well speak of half a square, or half a triangle, as half a sovereignty."<sup>14</sup>

In this he sees sovereignty as static and unchanging regardless of changing political circumstances. However sovereignty over the 13 colonies rested with the British Crown, and when they became independent, passed into 13 separate pieces. Furthermore, in regard to new states admitted to the Union, if at first they were not blessed with sovereignty, how could they have made their own constitution?

Another example of Calhoun's failure as a logician because his power of mind were circumscribed by narrow political interest, has been pointed out by Richard Current on Calhoun's nullification doctrine. Current states, "Each interest group is composed of other minorities. If Calhoun's veto

principle were carried to its logical conclusion, the minority within any group could nullify the decisions of the majority within that group . . . the result would be Anarchy."<sup>15</sup>

Although this may be a desirable goal for some, and may be good reason for having Calhoun's doctrine of nullification taught to future generations, it was hardly his intention to advocate Anarchy, which he regarded as the greatest of all curses.

In studying the thought of any great political figure in American history, it is more fruitful to evaluate his political philosophy with a skeptical eye; to ask the question "what political purpose and advantage could have been derived by this individual by espousing what he does"? To look into America's past in the hope of finding statesmen who rose above political pragmatism to serve a loftier ideal is often to search in vain. This is not to say that politicians never spoke or acted in such a way as to put a deeply held moral conviction before a pragmatic consideration, but that tends to be more the exception than the rule.

Calhoun has sometimes been regarded as the quintessence of principled statesmanship, and this outlook has been fostered by Calhoun's impeccable conduct of his personal life, and the honorable and honest way in which he conducted his personal finances. Also it was evident that Calhoun was sincere and convinced of his own political arguments, and may have been unaware to some degree how his convictions were shaped by his political ambition. But Calhoun must be seen in the main as a political opportunist, who through the power of his intellect also happened to be a political philosopher.

In contrasting the political figures of today, and those of ante-bellum America, the dissimilarities are not that the Calhouns and Websters were less opportunistic, but rather that they spoke up to, instead of down to, their constituents. They took it for granted that the public expected intelligence from their political leaders, and considered it their duty to perform on the highest level of intellectual discourse. In this respect we have much for which we can be nostalgic in the statesmanship of the past. In the words of one of his biographers, Calhoun was "A brilliant if narrow dialectician, probably the last American statesman to do any primary political thinking."<sup>16</sup>

I can only surmise that if Calhoun had chosen not to be a statesman, but had remained a planter and devoted his spare time to the writing of political philosophy, it would have substantially differed from the one by which history knows him.

—LF

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, page 63.

<sup>14</sup> "Speech on the Force Bill." 1833.

<sup>15</sup> Richard N. Current, *John C. Calhoun*, page 116.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition*, "John C. Calhoun. The Marx of the Master Class." page 69.

## Libertarians on the Battlements

There used to be a set of jokes called "thinies" — that is, alleged books that would be very, very thin (such as "The Wit and Wisdom of Richard Nixon.") Unfortunately, we now have another thinnie: heroic, determined, or even merely decent libertarian defenses against the hysterical smears and calumnies against myself, the Cato Institute, and the libertarian movement in the June 8 issue of *National Review*. The August 3 issue of NR has letters by libertarians and alleged libertarians in reply to these smears. And what do they say? Most of them take the tack: "Me! Me! Why didn't the van den Haag article talk about me? I'm a libertarian and I'm not a Commie like Rothbard and the Cato Institute crowd." It was not the libertarian movement's finest hour.

Apart from the repellent narcissism and pusillanimity of the whole affair, there is a serious strategic lesson here. Any movement that is worth its salt, that is going to get anywhere, rallies around when one or more of its prominent members gets attacked and vilified by the enemy. A movement that scuttles and runs, a movement that knifes one another when under attack, is a movement that is doomed to lose.

There are, of course, a few honorable exceptions. In its wisdom, *National Review* chose not to publish a couple of embarrassing letters. One was Professor Earl Ravenal's defense against NR's calumnies. Another was Jule

Herbert's letter pointing out how van den Haag maliciously distorted a quote from an unpublished paper of mine on strategy so as to reverse the actual meaning, and to make it appear that I endorsed murder committed by Communists. For those interested in the correction of this loathsome misrepresentation, see the July 1979 issue of *The Alabama Libertarian*, an estimable newsletter edited by Jule Herbert. Address is P.O. Box 5549, University, AL 35486. Since van den Haag chose to discuss a paper that is unpublished, readers will not of course be able to check out the meaning for themselves.

As a kind of a comic counterpoint to the ignoble scuttle-and-run response of the movement, the august Central Committee of the Libertarian Party of Los Angeles County, meeting in solemn conclave, decided to order any LP functionaries within their reach to desist forevermore from referring to *anyone* as "Mister Libertarian," because such a designation might open up the LP to *ad hominem* attack. (Tsk! Tsk!) (This is a label that various kind folk have placed upon my brow in the last few years.) There was no hint in the Los Angeles resolution, of course, of *whom* they might possibly be talking about. And what about the title Ms. Libertarian, O base Angelinos? Are you revealing your blatant inner sexism? Don't you care if someone, under your nose, walks off with the Ms. Libertarian label?

—LF

## 'S Wonderful, 'S Marvelous

by Mr. First Nighter

**Manhattan**, dir. by and with Woody Allen

It is fittingly symbolic that I should be reviewing this superb film in the tenth anniversary issue of the *Lib. Forum*. My favorite movie critic, Andrew Sarris, says flatly that *Manhattan* is the greatest movie of the 1970's, and I agree. But more than that, as we shall see below: for, though no critic has noted it, Woody Allen is an embattled and devoted champion of the Old Culture, and I myself and the *Lib. Forum* have been weighing in on behalf of the Old Culture since the founding of the magazine.

First, and foremost, let me lay one myth to rest: the film is magnificently, marvelously funny. My fellow critics, most of whom scorn comedy anyway, have hastened to write, in their praise of *Manhattan*, that Woody has transcended "one-liners", that this movie — perish the thought — is not howlingly funny, that it simply draws appreciative smiles and maybe a few chuckles arising from the situation itself. Now it is true that this is a superbly *integrated* film: that humor, situation, and soundtrack all fit in wondrous ways. And it is true, specifically, that the humor arises from the situation. But there are dozens of simply hilarious one-liners; this is not only Allen's best film to date by far, it is also his funniest. Let us make no mistake about that.

In his previous films but one, *Annie Hall*, Allen, a veteran New Yorker, turned his satiric guns on contemporary Los Angeles culture, and raked it fore and aft. Phony Hollywood values, rock music, the fashionable snorting of cocaine, the excessive reliance on the automobile, all got their lumps. In *Manhattan*, while making clear in his witty narrative introduction and elsewhere that he remains committed to New York (as a paradigmatic New Yorker with "coiled sexual power"), Allen here turns upon New York culture itself, and blasts it with equal and far more telling satiric fervor.

Allen's *Manhattan* is the New York of its supposedly best and brightest, the upper-crust, literary, intellectual scene. It is the world of Madison Ave. art galleries, MOMA, and TV, with a few forays into West Side gourmet delicatessens like *Zabar's*. It is, by the same token, a world of aggressive pseudo-intellectuals, epitomized by Diane Keaton. One critic has perceptively written that the Keaton character in *Manhattan* is the Keaton of *Annie Hall*, psychoanalyzed out of her sweet shyness and become determined and aggressive, though surely no less screwed up. The first meeting of Allen and Keaton in *Manhattan* is simply hilarious; they run into each other at a fashionable art gallery, with Keaton on the arm of Allen's best friend, Michael Murphy. Looking for something polite to say, Allen says that he liked the photographs downstairs in the gallery. Keaton goes swiftly onto the attack: "I didn't like them; they're derivative of Diane Arbus." Then, as the three of them walk down the street, Keaton laughs with Murphy about their candidates for the "Academy of the Overrated" — and she rattles off a bunch of names of supposedly overrated culture heroes: F. Scott Fitzgerald, Mailer, and a host of others. Allen becomes indignant: "I like all of those people. How about Mozart? Why don't you include Mozart in your list?" Later, after going to a party of Keaton's fashionable but wierdo friends, Allen justly remarks: "they're all Fellini characters."

*Avant-garde* movies, too, come under Allen's fire. We can forgive Woody his aberrant admiration for Bergman, as he and Keaton leave a theater in the Village showing obscure Danish and Japanese art films. We can see Woody expostulating in pantomime, throwing his arms up in the air, with Keaton obviously trying to explain to him why the films were really good. Finally, Woody's voice appears petulantly on the soundtrack: "I like W. C. Fields. **That's** the kind of movies I like."

Allen's championing of the Old Culture is multi-faceted, on many levels. There is a blistering attack on television — TV culture being the epitome of contemporary values. He resigns his highly paid TV-writing job in an absolutely hilarious speech in the control room, denouncing his totally unmoved producers and directors. They had just begun a talk show, in which a woman was introduced by the host, "and here is Mary Ellen Smith, a catatonic." Allen protests that the TV producers only think this stuff is funny because "for thirty years the gamma rays have come out of the TV screens and destroyed the white cells in your brains." And

further, there is the addiction of his colleagues to currently fashionable drugs. "Dammit, this whole place (the control room) is like a medicine cabinet. You've been dropping 'ludes so much you think **anything** is funny."

On a deeper level, the inevitable focus on Allen's love life has matured. As one critic remarked, "Ten years ago, the Allen character was trying to get laid. Now he's looking for stable relationships." It is all too true that he is scarcely more successful in his current quest. But there is no question where he stands: as he tells his 17-year old girl friend, Mariel Hemingway, "I'm in favor of lifelong monogamy, like pigeons and Catholics." Even though she's portrayed as the best, or at least the purest and most innocent of her generation, the puzzled Miss Hemingway replies: "No, I'm in favor of serial monogamy."

Old and new cultures clash also in different styles of psychotherapy. Allen is dumfounded that Keaton refers to her shrink as "Donnie"; as Allen says, "unless I call my shrink Dr. Chomsky, he raps me on the knuckles with a ruler." While he offers no stirring defense of the good doctor, there is no doubt how Allen feels about the new, swinging, "humanist" therapists: "Your Donnie calls you up at 3 A.M. weeping." Donnie makes his final off-screen appearance when Keaton announces that her shrink can't help in her current crisis "because he's in a coma from a bad acid trip."

The mature Allen is emphatically and defiantly a romantic, and romanticism is at the heart of the Old Culture. Only a romantic seeks stable and even lifelong love, and only a romantic frankly moralizes in personal relationships. In a revealing as well as hilarious interchange, when Allen denounces Murphy for systematically lying to his wife and himself, Murphy cries out in the typical contemporary anguish of the anti-moral, "Who do you think you are, God?" To which Allen replies, "I have to have **someone** to model myself after."

And romantic to the hilt too, in the music — O such magnificent music! — that pours forth from the soundtrack throughout the film: the witty, sophisticated, heartbreaking songs of George Gershwin. Gershwin songs, like the songs of Porter and Rodgers and Hart, were the very essence of the Old Culture, the American scene of the 1920's and 30's and early 40's. By making the entire soundtrack a medley of Gershwin scores, Allen not only celebrates the romanticism, the elegance, the ideals and values of the Old Culture, he also celebrates the Old New York, the true, the vanished Manhattan, the Manhattan that, in its great skyline at the beginning and the end of the movie, rises above the dry rot in the city below. And, in doing this, Woody makes an implicit but trenchant denunciation of the junk, the alleged music that has polluted the pop scene since the 1950's. **This**, Allen seems to be saying, this, you turkeys, this is the real music, the **real** Manhattan.

The music is marvelously integrated with the plot, without losing the beauty of each individual song. In that hushed and stunning moment when Allen loses Keaton, the soundtrack breaks into the magnificent "But Not for Me", one of Gershwin's greatest songs. When he realizes, in a moment of great poignancy, and probably too late, that Mariel Hemingway is his true love, the soundtrack swells into the romantic "Rhapsody in Blue."

The emphasis on the clashing cultures in pop and jazz music is no accident. Every Monday night, Woody leads an excellent Dixieland jazz band on the clarinet at Michael's Pub in New York. Dixieland jazz, Gershwin, and the rest, all were integrated in the Old Culture: the best of the Old Culture were jazz singers and musicians playing the great popular songs of Gershwin and the other masters. Get a Lee Wiley record —

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## LP Radical Caucus Formed

One of the healthiest and most inspiring developments in the Libertarian Party in a long time has been the formation and growth of its Radical Caucus. The Radical caucus, which will receive its permanent form at the September convention, is designed not to split the LP, but to unify the party around radical and hardcore libertarian programs. Founded and so far centered in San Francisco, the Radical Caucus is in the process of forming chapters throughout the country.

Founder of the Radical Caucus is San Francisco activist Justin Raimondo, an official of the Students for a Libertarian Society, who edits the exciting and professionally put together tabloid organ of the Caucus, the *Libertarian Vanguard*. The Vanguard is published nine times a year by the Radical Caucus. The *Libertarian Vanguard* can be subscribed to for \$7 a year, or \$4 for six months. Membership in the Radical Caucus is limited to members of the LP, and ranges from \$5 for six months or \$10 for a year up to \$100 for a Founding Member or \$10 per month for a "Sugar Daddy" member. Contributions are welcomed. Address all subscriptions, membership applications, or correspondence to: The LPRC, 199 Dolores St., No. 7, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Governing body of the LPRC is its Central Committee, which now consists of Raimondo; Robert Costello, executive director of the California

Libertarian Party; Eric Garris, an official of SLS and LP vice-chairman for Northern California; Jonnie Gilman, head of Gilman Graphics; Bill Evers, editor of *Inquiry Magazine*; free-lance economic writer Christopher Weber; and Murray N. Rothbard.

The Central Committee has agreed upon 10 Points as the basic set of principles which it will urge the Libertarian Party to adopt, maintain, and push forward. *The Statement of 10 Points* follows:

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

1. *Principled Mass Party* — The Libertarian Party should be a mass-participation party operating in the electoral arena and elsewhere, devoted to consistent libertarian principle, and committed to liberty and justice for all.
2. *Resistance & the Oppressed* — The Libertarian Party should make a special effort to recruit members from groups most oppressed by the government so that the indignation of those who experience oppression is joined to that of those who oppose oppression in principle. The Libertarian Party should never approve of the initiation of force, nor should it rule out self-defense and resistance to tyranny.

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## 'S Wonderful — (Continued From Page 5)

preferably an original pressing — of this splendid and heartbreaking artist singing Rodgers and Hart or Gershwin, with a small jazz band behind her, and you will see what I mean. And mourn, as Woody does, for a lost world.

The great satirists, from Swift to Chesterton to Mencken — and now to Woody Allen — have always and necessarily been cultural conservatives and reactionaries. They look about them at a meretricious world, at phoniness, pretension, and corruption of values, and they mourn for a purer and more honest age of the past, and mourn even more for the grandeur that mankind could again achieve in the future, if only it had the will. But the satirist does not sit around moping; the satirist is a fighter, an Old Testament prophet thundering against the corrupt folly of the age. But mere thundering is not only tendentious but also boring, often to the prophet himself as well as his listeners. Besides, his task of overthrowing an entire culture cannot hope to be accomplished in sober or even bitter essays. By transmuting his rage and the sadness of nostalgia into the bracing and liberating joy of wit and laughter, the satirist not only liberates his own psyche: he can have momentous social effect, until — as in the height and the wonder of reading Swift or Mencken or in watching *Manhattan* — it almost seems that the walls of Jericho can indeed come a-tumblin' down, and that one lone man can change the culture. And in many ways he can and has.

But note that satire is never *avant-garde*, but rather a prophetic call to return to the truer values of the past; it is not revolutionary, but counter-revolutionary. For satire assumes that the folly of the age can be laughed at by calling up a common cultural stance that has previously lain buried among the public; by reading or watching or hearing the satire, the audience laughs because it experiences the shock of contrasting a current folly with the dimly remembered but now vividly recalled values of an earlier age.

The sweet, deeply moving, and very funny climactic scene in *Manhattan* embodies all of these concerns. Bereft of both his lady loves, depressed, Woody lies on his couch, dictating his novel (a book about a New York writer and his Jewish mother, entitled *The Castrating Zionist*). He is trying to figure out why life might be worth living. He has been dictating: "And so he thought of the things that make life worth living . . ." Woody stops. What is there? The screen is silent, as Woody wrestles with this vital question. Finally, the first words ". . . Groucho Marx." And then, slowly, other loves of Woody's: "the second movement of the Jupiter Symphony", scallops at a certain New York restaurant. Then finally, as he free associates, the things that make life worth living come

faster — a novel by Flaubert, Louis Armstrong, all, all Old Culture. And finally: Mariel Hemingway's face, the moment when he realizes whom he really loves, after which he leaps up and races through the streets of New York to her side, while "Rhapsody in Blue" fills the theater.

Romance, Old Culture, the use of laughter to make a cultural statement, all are here. Many critics have claimed that *Manhattan* is all bleak desolation, compared to the more optimistic charm of *Annie Hall*. I disagree. It is true that *Manhattan* is a far more profound picture, engaging in comprehensive cultural warfare across the board. But in *Annie Hall*, Woody ends up losing the girl irrevocably, first to Los Angeles and then totally; in *Manhattan*, the Allen character ends with at least a fighting chance. As Miss Hemingway tells him before flying to London for six months, "not all of us become corrupted." In a deep sense, here is the tag line for this decade's greatest film and for Woody's embattled view of our culture. **Not all of us become corrupted.** To insure us against such corruption, we now will always have with us, immortalized on film, this lovely *Manhattan*, this wondrous testament to what the mind of man can achieve.

—LF

### Sharing

A quiet family meeting  
Became a noisy din  
As elephants and donkeys  
Debated hard to win

Ojectives sought and won  
The parties changed their spots  
As elephants and donkeys  
Cast up their bargained lots

The White House has new tenants  
But old politics remain  
The elephants are donkeys  
And donkeys play the game

Now those who wait their turn  
For places high in state  
Have sent most of our gold  
To Swiss banks there to wait

— Agustin De Mello

## Crime and Sacrifice

Walter Block

There is a wrinkle on crime theory which is worthy of some consideration. According to what can be labelled "The net sacrifice theory of crime," an act cannot legitimately be a crime unless the victim loses thereby. The definitional paradigm of the net sacrifice view is as follows: "A man buys a house next to a busy airport. If the house were located practically anywhere else, it is of such high quality that it would sell for \$100,000. As it is, with all the airport noise lowering its value, it sells for only \$5,000. As soon as the man moves in, however, although he knew full well of the accompanying noise (indeed, he was only able to purchase the house at such a low price *because* of the noise) he bitterly complains about it. 'The airport is violating my rights', he will say, as he tries to take them to court to make them stop. Yet, for all his complaining, he paid only \$5,000, and he gets his full \$5,000 worth. He is not forced to undergo a penny's worth of net sacrifice, other than the illusory kind that can be said of every situation: "Oh, if only things were different, then I would be better off." Of course he would be better off if the airport would stop the noise. But he paid only for a noisy house, not a quiet one. For that matter, he would certainly be better off if the airport management built him a free new garage next to his house. But if they refuse to make the gift, he is not forced to sacrifice anything, and the airport management is guilty of no crime.

I think this view of crime is fundamentally mistaken. I think that were it put into practice on a consistent basis, it would be incompatible with the free, peaceful, lawful and orderly society its advocates say they desire. In order to show this, we will consider two *reductio ad absurdum*, cases exactly analogous to the airport case, but where all advocates of "law and order" will presumably be forced to admit that crime has taken place, even in the absence of "net sacrifice".

1. Let us consider a building housing a store in a high crime neighborhood where the chances of robbery, malicious mischief, mayhem, arson, murder and riots etc., abound. Now, the sale price of such a building

will have to reflect the higher costs of doing business there and the attendant personal disadvantages. Let us suppose that the building sells for \$5,000, even though, were it located in a safe area, it is of such quality that it would sell for \$100,000. When the new owner moves in, he is heard to complain loud and and bitterly about the rampant crime, the lack of "respect for law and order". It is of course true that the store owner does not, on net balance, lose from this crime. This was figured in the low sale price of the store. But to say that the muggers, holdup men, and thieves that daily plunder the store keeper are not guilty of criminal activity, and therefore ought not to be stopped, is surely to contradict every basic tenet of law and order ever conceived!

2. Sometimes political activity is conceived in economic terms. The political parties are conceived as firms which undergo costs of electioneering—in order to make a sale (win the office at stake). (I shall later argue the wrongheadedness and positive evil of this conception; but for now, let us accept it for arguments' sake). Let us now consider the effect of the presence of a revolutionary group like the Black Panthers which hopes to "deny office" to whichever party wins the election. This will have much the same effect as the airport or the thieves The Black Panthers will lower the probability of enjoying the fruits of the election, or at least raise the cost of "doing business" (i.e., governing). This will make the prospect of winning the election less attractive than otherwise and lower its sale price (the political parties will expend less time, effort and money on the less attractive prize). Now for the paradoxical conclusion: the winner of the election will have no more right to complain of the Black Panther Party than did the homeowner near the airport or the storekeeper in the crime-ridden area. After all, we can say to him, "You knew full well of the existence of the BPP before the election. Indeed, it was *because* of their existence that you were able to "purchase" the election so cheaply." This of

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## CAUCUS — (Continued From Page 6)

3. *Anti-State Coalition* — The Radical Caucus agrees to the view, adopted by the Libertarian Party at its 1974 Dallas convention, that for purposes of party programs and activities the issue of the ultimate legitimacy of government per se is not relevant. We oppose all efforts to exclude either anarchists or minimal statist from party life.
4. *Populism* — The Libertarian Party should trust in and rely on the people to welcome a program of liberty and justice. The Libertarian Party should always aim strategically at convincing the bulk of the people of the soundness of libertarian doctrine.
5. *No Compromise* — The Radical Caucus insists that all reforms advocated by the Libertarian Party must diminish governmental power and that no such reforms are to contradict the goal of a totally free society. Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: We must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty.
6. *Anti-Imperialism and Centrality of Foreign Policy* — Because the United States government aspires to world-wide control of events, foreign policy is always potentially the most important issue of our time. The Libertarian Party should bring to the public the truth about the U.S. government's major responsibility for the cold war and the continuing threat to world peace posed by U.S. foreign policy. No one should be deceived by the notion that any government, like the American, which has a relatively benign domestic policy, therefore has a relatively benign foreign policy. Our goal is to build an international revolutionary libertarian movement, and our task is to hold up the banner of liberty so that all the world's peoples and races can rally around it.
7. *Mutual Disarmament* — The Libertarian Party should support general, joint, and complete disarmament down to police levels. The Libertarian Party should be in the forefront of efforts to end policies that prepare for mass murder.
8. *Rights Are Primary* — The central commitment of the Libertarian Party

must be to individual liberty on the basis of rights and moral principle, and not on the basis of economic cost-benefit estimates.

9. *Power Elite Analysis* — American society is divided into a government-oppressed class and a government-privileged class and is ruled by a power elite. Libertarian Party strategy and pronouncements should reflect these facts.
10. *Land Reform* — Because of past land theft and original claims not based on homesteading, many landholdings in America are illegitimate. The Libertarian Party in cases of theft (for example, from the Native Americans and chicanos) should support restoration to the victims or their heirs and in cases of invalid claims should advocate reopening the land for homesteading.

As to the status of these points in the Party at this juncture, some points are now in force and need, in varying degree to be fought for and maintained. Party practice includes Point 1. The strategically vital Point 3 *detente* between the anarchists and minimal statist has been in force since 1974. Probably most of the party would back Point 4, but it needs to be consciously held. Point 5 has been adopted by the National Committee of the LP, but this of course does not mean that it had totally conquered the party. Opportunism, especially as we get stronger, is bound to rear its ugly head time and again. Point 7 has been in the platform for two years, but needs to be fought for to be retained. Most LPers are undoubtedly committed to Point 8. Point 10 is partially in the platform now.

The rest of the land reform-homesteading plank needs to be incorporated into the LP platform and policy. Point 2 greatly needs implementation. While the LP has pretty thoroughly adopted a non-interventionist foreign policy, it is a long way from adopting Point 6's emphasis on the major responsibility of the U.S. for the cold war, or the centrality of non-intervention and anti-imperialism as political issues for libertarians. Also, the LP is a long way from incorporating libertarian class analysis into its mode of thinking.

All in all, a pretty good showing for the LP, and this — along with the formation of the Radical Caucus — is good reason for optimism as we approach, at this writing, the mammoth convention in September.

—LF

## CRIME — (Continued From Page 7)

course is nonsense. There is nothing as diametrically opposite to the "lawncorder" advocate's world view than a revolution by the BPP. But this example adheres fully to the logic of the net sacrifice theory of crime, i.e., that the BPP cannot be criminal because the elected official, like the storekeeper and the homeowner, is not a victim who loses anything.

The reason I think that the net sacrifice theory of punishment is even worthy of consideration in spite of its logical shortcomings, is because it is the only argument I have heard which even superficially counters that of Lysander Spooner in *No Treason: the Constitution of no Authority*. Consider the following dialogue which might take place between two economists, one conservative, one libertarian:

Conservative: Law and order is the most important thing. We cannot have people running around committing violence. The whole social fabric will decay. Tyranny and chaos will result.

Libertarian: Yes, yes, of course.

C: What, you agree?

L: Yes, but it must be stipulated that the State is the single most important violator of law and order, the one whose violations overshadow all others. Even overlooking the murders, kidnappings and enslavements perpetrated by the state in the names of war, the draft, and jailings, the narrowly economic crimes of tax theft, land grabs under eminent domain laws, and counterfeiting under the guise of the Federal Reserve System would reserve for the State the opprobrium of chief violator of law and order. Take eminent domain laws for example. I defy you to define them in a way other than which includes theft; for they both involve the involuntary transfer of wealth. The only difference is the superficial one that the state declares *its* theft to be "legal" and declares all other theft to be "illegal".

C: No. People buy their land with the full knowledge that it is subject to the eminent domain laws of the state. They can buy it at a cheaper price because it is subject to eminent domain laws. In other words, they are not really buying all the rights to the land. They are buying only those rights consistent with eminent domain laws. So when and if the state seizes a piece of property (at a price less than what the owner would have willingly sold it) there is no theft involved. The people did not have the full rights to the land to begin with. The same analysis can be applied to land taxes, and by extension, to all taxes. The people occupy the land, work at their jobs, and consume with the full understanding that all these activities are subject to taxes of various sorts. The market capitalizes this datum into all prices in such a way to reflect the onerousness of taxes.

Let us now apply the analysis used at the beginning of the paper in attacking the net sacrifice theory of crime, for it is this theory which underlies the conservative's argument. I hope we have there demonstrated that just because people acting in a market take into account the likelihood of violence being perpetrated upon their property, this does not prove the

violence to be in any way legitimate. An act of violence against private property is violent none the less in spite of its predictability, even in spite of the fact that the owner bought the property at a price reflecting the possibility of such violence in the future. Violation of private property rights is violation of private property rights. A is A. A is A even when it is the state that is violating private property rights. When a robber gang or a state (Is there a difference other than good public relations) swoops into a peaceful valley, seizes the property of the people, that is theft! It is theft even if they do it once a year, as regular as clockwork. It is theft even if their regularity can be predicted and the market values of the things they seize fall in consequence.

What does one buy when one buys a store in a crime-ridden area? Or some land subject to eminent domain? Or a house that is noise-polluted (assuming that the airport did not originally homestead the rights of noise disposal)? Unless there is a stipulation to the contrary in the contract, this was a *total sale* of the property in question. This means that if the perpetrators of violence are somehow removed, it is the *buyer* who benefits. He buys the *full* rights to the property including (and indeed, *mainly*) the right to enjoy it unmolested. The "right" of the thief to any value in the property, be his molestations ever so regular and predictable, is a contradiction in terms. And if after the sale is made the value of the property rises from \$5000 to \$100,000 upon the cessation of theft, the original owner has no right to any part of the \$95,000 increase in value. Any other conclusion allows some aura of legitimacy to the thief.

We are now able to see the wrongheadedness in the analogy that tries to show similarities between the economic and political spheres. We have seen the political to be the sphere of theft and plunder; we have seen the politicians to be the greatest violators of the law and order that supposedly protects the interests of the people what of the economic sphere? (When we talk of the economic sphere, we refer to laissez-faire capitalism, not liberal-corporate-monopoly-state capitalism, which is and can only be part of the political sphere). The paradigm of the economic sphere is voluntary, uncoerced trade, trade agreed upon by all parties concerned. The failure to distinguish between these two concepts is perhaps the strongest indictment of this argument in particular and of conservative political-economic theorizing in general.

One last point. The argument of the conservative plays havoc with another argument of times used to justify statist depredations: social contract theory. According to social contract theory, the people originally owned the land. They set up a state to better protect their private property rights in their land. The people came first; the state came second! The people then, did *not* buy their land subject to regular inundations of the state, as the conservative alleges. So the conservative must either give up the sacrifice theory of crime, or he must give up social contract theory. (For the most brilliant critique of social contract theory ever penned, see *NO TREASON* by Lysander Spooner.)

\*The writer wishes to express a debt of gratitude to the following people for conversations on the above subject: Robert Baker, Gary Greenberg, Dr. Murray N. Rothbard, and Michael Shaw

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THE

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## Nuclear Power Crisis

There is a nuclear power crisis in America today. But the crisis is not what you might think: it is not a crisis of the nuclear power industry. The crisis is here, at this convention. This crisis is caused by the fact that powerful forces within the Libertarian Party and the libertarian movement are prepared to scuttle libertarian, free-market principles in the field of nuclear energy. The nuclear power industry, we can all readily agree, is now totally regulated, subsidized, controlled, and hobbled by the federal government and its Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Its insurance liabilities for any possible accidents are arbitrarily limited and partially underwritten by the federal government itself, through the Price-Anderson Act. The obvious libertarian solution, already enshrined in the current national Libertarian platform in a plank that sailed through in 1977 without opposition, is to privatize the nuclear power industry. The nuclear power industry, like all other industries, should be deregulated, decontrolled, denationalized. It should be set free to meet the test of the free market. Period. But now, suddenly, the **Libertarian Review**—Students for a Libertarian Society (LR-SLS) forces, all headquartered at 1620 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, have suddenly come up with an ominously changed perspective: what they want to do is to Shut Down the Nuclear Power Industry.

Why are the LR-SLS clique suddenly no longer content with the clear-cut libertarian, free market position on nuclear energy? For, as we demonstrate below (pp.3-5), the leaders in this new turn not so long ago were taking the proper libertarian position on this issue. Milton Mueller, head of SLS and an architect of this new strategy, took an excellent position less than two years ago in the **Illinois Libertarian**. Roy Childs, editor of LR and the other principal designer of the anti-nuclear turn, took a typically perfervid and hopped-up stand five years ago that even went beyond nuclear neutrality to a neo-conservative position. Note the characteristic Childsian rhetoric. The popularly written pro-nuclear, anti-environmentalist book, **The Disaster Lobby**, became for Childs "the single most important book on current affairs that I have read within the last two years" (in January 1974). Childs attacked the "hysterical campaign" by the "press and left-wing intellectuals" against DDT and "other life-saving pesticides." Childs warned that "the people who once littered the streets on 'earth day'" had invaded government, "attempting to seize control of business and technology and to shackle our economic system with controls destined to arrest progress." "Lies about air and water pollu-

tion were spread," said the Childs of 1974, including "distortions of facts used to stop industries from producing more oil—or to develop nuclear power..." (Emphasis added.) Childs concluded his panegyric with this rather inflated estimate: **The Disaster Lobby** "is a journalistic masterpiece. . . . It deserves a vast audience; it desperately needs readers and defenders." And finally: "I cannot be more blunt, or more enthusiastic: **The Disaster Lobby** is a classic, a heroic achievement, magnificent on every level."

One of the passages in **The Disaster Lobby**, this book "magnificent on every level," is a blistering attack on Dr. John Gofman (see p. 5 below), one of the very few nuclear scientists critical of the alleged health hazards of nuclear power. Gofman is the person now touted and hailed as the last word on the subject by Childs and Mueller.

Why this sudden turn against libertarian principle? The answer is all too clear. It is because, in seeking allies and recruits from leftists and liberals on college campuses, SLS has found that a free market position, a stance neither for nor against nuclear power, is not a "politically potent" position, as one SLS leader admitted. Yes, it is often not politically sexy to be in favor of freedom, instead of subsidizing something on the one hand or prohibiting it on the other. But freedom is what we are all about. And sometimes, if explained well enough, it can become politically powerful. In his **Illinois Libertarian** article, published before Mueller helped found SLS, he writes wisely: "There is little to be gained from cooperating with the

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### Late Bulletin: SLS Makes Threats!

Just as we go to press, we have been informed that Milton Mueller, head of SLS, has threatened platform committee member Bill Evers with using his SLS minions to defeat Evers for the national committee, if Evers should dare to oppose the SLS plank on nuclear power. Now we know what the LR-SLS clique and their mentors think about honest and open debate within the Libertarian Party. They are willing to use threats to suppress any dissent from their political line. When you vote this weekend, remember this threat. Vote FOR Unity through Honest and Open Debate. Vote AGAINST bureaucratic maneuvers to suppress debate. Vote AGAINST the old machine politics!

# Nuclear Power Crisis

(Continued From Page 1)

left in their anti-nuclear crusade. They are against nuclear power per se, not government promotion of it. . . . We must establish a libertarian alternative in the political debate." Why then has Mueller abandoned that alternative? Furthermore, he writes that: "The Libertarian Party's Stand on Nuclear Power is a Crucial Litmus Test of its Members' Understanding of the Revolutionary Nature of Free-Market Economics." Yes, indeed, it is! But now Mueller flunks his own test. Has he forgotten so soon? At any rate, it is clear that SLS and its spiritual mentors at LR have decided to fuzzle over and dilute libertarian principle in order to follow after left-liberals on campus. To which we can only say, Shame!

One disturbing tendency of the LR-SLS group, in declaiming on this subject, is to shift back and fourth wildly between two arguments for their anti-nuclear power stance, and then, when finally clobbered on both arguments, to regroup and retreat to yet a third. This reminds one uncomfortably of the standard behavior of left-liberal intellectuals when specific charges against the free-market are patiently rebutted. As the great economist Joseph Schumpeter brilliantly put it: "... capitalism stands its trial before judges who have the sentence of death in their pockets. They are going to pass it, whatever the defense they may hear; the only success victorious defense can possibly produce is a change in the indictment."

The first two arguments of the LR-SLS in their campaign to shut down the nuclear industry are (1) that the industry was created by and wrapped up in government, and (2) that nuclear power presents a high degree of risk to the public. Both arguments, however, prove far too much. On the first, many goods and services have been created by and wrapped up in government. Should our policy then be to Shut Them Down, or to privatize them? For example, should we shut down all electricity plants because the electric utility industry has been subsidized, controlled, and regulated by government — or should we deregulate and privatize the industry? Better yet, streets and roads have been created by government for centuries. Should we privatize these roads, or campaign on a platform of Shutting Them Down? **There's** a real winner. But if the object is to fawn on left-liberal youth, then maybe the LR-SLS group's proposal to shut down nuclear power plants is a winner. But is the policy libertarian?

The other view — to outlaw risky activities — has chilling and devastating implications. For nuclear scientists and engineers have demonstrated that nuclear power plants are far less risky than: dams, tall buildings, airplanes, automobiles, or, for that matter, knives and guns. Are we supposed to outlaw all of these industries and activities in a mad quest for the prohibition of all risk in the world, for being coddled in a government-made cocoon from cradle to grave? Whatever happened to the Roy Childs of 1975 who fearlessly proclaimed that risk was "an essential part of the human condition"? Well, he has now repudiated those remarks in order to clamber on the anti-nuclear bandwagon. Again, for shame! Now a risk-free society is the goal pushed in several articles and advertise-

ments in the infamous July-August energy issue of *Libertarian Review*.

After being pummeled and defeated on these two issues, the LR-SLS clique regrouped, and came up with yet a third, and very different approach: pollution. They alleged that nuclear radiation pollutes the air and commits, in the phrase of the SLS platform plank (see p. 6) "random murder," a phrase that deliberately confuses accidents with murder. But nuclear scientists, medical physicists, and engineers have repeatedly shown that low-level radiation from nuclear power plants is so negligible that it cannot be distinguished from natural "background" radiation from rocks, soil, and outer space, including cosmic rays. Furthermore, there is no proof whatsoever that any of this low-level radiation is at all harmful, much less committing "random murder."

We must realize this: that the amount of radiation a person absorbs from a single plane flight from New York to Los Angeles is 1700 times the radiation he or she receives **every year** from all the nuclear power plants in the United States. And the amount he absorbs from his color TV set every year is about 340 times the amount he gets from nuclear plants. Moreover, the radiation emitted per year from the granite in Grand Central Station is more than the Nuclear Regulatory Commission permits to nuclear reactors! And yet, as all too often in our movement, it is very difficult to use **reductio ad absurdum**, because so many people embrace the absurd. For the reaction of one member of the SLS clique was that therefore Grand Central Station should be pulled down!

And are we also to compel the total evacuation of Denver, Colorado because every resident, because of the city's altitude, absorbs 20 times more radiation every year than the NRC permits at the boundary of a nuclear plant? Are we going to join the notorious Pol Pot in forcing everyone out of disapproved-of cities?

The central libertarian point on pollution is as follows: Nothing may be prohibited by arbitrary statute or decree. To prove that one person has harmfully polluted the air of another, the victim or victims must go into court, like all alleged victims of invasion of person or property, and prove invasion of rights **beyond a reasonable doubt**. Not only have the anti-nuclear forces, including LR-SLS, failed to meet this test of proof, but the preponderance of evidence is very much the other way.

The current LP national platform in the planks covering energy, pollution, and utilities, as very slightly amended in a proposal by Bill Evers and myself, is published below (see p. 6). Next to it, is the SLS proposed plank on energy, with its trendy emphasis on a decentralized, "soft" energy path. You will note that the current platform is eminently libertarian in all of its parts, and indeed it sailed through the 1977 convention without a dissenting voice — but that, of course, was before powerful forces within our party decided to abandon principle in order to cozy up to left-liberals on campus.

In the first place, the SLS plank is poorly drawn, cutting across and duplicating as it does two other existing separate

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# Nuclear Power: Beyond 'For' or 'Against'

By the earlier Milton Mueller

Nuclear power, I believe, is going to be the new "Vietnam War": an issue with far-reaching ideological and economic implications around which a major political movement and countermovement will be generated. Opposition to nuclear power may be the central focus on which the Left will galvanize their opposition to the American economic system. Just as the war **could** have been the ideal issue with which to turn this country away from foreign interventionism, so nuclear power **could** be the ideal issue with which to reveal the follies of economic interventionism. Tragically, however, the Left is exclusively concerned about the "corporate" side of the corporate state, and the Right is so busy apologizing for business interests that they can scarcely be counted on to consistently fight government involvement in the nuclear industry.

Are you for or against nuclear power? This is the question preoccupying the media, the opinion-makers and, as we shall see, some libertarians. But this is the **wrong question**, and no libertarian position can be arrived at as long as it serves as the basis of discussion. The real issue is: can any industry develop safely and economically with massive government subsidies and intervention? Of course, the answer is no.

The nuclear power industry serves as an ugly reminder that America is neither "going capitalist" nor "going socialist"; the real America is a corporate state, with massive doses of government and business "partnership" in key areas of the economy. Everyone knows that nuclear technology sprang from the war machine of the federal government after World War II, but fewer know the full extent of government involvement in the "peaceful" uses of nuclear power since then. Here are some of the most significant elements of the government/business alliance in the nuclear industry:

— For years, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) has been set up with the express purpose of subsidizing and promoting the use of nuclear power, with taxpayers' money. Indeed, government regulation of the industry is sharply distinguished from regulation of other energy industries in that government promotion has more to do with the existence of nuclear power than commercial demand or economic feasibility.

— In 1957, and again in 1965 and 1975, Congress passed the Price-Anderson Act, which limits the liability of power companies for a nuclear accident up to \$560 million. Of this \$560 million, the power companies would pay only \$127 million, while taxpayers would be forced to make up the difference. And if damages exceed \$560 million in any nuclear accident in the future, it's tough luck for the victims. This moral obscenity was rationalized by industry lobbyists on the grounds that without it, insurance costs would make building nuclear power plants prohibitively expensive.

— Recently, the Feds have decided to subsidize another aspect of the industry: nuclear waste disposal. Nuclear wastes have become a serious burden on many nuclear power plants, since thousands of tons are stored at the reactor sites. Unless new disposal or storage facilities are found, "as many as 23 nuclear power plants may have to begin closing by 1979" (Richard Pollock, director of Critical Mass). Thus, Jimmy Carter announced October 18, 1977 that the Federal government will accept and take title to all spent nuclear fuel and store it in government-owned storage sites, for a ridiculously low price that in no way reflects the true costs of the service. The government has therefore relieved the nuclear power industry of the risk and much of the cost of waste management.

The cases of government subsidization of the nuclear industry provide classic examples of how uneconomical businesses use government to relieve themselves of the true cost of doing business. Added together, they amount to literally billions of dollars worth of subsidies; significantly, they also erase legitimate, free-market impediments to the development of nuclear power: the problem of obtaining insurance and the problem of waste disposal. I came up with these examples after only a quick survey of magazine articles; there is still much to be said about the

extent of government involvement. What about the role of the State in the acquisition of plant sites? In funding the construction of power plants through guaranteed loans? These questions remain. But more importantly, where is the libertarian literature analyzing the role of government in the nuclear power industry? And where are the libertarian voices crying out against this dangerous and expensive government intervention?

I suspect that libertarian reticence is explained by the fact that many of us have started out by asking the wrong question — whether we are for or against nuclear power — and have therefore come up with irrelevant answers. Petr Beckmann is a case in point. In the September issue of **Reason**, he spends most of his time defending the feasibility of breeder reactors (The Great Plutonium Scare, **Reason**, Sept. 1977). As libertarians, the verdict of the free market is more important to us than the verdict of any expert, including Mr. Beckmann. Therefore the primary issue becomes the **political** one of keeping the market free. Yet Beckmann never addresses himself to the legislation favoring the nuclear power industry, except obliquely in this stunningly irrational paragraph:

"The fact that (a nuclear power plant in South Carolina) is seeking government support not only has nothing to do with technical feasibility but is, above all, a result of the uncertain climate surrounding nuclear ventures (and, indeed, all large-scale energy projects), which makes investors reluctant to finance them. To attack the process on economic grounds is, as so often with nuclear issues, the tactic of the parenticide who asks the court for mercy on the grounds that he is an orphan."

With one sweeping gesture, Beckmann dismisses any attempt to bring up the only issue relevant to libertarians: government intervention in the industry. While it is true that the effects of regulation in other areas of energy, such as oil, coal and natural gas, have mainly been stifling, with nuclear power the case is not so simple. Government has been literally promoting nuclear power for years, and doing everything within its (un)lawful power to **improve** the "investment climate." Beckmann condemns the intrusion but is deafeningly silent about the collusion. This makes me suspicious.

Conservative aberrations are nothing new to **Reason** magazine, of course, but it is disturbing to see even worse examples in the official organs of state Libertarian Parties. In an article in the Delaware newsletter, **Freedom's Voice**, for example, the writer took as his starting point the irrelevant question, for or against nuclear power, and cheerfully endorsed it. He was aware (who could fail to be?) that nuclear technology was created by the federal government; these, he said, are "sunk costs" that we cannot recover. Yet the writer showed no knowledge of the government subsidies which are not "sunk" and should be terminated immediately. The writer's failure to even mention the Price-Anderson Act is inexcusable, since he borrowed the term "sunk costs" from a **Reason** editorial condemning the Price-Anderson Act!

Why make such a big deal about what may be simply ignorance and inconsistency on the part of some libertarians? There is more to this than mere conservative-baiting. I believe that the Libertarian Party's stand on nuclear power is a crucial litmus test of its members' understanding of the revolutionary character of free-market economics. If we are ever going to raise the banner of the free market as an idealistic alternative to the rotting economic status quo, we must be prepared to condemn the powerful business interests that feed on government power, without hesitation. The intellectual consequences of waffling of the nuclear power issue are severe:

— Socialists say, "Capitalism is incapable of long-range investment decisions; we need government planning." And businessmen, masquerading as advocates of the free market, say, "Yes, that's right, let's go

(Continued On Page 4)

# Technological Facts on Nuclear Energy

1. **"Nuclear" doesn't have to mean "bomb."** Many people, left and right alike, have knee-jerk reactions to the word "nuclear," which they associate with the bomb. Nuclear power plants are not the same as nuclear bombs. A nuclear reactor, for example, **cannot** explode. Bombs require almost pure U-235, whereas fuel in nuclear plants is only 3 percent U-235.

2. **The risk of severe nuclear accident is slight.** The worst that could possibly happen with nuclear plants is a complete fuel meltdown. Contrary to "China Syndrome" propaganda, a meltdown would **not** penetrate through the earth to China; it would melt down only ten to fifty feet, and there would be little or no problem of ground water contamination. The best estimate is that such a meltdown in a light-water reactor would only occur once in 17,000 years of nuclear reactor operation. Nine out of ten of such extremely improbable meltdowns would cause less than ten deaths through radiation sickness. The worst possible such meltdown would kill 2,300 from acute radiation sickness but would occur no more than once in **one billion** years.

3. **No provable damage from low-level radiation.** There is no provable damage to humans from radiation below a dose of 100 rems. Yet we are talking about processes that emit enormously less radiation than this: for example, the maximum level of radiation permitted at the boundary of a nuclear reactor per year by the NRC is only **one twenty-thousandth** that amount. Alleged problems with doses of radiation below 100 rems are simply straight-line extrapolations with no proof whatsoever. The NRC has adopted the straight-line as an ultra-conservative approach, even though there is considerable evidence that the body can fight off all effects of small doses of radiation. There is evidence that tissue slightly damaged by low doses of radiation will heal itself, evidence bolstered by controlled experiments on animals.

An indication that anti-nuclear activists are not sincerely anti-pollution but simply anti-nuclear in sounding their false alarm about low-level radiation comes from the facts about coal. Aside from the obvious visible pollution, under normal conditions coal-burning plants emit more radiation than nuclear power plants. Yet where is there a massive, impassioned campaign against this coal radiation?

4. **Radiation is radiation is radiation.** In rebuttal, the anti-nuclear people claim that, regardless of the degree of millirems or rems of

radiation, nuclear radiation is of different and worse kind. This is false. The very **definition** of millirem consists of a given amount of biological effect on human tissue by radiation. As far as effect goes, then, a millirem is a millirem is a millirem. Period.

5. **Plutonium has caused no cancer.** Despite much anti-plutonium hysteria, not a single human cancer has ever been positively associated with plutonium. In the early years of the nuclear industry, exposures to plutonium were far above levels now permitted by the NRC. Yet not one of 17,000 plutonium workers in the early industry has died of plutonium-caused health problems. This includes 25 plutonium workers at Los Alamos during World War II who received twenty-five times the currently permitted maximum of plutonium in their lungs. Yet not one of these has developed lung cancer and all in fact are in good health.

6. **The nuclear waste disposal problem, trivial at worst, has been solved.** Nuclear waste is a bogey. At worst, there is far less problem of nuclear waste than from the air pollution generated by coal-fired plants. The nuclear waste disposal problem has now been solved; nuclear wastes can be "vitrified" — converted into glass-like substances insoluble in water and buried in salt beds. France began operating a vitrification plant in the summer of 1978.

7. **Is John Gofman really a libertarian?** The Childs-Mueller clique is touting Gofman as one anti-nuclear scientist who is **really** a libertarian. But just how libertarian is John Gofman? Here is Gofman on the free market in his recent "libertarian" book, **An Irreverent Guide**: "The only criterion (in our economy) is that what is manufactured be saleable at a profit. . . . Better still are those products which, through built-in obsolescence, can insure that the purchaser becomes locked into the system of dependence." Gofman also says that we are providing "slave labor for our multinational corporations, while at the same time the corporations throw an ever-increasing segment of the American labor force on the junk heap of human castaways." He also believes that individuals should not by law be free to choose the alleged risks of working in a nuclear power plant. Gofman claims such prohibition is justified to prevent the supposed genetic damage workers' descendants will receive, for the descendants "did **not** choose to participate." It is difficult, of course, to get our future descendants to "participate" in any of our activities.

## Beyond For or Against

(Continued From Page 3)

get some government support for our energy enterprises. The climate is too uncertain for private investment."

— The corporate statist says, "Government intervention in the economy stimulates growth and makes socially important projects more attractive to investors." And the businessmen, with an eye toward protecting their unsound investments, say "Yes, that's right, if government takes the risk out of nuclear power by limiting liability and taking care of waste disposal, nuclear power will develop faster than it would privately."

— The Marxists say, "Capitalism is characterized by cynical service of business interests." And the businessmen wink, count their government bailout money, and talk about the virtues of free enterprise.

What can people be expected to think of "capitalism" when presented with statements such as these? Yet this is what all too many "capitalists" are saying, not with their mouths, but with their actions. This kind of situation, in many industries, has weighted down the ideology of the free market with associations of reaction, exploitation, and cynicism. In fact, a free economy is the best protection there is against such plunder and privilege, and the nuclear power industry is a perfect example. Why don't we start telling people this?

There is little to be gained from cooperating with the left in their anti-nuclear crusade. They are against nuclear power per se, not gov-

ernment promotion of it. And of course, the Right supports nuclear power, and sees nothing wrong with government subsidization of it. We must establish a libertarian alternative in the political debate.

To those who have legitimate fears about the costs and dangers of nuclear power, we can say, "Government intervention in the economy has robbed us of the natural economic checks and balances against irresponsible technology that exist in a free economy. We must end government subsidies so that these free market checks and balances are brought back into play. We must also limit government's ability to intervene in the economy so that special interests can never again profit at the expense of public money and safety." To those who sincerely believe in the safety and economy of nuclear power, we can say, "If nuclear power can survive without government subsidies and favoritist legislation, then we will be all for letting the industry develop. Besides, if nuclear power is feasible, in the long run such government involvement will prove to be more of an impediment than a boon. If the industry has 'sold out' to the government, they become subject to more political pressures and regulation than private companies. Furthermore, the special favors handed to the industry undermine public confidence in the safety and economy of nuclear power. If nuclear power was a fully insured, self-sustaining industry the anti-nuclear movement would have little to work with."

In this way we should attempt to make government intervention in the economy the issue, rather than nuclear power as such. If we succeed, we can successfully appeal to reasonable people on both sides. (*Illinois Libertarian*, Jan. 1978)

# Review of The Disaster Lobby

By the earlier Roy Childs

If I were to name the single most important book on current affairs that I have read within the last two years, **The Disaster Lobby** would be that book, and there would be no close competitors. Written by the former Vice President and the former Publisher of *Look Magazine*, it is an in-depth journalistic study of the decade stretching from the early 1960's to the early 1970's, which the authors call "The Age of Unreason," and the movement that Ayn Rand has called "the Anti-Industrial Revolution." It is a breath of fresh air in an otherwise polluted intellectual atmosphere.

**The Disaster Lobby** dates the beginning of "The Age of Unreason" from 1961 with the publication of "the book that killed": Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, an unscientific attack on pesticides (particularly DDT) and in defense of the rights of weeds and mosquitos over the rights of man.

With the development of DDT and its first widespread use after World War II, DDT saved — during the first eight years of its use — at least five million lives and prevented over 100 million illnesses. For DDT, the penicillin of pesticides, was the principal chemical used to control "the insect vectors of yellow fever, typhus . . . bubonic plague, cholera, sleeping sickness and dysentery" — **without harming humans or domestic animals**. On the island of Ceylon, for example, the use of DDT had brought malaria under control for the first time in history. By 1961, there were only 110 cases of malaria reported here, and — for the first time in history — no malaria deaths.

Then *Silent Spring* was published, and the press and left-wing intellectuals joined forces under its banner to wage an hysterical campaign against the use of DDT and other life-saving pesticides. Ceylon was only one case where the campaign was successful. "Then, in 1968, seven years later, there were **two and a half million** cases of malaria in Ceylon, and **more than 10,000 malaria deaths**."

Yet no one raised an outcry. No one defended the victims of this outrage.

But "the Age of Unreason" had only begun. **The Disaster Lobby** chronicles its "progress" during the decade which was to follow. The battle flag had been raised: business, technology, science and man

himself were declared to be the enemies of "nature." The people who once littered the streets on "earth day" had invaded the halls of congress and critically important government agencies, attempting to seize control of business and technology and to shackle our economic system with controls destined to arrest progress. The Alaska pipeline was blocked for years, lies about air and water pollution were spread, industrialists were slandered and advertising was censored. And, in a stunning display of hypocrisy, academics such as John Kenneth Galbraith attempted to have a quota system forced on all areas of American life — except academia.

And, as if that were not enough, we now have the energy crisis upon us, a crisis caused by the state and its intellectual henchmen, and have been offered a coercively-imposed "austerity program" to solve the problems which these same people have helped to cause.

**The Disaster Lobby** pinpoints evasions such as these by the dozens. Did you know about the deaths which resulted from the banning of the use of hexachlorophene in hospitals? About the "population explosion" which doesn't exist? About the fraudulent campaigns against saccharin and cyclamates? About the distortions of facts used to stop industries from producing more oil — or to develop nuclear power and other sources of energy? About the vicious campaign to remove phosphates from laundry detergents — phosphates which are in fact fertilizers, not pollutants — in favor of chemical cleaning agents which are dangerous to human beings? That the quality of the air over major cities — including New York and Los Angeles — has been getting measurably better over the last few decades? You will learn these facts and more in this book.

**The Disaster Lobby** is more than a startling revelation of suppressed facts; it is a journalistic masterpiece, the kind of rational "muckraking" which doesn't make headlines. It deserves a vast audience; it desperately needs readers and defenders. It is the kind of work which Libertarians and Objectivists hunger for — concrete confirmation of their theories.

I cannot be more blunt, or more enthusiastic: **The Disaster Lobby** is a classic, a heroic achievement, magnificent on every level. Buy it and see for yourself. (**Books for Libertarians**, Jan. 1974)

## Excerpt from The Disaster Lobby

By Melvin J. Grayson and Thomas R. Shepard, Jr.

The article that emerged from this one-sided research was what might have been expected. Entitled "The Nuclear Threat **Inside America**" and featured in the *Look* issue of December 15, 1970, it took the position that money-hungry private corporations had teamed up with power-hungry Atomic Energy Commission members to construct and operate nuclear plants that, as a result of corner-cutting to save a few dollars, posed a grave threat to the health of the American public.

A key source of Shepherd's data was Dr. John Gofman of the AEC's Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, California. His hatred of the AEC was of such magnitude that he seemed to lose all sense of

balance in describing its members. As quoted in the Shepherd article, Gofman made this incredible statement about those who served on the Commission: "There is no morality . . . not a shred of honesty in any one of them — none. I can assure you, from every bit of dealing I've had . . . there is absolute duplicity, lies at every turn, falsehood in every way, about you personally and your motives."

And this was the man, this Gofman who could find no morality, honesty or truth in an entire government agency, who imagined himself the victim of lies and persecution, upon whom *Look* Senior Editor Jack Shepherd relied for much of the material that went into his article.

## SLS Proposal

By Milton Mueller

### ENERGY

We favor bold and decisive steps to create a free market in energy. This can only be done by wresting control of energy planning, research, development, production and distribution out of the hands of the state apparatus. In particular, we view the federal military-industrial power elite, and the increasing centralization of the energy industry in their hands, as the greatest menace to freedom and prosperity facing the American economy.

#### Price control

Only free, unregulated prices can spur a wise use of energy resources and provide the incentive to discover alternative forms of energy. We advocate unconditional decontrol of oil, gasoline, and natural gas prices, on both the state and the federal level. We oppose the "windfall profits" tax as a windfall for the power elite which would put millions of dollars in their hands while crippling the discovery and production of oil and squeezing smaller producers out of business.

#### Utilities

We call for a free market in the distribution of electricity and other forms of power. State Public Utility Commissions should be abolished, and their grants of monopoly power to utilities ended. We support the right of homes and businesses to generate their own power or to buy power from competing sources.

#### Nuclear power

We recognize the nuclear power industry as one wholly created, promoted and imposed by the federal government. Its systematic control of the nuclear fuel cycle has led to subsidized inefficiency, health hazards and centralization; that control should be ended regardless of whether the industry is viable without it.

Government control of uranium resources should be ended. Uranium resources on lands stolen from Native Americans and others should be returned to their full control. All government leases of public lands to uranium mining and exploration corporations should be repudiated, and any new contracts left to voluntary agreements between the companies and the rightful owners.

We call for the abolition of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission along with its powers of licensing and setting radiation emission standards. The protection of individual rights, not government bureaucracies with a vested interest in the industry, should regulate nuclear power. If radiation pollution, as charged by prominent physicists and admitted by the NRC, does in fact commit random murder, it should be stopped regardless of government licensing and politically determined radiation standards.

We call for an end to tax-supported, government-owned uranium enrichment plants, and an end to the subsidization of nuclear waste disposal. The Price-Anderson Act must be repealed to force the nuclear industry to bear its own insurance costs and to be fully liable for whatever damage it might cause. We support the efforts of individual states to repudiate the legitimacy of Price-Anderson within their own borders.

#### Oil

We favor the creation of a free market in oil by instituting a system of full property rights in underground oil and by the

(Continued On Page 7)

## Current LP Planks

Slightly amended by

Bill Evers and Murray N. Rothbard

### ENERGY

We recognize the great mischief that a host of government interferences have caused in the energy industry, and the even greater mischief — amounting to a total regimentation of the American economy and society — that is threatened by recent and proposed interventions.

We oppose all government control of energy pricing, allocation, and production, such as that imposed by the Federal Power Commission, the Department of Energy, state public utility commissions, and state pro-rationing agencies. Thus, we advocate decontrol of the prices of oil, petroleum products, and natural gas. We call for the immediate decontrol of gasoline prices, and elimination of the federal allocation program for crude oil and gasoline. We condemn the proposed "windfall profits tax" which is really a graduated excise tax on the production of crude oil, and which would cripple the discovery and production of oil. We oppose all government subsidies for energy research, development, and operation. We oppose a subsidized federal Energy Security Corporation, which would develop expensive and commercially unviable synthetic fuels. We also oppose its financing via the issue of small denomination bonds, which would rapidly lose their value in an era of inflation. We also oppose government subsidies to a solar development bank for solar energy.

We favor the privatization of the nuclear energy industry. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission should be abolished. Since the nuclear industry, like other industries, has its risks, the Price-Anderson Act, through which the government limits private liability for nuclear accidents, and furnishes partial payment at taxpayer expense, should be repealed. The nuclear power industry, like other industries, should be set free to meet the test of the free market.

We oppose the proposed federal Energy Mobilization Board, which would wield dictatorial powers in order to override normal legal processes. We oppose all government conservation schemes through the use of taxes, subsidies, and regulations, as well as the dictated conversion of utilities and other industries to coal. We denounce all temperature level regulations as despotic and oppressive. We oppose any attempt to give the federal government a monopoly over the importation of oil, or to develop a subsidized government energy corporation whose privileged status would be used as a yardstick for condemning private enterprise. We oppose the "strategic storage" program, any attempts to compel national self-sufficiency in oil, any extension of the cargo preference law to imports, and any attempt to raise oil tariffs or impose oil import quotas. We oppose all efforts to nationalize energy companies or break up vertically and horizontally integrated energy companies or force them to divest their pipelines.

We favor the creation of a free market in oil by instituting a system of full property rights in underground oil and by repeal of all federal and state controls over price and output in the petroleum industry. All government-owned energy resources should be turned over to private ownership.

We consider all attempts to impose an operating or standby program of gasoline rationing as unworkable, unnecessary, and tyrannical.

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## SLS Proposal

(Continued From Page 6)

repeal of all price controls, regulations and subsidies governing the oil industry. We condemn nationalization of oil as an authoritarian nightmare that would magnify, not end, the current energy problems.

We call for the immediate decontrol of gasoline prices, and an end to the chaotic and futile attempt of the government to control regional allocation.

We demand that the government lift its control over oil imports. We oppose the "strategic storage" program, any attempt to compel national self-sufficiency in oil, and the scapegoating of OPEC as irrational steps that contribute to international tensions and can lead to war. We condemn as utterly immoral and impractical any threat or attempt to take over Mideast oil fields through military intervention.

We oppose all efforts to break up vertically and horizontally integrated energy companies or to force them to divest their pipelines.

### The Federal Energy Bureaucracy

We deplore the growing tendency to centralize control of energy in the hands of federal agencies and the privileged interests which are connected to them. The Department of Energy should be abolished, and its dictatorial powers of price control, regulation, allocation and research and development taken out of the government's hands.

We oppose any federal subsidies to develop expensive and commercially unviable synthetic fuels. Such a program constitutes a massive boondoggle for privileged oil companies at the expense of the overburdened American taxpayer. We are equally opposed to an Energy Mobilization Board that would concentrate federal power in the hands of an agency capable of ignoring legal processes and riding roughshod over businesses and state and local governments.

All attempts to regulate the thermostat settings in private homes and businesses are an insult to the intelligence of the American people, and should be stopped.

We oppose gasoline rationing as unworkable, unnecessary and despotic.

Expanding government control over energy research and development threatens the very foundations of free enterprise, and must be stopped. Such control directs all innovation into those areas desired by the government instead of the people, such as weapons research. Such control also screens out new energy entrepreneurs, fostering centralization and economic privilege.

### Alternative energy

The government should keep its hands off solar and other emerging forms of alternative energy, neither subsidizing them nor handicapping them. All energy technology should compete in a free market.

To help overcome the effects of past government intervention in energy, we support a homeowners tax credit for the purchase and installation of energy producing or conserving devices. We support the repeal of all fire codes, building codes and zoning laws which limit the right of property owners to best meet their energy needs.

## Current LP Planks

(Continued From Page 6)

### PUBLIC UTILITIES

We advocate the termination of government-created franchise privileges and governmental monopolies for such services as garbage collection, electricity, natural gas, telephone, or water supplies. Furthermore, all rate regulation in these industries should be abolished. The right to offer such services on the market should not be curtailed by law.

### POLLUTION

We support the development of an objective system defining individual property rights to air and water. We hold that ambiguities in the area of these rights (e.g. the concept of "public property") are a primary cause of our deteriorating environment. Present legal principles which allow the violation of individual rights by polluters must be reversed. The laws of nuisance and tort injury should be modified to cover damage done by air, water, and noise pollution. While we maintain that no one has the right to violate the legitimate property rights of others by polluting, we strenuously oppose all attempts to transform the defense of such rights into any restriction of the efforts of individuals to advance technology, to expand production, or to use their property peacefully. We therefore support the abolition of the Environmental Protection Agency.

## Nuclear Power Crisis

(Continued From Page 2)

platform planks (pollution and utilities). More substantively, it fails to recognize that the "windfall profits tax" is not a profits tax at all but a graduated excise tax on crude oil production. As a result, it doesn't explain the mechanism by which the tax would cripple oil production. Likewise it leaves out discussion of important policies and proposals like cargo preference, coal conversion, and yardstick corporations.

On nuclear power, the SLS plank erroneously maintains that nuclear power has so-called "health hazards," and its if-then clause on radiation hardly succeeds in camouflaging its statement that "prominent physicists" (who except Gofman?) and the NRC (where?) speak of "random murder."

In addition, SLS retains its preoccupation with the fact that nuclear power is a government-created industry. This indeed is a historical truth. But we must not assume, as SLS does, that history dictates that this must always be so. Libertarians can make history by denationalizing the nuclear industry.

Finally, there is not a word in the SLS plank about the concept of privatizing the nuclear power industry. Why not? Is the SLS afraid of acknowledging that privatizing is a good thing? Are they against privatizing TVA dams and power plants? Would such concepts upset leftists on campus?

## Late Bulletin: LR Suppresses Free and Open Debate on Nuclear Power!

As we go to press, we have just learned (August 22) that the September issue of **Libertarian Review** has failed to carry a joint letter on the nuclear power controversy, signed by 19 distinguished members of the libertarian movement. The letter protested the repeated attacks on nuclear power per se that permeated the issue (the government and risk arguments discussed in our lead editorial).

We don't know if LR intends to suppress the letter indefinitely, or whether it will publish the letter in the October issue. We **do** know that whichever choice it makes, it will have kept the letter from the delegates, alternates and visitors to this LP convention. We **do** know, also, that LR had plenty of time to publish the letter in the September issue if it had so wished. This is part of a growing and distressing pattern of keeping important issues and discussions from the members of the Libertarian Party and movement. In the interest of free and open discussion on vital issues, we hereby print the letter with its list of signatories. The signers range from "left" to "right" within the libertarian spectrum. But they all unite as one in devotion to the free market. Can we say the same for the LR-SLS clique?

The protest letter follows:

Editor, Libertarian Review:

We are deeply distressed to see a libertarian publication take a political stand on a technological process as **Libertarian Review** did in its July-August issue by calling for government to oppose nuclear power and promote solar power.

First, LR published an unpaid advertisement on its inside cover that argued that because of the risks associated with nuclear reactors this mode of generating power should be banned. In addition, LR published Patrick Lilly's article in which, although he says he would be willing to let the free market decide such matters, nonetheless he insists that risky endeavors that might prove disastrous should be banned — especially in the case of nuclear power. He did not bother to add that his policy proposal could be extended to banning the airline industry, the sea travel industry, the construction of dams, the construction of tall buildings, etc.

Second, Milton Mueller's article argues that the nuclear power industry is a quasi-nationalized industry and that the decision-makers who made it this sort of industry did so for what they considered important reasons. These reasons are important enough to them for "national security" claims to be made and for them to want to hold onto control of nuclear power. Hence, libertarians, instead of calling for denationalization, should oppose nuclear power per se. On the contrary, it seems to us that libertarians should call for denationalization, an end to subsidies,

and the bearing of the risks of accidents by the companies involved. To take the course Mueller suggests would lead to opposing mail service and highways rather than calling for their privatization.

Third, Wilson Clark, a self-described libertarian — a description nowhere challenged by LR interviewer Jeff Riggenbach — advocates an excess profits tax designed to channel the investments of oil companies in certain directions: namely, "alternative energy sources, increased production from conventional sources or conservation." The tax is designed to prohibit diversification of the companies into non-energy-related fields. Clark also proposes government-sponsored invention contests and a multimillion-dollar joint private-public energy development fund at the state level. Clark deplores the fact that no one is making what he regards as the necessary social transition of a "massive commitment" to windpower or solar energy. Clark claims that private firms will not explore viable energy alternatives because they are "mature" companies, too tired to innovate.

Clark's putatively libertarian views are not libertarian at all — they call for massive tax funding that would deprive people of their earnings; they promise special government grants of privilege to the solar and windpower industries; and they propose to curtail the liberties of businesses to make investment decisions on their own. In fact, on the open market, Clark's "mature" companies would have to innovate to survive.

Clark's views seem to be basically in accord with the "Big Oil" cartoon published in LR's May issue. In that cartoon a businessman identified as "Big Oil" is gloating over the fact that oil companies own most of the alternative resources from which energy could be drawn while he maintains that solar power should not be looked into because it is unfeasible. This cartoon deliberately suggests that oil companies have sought to monopolize energy production, that private ownership of energy resources is inappropriate, that oil companies should be forced to divest their holdings in other energy sources, and that oil companies have deceived the public on the feasibility of solar power. The position espoused by the cartoon run in LR is, in its facts, inaccurate, and in the policy it suggests, unlibertarian. Solar power should stand on its own merits in the free market. Its promotion should be a business matter — not a political one, especially not a political cause backed by a libertarian magazine.

George Smith, Los Angeles  
Bill Evers, Palo Alto, Calif.  
Sara Baase, San Diego  
David Gordon, Los Angeles  
Wendy Grosscup, Los Angeles  
Ronald Hamowy, San Francisco  
John Hospers, Los Angeles  
Joe Kalt, Cambridge, Mass.  
Leonard Liggio, San Francisco  
Tibor Machan, Santa Barbara, Calif.

Jonathan Marshall, San Francisco  
Gerald O'Driscoll, New York  
Joe Peden, New York  
Ron Paul, Washington, D.C.  
Robert Poole, Santa Barbara, Calif.  
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## The Iran Threat

The threat in Iran is grave, even potentially cataclysmic. But that threat is only secondarily the danger to the 62, now 49, American embassy employees imprisoned in Teheran. The main danger is a disastrous war, to be launched by a furious and petulant United States against the people of Iran. For the really scary thing about the still continuing Iranian crisis is not the Shiite zealots led by the venerable Ayatollah Khomeini; it is the barbarous emotions welling up in the breasts of the American people.

For it seems that civilization is only skin-deep, after all, in these United States; let the American eagle be tweaked a bit and savage bellows for war and destruction thunder across the land. If the Ayatollah and his colleagues are "fanatics" and "madmen", what then are the countless American demonstrators who joyfully burn Iranian flags, chant "Nuke the Iranians" or "Camel Jockeys, Go Home" or, in the case of an anti-Iranian rally at Houston, burn an Iranian flag while grotesquely singing "America the Beautiful"? College campuses which once rocked with a fervent anti-war spirit are now calling for the expulsion and deportation of harmless Iranian students. A war fever is raging in the United States, and for once we cannot say that the Establishment is dragging a peaceful public into war; the war pressure is coming upward from the grass roots.

But neither can we say that the Carter Administration is blameless in instigating this affair. We already know that the Administration had been warned by its own experts that admitting the Shah into the U. S. would likely trigger Iranian reprisal against our embassy there; yet, not only did we admit the Shah but we did not even beef up security at the Teheran embassy. Bumbling, or a deliberate whipping up of crisis? Of course, with Carter's record as stumblebum extraordinaire, even conspiracy-minded analysts will have to give considerable credence to the bumble hypothesis.

We do know, also, that the Administration was reluctant to admit the Shah, but that it was successfully pressured into this fateful step by none other than Henry Kissinger and his mentor David Rockefeller. Once again, Kissinger has worked his foreign policy evil; is there no way of getting rid of this man's malign influence? What happened to the idea of the people choosing at the polls? Wasn't Kissinger repudiated in 1976? And—conspiracy analysis again—we shouldn't forget that we have a David Rockefeller-Trilateral Commission-dominated foreign policy Administration, and also that the Shah is personally a multi-billion dollar client at Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank.

One libertarian of our acquaintances has a charming solution to the hostage crisis: send the Iranians Kissinger and Rockefeller in return for the hostages. There is in this solution a certain unique and piquant charm.

Is the Shah really dying, or is he really ill at all? Many physicians profess themselves puzzled at unusual features of the Shah's therapy. One wonders, too, if he couldn't have surgery or chemotherapy in Mexico; are there no medical facilities there? Certainly, with his \$12 billion or so smackers, he has the wherewithal to fly down top specialists on his behalf. Surely, too, the Shah would solve a lot of world problems by corking off pronto from natural causes.

At any rate, whether or to what extent the Shah is ill, he is certainly at this writing very much alive, and kicking, and therefore must be treated as such. His case raises many fascinating and in advanced applied libertarian theory. Thus, forgetting about his alleged illness, what would we do, or more to the point, what **should** we do, if Hitler suddenly found himself alive and ill at New York Hospital? Should we defend his right to asylum, or send him back to Germany for trial?

Whatever we answer in the Hitler or Eichmann case, we must answer for the Shah also. The Shah, too, murdered 60,000 of his subjects, and tortured countless others at the hands of the dread SAVAK, the secret police, causing Amnesty International to call his bloody reign the worst torture regime in the world. And the Shah is a thief on a mammoth scale. The Shah's plundering, by the way, is a paradigm example of land theft and of the proper libertarian analysis of this "feudal" act. For the Shah's father, only fifty years ago, was a bandit who assumed the throne of Iran by conquest, and proceeded to literally steal half the land area of the country and place it into his "private" ownership, mulcting the peasant owners of "rents" to their new feudal overlord. The present Shah simply systematized and expanded his father's speculations, and converted them from land to dollar wealth. When radical libertarians speak of justice and land reform, they are always confronted with the rebuttal that land thefts are lost in antiquity, and that titles are so fuzzy that no clear-cut justice can be done. But in the case of Iran none of that is true; the robberies were quite recent, in the memory of many now alive, and the record is all too clear.

Furthermore, the surging hatred of the United States in Iran is all too understandable. For a generation, it was the United States government that propped up the Shah on a massive scale, pouring literally billions in military and economic aid into his coffers. For years, the Shah was considered America's geopolitical ally and satrap in the Middle East. And when, in the early 1950's, the Iranians revolted and kicked out the hated Shah, the CIA rushed in to reinstall him in 1953—an action that Americans may have forgotten, but that Iranians have bitterly remembered. The Shah and the United States, the Shah, Kissinger and Rockefeller—all these have been closely linked, not only in the perception of Iranian "fanatics", but also in reality.

Given all this—should we send the Shah back to Iran to be tried for his crimes? Should we have sent Hitler back? The answer in both cases must be no. For while a people may surely try their own rulers or ex-rulers for high crimes, **governments** should be bound by the concept of asylum. Governments should not be able to extradite political dissidents to the tender mercies of another regime. This is because governments, being governments, being coercive monopolies of force in a given territorial area, should be held to different standards than would free-market anarchist defense institutions. So long as these territorial monopolies of force exist, they should be held strictly to the boundaries of their own territorial areas. Once let them try to extend their jurisdiction to other areas, and only perpetual wars can ensue—wars such as minarchists are always bellyaching about when contemplating anarchism. For we live **right now** in an "international anarchy" in the worst sense; there are gangs of coercive states which

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## Iran Threat —

(Continued From Page 1)

are not under any one world government (And why, by the way, don't minarchists pursue the logic of their own beliefs and advocate world government?) Whether we are anarchists or minarchists, we must try to limit these governments at least to their territorial area, to reduce government intervention to a minimum at home and abroad. Part of such a policy is for governments to take no sides in the internal quarrels of other nations, and to allow asylum once a foreign national and political dissident reaches its shores. So, despite their patcut crimes, the U.S. government should deport neither the Shah nor a hypothetical Hitler back to the land of their sins.

But, of course, there is surely no positive injunction upon the U.S. government to devote a great deal of taxpayers' resources to guarding the life of the Shah or any other imported monster. Did the U.S. taxpayer have to spend millions, and tie up virtually the entire police department of New York City, to guard the butcher Castro for nearly a week? Surely not. And neither does it have to knock itself out defending the Shah; surely, it is bizarre to think that the Shah, Castro, or our putative Hitler should have vastly more tax-resources spring to his defense, than for the defense of any one peaceful and put-upon citizen on the streets of New York. So let the U.S. government take all the guards away from New York Hospital. It is true that the Shah has his private guards at the hospital; but perhaps some of the revolutionary Iranian people could work their just will despite that hazard. Let the Shah take his chances, like everyone else, in the Big Apple. So the Shah is a criminal and the United States, as usual, is hip deep in blame, though we can't countenance outright betrayal of the right of asylum. What then should the United States do in this predicament? Acknowledge its previous guilt, surely. Support the idea of an international tribunal to try the Shah—why not? Outside of that, try patient and quiet diplomacy, using as best we can respected private persons and groups, such as the constructive role already played by the Irishman Sean MacBride and conservative Congressman George Hansen (R.Idaho), who, in his private search for peaceful solutions with the Iranians, is a marvelously refreshing change from the usual bluster xenophobia, and war hysteria on the Right. And that is all; there must be no use of military force by the United States. Military measures would not only be costly and threaten wider war, they would also injure innocent civilians in Iran as well as Americans. Already, the American freeze of Iranian bank deposits and cutoff of oil imports are petulant and coercive, and they accomplish nothing except financial disarray at home and abroad. They free no hostages and are only expensive and aggressive ways for the U.S. government to save face—a concept we have attributed exclusively to inscrutable Orientals.

But what about force? Defense? Punishment? The right of every American citizen to be protected? And what of the inviolability of the "sovereignty" of the American embassy?

Once again, because we are living in a world of coercive nation-states, with each attaining a monopoly over its territorial area, and because in the modern world any war between states necessarily commits the civilians of each country to the war regardless of their wishes, it is vital for each state to confine its use of violence strictly to its own area. So, in such a world, it is the responsibility of the American government to protect the lives and properties of its subjects—but only those who inhabit the territorial area of the country. We must therefore conclude that American citizens abroad must take their chances—that it is not worth embroiling all other Americans in a war on their behalf should they stray beyond U.S. jurisdiction.

To put the plight of the unfortunate Americans in Teheran in perspective: No one forced these people to stray outside the borders of the U.S. Moreover, they knew darned well, as did the rest of us, that Iran was an explosive trouble spot, and that therefore they were taking a considerable risk in remaining there. The U. S. government was delinquent in not reminding them of this risk, and, in fact, for encouraging them to stay. They took their chances. And, after all, they were, voluntarily, U. S. government and U. S. embassy employees, and therefore they voluntarily took on the coloration of U.S. imperialist

policy in Iran. In a sense, then, they all shared in the guilt of U. S. foreign policy, and their seizure by the Iranian students, while unfortunate, does not seem quite so irrational.

There is another important point here, illustrative of a double standard and a jingo blood thirst at work. Every year, indeed every day, many Americans lose their lives and property to domestic criminals within the United States. People are here shot, killed, and kidnapped all the time; no one applauds these deeds, but why are there no blood cries for all-out vengeance when the criminals are here at home? Is it only because the prestige of the U.S. government has been damaged long ago, by numerous actions of the U.S. government itself, but those actions never worried out superpatriots by one whit.

But isn't the embassy sacred American soil, and therefore wasn't the attack on our embassy an act of war? But surely the "sovereignty" of an enclave of one house and an acre or two is only a pleasant fiction, not a serious reality. Surely it is not a moral problem for Americans to fight, die, and kill over. The inviolability of a nation's embassy is an important pragmatic principle of international relations, since if embassies and diplomats are habitually aggressed against, very little international dealings or peaceful negotiations would ever take place. But this principle is important to every nation-state, not just to the U. S., and they all realize this fact. Once again, this is a matter for quiet international diplomacy, and not for acts of moral outrage and coercive saber-rattling by the United States.

But shouldn't the kidnapers be punished? Here the pro-war theorists liken such a military thrust as equivalent to a domestic "police action." But there are vital differences. First, as we have reiterated, on foreign soil there is no American monopoly of force, and therefore "punishment" is no longer a police action, but an act of military intervention and war. Furthermore, punishing the guilty, important though it be, is far less important for a libertarian than another principle: protecting the innocent. The innocent may not be injured or murdered in order to apprehend the guilty. Suppose, for example, that police are chasing a robber or even a murderer fleeing down a crowded street. May the police, in order to catch the fugitive, spray the street with machine-guns and mortar fire, killing many innocent people along with the criminal? Certainly not, and police never do such a thing. But, in the same way, it is morally impermissible for any government, including the American, to launch a military offensive to punish the students, the Ayatollah, or whatever. For countless innocent civilians would be injured or killed by such an action.

But isn't it immoral to deal with kidnapers? WHY? Is it immoral for parents to pay ransom to kidnapers to buy back their children? What peculiar moral theory could possibly be at work here?

And what of the Iranian students in the U.S.? The cry for their incarceration and deportation, and the steps in that direction already taken, are a monstrous imposition of collective guilt, a concept which properly horrified Americans when the Nazis employed it against the Czech town of Lidice. Just because we don't like what some Iranian students did at Teheran, gives us no warrant to proceed with a force against other Iranian students in this country.

To conclude: the U.S. should pursue the delicate and threatening Iranian crisis with quiet diplomacy, and eschew all acts of force or saber-rattling threats of force. Another war threatens all of us in the Iranian crisis, and it behooved libertarians to be in the forefront of today's and tomorrow's anti-war movement. So far, the first libertarian organ to leap into the fray is Sam Konkin's *New Libertarian Strategy*, whose "Stop the Presses" December issue has an excellent revisionist analysis of the Iranian crisis. We have had many differences with Konkin's anti-L.P. "Movement of the Libertarian Left" tendency, but Konkin deserves great commendation for being the first libertarian periodical or institution to take a strong stand on the Iranian crisis. (Available at \$10.00 a year from New Libertarian Enterprises, Box 1748, Long Beach CA 90801). Libertarians must put as much pressure as we can upon the Administration to stop the war, pressure that is desperately needed to offset the war fever, and, if necessary, to build a longer-range anti-war movement. If we needed any further reminders, the Iranian crisis shows us and everyone else, once again, that libertarians are NOT "conservatives"; we are for nonintervention and antiwar. □

# Zionism As It Sees Itself

by Elmer Berger

Review of Melvin I. Urofsky, *We Are One*, Anchor/Doubleday, \$10.95, 536 pp.

by Elmer Berger

(Rabbi Berger is a veteran critic of Zionist tribalism, is the author of many books, and is the head of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism.)

Abandon hope of understanding either the Palestine problem or the so-called "Jewish problem", all ye who enter here! The author, of course, may protest he did not aspire to contribute understanding to the central, political controversy in the Middle East. Indeed, Urofsky cannily states his parameters. In his Introduction he says he attempted "To tell . . . the relations of American Jewry to Israel . . . from the vantage point of American Jewry — its attitudes, its achievements, its problems, and its changing conditions". With some justification he asserts that

**From 1942 to 1948, American Zionism and its leaders did occupy the center stage in the fight to create an autonomous Jewish homeland in Palestine, to establish a refuge for that pitifully small number who escaped the destruction of the Holocaust.**

So be it! But if this historian set out to record on the film of American Jewry every internal Zionist intrigue, every political battle of the Zionists with Washington and the United Nations, the reaction of the Arabs, the military achievements and economic tribulations of the "doughty little Middle East Davidstate" it is legitimate to ask why the "vantage point of American Jewry" is so cluttered with — to be charitable — so many half truths.

There are, for example, sixteen references to the Balfour Declaration in the Index. But nowhere does Urofsky state the full text — or any accurate paraphrase — of the celebrated document. He repetitiously upbraids the British for "retreat from the Balfour pledge" (p. 7). But nowhere does he state or refer to two conditions which the British attached to their promise to use their "best endeavors" to "facilitate . . . the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people". More explicit and precise language than that used in the "best endeavors" promise was employed to guarantee it was

**Clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing nonJewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.**

(Emphasis supplied)

The difference in language emphasized the fact that the rights of the Palestinian Arabs and of Jews in countries other than Palestine who rejected Zionism's functional nationality rights for "the Jewish people" to build a national home were **existing** rights. They were not to be impaired — or even prejudiced — by any "best endeavors" on the part of Britain or by Zionism's arrogation of the role of spokesman for something called "the Jewish people".

Urofsky's omission of these fundamental legal/political facts from all of his sixteen references to the Declaration might be forgiven as an oversight if consistent omission of these identical facts were not the hallmark of Zionist propaganda. There is no law against writing still another Zionist propaganda tome. Fortunately, there is also no law compelling equating Zionist propaganda with either accurate reporting or serious, insightful scholarship.

Ignoring the guarantees of the rights of the two other parties inscribed on the face of the Balfour Declaration has contributed to the cosmetic image of Zionism and its Middle East state as crowd-pleasers and facilitated the Carter/Begin/Sadat try at substituting obliteration of these rights for merely ignoring them. It also simplifies Rafshooning Begin into a philanthropic statesman for conceding territories and rights which were not his to concede except as "acquired by war". The resultant "pragmatic" solutions, of which Camp David is not the first and will not be the last — not surprisingly outraging the still deprived Palestinians and leaving without proper legal challenge Israel's Zionist claim to be "the sovereign state of the Jewish people" rather than of its own Jewish and Moslem/Christian Arab citizens — continue to add uninformed credence to such punditry as Urofsky's claim the Zionists

were victimized by

Traditional Muslim teachings, based upon the Koran, **which** have always held Jews to be an inferior people, whose downfall is inevitable "because they misbelieve the revelation of Allah and slew the prophets wrongly" (p 204).

It is obvious that like Scripture, the devil can quote the Koran.

Urofsky makes it easy on himself to denigrate both Jewish and Arab anti-Zionists by avoiding, throughout the book, any definition of Zionism — or at least the Zionism institutionalized by law and practice in the State of Israel. Nowhere does he inform American Jews — or suggest they already know — the infra-structure they support in Israel is juridically linked to the conventionally recognized Israeli government by a Knesset enactment of 1952, commonly known as the "Status Law". Nowhere does he disclose that this Zionist infra-structure subsidizes "Jewish" housing, "Jewish" agriculture, "Jewish" education, "Jewish" labor and, of course, "Jewish" immigration. In no way does he help American Jews to any rational comprehension of the resentment of the Arab minority in Israel — and of Arabs generally — because

In the "sovereign state of the Jewish people" there is little hope that Arabs will gain equal rights . . . Arabs have no place in the Jewish state, except as a tolerated but essentially foreign element . . . In part, the discriminatory structure of the state of Israel is embedded in law and institutions. In part, it is based upon administrative practice. There is no substantial segment of Israeli society that opposes or seriously questions the fundamental principle of discrimination, nor is it an issue within World Zionism. As for American "supporters of Israel", they resort to the simplest and most familiar of all techniques: to deny the facts.\*\*

That is the judgement of Noam Chomsky who, not so by-the-way, Urofsky attempts to deprecate to his uninformed American Jewry with the label, "one of the intellectual gurus of the New Left." (p. 372). To use some of Urofsky's Yiddishkeit seasoning, "What's a chutzpah!"

Urofsky's nonfeasance as a historian in matters pertaining to the diplomacy, law, Zionist racism, and military campaigns which are at the heart of the conflict between Zionism and Palestinian/Arab nationalism may, perhaps, be forgiven because he admits that American Jewry — his acknowledged "vantage point" — "remained oblivious to this dilemma". (p. 207). It is more difficult to find excuses for some of his pronouncements about this American Jewry itself. Where, for example, did he find any appreciable number of these Americans who would subscribe to his assertion (p. 450) that

Undoubtedly the greatest problem facing American Jewry results from its successful acceptance into American society.

If ever an *ex cathedra* pronouncement stood logic and the laws of nature on their heads this one does it. There are certainly Jews who believe their "successful acceptance" has proceeded too slowly. And there are those who, ignoring all history, fear that Judaism in the freedom of America, cannot accommodate itself to this civilization's changing patterns as Judaism has done to so many civilizations of the past. To accommodate to these individual predilections, Judaism has developed denominations in the United States. The diversity is officially suppressed in Israel — to the considerable embarrassment of American Reform and Conservative rabbis who beat the drums for Zionism but are prohibited from performing a number of clerical services by their politically ensconced colleagues of Orthodox persuasion in the Zionist state. But in the United States, to assert most American Jews — from Senators, to Governors, to business tycoons, to doctors, lawyers, beggars and thieves — fear "successful acceptance" rather than aspiring to it is surely a laboratory specimen of hallucination.

Urofsky and many of his Zionist peers fear that "a separation" may develop "between ethnicity and religion". Zionism's puritanical antidote to this perceived threat has been *allyah*, immigration to Israel, "the ingathering of the exiles", the "central task of the state". But in the United States the recruitment of immigrants has been a frost. American

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# The Duelist

by Walter Block

The common view on dueling is that it is a relic of a bygone era: an uncivilized, primitive, savage bygone era. All modern, progressive, forward-looking societies now prohibit dueling. And for good reason, it is alleged. For with dueling, the strong would kill off the weak, big bully types would run over everyone else, the meek would never live long enough to inherit the earth.

We shall prove, however, that this widely accepted view is nothing but a tissue of fallacies. We shall show that the critiques of dueling are without substance, and that there are great benefits of dueling which have been ignored.

The first thing to be made clear about dueling, though, is that it is an **offer**, not a **threat**. It is a request (do you **want** to duel with me?); it is not a **demand** (I **insist** that you duel with me). For a duel to take place, **both** parties must agree. In other words, a duel can only take place between consenting adults, and, as such, should command the tolerance that men of good will give to all actions solely concerning consenting adults.

In order to prove this, let us consider the case where A says to B: "If you don't voluntarily duel with me, I'm going to kick your ass anyway." Now this statement is clearly a threat. As such, it would be prohibited by the libertarian legal code. There is no real difference, in effect, between this supposed "offer" of a duel, and an out-and-out threat. The first part of the threat, "If you don't voluntarily duel with me", actually adds nothing to the sentence. The actual import is "I'm going to kick your ass" whether or not the first part of the sentence is kept in, i. e., whether or not you "agree" to the procedure.

An offer is something you are just as free to accept as to reject: no force or threat of force will be applied to you if you reject the offer. Thus, in the case of an offer of a duel, if the invited person refuses to participate, that is the end of the matter. The offerer of the duel cannot

persist. If the offerer of the duel **does** persist, this only shows that the original "offer" of the duel was no such thing. This shows that the "offer" was really a threat; that the "request" was really a demand. As long as the offer was a bonafide **offer**, a mere refusal is an end to the matter.

If Mr. B. refuses an "offered" duel, and then Mr. A starts using or threatening violence against him, thus showing up the original "offer" for the threat that it was, Mr. A is just as guilty of aggressive behavior in the present system which outlaws voluntary dueling as he would be in a system which allowed voluntary dueling. We must therefore reject one of the claims against legalizing voluntary dueling. We must reject the claim that anyone would be forced into doing something against his will.

Of course, if you refuse a duel, you may be subjected to all sorts of non-aggressive, non-violent sanctions. You may be called a coward. Strictly speaking, however, this can in no way violate anyone's rights. Sticks and stones can surely break your bones, and violate your rights, but mere name calling can do neither.

It is true of course that being called a coward can cause psychological harm, but whether it does or not is to a very great degree under the control of each individual person. This is under the control of the individual to a greater degree than ever before thought possible. And thanks to the pioneering work of Dr. Albert Ellis, the possibility of the individual averting harm from himself in situations such as these is becoming more and more widely known.

Dr. Albert Ellis is a twentieth century follower of Epictetus, a philosopher of the first century A. D. At the core of the philosophy of Epictetus is the view that "Men are disturbed not by things, but by the views which they take of them." Thus it is that Dr. Ellis holds that

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## Zionism — (Continued From Page 3)

"Zionism" has exemplified the old crack that "a Zionist is one Jew who gives money to another Jew to send a third Jew to Palestine". At one of the periods of greatest Zionist ecstasy, during the three-year period following the 1967 war, 2700 Americans "declared themselves as immigrants" to Israel (p. 361).

So, Urofsky and his "Jewish" nationalist colleagues have had to settle for the hope that the kind of vicarious Zionism practiced by an American Jewry "oblivious" to most of Zionism's dilemmas will be the antidote to acculturation. But even this hope is qualified by some facts which the historian Urofsky apparently compels the Zionist Urofsky to admit.

In one paragraph, written with less "constructive ambiguity" than most of the rest of the book, and which should be inscribed in bold Spencerian on enduring parchment and delivered to members of the House, the Senate and the political savants around the Oval Office who season foreign policy with a domestic ear-to-the-ground mix, Urofsky reveals a few of the facts about the diversity of American Jews which add to his apprehensions over this "successful acceptance" into American society.

Although the phrases "American Jewry" and "the American Jewish community" are widespread in use, there is a certain irony inherent in them. They seem to imply (by design, he might have added) that the Jews of the United States form an organized, coherent and unified corporate body, when this is in fact far from the truth . . . Some politicians (and Jewish bureaucrats, he might have added) claim that a Jewish bloc vote exists. American Jewish leaders, on the other hand, while publicly asserting the unity and power of the community, privately smile at such naivete and say "halevi" (were it only so!) (p. 220)

What Urofsky is really writing about is the fear of the professional managers, the bureaucrats of a maze of 200 national Jewish organizations (p. 221) on the one hand, and the political cowardice and ignorance about American Jews on the part of "our leaders", on the other hand. On the Jewish side, big stakes are involved. Salaries in some of those

managerial jobs run to the \$50,000-\$100,000 a year brackets. And the collective "take" handled by these suffering servants of the Lord "runs to the hundreds-of-millions a year. In years that were not among the best — 1946-1962 — "American Jews raised \$2.29 billion (emphasis in original) . . . of which more than half went to the United Jewish Appeal" (p. 227). So, there is gold in them thar' Israeli hills, a fair amount of which is panned out by the management of the infra-structure which conceives and orchestrates the annual "crises" and slogans which extract the tax-deductible dollars.

These significant sums are an unreliable index of conscientious commitment to the establishment. "No one dared not to give", Urofsky writes (p. 227) with only slightly more justification about those in the garment industry than in other economic pursuits or social stratifications. Perhaps only those in "the Jewish community" can appreciate the pressures exerted golf clubs, bridge games, car pools, businesses and professions. Urofsky lets at least one cat out of the bag on p. 451 when he says, "if the Middle East is about to enter a prolonged period of reduced tensions, what kind of ties will bind the two (Israel and American Jews) together? It is this question which concerns more and more Jewish leaders, both in Israel and in the United States." There are those cynical enough to surmise that uncertainty of the answer to this question is not one of the least important considerations accounting for the tough Israeli postures toward all peace formulas and the alacrity with which the bureaucratic managers of the American Zionist infra-structure play Charlie McCarthy to Israeli puppet masters.

So, there is a good deal of bravado in Urofsky's title, "We Are One". The lack of hard substance to his argumentation may explain why he required 450 theology, half-told history, psychology, philosophy, economics and military gobble-de-gook. Like King Canute he must entertain grave doubt that his vision of ethnic/nationalistic "Jewish peoplehood" can surmount the steady erosion by the relentless tide of American acculturation which threatens the Urofskys with the hope of some renewal of religious expression with diminishing over-lays of ethnicity. And so, "Bye Bye Zionism".

For those who are uptight about their ethnicity being threatened by

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## The Duelist — (Continued From Page 4)

psychological harm would be caused not so much from being called a coward, but from the view you take about such name calling.

If you take an irrational view about being called a coward you will be harmed. (You will harm yourself). If you take a rational view about it, you will not be harmed. (You will not harm yourself.) The point that cannot be stressed too strongly is that the choice of which view to take is completely up to the individual! In other words, it is completely up to the individual to choose whether or not to be psychologically harmed by being called a coward.

An irrational view would be the following. "Oh horrors, it's awful to be called a coward. This shouldn't be. It's unfair. It's horrible. I'll never be able to face people. They'll hate me. They'll despise me. And that will even be more awful. I'll have to keep hidden. But how will I even be able to face myself. I'll have to commit suicide. Thinking thoughts such as these will lead straight to psychological harm.

On the other hand, one could choose to take a more sane approach. One could choose to say something like: "It is true that I will have to pay a penalty for refusing to duel. When the duelist calls me a coward for refusing to duel with him, there will be several people who will refuse to have anything to do with me. This is unfortunate, regrettable and a pain in the ass. But life is full of just such occurrences. And even though I won't like it, I will be able to stand it. Actually, I could tolerate much worse, should it come to that. Limiting though these penalties may be, I have judged, in a calm rational mood, that it would be still worse to risk death by dueling. So I'll accept the penalties attached to refusing to duel. I won't like them, but I'll make the best of them."

It is, of course, true that it is no mean task to be able to really mean it, when one takes the rational approach. It is all too easy to merely mouth the rational words. And this is what Dr. Ellis' rational therapy is all about: through much practice, and a sort of Socratic dialogue with the therapist, really internalizing the rational view, and then learning how to apply it to all sorts of situations.

We have so far said that dueling is a legitimate activity that should be legalized; that the offer of a duel cannot hurt anyone (except in a psychological way); that the demand for a duel should be illegal, just as it now is. Let us conclude our case for legalized dueling by considering dueling from one more perspective, and then by dealing with a criticism of our case.

The other perspective is from the vantage point of the masochist. We have seen in several other chapters (for example, the case of the person who cries ("Fire!" in a crowded theatre) that all to often the rights of the masochist are completely ignored by those who pillory the heroic figures we deal with in this book. The case of dueling is no exception. As the law stands now, with dueling prohibited, the masochist is

completely stripped of his rights to engage in a duel. It is, of course, true that the motivation of the masochist in entering a duel is virtually the opposite of most people. Instead of aiming to wound or kill his protagonist, it is the aim of the masochist to be himself killed or wounded. This should make no difference, however, as far as the rights or wrongs of the case are concerned. If we but grant the right of suicide to the masochist, and it is hard to see how we cannot, then his right to be killed in a duel would seem to follow logically. The right to commit suicide, it will be remembered, follows directly from the self-ownership we each have in our own persons. Once the right of self-ownership granted, suicide, and thus dueling follow directly thereafter. In other words, the masochist, too, has, or rather, should have, the rights of all adults to do anything whatsoever, provided mutual consent is involved, and provided that the action concerns only those consenting adults involved.

The criticism of our case concerns the claim that any such masochistic action necessarily concerns "only one person". Suppose, it is criticized, that the masochist who duels is a father and husband who has a wife and children dependent upon him. In this case, it would be illegitimate for the person to duel. And since almost everyone has someone dependent upon him for support, then it would be wrong for almost everyone to duel (or unnecessarily risk his life). Therefore the prohibition of dueling can be justified.

There are several things wrong with this criticism. First of all, it flies in the face of the doctrine of self-ownership. If a person cannot risk his life, duel, or whatever, because there are people dependent upon him, then to that extent he is not the owner of himself. But if he is not the owner of himself, then those who are dependent of him are his owners, or slave masters, since they control him. So this criticism of dueling involves the advocacy of slavery.

Moreover, if the family is dependent upon the breadwinner, he is also dependent upon them. (How else can we explain his willingness to abide by their decisions as to what vocations to enter, and what risks to take.) But if he is dependent upon them, then for the same reasons that he has to follow their orders about risky behavior, they have to follow his views on risky behavior. In other words, if he can be construed as a slave of theirs, then they can with equal logic (or lack of logic) be construed as slaves of his.

And if they are truly slaves of his, then he can order them to allow him to do the risky thing they feared. They must obey this order of his to allow him to duel, otherwise they would be disobedient slaves, and that would never do. But by the same token, they could order him not to give them the order to allow him to duel. And so on. The point here is that it is an entirely illogical situation for one person to be both a slave and an owner of another person. And that this illogic is logically derivable from the criticism of voluntary dueling on the ground that the potential dueler has "responsibilities". □

## Zionism — (Continued From Page 4)

"successful acceptance" into American life, Urofsky offers a few, inexpensive highs. If it is your bag, on page 409 you can learn that in Israeli Hebrew, "Things taste better with Coke" is *Yoter tov im Koka Kola*. With a couple of floating Israeli pounds that may get you a "pause that refreshes" in Begin's Zion. Or, for less mundane ethnic edification, a collection of photographs following page 344 contains a picture of the proper Mr. Eban decked out in an American Indian blanket — but no headgear with feathers. The accompanying text conveys the startling information that the Israeli approximation of Churchill is being "inducted as an honorary chief of the Oklahoma Otoe Indian tribe and received the name of Na-hi-ra-sa-ha". The picture is funnier than it sounds here. In what may be intended as an example of cultural exchange, the same collection of photos contains one of Nelson Rockefeller wearing a *yarmulke* while attending a New York synagogue during a celebration of Israel's twenty-fifth anniversary. Of this stuff, no doubt, is Urofsky's dream of "Zionism . . . as the chief instrument of communication and mediation between Israel and American Jewry" made (p. 451).

Beyond such intellectual bric-a-brac and a pretentiously long, indiscriminating compilation of quotations from a roster of sources of greatly disparate degrees of wisdom and authority, it is difficult to

explain why a serious scholar bothered to write this ponderous book; or why a reputable publisher issued it. Today, public manifestations of Zionism are raising questions about the erroneously labeled "Jewish lobby". The expansionist, manifest-destiny and apartheid-like character of Zionism is more dramatically than ever confirming the fears of Arabs, particularly of the most victimised Palestinians whose unrequited claims on justice have, for more than thirty years, been the root cause of the Middle East's most stubborn problem. In this contemporary context it is tempting to say that Urofsky's melange of amorphous, private and very often unauthoritative ruminations about and apologies for Zionism is the wrong book, at the wrong time about the wrong subject. It reminded this reviewer of about 1001 nights with a Jewish Walter Cronkite pompously over-viewing the world through a moth-hole in Begin's skull cap instead of the ubiquitous CBS eye. Urofsky's sign-off is an old cliché, offered as another lesson in his crash course for teaching Hebrew. *Kol Yisrael arevim (sic) zeh lahzeh*, "All Jews are brothers, one to the other", he avers, instead of "That's the way it is". The knowledgeable reader is likely to say, "O yeah!" to the Urofsky version as the sophisticated viewer is likely to say "But how is it?" to the more familiar signature to banality.

\*This language is from the **Judgment** handed down by the Israeli Supreme Court in the case of Adolph Eichmann.

\*\*Noam Chomsky, Foreword To **The Arabs In Israel**, by Sabri Jiryis, New York and London, Monthly Review Press, 1976, p. x. □

# Prose in the Social Sciences: Problems and Remedies

by Justus D. Doenecke

(Mr. Doenecke is professor of history at New College of the University of South Florida. He is the author of *Not to the Swift: The Old Isolationists in the Cold War Era* and *The Literature of Isolationism*, and has written over twenty articles on various aspects of American diplomatic history. He also contributed to various political and theological journals)

Although we have more writing today in the social sciences than ever before, very little of it can be called good. That is, it is seldom that we read prose that—on its own merits—wants to keep us reading. Often we read to master specific material and argument, and if the writing is poor, the reading process is a painful one.

Yet scholarly writing need be neither dull nor pedantic. In history, one can readily look at the works of David Herbert Donald, Edmund Morgan, Carl Becker, and Robert R. Palmer. Similarly, in political thought, one can draw from Albert Jay Nock, Frank Chodorov, Milton Mayer, and Felix Morley.

The following suggestions are aimed at individuals who have mastered most basic skills but who see the need for genuine improvement. In other words, they know what a sentence is, can identify the parts of speech, and have learned how to form a paragraph. However, they still have trouble with focus, or find their prose too verbose, or cannot resist lapses into jargon. The following suggestions, then, are for individuals who know how to write but who want to write better. They should not be followed slavishly. However, they might well make the difference between good prose and mediocre writing.

**1—Write frequently.** One learns, as with any other skill, by doing. Ability can only come with practice, and even good writers can lose their skill through neglect. Many authors are at a blank page for hours hoping some inspiration will come. It seldom does. Better to get your material down on paper, even if you realize it is far from perfection, and then be able to work on your draft.

**2—Begin writing before all your facts are in.** Do not wait until all your information is collected before you start. The facts are never complete. Many books and thesis remain unwritten, and essays and term papers never finished, because the author insists upon waiting until all data is gathered. A good rule of thumb: write as soon as you find that your sources are beginning to repeat themselves, or in a sense when you cease being surprised. The sheer act of writing forces you to focus, to know better what to investigate (and what needs no more investigation), and to raise more intelligent questions of your material.

**3—Keep going.** Once you start writing, keep it up. Don't verify every fact if such verification forces you to change pace. Just write "look up" in margin and continue writing.

**4—Use pencil.** It is far better to write in pencil than with a ballpoint pen. The reason: a pencil is erasable, and that eraser should be used often. Any sort of ink involves various crossouts, arrows, and awkward marginal annotations. Pretty soon the page becomes unworkable.

**5—Note the three line rule for sentences.** If a sentence involves three typed lines without punctuation, there is an excellent chance that the sentence is carrying too much. In other words, more often than not, it means trouble for the reader as well as yourself. Very rarely do such sentences read smoothly. As Eric F. Goldman, a prominent historian and master of English prose, once said in seminar, "A sentence should be a beautiful thing."

**6—Avoid tired expressions.** Metaphors can often sound tired, and the last thing you want is tired prose. Delete such phrases as "toss hat in the ring," "hits the nail on the head," "food for thought," "sheds light on," "last but not least," and "gone but not forgotten."

**7—Avoid efforts to be either clever or "literary."** Style best comes when you try to write simple. Be yourself.

**8—Be alert to jargon.** In some of the social sciences, it is considered

"in" to speak in the most convoluted way possible. Take, for example, a sentence that reads: "The process of representational guidance is essentially the same as response learning under conditions where a person behaviorally follows an externally depicted pattern or is directed through a series of instructions to enact novel response sequences." It sounds horrible to you, but even some textbooks have sentences that read little better.

Some words are particularly susceptible to jargonlike prose. Take such words as 'basic, concept, context, parameter, and motivation. The same goes for such advertiser's verbs as: accent, climax, contact, finalize, highlight, personalize, pinpoint, and slant. Then there are the journalese words, such as: approach (noun), crucial, drastic, bitter, exciting, factors, fascinating, key (adjective), meaningful, picture (situation), and stimulating.

**9—Show restraint.** Such words as marvelous, fantastic, fabulous, and terrific sound worn-out almost immediately.

**10—Avoid vague intensifiers.** Words like very, actually, really and awfully are not precise. Nor are such timid qualifiers as a bit, rather, and somewhat.

**11—Know what words mean.** There is a difference between disinterested and uninterested, imply and infer, affect and effect, fewer and less, and ambiguous and ambivalent. The same goes for like and as, media and medium, militate and mitigate, regardless and irrespective, between and among.

**12—Avoid "Tom Swifities."** There are unnecessary adverbs that can clog up a sentence. "Yes," he said, "hurriedly." "Certainly," she replied, "breathlessly." "He knocked on the door, expectantly." Leave such writing to the potboiler, be the author Horatio Alger or Mickey Spillane.

**13—Avoid pretentious words.** Some neo-conservatives attempt to show their erudition by using such terms "immanentization of the eschaton," or "the advent of teleological gnosticism." They end up confusing us all. When a simple word will work, use it.

**14—Vary your words as much as possible.** Rather than use the noun "Carter" continually, try the president, the chief executive, the nation's leader. The same holds true for verbs. So often in the social sciences, one finds "he said that" used repeatedly before a quotation.

**15—Use as few words as possible.** Don't be afraid to cut, cut some more, and cut again. You might find the process painful, but it is usually necessary. There are few essays—indeed few sentences—that cannot stand some trimming. Make your motto: "simple and direct." The amateur avoids cutting, thinking each word priceless. Professionals-in-the-making can't afford such luxury.

**16—Vary your sentence structure.** Too often we have one simple sentence after another. It is the Dick-and-Jane readers writ large. "Spot is a fine dog. He has not sired many pups. His owner is disappointed." Make your paragraph readable by using different kinds of sentences with it. Hence, you need skillful use of such words as although, however, but, therefore, and nevertheless. Of course, don't have every sentence beginning with a preposition and keep your "however" and "moreover" to a minimum. Avoid beginning sentences with "however". A short sentence sometimes can make a world of difference in attracting reader attention. Try it out.

**17—Be alert to passive voice.** Compare the two sentences: "Edinburgh was captured by Cromwell"; "Cromwell captured Edinburgh." The first sentence is weak and roundabout, the second strong, straightforward, and clear. Make your motto here: "concrete nouns and active verbs." There is only one time when passive voice is justified. It is when we don't know who performed an act. "The science lab was burned"; "A million dollars was donated". (By the same token, avoid infinitives—e.g. to be, to show, to perform, as much as possible).

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# Deflation: The Time Is Now

by Robert L. Formaini  
Cato Institute

One of the great myths of our time is that inflation is good for an economy and deflation is bad. The bias of Keynesian theories points to inflation as a cure for "stagnation" and "recession". Unemployment is allegedly alleviated through a continuing inflationary policy. Virtually all businessmen, bankers, economists and government officials are united in their fear of deflations. Deflation, as a consequence of depression, has been held to be a primary cause of downward turns in economic activity. People will not buy or sell, the argument goes, if next month prices will be lower. Interest rates will turn negative and social chaos will become the order of the day during deflationary periods.

All of this is, of course, nonsense. Empirically, it can be shown that the American economy functioned quite well during long periods of gradual price deflation. Indeed, the free market tends to produce just such results as capital accumulates, production expands, and product quality improves over time. There is no justification for tampering with the money supply or tax rates in the vain hope of achieving some such shibboleth or "stability". Economic stability is everywhere the policy of those afraid of the results that occur on free markets. "Stability" is the rallying cry of people who wish to preserve the "status quo", and think they can somehow legislate certainty in an uncertain world. The past few decades are a monument to the irrationality of these arguments and policies. Ever increasing inflation rates, along with increasing unemployment and economic dislocation, have put an end to the alleged validity the arguments of the "stabilizers" once commanded.

It is due to the public awakening on this issue that a series of proposals are being considered to deal with the failures of American economic policy making. These proposals are ingenious, ranging from a new constitutional convention to assist the federal budgetary process, and calls for a "Balanced Budget Amendment", to clever statistical proposals that tie the federal budget to a constant percentage of the Gross

National Product. All of these proposals will fail in their attempt to chain the growing omnivorous bureaucracy. Why? Because either they are open-ended in their plans, as the balanced budget idea is, in that it sees a tax increase to balance the budget as perfectly acceptable, or because they tie their goals to government-manipulated statistics and hope that the state will be honest in compiling them. None of these proposals attacks the root cause of inflation, namely, the vested interest of central governments to inflate.

There is no longer any debate concerning this point. Both theoretical and empirical results show unmistakably that governments always inflate the currency given the existing structure of taxation and central banking. In order to deal with the problem of inflation and unemployment, it is necessary to radically alter the incentives with which the government operates. Given that no simple solution can be imposed overnight, i.e., that the state is not going to be dismantled by congress or any president elected in the foreseeable future, what can be done to alter the present incentive system?

If tax revenues depend on the size of the GNP, then two things necessarily follow: first, the state will inflate the dollar amount of the GNP as much as possible to obtain more revenue; it already does this indirectly, as people are pushed into higher and higher tax brackets through inflation. Second, as mentioned earlier, statistics on GNP compiled by the state will be worth as much as their money. The incentive to lie is just too great. And who will argue with the data? Who else has the vast, compulsory data collection apparatus the government has?

A simple, and radical, solution to this problem is available: freeze the nominal dollar amount of expenditures by the government at the 1980 level! It now becomes the interest of the government to **increase** the value of its money, since in real terms that is the only way it can spend more. Under this deflationary system, as time goes on, the comparative size of government will decline, and eventually it will cease to be a drag on economic production and wealth creation. Even if the real value of the government's nominal income (taxes) increases, it cannot increase faster than the wealth in private hands.

Thus, the public interest is automatically served by the state's attempts to increase the real value of its tax resources. If the government, on the other hand, refuses to stop inflating, then its real share of national wealth will **decrease** as it devalues its currency. How the state handles its now finite resources should be a matter of little concern to citizens, provided no new infringements on individual rights occur. If it freezes hiring, or lowers salaries, or cuts waste . . . all to the good. If it doesn't, then it will be in violation of the law, and those bureaucrats who spend more than is budgeted will be prosecuted. It is here that the will of the tax-payers must be irrefragable. Once the law or amendment is passed, bureaucrats who break their budgets are thieves who should be tried and incarcerated and/or fined.

The federal government, being the engine of inflation, is the prime target of this proposed policy, but the state and local governments can be held to their 1980 budgets as well. Such a policy would prevent "shifting" of expenditures and tax burdens. Yet another advantage of the proposal is that it can be implemented at any time in the future, regardless of economic conditions, since it will improve any economic situation we happen to be experiencing.

It is idle to argue that it will be unlikely for government to prosecute violators, for if that is the case, then why bother with such things as balanced budget amendments? We must assume that laws mean something. If they cease to mean anything, then all democratic attempts to control government are foredoomed, and armed rebellion is the only answer. That may come to pass, but until such a time arrives, a much simpler solution would be merely to implement this one modest reform. No bureaucrat need be fired immediately, nor any program cut off at once. The change will be gradual and beneficial to all. Deflation is not something that can be legislated away; it is coming, even as these lines are written. We need to put deflation to work for us before inflation destroys our entire economy by means of a destructive hyper-inflation. □

## Prose in Social Studies —

(Continued From Page 6)

18—**Don't confuse the tools of punctuation.** A semicolon balances two independent clauses (e.g. "I never understood what he saw in her; she never understood what he saw in me"). It is also used to distinguish items that contain internal commas (e.g. "Three isolationists participated: Frederick J. Libby, the Quaker pacifist leader; Robert A. Taft, the Ohio senator; and Gareth Garrett, the publisher"). A colon is a kind of trumpet blast for what follows. It introduces a list, series, quotation, and statement (e.g. "The train makes three stops: Trenton, Princeton, and New Brunswick"; "Peterson had this warning: NATO meant war").

19—**Master the dash.** Dashes should be used sparingly, but they can be a lifesaver. They are best used within a subordinate clause. ("Jonathan Swift, believing—as we know—in toleration, made his Tale of a Tub an impassioned indictment of bigotry.")

20—**Avoid frequent underlining.** Let yourself communicate emphasis through your prose, not through often pointless markings.

21—**Note the thirty line rule for paragraphs.** If a paragraph is over thirty lines, you are likely to be in trouble. See if any typewritten, double spaced paragraph is over a page long. If it is, try to rework it. It might even be wise to have a one line paragraph occasionally.

22—**Avoid too many direct quotations.** Many undergraduates, and many professors as well, quote too much. Sometimes an essay or chapter is just one quotation after another, strung out—as one said of President Harding's prose—like a series of wet sponges in search of an idea. Far more often than not, your own words are better—or at least just as good. Indent block quotations for all direct references that comprise three sentences or more. And use quotations only when the wording is particularly colorful or striking, or when you are going to comment directly on terms and phrases within the block quotation.

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## Prose in Social Studies —

(Continued From Page 7)

23—**Read your work out loud to yourself, going quite slowly.** This technique is one of the best possible for getting a good sense of pace and rhythm. It is also one good way of proofreading and few of us proofread sufficiently. Also be alert to good poetry, and to such prose as found in the King James Version of the Bible, Chaucer's preface to the *Canterbury Tales*, or Lord Jim.

24—**Have friends read your work.** This is the greatest favor one can do for another. Others can catch redundancies you miss. They can tell you when something is unclear. And, by the way, if anyone is forced to reread a sentence more than once to follow your meaning, there is often something wrong with your writing. Painstaking writing for you often means painless reading for your audience.

25—**Set plenty of time aside.** You write best when you are neither worried nor interrupted. For some, the morning is the best time. Others work best late at night. Be able to work alone and aim for the same hours each day. Try to get a routine established. Have a pocket dictionary and thesaurus next to you at all times.

26—**"What is it about?"** This is the question you've got to keep asking. Be it a book or thesis, an article or term paper, a chapter or a paragraph, keep asking yourself about the point of it all. If material does not focus on your point, save it for elsewhere in your project or keep it for another project.

27—**Tips for organizing a book or thesis.** When a young student was working on a major manuscript, he was aided by a prominent historian of American business, Forrest McDonald. McDonald's advice can be used for all students working on a book or thesis:

Begin by numbering, in the margin, each paragraph. Then make a topic sentence for each paragraph, numbering each sentence to correspond to the paragraph number. The topic sentence should summarize in one brief sentence the essence of that paragraph. The topic sentence should be inferred from the paragraph, and should indicate what the paragraph actually says, not what you intended for it to say.

The topic sentence outline tells you just what you have said in the chapter. You have a small outline of the chapter in two or three pages.

The next phase of the operation is to determine whether you have said what you intended to say, whether you have done so in a logical, coherent fashion, and so on. The analysis begins with a question: What is this chapter about? Answering it is not always easy; you should wrestle with it until you can state the meaning of the chapter in one sentence.

Then ask yourself, well, what about it? What do I have to say about it? Try to expand on this, but in no more than two or three sentences. When you have completed the task, you are ready to proceed with the next

step, which is gathering the paragraphs into groups. You will find that a few deal with this aspect of the subject, a few with another, and so on. You will also find that some don't have anything to do with the subject as you have defined it. **Take those out;** they may belong in footnotes, they may belong in another chapter, they may belong in another book or article; they don't belong in the chapter you are working on.

Now, of those that do belong, you have grouped them in bunches; these bunches form the sections (sort of super-paragraphs) that constitute the chapter. What remains is to make sure that they are internally in order, inside sections, and that the sections follow properly from one another.

In determining the proper arrangement of paragraphs and sections, several principles will guide you. The first is to bear in mind at all times your formulation of what the chapter is about, and the points you want to make about the subject. Otherwise, at least in writing history, the rule of thumb is a combination of the logical with the chronological. In general, the chronological is preferable except when that approach violates logic; when you resort to logical sequence rather than chronological, tip the reader off that it was necessary at that point to jump ahead or move back in time. Then resume chronology as soon as it is convenient to do so.

Next, once you have worked out the proper order (still working with topic sentences), you note the sequence by renumbering paragraphs to correspond to your new, more logical outline. Now you employ scissors and scotch tape to rearrange the actual copy to accord with the revised outline.

Finally, you edit the scissors-and-paste job. This entails (1) writing all necessary introductions to chapters and sections (2) writing or rewriting openers of paragraphs and sections, to make the transitions work; and (3) carefully checking the interior of each paragraph to make sure it develops the single point of the paragraph and nothing else. (If you have any questions, see the material on paragraphs in William Strunk and E. B. White, Jr., *The Element of Style*). When that is done, you have a chapter. Each succeeding chapter, of course, must pick up where the last one left off, providing appropriate bridges between them; each should also open with a set of general observations that set the sentence to each paragraph normally states the general proposition developed in the paragraphs as a whole). Each chapter should end with some similar kind of general conclusions—not woodenly stated as conclusions, as in a doctoral dissertation, but as general propositions. The conclusions too should set the reader up for the next chapter.

The adoption of any single rule, or any combination, does not guarantee good writing. Following certain priorities, however, can help you considerably. Remember that few writers are born gifted. For most, the process of writing involves hard work. Often what appears effortless to read is the product of seven, eight—perhaps ten drafts. The main thing now is to be alert to obvious errors, and to be able to correct them yourself. If you can do this, you have taken the first step towards literacy.

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# Libertarian Forum

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## The Menace of Opportunism

### 1. The Growing Threat

Every ideological movement, as it grows in number and influence, is subject to the increasing temptations of opportunism, that is, to slur over, compromise, and eventually betray basic principle on behalf of a quest for short-run advantage. By definition, ideological movements are radical, divergent from and clashing with the mainstream of opinion. So, as the movement grows, temptations accelerate to fuzz over principle on behalf of quick acceptance by the mainstream: in the form of money, respectability, votes, or power. The only way to guard against such temptation is to have an increasing and ever-vigilant *cadre* of knowledgeable, dedicated, and principled militants to guard over the movement and to blow the whistle long and hard over any signs of opportunist sellout. And the rest of the movement must heed that whistle. For opportunism is like a cancer; once it begins, it feeds on itself, and eventually principle is lost — even supposed short-run advantage is lost — and the movement sinks into innocuousness and sterility.

Sellout does not occur all at once. In our world, the Devil does not take you to the mountaintop and offer you the kingdoms of this world in exchange for your soul. Perhaps it happened to Jesus, but not to the rest of us. Nobody comes and offers you \$10 million to betray your principles. Sellout comes as a gradual corruption of the soul, in a series of small but important steps that lead to total betrayal.

Opportunism is usually "right-wing", since respectability, votes, and money are generally in a conservative direction; but it can also be "left-wing", for these temptations can exist there as well. In the final analysis, it doesn't really matter whether the opportunist betrayal is right-wing, left-wing, or even both at the same time. In any case, the result is the same: the loss of the whole point of the libertarian enterprise — the libertarian principles themselves. Jefferson's famous phrase, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty", does not apply merely to government; it applies just as critically to libertarian movements themselves.

And so now that the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party are at the peak of their strength and influence in this century, and now that the LP is getting set to launch what promises to be its most important campaign to date, we can expect the danger of opportunism to be that much greater. And so it is. Already, signs are multiplying of a growing opportunism in both the movement and the Party. Only time will tell whether this mounting trend can and will be stopped.

### 2. The LR-SLS Clique

Most conspicuous has been the hankering after the support of campus leftists by the Students for a Libertarian Society and its close allies of *Libertarian Review* — all of whom occupy the same offices at 1620 Montgomery St., San Francisco. In particular, the LR-SLS clique has advocated the abolition of nuclear power *per se*, objecting violently to the libertarian doctrine of privatizing and deregulating nuclear power and then allowing it to take its chances on a free market. All this has fortunately been aired in many organs of the libertarian movement, and the problem constituted the entire July-August, special convention, issue of the *Lib. Forum*. SLS devoted all of its energies at the LP convention to trying to change the LP nuclear power plank to its desires. A titanic struggle ensued,

with the anti-anti-nuclear power forces, led by Bill Evers and myself, finally trouncing the SLS clique after an exhausting battle, first on the platform committee and then on the floor.

A hallmark of opportunists is their desire to suppress open disagreement from their views, to win their points by bureaucratic maneuvering rather than by honest discussion and open debate. The SLS and its allied institutions have repeatedly used the power of firing and threats of firing to keep dissident SLSers and others in line. All of this, plus the latest on the nuclear power issue, can be found in the superb coverage of the LP convention in the December issue of *Libertarian Vanguard* (Available for 25¢ from *Libertarian Vanguard*, 3570-17th St., San Francisco, CA 94114.) Only in the *Vanguard*, the organ of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus, does one find realistic coverage of the convention, in contrast to the puffery and flackery in all the other libertarian publications. Particularly recommended are the excellent articles by Justin Raimondo, "An Open Letter to the Movement", an exposure of the long-term maneuvering in SLS and allied institutions; the *Vanguard* editor's "Convention '79"; and two articles on the nuclear power issue, Eric O'Keefe's "Privatize Nuclear Power," and "Political Report" by an anonymous Member of the LPRC Central Committee. One trenchant paragraph of the Member of the Central Committee's article is particularly relevant to our broader concerns about opportunism:

"Mueller and Lipson (of SLS) and their compatriots are clambering on the bandwagon of an ongoing mass movement (the student Left) while jettisoning as so much excess baggage the distinctive libertarian view on nuclear power.

Moreover, their . . . breed of opportunism has lately flourished on other issues, such as the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), in some libertarian circles. This variety of opportunism might be called "over-intellectualized me-tooism." We all know what me-tooism means when we talk about the Republican party. It means that the Republicans say that they too accept the New Deal, but unlike the Democrats can deliver New Deal programs more efficiently, using business-like methods. Now, libertarians don't have the kind of veterans of political life and government work who could claim to deliver "public services" more efficiently. But there are in libertarian ranks some persons of intellectual dexterity. The ploy that me-too opportunists wish to try is this: Take the unlibertarian goals of the left or the right that have some mass appeal and hitch these goals to libertarian sounding rationales. In other words, we libertarians may not have votes to deliver, may not have promises of government effectiveness to deliver, but boy can we offer some convoluted reasoning. In pursuit of the footsoldiers of the anti-nuclear movement, these opportunists are eager to turn libertarian principle into a pale imitation of those held by the counter-cultural left . . . Even though the opportunists' tortuous justifications are unlikely to make any impact on the anti-nuclear movement, opportunism as a habit of mind threatens

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## Opportunism — (Continued From Page 1)

to corrupt the life of the libertarian movement. Libertarians who stand by commitment to principle must expose these opportunist ventures and prevent any further inroads on the integrity of our movement . . ."

Undaunted by their defeat at the convention, the LR-SLS clique have continued and intensified their left-opportunism, virtually turning recent issues of *LR* into virtual organs for the dissemination of the views of the "libertarian" anti-nuclear scientist John Gofman. In the current (December) issue, *LR* goes so far as to flirt with the infamous boycott of Nestle for presuming to sell milk formula to Third World mothers who persist in mixing that formula with contaminated water. So what next, *LR*? There are three issues that the campus left has been pounding the drums on for the last several years: banning nuclear power, boycotting Nestle, and boycotting private investments in South Africa. When are you going to adopt the last plank? And while you're at it, why not try to find a "libertarian" rationale for coming out in favor of rent control; surely that would capture the urban masses, and convert them to libertarianism. Right?

### 3. The Situation in the Libertarian Party

The situation in the LP is more complex than the simple opportunist course on which the LR-SLS clique have embarked. Superficially, things seem fine; the platform, in particular, has become stronger and more radical with each passing convention. But this seeming strength masks important and growing structural weaknesses.

The major structural weakness in the LP is that its members are largely inattentive and uncaring about ideological concerns. The only time that ideological and political issues get discussed is two days every two years, during platform committee battles at national conventions. The rest of the time there is silence. There are no institutions in the LP whose job it is to educate party members on ideology or to promote discussion of the issues of the day. The *LP News* and state party newsletters are limited to news of the party and optimistic puffery — important services, to be sure, but then the vital matter of internal party education is lacking. (And those few state newsletters which do promote discussion confine themselves to unproductive personal bickering rather than intelligent discussion of the issues.) State and local parties do not meet regularly, and when they do, ideological and political issues are rarely discussed.

For Democratic or Republican parties to avoid discussion and hammering out of political viewpoints is perfectly legitimate; for they are not ideological parties, but simply cynical organizations for the obtaining and retaining of public office. But the Libertarian Party is an *ideological* party, a party devoted not to the mere attainment of office but to the spread of deeply held political principles and the rollback of the State on behalf of individual liberty. But what kind of an ideological party is it that shows little interest in subtle but important ideological or political issues? And indeed even exhibits irritation at the very mention of ideological problems? That is the kind of party which, unless the situation is remedied, is doomed to rapid and certain extinction as a force for ideological principle.

This situation is necessarily getting worse in proportion as the LP grows in money, votes, influence, and media attention. For if its *cadre* — its principled and knowledgeable activists — is not fostered, nourished, and intensified, then that cadre will inevitably be spread more and more thin in proportion to the growing number of LP members, voters, and sympathizers. In short, as the number of voters and members grows, and the cadre get weaker and certainly not larger, the vital cadre/member or cadre/voter ratio will inevitably fall — which will spell disaster for the LP as an instrument for the achievement of liberty.

So, as the LP grows, it becomes ever more vital to strengthen and increase the cadre of dedicated, knowledgeable libertarians. And yet, this is not happening at all; for the LP has shown no interest in this vital problem. It seems to think that money, ballot drives, and media hype will suffice for the victory of liberty. But that is the path to oblivion.

More specifically: the menace of opportunism comes now from two sources — external and internal. If the party grows substantially to become, as we have been promised, the third major party in the 1980 elections, then we can expect an influx of charlatans and political opportunists who will see a good thing and try to latch on to it to achieve office. Either assorted individuals and their followers will be joining the party, or organized political groups will join us specifically to take us over. Right now, there are

no restrictions on LP membership except the payment of nominal dues and the signing of a general non-initiation-of force pledge. And don't forget: insofar as we achieve permanent ballot status in the various states, we will not be able to restrict party membership at all. *Anyone* will be able to register as an LP member and to vote in the LP primary.

In order to combat such inevitable influxes we must promote the development of cadre — of a self-conscious, knowledgeable group of libertarians who know, not only that A is A and that self-esteem is good and that we are against aggression, but also know about the nuances of our ideology and can apply it in detail to the vital political issues of our day. And yet there are no LP institutions attempting to generate cadre and no interest in doing so. In fact, the cadre-building approach has been rejected under the smear term "Leninist."

In addition to the menace of external opportunism, there is also the inevitable temptation to internal opportunism — to sellout from within our own ranks. Already, this temptation has appeared, and has begun to be taken up. The temptations is to hide, blur over, and compromise on principle in order to attain: media respectability, votes, business support, support on campus, or whatever.

The first step of this dry rot has already taken hold — facilitated, as we have said, by the lack of cadre-building institutions in the LP. This step has been structural — the conscious decision to play down and bury ideological differences and, instead, to seize the levers of power within the party. There are two basic ways to push one's particular ideological or political "line" within a party. One is by open airing of differences, and, through persuasion and conviction, to build up a cadre of people within the party dedicated to one's own viewpoint. The other is to operate in secret and behind closed doors, to paper over differences, and to build up a bureaucratic political machine dedicated to the achievement and perpetuation of one's political power. The victory, then, comes not from persuasion and argument, but by bureaucratic maneuvering and manipulation, and by opportunistic power ploys. And if the first method, that of cadre-building, can be smeared as "Leninist," then the second may far more justly be termed "Stalinist." This Stalinist method of bureaucratic maneuvering is the built-in method of opportunism, and is the first basic step toward later sellouts of fundamental principle.

Speaking of Stalin, we should all heed the lessons of the fall of Nikolai Bukharin, Lenin's favorite theoretician in the Bolshevik Party, and the head of its quasi-free-market wing in the 1920's. There were three major forces in the Bolshevik party after Lenin's death in the mid-1920's. Bukharin was the leader of the Right, who wanted to push forward to a quasi-free market economy something like present-day Yugoslavia. Leader of the Left was Trotsky, who wanted to press on from the mixed economy of the 1920's to full collectivization and central planning. And in the Center there was Stalin. In contrast to the brilliant theoreticians on his Left and Right, Stalin was little interested in ideology or principle but highly competent in the operation of bureaucratic power. Stalin at first sided with Bukharin; then, after Stalin knocked off Trotsky, he was able to cement his dictatorial rule and liquidate Bukharin. Bukharin was much better liked than Stalin even in the Communist Party and certainly in the country; why did he lose out? Basically, for two reasons: First, he was seduced by the view that all disputes must be ironed out behind closed doors, amongst the leadership of the Bolshevik party. Therefore, he failed to take issues to the public, where he could have won, and played the game on Stalin's own turf — the bureaucrats in the top layers of the party, who considered Bukharin a brilliant but impractical theorist. Secondly, Bukharin failed to realize that just because Stalin was apparently closer to him in ideology than to Trotsky did not stop Stalin from being the main danger. Bukharin should have formed a Left-Right coalition against the main menace, Stalin, but he failed to do so until it was too late. What he failed to see is that sometimes the main danger is not a person of opposing ideology but those who care little or nothing for ideology at all, and who simply wish to seize the levers of power.

Libertarians should heed the vital lessons of the fate of Bukharin. We do not have any Gulags in our society or party, but the lesson of the main menace of the rise of bureaucratic opportunism within an ideological party cannot be absorbed too strongly.

### 4. The Radical Caucus — the Last Best Hope

None of these gloomy but realistic considerations negates my well-known and repeated speeches and writings on The Case for Optimism over the last

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## Opportunism — (Continued From Page 2)

few years. The case for optimism still exists, but it is, as always, confined to two parts: the objective conditions of our society, which provide us the best opportunity in a century for the rapid triumph of liberty; and the growth in influence and media attention of the Libertarian Party and of libertarian ideas and institutions offering us a way out of our chronic crisis of statism. But one point has always been left out — one vital hole in the case for optimism, in the hopes that that hole would soon close. But instead, this flaw has been widening rapidly — namely, the continuing sharp decline in the relative strength of libertarian cadre, both in the movement in general and especially in the LP. Despite the growth in money and influence and votes, it is doubtful whether actual cadre has grown in numbers at all over the past several years. Cadre has been stretched thinner and thinner, and, unless this situation is rectified soon, the result will be the collapse of libertarian principle in the midst of apparent success: a famine of libertarianism itself amidst the growing hoopla of prosperity, votes, and media hype.

Is there a way out? The only real hope is the fledgling Radical Caucus of the L. P. For the Radical Caucus is the *only* institution in the Libertarian Party dedicated to development and nourishing of cadre, to the strengthening of and the continued, never-ending stress on consistent principle. The Radical Caucus is brand-new, enjoying virtually no funding, and struggling to get organized on a nationwide basis. But even in this early formative stage, the Radical Caucus has held a successful and well-attended meeting at the LP Convention, and, largely through the truly heroic efforts of its editor, Justin Raimondo, has managed to put out the monthly *Libertarian Vanguard*, as an excellent and indispensable vehicle of analysis, education, and organization. The Radical Caucus is the only institution developing cadre, and it provides by far the best, if not the only, hope of stopping opportunism in its tracks before it has a chance to triumph completely.

The Radical Caucus has been subjected to a considerable amount of criticism, largely because of the flamboyance of much of its style and rhetoric. There is, for example, the title: isn't it needlessly provocative? There is a sense in which the critics of the title are correct. For perhaps a better title would be "The Libertarian Caucus" of the Libertarian Party. But apart from sowing confusion everywhere, such a title would, of course, be even more provocative than the current one. But it would be accurate: for the Radical Caucus is nothing if not a determined and ongoing call for the centrality of ideology and libertarian principle in the Libertarian Party — a central concern which is in danger of being lost in the glitter of more glamorous if ephemeral baubles and tinsels. And besides: the term "Radical" is particularly apt, for "radical" means at the root, and the RC sticks always to the root of all libertarian concerns: concentration on basic principle and its triumph in the world.

There have also been passing criticisms of the sometimes flamboyant rhetoric of *Libertarian Vanguard*. Well, there is room for sobriety and also for flamboyance, and in a well-functioning movement there will be plenty of both. These are minor matters, and undue stress on matters of style and rhetoric will eventually come to be seen as cloaks for real though hidden differences in substance; that is, for substantive disagreements with a principled, militant libertarian position. The important point is that Justin Raimondo deserves to be honored rather than denounced. In addition to launching the *Vanguard* and keeping it functioning and challenging and of high quality in the face of great odds, he has also always been intelligent, principled, and honest. After a lifetime in the libertarian movement, I have found these qualities to be pearls without price.

In a profound sense, then, the health of the Libertarian Party is a direct function of the status within it of the Radical Caucus. The winning Clark-Koch ticket was supported by the RC as clearly superior to its alternatives. Fine, but if we look at the directorate of the Clark campaign, we see a different and rather disquieting story. The campaign directorate consists of four people: Raymond Cunningham, ex-of San Francisco now of Connecticut, as campaign director; Edward H. Crane III, on leave from the presidency of the San Francisco-based Cato Institute, as "external" director, in charge of media and public relations; Chris Hocker, ex of the San Francisco area and ex-national director, as "internal" director, in charge of LP member activities; and an unnamed finance director, in charge of fund-raising. While Cunningham is nominally in charge, he is only part-time while residing and continuing to work in Connecticut, while Crane,

Hocker, and the fund-raiser will be full-time in Washington, and therefore in *operating* charge of the campaign. Over these four is a Steering Committee of eight, who themselves of course are not full-time and who meet periodically in different cities to set overall policy. These eight are Cunningham, Crane, and Hocker; Raymond's wife Carol, formerly co-chairman with her husband of the Clark for President Committee; Dallas Cooley, M. D., of Virginia, national treasurer of the LP and head of the Libertarian Health Association; Howie Rich of New York, in charge of ballot drives and floor manager for the Clark forces at the Los Angeles convention; Dave Nolan of Colorado, founder of the LP and first national chairman; and John Hilberg of Boston and New Hampshire. Of the eight, seven were Clark supporters before Los Angeles, with Hilberg being the sole Hunscher supporter; four hail from the same wing of the LP in San Francisco.

The important point here is that of the four directors and eight Steering Committee members, there is not a single member of the Radical Caucus. Originally, Clark himself and his managers had promised that Bill Evers, member of the Central Committee of the RC, would be on the Steering Committee; but, very shortly afterward, upon strong pressure from Ed Crane, Evers was bumped from the Steering Committee.

When we consider the national officers and the national committee of the LP, we also find not a single national officer or at-large member from the Radical Caucus; and of the members of the NatCom elected from the regions, there is only one RC member: Eric O'Keefe from Wisconsin. RC representation on the NatCom has been reduced from two to one.

This does not mean that all non-members of the RC constitute a monolith. Indeed, the NatCom is divided approximately 50-50 between the Crane-Koch "pro-professional" forces, and the Hunscher-Emerling "decentralists." More important during 1980 and perhaps for the future, is the fact that the Clark campaign structure is almost exclusively dominated by the Crane forces. But most important is that the RC has virtually no leading role in either the Clark campaign or the party structure.

But there is a cheery side of the coin in all this. Namely, that the RC is in an especially independent position; while backing the ticket, we are peculiarly free to call the shots as we see them, to warn, to point to trends, and, above all, to rally the party and the movement against the menace of opportunism, a menace which may well take concrete and disturbing form in the months and years ahead.

Above all, the important task ahead is to build the Radical Caucus, to make it as strong, as knowledgeable, and as extensive as we can. The real future of libertarianism as a political movement is wrapped up in the fate of the RC. As far as the campaign goes, we must realize, then, that the campaign is in *their* (non-RC) hands. They have their desired ticket and their desired control, a control which we have been assured is the leadership of the Best and the Brightest in the Libertarian Party, of the most competent, of the real professionals. OK. So it is now up to *them* to deliver on their promises to the rank-and-file of the Libertarian Party and to the libertarian movement. In essence, that promise is two-fold: to bring us a campaign that is (1) dedicated to and fully consistent with libertarian principle; and (2) will reap us several million votes in 1980, moving us to the status of third major party. That is what we voted for in L. A. and what we have been promised: a high-flying, genuinely libertarian campaign that will reap, let us say, 3-5 million votes.

I hope they do it. But if the campaign falls short in *either* department, then, after the 1980 election, there will have to be a mighty and thoroughgoing reassessment, in the immortal phrase of John Foster Dulles, an "agonizing reappraisal" of the Libertarian Party and where it has gone. Let us hope that such a reappraisal will not be necessary.

### Appendix: RC Votes for National Committee

The at-large members of the NatCom were elected under the ludicrous and chaotic "cumulative voting" system, in which each delegate can vote for seven choices for the seven at-large seats, or can cast all seven votes for one person, or any combination in between. In short, each delegate could cast seven votes in any combination among the eighteen people running for the spot. *Libertarian Forum* has obtained the detailed, state-by-state voting for NatCom members, and from this we have constructed a tabulation of the total percentage of each state's votes that went to the three candidates from the Radical Caucus (Evers, Raimondo, and Rothbard). In this way,

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# Law in Anarchy

Charles B. Olson

The libertarian movement upholds human rights, individual rights, as absolute. Libertarians believe that the individual has the right to live his (his/her) life and use his property as he chooses so long as he does not initiate the use or the threat of physical force against the person or property of anyone else. Law deals with the conflicts between men which arise when the above nonaggression axiom is violated.

Libertarians argue a great deal about how court/protection agencies (henceforth "courts") would operate in an anarchy: who chooses the court, what if anything determines the law, how many times can a person appeal, does a person have a right to trial by jury, etc. . . . Libertarian analyses in a wide variety of disciplines are characterized by methodological individualism: the analysis centers on the individual—his rights, his goals, his desires. The following analysis of law and justice centers on the victim and is based on a much ignored human right.

Not only does the individual have the right to life, liberty, property, the pursuit of happiness, and the right to defend himself and his justly-acquired property; he also has the right to bring about justice when any of his above rights have been violated. He is not required to have witnesses or to prove his case to anyone besides himself. If his rights have been violated, and he uses force against the aggressor to bring justice, then his actions are legitimate. Clearly if his actions are in excess of what is justified by the original crime, then he has not acted according to justice and has aggressed and should himself be brought to justice.

## Justice

What is justice? Justice is an absolute. Judges, courts and scholars discuss justice, argue about it in specific cases, and try to approximate it in the real world; however there is only one justice: justice is what is fair. To go beyond this, one must distinguish between two very different types of crime: restitutable crime and nonrestitutable crime.

In restitutable crime, justice is restitution: restoring the victim to his former status. For example, in the case of theft, restitution is not only returning the stolen property, but also compensating the victim for the time and the cost of obtaining justice and for the mental anguish caused by the crime. Due to the "mental anguish" involved, restitution is not a simple matter. As a general approximation of restitution, Walter Block's rule of "two teeth for a tooth" works well. For example, if a man steals \$1000, he must return the original \$1000 plus an additional \$1000. Note the desirable trait of proportionality; note also that this rule is meant to approximate restitution and thus can and should be overruled for various specific cases.

Justice in the case of nonrestitutable crime is very difficult. It is proposed that the victim can rightly penalize the aggressor by an amount equivalent to the aggression which he has suffered. Thus in the case of murder, the victim can rightly demand (presumably in his will) that the murderer be executed. Similarly the victim of torture (of which rape is a special case) can demand that the torturer be tortured. Note that an externally equivalent amount of bodily harm or torture inflicted on the aggressor would not be equivalent to what was suffered by the victim. For while the aggressor is suffering punishment in return for a crime, the victim suffered an injustice, which he did not deserve. So once again as an approximation of justice, the "two teeth for a tooth" rule is called upon. Thus the victim of torture could torture the torturer for twice as long as the victim was tortured, and the victim of murder could request that his murderer die two deaths, or rather be tortured and then executed (or that the murderer forfeit his property to the victim's heirs, in addition to being executed).

The proposed sanction of retributive torture in a civilized society requires comment. We are primarily discussing the rights of victims: victims cannot be restituted. The question is: "Are these victims entitled to penalize their aggressors by an equivalent amount?". Though this is a matter for great discussion, I think that it is their right to do so. Note that no one is compelled to carry out the victim's wishes in these regards, and that the victim and only the victim may pardon the aggressor. Note that "torture" is not necessarily bodily torture: it could include confiscation of property.

## Third Parties

When a victim uses force against an alleged aggressor to bring about justice, this use of force is rightly viewed with skepticism by all uninformed third parties. Do uninformed third parties have the right to defend an

alleged aggressor? Yes, so long as they do not know that the alleged victim's claim is legitimate. A third party who intentionally shields an aggressor from justice is a willing accomplice.

## Courts

The right to bring about justice does not reside in a court: it rests fully and irrevocably with the victim. Courts may use force only insofar as they act on behalf of victims.

Courts have two functions: 1. to examine the evidence in a particular case and make a decision concerning the legitimacy of an alleged victim's claim; and 2. to use force to bring about justice on behalf of victims. Indeed each man is potentially a court. He sees the facts of a particular case, judges, and if he decides that the victim's claim is just, he may offer his help to the victim in obtaining justice. For his (or a court's) use of force to be legitimate, it must be on behalf of a legitimate claim, and in accordance with the victim's wishes. One small step brings us to a full-fledged court: someone who offers his services on behalf of justice professionally.

One may ask why an individual would pay for court services if he could get justice for free by his own use of force. Undoubtedly some would opt to use force directly. This has great disadvantages, however: 1. the victim must most likely face his former aggressor who may aggress against him again, especially if it seems that the victim is trying to enforce his claim with no aid or witnesses; 2. the victim is far more likely to overreach justice and thus incur liability than is a third party not involved in the crime; 3. the facts of the case will not be made public unless the victim does so himself, and so he will not only be losing a lot of potential allies, but he may also encounter uninformed third parties who defend the aggressor from him.

These three disadvantages are avoided by relying on a professional court. As pointed out above, anyone may call himself a court and act as a court. One may ask, "Would there be any courts of superior quality in such a system?". To answer this question, one must consider two cases: 1. the court as a cover for criminal activity; and 2. the court as a legitimate business. The first type of court is no more than a criminal gang, and it must be treated as such. Surely there would be courts of that nature, but before we deal with them further, let us consider the second case.

There would indeed be courts which would attempt to be legitimate businesses. By the very nature of the business, the court must strive to approximate justice as closely as possible so as to avoid liability. To do this, written law and learned judges are tremendous assets. Note that courtesy and efficiency are also assets; and that a court depends entirely on its reputation for its livelihood.

One may protest that multibillion dollar companies (or wealthy individuals) could own courts and give them the firepower to enforce whatever they like. They might do criminal acts, but the shroud of legitimacy is tremendously powerful and it would not be there. Compare what they might do with today's world; Would inefficient sugar producers in the South be willing or able to police every port and border to keep individuals from importing sugar? Who would launch (or even imagine) the ambitious scheme of forcing everyone in a certain locality to hire electricians of guild X when building houses? Who would try to enforce the monopolies of electricity, water, phone, and postal service? Ambitious crooks indeed. Would they succeed in taking 40% of the gross national income? Who would dare dictate what peaceful acts you may or may not do in your own home? Who would force the entire country to pay for the slaughter of the people of Southeast Asia? If you are afraid of arbitrary and absolute power, the choice is clear. Rip away the shroud of legitimacy. Aggression is aggression.

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Rational men, who desire a just and peaceful resolution to their conflict, will find it in this system. A man who aggresses, who will not listen to reason, who lives by force, may find he can initially intimidate others and aggress against them for his own profit; however, this system, anarchy, gives him no shroud of legitimacy to hide in, and thus with his story being known and understood, he will find that his only potential allies are criminals like him, who cannot be trusted, and united against him he will find all good men who wish neither to aggress nor to be aggressed against.

□

## Opportunism Revisited

The following previously unpublished, satirical warnings against opportunism were written by the editor of the *Lib. Forum* during the dark days of libertarianism in the early 1960's, when it seemed that (a) there were only a handful of libertarians in the country, and (b) one of the most important libertarians was leading us toward an egregious opportunist sellout. Both of these articles were *cris de coeur* against the sellout, "A Fable For Our Times" being written in May, 1961, and "A Modest Proposal . . ." being written in January, 1962. They were not published because there was then no conceivable outlet that might have published them. It is perhaps a telling lesson that the perpetrator of "positive" and "voluntary" opportunism is now long gone from the libertarian movement and has no current influence in social or ideological concerns; in a sense, he has cast himself permanently into the dustbin of history. But while he is gone, and while the particular cause of these satires is therefore no longer a problem for any of us, his case illustrates the essential nature of opportunism, and the contemporary reader may find an important resonance with the problems of today. Opportunism has many faces, but in a profound sense it is always the same. The "Fable" and the "Modest Proposal," therefore, may have relevance to our time and to the fate of libertarianism in the future. The fact that the person who gave rise to these responses is no longer a social force may also give us hope for the eventual triumph of liberty. — Ed. Note.

### A. A Fable For Our Times

#### I

Once Upon A Time there was a peaceful valley. The people were happy in this valley; they worked, and they traded, and they laughed together. No man exerted force upon his neighbor, and all lived and prospered.

One day there came to this valley a roaming band of marauders, led by a gang leader, whom we shall call Hector. This band came with machine guns, and, as was their custom, they raped and looted at will among the people of the valley. As they were preparing, as usual, to put the whole valley to the torch ("for kicks," as one of Hector's Gang put it succinctly), one of their number, a brilliant young intellectual whom we shall call Iago, stopped them. "Look chief," said Iago. "Why don't we change our *modus operandi*? I'm getting pretty sick of all this roaming around, looking always for the next mark, the next victims, always on the run. This is an isolated spot, a beautiful spot. Let's settle down here, and run these people's lives. Then, we can milk them all the time, instead of killing them all and moving on." Hector was a shrewd gang chief, and he saw the wisdom of the idea. The gang settled down.

And so the robbery and the pillage became chronic instead of acute. Annual tribute was levied on the people, the Gang exercised power and dictation over them, and the Gang strutted around in uniforms, issuing orders. There was a great deal of resentment at first, the valley people muttered, and they began to form a People's Resistance.

Iago, the chief theoretician of Hector's Gang, explained to the chief that another great change in their methods was due, to fit the changed conditions. "These people outnumber us, chief. Even though they have no guns now, they could one day throw us out, and we'd lose the best deal we ever had. What we've got to do is to *make them like it*." Making them like it was the great task of Iago and his group of fellow-theoreticians, and Hector and his boys marvelled at the results. Iago fed to the people arguments like the following: "This isn't tribute, it's 'protection'. We have to protect you for your own good. Otherwise, you'd start killing and looting each other."

"That's right, he's right," the people muttered. "Hector and his gang may be a bunch of rowdies, but at least he's protecting us from ourselves." For the memories of the people are short.

And Iago went on: "This isn't tribute, it's 'protection'. We must protect you from those butcher-birds on the other side of the mountain." And these words took on a plausibility, for Hector's Gang, ever eager for loot, began to send probing parties to the other side of the mountain, and fighting periodically ensued. The people listened, and they agreed. "That's right. Hector and his boys might be a bad lot. But at least they're *ours*. They're not a bunch of foreigners like those people on the other side of the mountain. We need protection from them." The people forgot that there had been no trouble with the people on the other side of the mountain before. For the memories of the people are short.

"This is great, chief, but we need more measures and more theories to keep these suckers contented," said Iago. And Hector and Iago began to propagandize that all the people's children must be educated in schools owned and operated by Hector, Iago and their Gang. They called these schools "Valley Schools"; the "people's schools." "Anyone who doesn't educate his kid in a Valley School is undemocratic. He's anti-social and hates the people. In fact, he's Un-Valley." Iago's scholarly-inclined henchmen, calling themselves "economists" ("It's got a good Greek sound, chief.") preached that "everyone really benefits from being forced to pay for and attend Hector's Valley Schools because if A is educated, then B is better off, and therefore B should be forced to be educated, and A too . . ." And the people listened, and nodded their heads; and the scholarly-inclined among them listened and nodded their heads too; and pretty soon they became members of Hector's Gang, Scholarly Division.

What wonders were achieved by Making Them Like It! Hector and his original gang sent for all their relatives for hundreds of miles around; and they all came and joined Hector's Gang, and lived off the fat of the land. The rate of tribute kept increasing, and so did the numbers of the Gang. As the "take" kept going up, the People began to grumble again. Iago and his men exhorted and admonished the grumblers: "You are all selfish," they said, "because you don't want to contribute and serve your brothers." (The "brothers" were, of course, largely members of Hector's Gang.) And the people, especially the moralists among them, nodded their heads and agreed. They agreed that anyone who kept opposing Hector and his Gang was "selfish, anti-social, and out for his own gain and greed."

And Hector and his Gang conscripted much of the valley people into a giant labor force to build the Gang a gigantic palace on top of the Valley's leading hill. It was a beautiful and imposing palace, so everyone said. A few people grumbled at this coercion and waste. Iago and his men thundered: "You miserable creatures! Here is a great monument that we have built, a monument to the glory and destiny and grandeur of Our Valley. And you, slackers and penny-pinchers, would deny Our Valley its monument." "He's right," the people said, glaring angrily at the grumblers. "This valley has the biggest palace of any valley in the land."

Periodically, Hector and his Gang would go fight the people on the other side of the mountain, to extend their territory and their area of loot. At these times, they needed more men to fight, and so they would again conscript valley people into their Gang. The conscripts, and all the people, were taught that any resistance to this conscription would not only be met with stern measures, but was also dire "treason" against the Valley and its rightful government, Hector's Gang. The old battle standard that Hector and his men used to raise before going into the next town, Hector and his Iago transformed into the "Valley's Sacred Flag"; anyone who did not bow down to that flag — or sing the old chanty that Hector and his Gang had always sung before going off for a fight — was also branded a "traitor" and dealt with accordingly.

Brilliant indeed were some of the theories that Iago and his men wove in the service of Hector and his Gang. For example, when an isolated Resister would point to the process of theft that was now organized and continuing, Iago's men said: "You know, you may have been right for the previous historical era. Nowadays, times have changed, and our thinking must change to suit the modern age. In the pre-Hector Era, this process was indeed robbery. Nowadays, it is cooperation for the common good and the welfare of the people of the Valley." And one of the more brilliant of Iago's Economists said: "You people don't realize that the money taken from you by Hector and his men benefit you all enormously. For Hector and his men spend their money — do they not? — in your shops and your markets. By this spending they give you employment, they circulate the money supply, they keep up mass purchasing-power, which is vital to the Valley Economy, and they provide 'built-in stability' for the economic system of the Valley." The people listened, and they marvelled at the wisdom. And Iago's men put the theory into complex mathematical symbols; and the people marvelled, and Hector was overjoyed, and the more scholarly among the people listened, and they soon joined Iago's Division of Scholars.

We could go on indefinitely to delineate the fascinating social structure of this remarkable and surely unique valley. But the important point to note is that, by the marvel wrought by Iago's propaganda, the status of Hector and

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## Opportunism Revisited —

(Continued From Page 5)

His Gang had completely changed from the old and almost-forgotten days. Where once Hector and His Gang skulked like criminals, were regarded by everyone with great contempt and hatred as criminals, and were perpetually on the run, now a revolution had truly occurred. Hector, Iago and the rest were not criminals but the Most Respected people in the land. Not only were they rich from their chronic annual loot; they were feted by all, loved and feared and honored by the people of the valley. Honors were heaped upon them all. And all because their theft had become regularized, openly proclaimed, and sweetly defended. Lolling on their divans, Hector contentedly said to Iago, "Boy, we never had it so good." Clapping Hector on the back, Iago said, "There's a sucker born every minute." And, in the meanwhile, Iago's men were speaking on the hustings before the people: "Our times call for great sacrifices, for the willingness to give." And the people listened, and they nodded their heads.

### II

Generally, people agreed, or resigned themselves, to the rule of Hector. Those few people, here and there, not swayed by Iagoan propaganda, were taken care of by the Gang. If they became too adamant, they were politely taken out and shot . . . as traitors to the Valley. "It's too bad," said the people, "and I thought I knew Jim. Of course, who could have known that he was a traitor?" Everyone agreed that stern times called for stern measures.

Meanwhile, what had happened to the remnant of the People's Resistance? They had no guns, the Resisters, but they fought on in the realm of ideas. "The spirit, the idea, of liberty must be kept alive," they said. And so they circulated among themselves their love for liberty and their recognition of who Hector and Iago and their men were and what they were doing. And the thing that gave them most sustenance was their shared credo: "Never forget. Hector is a thief. Hector is a murderer. Hector and his gang are crooks and tyrants, and, one day they shall be kicked out of this Valley." "Hector is a thief and murderer." And what is Iago? Iago the Resisters held in greater horror even than Hector. "For Iago," they pointed out, is a man of intellect; his is a uniquely moral failure. And Iago is keeping the regime alive by prostituting his intellect in the service of himself and Hector, by duping the people into acceptance." "Never forget about Hector and Iago," they told each other. "Never forget."

One day there arose among the Resisters a leader; he was young and strong and highly intelligent — a man of the truly heroic virtues. Affectionately, the Resisters called him The Leader. The Leader scorned the counsel of the Old Ones among the Resisters: the Old Ones had advised the Resisters to write and speak against tyranny only in the abstract; never to "get specific," never to mention Hector or Iago or any of their deeds. "The hell with that," the Leader thundered before a meeting of the Resisters. "No wonder the old ones are getting nowhere. We must write on the walls: Hector is a thief; Hector is a murderer; Iago is a prostitute and a consort of thieves and murderers. We shall drive them out!" The Resisters cheered this young man in a thunderous ovation. Their hearts were joyful; they had found their Leader.

The Resistance movement now grew and prospered. In their palace, Hector and Iago and their men were getting a little worried. "This damned Leader," they muttered. "He knows us too well. And when we call him a traitor, he throws the word right back in our teeth. He really hates us."

I have said before that Hector and Iago had effected a social revolution in the Valley. Before they had been criminals; now they were the most respectable and honored men of the Valley. Now, on the contrary, it was the Resisters who were the social outcasts, who were branded criminals and traitors, who achieved no respectability at all. Now it was the Resisters who had to lead a furtive existence.

### III

One day, the Leader had a Revelation. He was struck by a New Concept. He was still young, but now he felt he had Matured. He called the Resistance together to explain: "I want you to know," he proclaimed, "that I will never abandon the Resistance. Our end — complete liberty — shall always remain unchanged. (Cheers.) But these are new times and they require new concepts and new methods to achieve our common goal. (Puzzled Murmurings.) We have been repeating, again and again, the old slogans: Hector is a thief, Hector is a tyrant, and so forth. These slogans

have become tired clichés; everybody knows them. (Murmurings: Everybody? Who but the Resisters have listened to them?) Furthermore, we can never convince anyone by remaining negative and always appearing to oppose change. Hector and Iago were in a sense right when they accused us of being sour and negative. From now on we must accent the positive! What we must do is show them: to show Hector and Iago and all the rest that our way is better than theirs. That we can achieve more good more efficiently by voluntary methods than they can by coercion. Let us abandon sterile and negative slogans, and let us show them by our actions and our deeds that the voluntary way is the better way."

The Leader was, as always, eloquent, and it was easy to sway the bulk of the Resisters. "Let's at least give it a try," said the bulk of these hungry, weary, and embattled men. And so the leader went up and down the valley, preaching the new gospel of the Positive. Soon he found that, where once he was treated as an outcast among the Best People, he now found doors flung open wide in greeting. "You're right," said more and more of the wealthy and the respected; "In the old days, when you and the others were going around denouncing Hector and Iago, you were just a bunch of radical crackpots. Now, by God, you're doing something constructive. And you're not making people mad by attacking folks and institutions that they respect." Funds and support poured into the Leader's New Resistance movement. The emphasis of the New Resistance was on the positive, voluntary way. "Hector and Iago claim that theirs is the best way to promote social welfare," the Leader thundered in a speech. "Hector and Iago claim that compulsion is needed, for example, for the worthy goal of feeding and housing Hector's relatives. But we know that the voluntary methods of private people can do that job better and more efficiently. Let us show them!" The crowd cheered, and soon funds poured in for such projects as the voluntary care and feeding of the relatives of Hector. "Never attack the high rates of tribute," the Leader warned his men of the New Resistance; "if we show the whole Valley that we can do the job by voluntary means, if we feed and clothe and house Hector's relatives, for example, then Hector will eventually lower the rates of tribute. Let us be up and moving!"

And so the money poured in . . . from Resistance men and others, voluntarily swelling the coffers of Hector and his Gang. The old Resistance men abandoned their old negative preaching, and got down to the hard, practical task of raising money for voluntary gifts for Hector's pet projects — to show Hector and all the rest the superiority of the Voluntary Way. And what was the reaction of Hector and Iago and the rest? They sat at their periodic board meeting of the Gang, reviewing the new stance of the Leader and the Resistance, and they did only one thing: they laughed, and they laughed, and they laughed. And finally Iago recovered a bit, and he said: "So, the sheep themselves have supplied us with their own Judas goat!", and they all roared again with laughter.

It was not long before the Leader was wined and dined by Hector, Iago and the rest, was asked to serve on consulting committees, was asked to demonstrate ever more in action how the voluntary way could add to the Gang's coffers. At a great annual convention of the Gang, with many Resistance men this time invited, Iago, in his speech, turned to The Leader, now seated also at the dais, and he said: "Let us never forget, my friend, that our ends remain always the same. It is only our means that differ. Let us employ both yours and our means, and then let us achieve our common goal in the best way." (Resounding cheers from everyone.)

And so, what even Iago, with all his wiles, had been unable to quite achieve, was now achieved; and peace and harmony had been fully restored to the valley. The Resisters were now loyal, positive, and generous, and their former bitterness and hatred had been transmuted into friendly and willing cooperation with Hector and His Gang.

Of course, there are always a few malcontents in every society, a few rotten apples in every barrel. A couple of the Resisters began to mutter: "The Leader said tribute would go down, if we voluntarily supplied the rest; but, instead, tribute has gone up." ("There are new needs for a troubled time," said Iago's men; "Patience, we shall demonstrate . . ." said the Leader's men.) One malcontent Resister said to another. "At least in the time of the Old Ones we could attack robbery and tyranny in the abstract; now we can't even do that." And, secretly, covertly, in the dead of the night, tiny groups of dissenting Resisters met, and told one another: "Hector is a thief. Hector is a murderer . . ."

And one day a wondrous thing came to pass. As the Leader strode

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## Opportunism Revisited —

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confidently to a meeting with Hector and the others in Hector's splendid palace, he chanced to look into one of the fine mirrors in the hall. Truly, a miracle had been wrought; for when the Leader looked into the mirror, the face he saw was the face of Iago.

### B. A Modest Proposal to the XYZ Foundation for the Advancement of Individual Liberty

by Mefistofele, Jr.  
(with apologies to C. S. Lewis)

Dear Sirs:

I know that for several years you have devoted your efforts to advancing individual liberty and rolling back the tide of statism in America. I believe I can make an important contribution to the dialogue now under way about the proper strategy toward advancing our Cause.

I cannot agree more with those who say that all doctrinaires and "purist" libertarians be avoided like the plague. This is surely the most important plank in any strategy platform. Those people who are totally opposed to statism and totally favor liberty are highly dangerous . . . or, rather, highly embarrassing and inconvenient people. That their influence is nil is proven by their obvious status as a tiny minority. Surely such extremists, with their constant and tiresome ranting about "principle" and "consistency," can only be excess baggage for the cause; surely also they can never gain that respectability which is so necessary for maximum influence. The important thing is not pie-in-the sky principle but here-and-now influence on the citizen and voter. Furthermore, these doctrinaire "purists," by their very commitment to principle and logic, demonstrate not only their lack of good breeding but also their abandonment of true intellectuality; genuine intellectuality, *non*-commitment, from *non*-dedication, from that form of the "open mind" which is *always* ready to "adjust" to any type of measure, however despotic, that is enacted. Any other way is both anti-intellectual and unrealistically doctrinaire. Only *that* type of mind can really advance the libertarian cause we all hold dear.

While, gentlemen, you have been pursuing many aspects of this program, you have not, I believe, done it with enough consistency (which in *this* case is needed.) Certainly Milton Friedman is infinitely preferable to Ludwig von Mises, and A. F. Burns to Friedman but by the same token, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Paul Samuelson, and J. Kenneth Bakbraith are still more preferable. *They* have even greater influence and respectability. A program of heavy support for such leaders of opinion as Galbraith, Schlesinger, etc. will have far greater impact than any other we could imagine. Such a program would also have another prime advantage: it would *not* be doctrinaire libertarian, and it would *confuse* the statist opposition, because *no one would ever be able to detect that you were anti-socialist and anti-statist!* Think of the advantages that *that* would bring! Remember, you must always conduct yourselves in such a way that no one could suspect you might have any libertarian inclinations. It is only in this way that the libertarian cause can finally be victorious.

There is also another thing that the purists forget. The *real* enemy of liberty is not the State, but a particular *type* of statism — those evil and secret plotters who form the International Communist Conspiracy. Let us keep our concentration on *this* menace, and use all powers of the State to fight it on every front; thus we keep our liberty secure, and we achieve the aim of liberty without using utopian doctrinaire means. Let us not forget then that such thinkers as Schlesinger, Jr., Galbraith and Samuelson are dedicated anti-Communists and are therefore perfectly deserving of libertarian support and gratitude.

It is important, then, that these troublesome "purists" be induced to keep their mouths shut about liberty and the State. Let us hew to more moderate, more practical, and realistic courses. Let us above all show our good will by *never attacking* the government; Americans are positive-minded people, and don't like negative carping against government. Let's show the leftists that we can do their programs better if they only give us a chance.

One example and I must conclude. The tiresome purists are always ranting against conscription. Let us place our emphasis more positively; let us rather say that we shall inaugurate a program of educating the American

people to such an extent that they will wish to enlist in large numbers in the armed forces (let us show them how rewarding an army career can be, spiritually as well as economically) so that, eventually, conscription can be de-emphasized. If we work hard enough, then everyone will *want* to offer themselves as slaves . . . I mean, patriots . . . so that conscription will only be necessary as a last resort for the few recalcitrants.

I see great days ahead, gentlemen of the XYZ Foundation, as we go on to implement this program. One thing more, however: it will be necessary to form some sort of "general staff" of conservative and libertarian groups to see to it that these troublesome purists are properly suppressed . . . that is, coordinated. Then there will really be smooth sailing on the Road to Liberty, which should be achieved by about . . . 1984, don't you think?

Ever yours,  
Mefistofele, Jr.

□

## Opportunism — (Continued From Page 3)

we are able to gauge the extent of RC support in each state, and compare it to the national average.

State	Radical Caucus
Alabama	17.1
Alaska	10.1
Arizona	7.9
Arkansas	0
California	15.5
Colorado	10.2
Connecticut	16.7
Delaware	47.6
D. C.	21.4
Florida	20.0
Georgia	22.4
Hawaii	25.0
Idaho	64.3
Illinois	7.5
Indiana	10.7
Iowa	2.6
Kansas	11.9
Kentucky	9.5
Louisiana	12.2
Maryland	8.6
Massachusetts	0
Michigan	34.3
Minnesota	10.2
Mississippi	0
Missouri	10.7
Montana	38.1
Nebraska	0
Nevada	1.0
New Hampshire	0
New Jersey	19.0
New Mexico	0.7
New York	8.9
North Carolina	23.2
Ohio	14.3
Oklahoma	0
Oregon	4.1
Pennsylvania	8.2
Rhode Island	0
South Carolina	17.1
Tennessee	2.4
Texas	1.9
Utah	25.7
Vermont	0
Virginia	8.6
Washington	5.4
Wisconsin	6.6
United States	11.6

# Billboards

by Walter Block

The anti-billboard mania is alive and well. It is all too easy to blame the garishness and even presence of billboards for practically all the evils facing mankind: traffic accidents, ill temper, bad manners, commercialization, etc. But before falling in with the view that billboards should be prevented at all costs, we must take a long and careful look at this doctrine.

One important thing to realize is that there *are costs* to the prevention of billboards and other types of transportation advertising. For these advertisers are ready, willing, and able to *pay for* this advertising outlet; and the more they pay, the less the travelers must pay. This is true for both public and private modes of transit. In the case of public transit, this is easy to see. If the public transit authority obtains more from advertisers, it will need less of our money in the form of taxes, other things being equal. (Bureaucrats, of course, being bureaucrats, are heavily subject to Parkinson's famous Law, which predicts that bureaucratic expenditures will always rise to meet the amount of money available, no matter how high.) It is a little less easy to see in the case of private transportation, but it is the more certain for all of that.

Profits, it is well known, always tend toward equality in different industries, given the factor of risk. Any inequality in profit returns over industries sets up pressures to disinvest in the highly profitable industry, thus driving its rate of return down, and to invest in the less profitable industries, thus driving up the rate of profit there. With the profit rates falling in the profitable industries, and rising in the less profitable industries, this tendency toward equality is assured.

Traveling costs would fall in the private transportation industry if advertising were introduced, but not because the entrepreneurs would public-spiritedly pass along the advertising revenues to the travelers. Oh, NO! The entrepreneur is not in business to save money for the traveling public. He is in business to make profits, large profits. The reason that traveling costs would fall is because everyone else is also in business to maximize profits. If revenues suddenly increased because of advertising, without any decrease in other revenues of increase in other costs (I assume that the advertiser pays for his own billboards), then profits in that industry must rise. But if profits in the industry rise, then other entrepreneurs will enter to take advantage of the lucrative prospects in the transit industry. And when others enter with their investments, this causes a fall in prices to the consumer, so that profits can fall. If prices do not fall, or do not fall enough so as to bring the rate of profit in the transit industry back toward equality with the other industries, then more entry will take place and prices will continue to fall until equality is approached.

One can only speculate, but it seems reasonable to suppose that if the anti-billboard contingent declared how much extra fares would be required

if billboards were prohibited, or alternitavely how much of an increased fare present advertising is forestalling, they would enjoy much less support for their anti-billboard message.

The second ground for support of billboards is that far from causing accidents, they are an important part of the arsenal supporting traffic safety. One of the greatest causes of traffic accidents is boredom. Boredom allows the driver to lose the sharp edge of caution; it allows his thought to wander far afield; it robs him of the attentiveness (even if subconscious) he needs for safe driving. One of the greatest antidotes to boredom, as it happens, is billboard advertising. Especially the garish, attention-demanding, stark, sharp, showy, ostentatious, flashy billborads, the kind most hated by the forces of reaction — the would be billboard-banishers.

The aesthetic issue is closely intertwined with the question of boredom. For a boring landscape can hardly be characterized as aesthetically pleasing. Most aestheticians extol the beauties of the untrammelled landscape. But we must seriously question a theory of aesthetics that takes no account of boredom. Mother Nature may be beautiful to view for landscape painters who may have no need for the pop art that billboards can provide; but for the travel-weary motorist, whizzing along at 65 miles per hour, the nuanced contrast of nature may not be readily apparent. Often, all that is perceivable at that speed is a blur. At 65, it is almost true of nature that "if you have seen one mountain, you have seen them all", except perhaps for the most garish, stark, sharp, showy, ostentatious, and flashy mountains. At that speed, a billboard can provide the contrast necessary for aesthetic appreciation, to say nothing of sanity. But the builders of modern highways go even further. Not only do they not allow billboards; in seeming horror at anything man-made, they have virtually banished everything of interest from view: houses, stores, farms, farm buildings, anything. Thus, the traveler on the modern highway is treated to a view of continuous road landscaping, courtesy of the highway planners. He is deprived of any inkling of how the people in an area live or work seemingly in fear that the traveler may learn something, or become interested in anything other than what the planner has decided he shall see.

Perhaps most important, the placing of billboards at prominent places along our highways allows for the dissemination of information, the introduction of new products to the consumer, and even more, for the exhortation to consumers to try new things. These values have been derided by the planning mentality, which brooks no changes except those it had wrought itself. But the general public need not fear signposts along the road with the maniacal devotion shown by the billboard banners. There is nothing to fear except fear itself.

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THE

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## And Now Afghanistan

These are grim times for those of us who yearn for a peaceful American foreign policy, for a foreign policy emulating the ideals of Thomas Paine, who exhorted America to interfere with the affairs of no other nations, and to serve instead as a beacon-light of liberty by her example. The lessons of the Vietnam intervention have been shuffled off with obscene haste, by masses and by intellectuals alike, by campus kids and by veterans of the antiwar movement of the 1960's. It started with Iran, with bloody calls for war, for punishment, for "nuking 'em", for, as so many graffiti across the land have been putting it: "nuking 'em till they glow".

But just as we have been whipping ourselves up to nuking Muslims and to declaring war against "fanatical" Islam *per se*, we are ready to turn on a dime and sing the praises of no-longer fanatical Muslims who are willing to fight Russian tanks with their bare hands: the heroic freedom fighters of Afghanistan. All of a sudden President Carter has gone bananas: declaring himself shocked and stunned by the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan, mobilizing the United Nations in stunned horror, levying embargoes (my how this peanut salesman loves embargoes!), and threatening the Olympics so dear to sports fans around the globe.

It's all very scary. There is the phony proclamation of personal betrayal — Brezhnev not coming clean on the Hot Line — all too reminiscent of the late unlamented King of Camelot before he almost got us into a nuclear holocaust over a few puny Russian missiles in Cuba. There is the same *macho* insistence on regarding every foreign affairs crisis as a duel with six-shooters at high noon, and trying to prove that good old Uncle Sam still has the fastest draw.

To set the record straight from the first: Yes, it is deplorable that Russia saw fit to move troops into Afghanistan. It will, we can readily predict, be a disaster for the Soviets themselves, for tens of thousands of troops will be tied down, Vietnam-fashion, in a country where they are universally hated and reviled, and where they will be able to command only the cities and the main roads, and those in the daytime. But deplorable as the Soviet action is, it is neither surprising nor shocking: it is in line with Soviet, indeed with all Russian actions since the late 19th century — an insistence on dominating countries on its borders. While unfortunate, this follows the line of Czarist imperialism; it is old-fashioned Great Power politics, and presages neither the "fall" of Southwest Asia nor an immediate armed strike upon our shores.

Indeed, the righteous horror of the U.S. and the UN at Soviet actions in Afghanistan takes on an ironic perspective when we consider the massive use of military force wielded not very long ago by the United States against Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Dominican Republic. Indeed, the ground for Soviet invasion: the backing of one side in another country's civil war, was precisely the

groundwork for the massive and disastrous U.S. military intervention in Vietnam. In Vietnam, too, we intervened on the side of an unpopular repressive regime in a civil war against a popular revolution; and now the Soviets are doing the exact same thing. So why the selective moral indignation wielded by: Carter, the UN, the war hawk conservatives, the Social Democrats, the liberals, the media, etc? Hypocrisy has become rife in America.

There are two crucial differences between America's and Russia's "Vietnam" in Afghanistan. One, that Russia will be slaughtering far fewer Afghans than we did Vietnamese. And two, that Afghanistan is, after all, on Russia's borders while we launched our intervention in Vietnam half the globe away from our shores. And Afghanistan, of course, is even further away than Vietnam. The whole thing is ludicrous and absurd. Is Afghanistan now supposed to have been part of the "free world"? Afghanistan has no resources, has no treaties with the U.S., no historic ties, there are none of the flimsy but popular excuses that we have used for over a century to throw our weight around across the earth. But here we go, intervening anyway, loudly proclaiming that Russia's actions in Afghanistan are "unacceptable", and for which we are ready to scrap SALT, detente, and the feeble past attempts of the Carter administration to shuck off the Cold War and to establish some sort of *modus vivendi* with Russia. The conservatives, the Pentagon, the Social Democrats, the neo-conservatives, the Coalition for a Democratic Majority — all the worst scoundrels in American life — have been yearning to smash detente, and to accelerate an already swollen arms budget and heat up the Cold War. And now Carter has done it — to such an extent that such conservative organs as *Human Events* are even finding Carter foreign policy to be better in some respects than that of its hero Reagan.

The idiocy of the sudden wailing and hand-wringing over Afghanistan may be gauged by the fact that that land-locked and barren land had been a Russian client state since the late nineteenth century, when clashes of British and Russian (Czarist) imperialism came to draw the Afghan-Indian border where it is today. (An unfortunate situation, since northwest and western Pakistan is ethnically Pushtu — the majority ethnic group in Afghanistan, while southwestern Pakistan is ethnically Baluchi: the same group that populates southern Afghanistan and southeastern Iran.) Ever since, the King of Afghanistan has always been a Russian tool, first Czarist then Soviet — to the tune of no bleats of outrage from the United States. Then, in 1973, the King was overthrown by a coup led by Prince Mohammed Daud. After a few years, Daud began to lead the Afghan government into the Western, pro-U.S. camp. More specifically, he came under the financial spell (i.e. the payroll) of the Shah of Iran, the very man much in the news of late. Feeling

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# Notes on Iran, Afghanistan, etc.

by The Old Curmudgeon

There are many odd, fascinating, and amusing aspects of the Iranian, etc. crisis which have not even been pointed out, much less discussed by the media — despite the grave and newsworthy nature of the crises. The following are some of them — in no particular order.

1. *Good and Bad Muslims.* We have heard a lot, much sound and fury signifying little, on Islam and its troubles. But if the Muslim militants are terrible “fanatics” in Iran, how come that they are heroic freedom fighters in Afghanistan, not very far away? Is it because the latter are “our” fanatics, while the Iranians are . . . *their own*?

2. *Not Only Commies are Bad Guys.* We were promised, by conservatives and liberals alike, that *they too* are opposed to American imperialism and expansionism (that is, the sophisticates who admit these bad things exist) but that the ideal of non-interventionism has to be shelved for the duration of the “international Communist conspiracy”, the overwhelming diabolism of which requires this ideal to be overridden. But no one except a few right-wing crazies has maintained that the Ayatollah and his forces are Commies or tools of the Kremlin. So why the high tide of hysteria for intervention and war against Iran? Could it be old-fashioned national chauvinism and American imperial pique?

3. *Not Every American Gets Picked Up In Iran.* In the hysteria over the hostages, it has been forgotten that not every American in Iran has been detained by the militants. Many Americans, including TV personnel, have been roaming around Iran, filming demonstrations, and remaining unharmed. Why have the militants focused on U.S. embassy personnel? Is it because the latter are tainted with support for two decades of American intervention on behalf of the hated Shah? The worst that happened to Marvin Kalb, when he leaked the Ghotbzadeh attack on the Ayatollah, was that his broadcast facilities got cut off.

4. *Not Every Hostage Generates Hysteria in the U.S.* The taking of hostages is a rotten and deplorable act. But how come indignation over hostage-taking is so selective? Nobody raised a peep when left-wing militants held an American woman hostage for two weeks in El Salvador recently. And no one has denounced the Azerbaijani militants for holding nine emissaries of Khomeini hostage in Tabriz.

5. *Not All Private Diplomacy is Bad.* Ultraconservative Rep. George Hansen (R. Id.) in a courageous and rather lovable attempt at doing something to free or at least to observe the hostages, flew to Teheran on his own and was the first American to get in to see the hostages; it was Hansen, furthermore, who raised what may well turn out to be the solution to the mess: for the U.S. to investigate its own aid to the Shah as well as the Shah's tyrannical regime. For his pains, Hansen was denounced by nearly everyone, left, right, and center, for having the gall to engage in “private diplomacy”. And yet when the Rev. William Sloane Coffin and two other clergymen visited the hostages in Teheran, everyone applauded and no one denounced them. Is there a double standard at work?

6. *Who Are The Hostages?* Confusion has arisen over how many American hostages there are in Teheran. Is it 50? Or less? Yet how can the State Department expect to clear up the confusion unless it names names, and tells us who the hostages are supposed to be. Yet it refuses to do so, darkly hinting that there are good and sufficient reasons. But the State Department agitates for the *Iranians* to disclose their names. Huh?

7. *Who in Hell are the “Students”?* We've been hearing about the now-famous “students” who have been holding the hostages in the

American embassy. Yet who in hell *are* they? What are their names? We have found out the names of Khomeini's cabinet, and of the ruling Revolutionary Council; yet the pestiferous students go on in secret. Why does no one even express befuddlement that there are no names? And, furthermore, when and what do they “study”? And where? When do they go to class, take exams, get grades?

8. *Who are the Fanatics?* When the hostage crisis began, there rose to seemingly great power as No. 2 man in Iran, and its Foreign Minister, the “economist” Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, an engaging young lad who looked like a cross between Charlie Chaplin and the young Trotsky. We were assured, across a spectrum ranging from State Department files to the left-wing Italian interviewer Oriana Fallaci, that Bani-Sadr was a dangerous “fanatic” and extremist, that he was a rabid Pol Potnik who wanted to drive everyone out of Teheran and other cities and into small handicraft villages in the countryside. Very quickly, however, it turned out that Bani-Sadr was a “moderate”, that he wanted to make a face-saving deal to release the hostages, and in a couple of weeks he was out, consigned to media oblivion, a victim of his own sober moderation. He was replaced as Foreign Minister by Propaganda Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, who we were assured in turn was *really* a fanatic and extremist, having driven out the “moderate” Bani-Sadr. But at present writing it looks as if Ghotbzadeh is not much more for this world — at least as a statesman — since he too is a “moderate” who wants to release the hostages. After the driving off of Kurt Waldheim from Teheran (as an old anti-UN person I must admit the act had a certain amount of charm), the startled Ghotbzadeh confided to Marvin Kalb that he thought that the Ayatollah was out of touch with reality and unfit to rule. Wow!

So who in blazes are the extremists? For a while, extremist-watchers were pinning their hopes on the sinister-looking Ayatollah Sadegh Khalkhali, head of the Revolutionary Tribunal and known lovingly in Iran as the “hanging judge”, who had executed hundreds of the Shah's aides and was in charge of the world-wide execution teams sent abroad to wreak justice upon the ex-ruler. And yet Khalkhali too proved disappointing; for at one point he blurted out that the American hostages were “guests” of Iran and should be treated as such and sent home.

So where are the extremists and who are they, apart from the persistently anonymous “students”?

9. *Are The Commies The Fanatics?* Nope, much as this will disappoint the conservatives who see Reds under every bed. The Tudeh Party, the Communist party in Iran, while part of the Khomeini coalition, is, as are CP's everywhere, sober, cautious, and rather bourgeois. They probably consider the “students” bonkers, if they indeed know who they are.

10. *Must We Die For Kabul?* And now there is trumped-up Afghanistan crisis. This is probably even more bizarre than the Iranian caper. Can we tolerate Soviet expansion into Afghanistan? Well, in the first place, they already did it. To be precise, in April 1978, a pro-Soviet coup installed a pro-Communist regime in Kabul. *And nobody made a fuss.* And why, indeed, should they? Afghanistan, after all, is right on the Soviet border. Soviet intervention into Afghanistan, deplorable as it is, is old hat — part of its long-standing concern, stretching back to Czarist days, over “spheres of influence” on its borders. No domino has toppled since April, 1978. U.S. intervention into Vietnam, or Afghanistan or Pakistan, is *not* on our borders, but half the globe away. Secondly, as we have said, there has been a pro-Soviet regime in Kabul since the spring of 1978; the current third dictator has won out over two other Reds. Hafizullah Amin, shot by the Soviets and/or the new Kabral regime, was *too* Commie for the Russians,

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that is, he precipitated the Muslim guerrilla revolt by radical land nationalization, angering the peasants and tribesmen. The shrewder and more cautious Russians wanted the Afghan Commies to move more slowly.

So must Americans sweat, be expropriated, fight and maybe die to avenge the *more* Commie dictator? I hope that the Muslim guerrillas will eventually win, and I think they will; I believe that Afghanistan will wind up as Soviet Russia's Vietnam. But let, for heaven's sake, the U.S. stay the hell out; let the Afghans struggle over their own fate. In addition to the high immorality of dragging Americans to pay, die, and kill for Kabul it will strategically ruin the black eye that Russia will receive throughout the world for its own intervention, and will mitigate the anti-imperialist nature of the eventual Afghan guerrilla victory.

In the late 1930's the French non-interventionists raised the slogan: *Pourquoi mourir pour Danzig?* (Why die for Danzig?) Let us raise the comparable question: why die for Kabul? Even strategically and geo-politically, Afghanistan has no resources, no oil, no nuttin'.

11. *The Sydney Smith Quote.* Upon the Afghan crisis, it is time again to resurrect the wise and marvelous quote from Canon Sydney Smith, the great classical liberal and anti-interventionist in early nineteenth century England. When Lord Grey, the Prime Minister, was moving toward a foreign war, Sydney Smith wrote the following letter to Lady Grey, in 1832: "For God's sake, do not drag me into another war! I am worn down, and worn out, with crusading and defending Europe, and protecting mankind; I *must* think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards — I am sorry for the Greeks — I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Baghdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Tibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? The world is bursting with sin and sorrow. Am I to be champion of the Decalogue, and to be eternally raising fleets and armies to make all men good and happy? We have just done saving Europe, and I am afraid the consequence will be, that we shall cut each other's throats. No war, dear Lady Grey! — No eloquence; but apathy, selfishness, common sense, arithmetic! I beseech you, secure Lord Grey's swords and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote's armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having.

'May the vengeance of Heaven' overtake the Legitimates of Verona! but, in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be *left* to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man is to guard against luxury.

There is no such thing as a just war, or at least, as a *wise* war."

12. *No, No, Embargoes.* The Carter schemes for various boycotts and embargoes on Iran, and now the Soviet Union, are immoral, dangerous, and counterproductive. They are immoral because they coercively prohibit trade whether it be sales of grain or purchases of oil, which are the proper province of each person's control over his own money and property, and not of the U.S. government. They also prohibit exchanges which are beneficial to us as well as the Bad Guys, as trade always is. To the extent individual Americans go along with the boycott, we are cutting off our noses to spite our face; to the extent they don't, we are criminally aggressing against their rights of property. Embargoes are counterproductive because they don't work; one bushel of grain looks like any other bushel; one barrel of crude oil looks like any other (only God can distinguish "Communist" or "fanatical Muslim" barrels from all others). Therefore, third parties in other nations, heroically seeing opportunities for profit, will inevitably arise to break the boycott and/or embargo: To sell grain to Russia or oil to the U.S. through middlemen and third parties. That is why the embargo against Rhodesia never worked. Finally, embargoes are dangerous because

they step up tension in the direction of a devastating world war.

13. *Save the Olympics!* And now, Carter, in a fit of punishing the Russians over our historic ties with Afghanistan (Huh? Wha?) wants to destroy the Olympics, to boycott it because it is taking place in Moscow. Goddamn it, is there *no* area of life that can escape the blight of politicization? Isn't it enough that we are taxed, conscripted, propagandized, killed in war? Can't we at least enjoy our sports in peace? Olympic committees are private, and they are financed, *mainly* (though unfortunately not exclusively) privately in the U.S. and the West. Furthermore, the Olympic ideal has always been to keep sports out of politics: to have an international comity of sports and athletes apart from government. It is vital that governments keep their mitts out of the Olympics. It is already unfortunate that South African athletes have been discriminated against in past Olympics because of the policies of their government. Let us not compound this with Carter's petulant and irrelevant assault upon sports fans throughout the globe. For shame!

4. *Who Seized the Grand Mosque? The Khartoum Connection.* To get back to the bizarreries of the Middle East. Who seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca? It took a long time to clear out the "fanatics" who took over this most sacred shrine in all of Islam. Were they Shiite Khomeini-ites as the U.S. believed? Commies, Russian agents, as the American right suspected? Agents of the CIA, as Khomeini charged? No one fully knows, but best reports indicate none of the above. Apparently, this was a small "fanatical" Sunni sect, in which a young lad proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Expected One, the Messiah.

As far as I can piece it out, the Sunni Mahdi can pop up anywhere. The Shiite Mahdi, if such this young lad was, is the Twelfth, or Hidden Imam. The Shiites believe that there were Eleven Imams, each descended in turn from the Prophet Mohammed, his son-in-law Ali, and the latter's son, the martyr Hussein. After eleven of these descendants, the Twelfth Imam, I believe in the late 11th century, retired to some cave, where he remains hidden — and of, course, alive — until he returns to the panting world as the Mahdi. The Sunnis, on the other hand, don't hold with this line of descent, and pick Imams spontaneously from mass — or, in a sense, free market, or free society — approval. Except, of course, for the Ottoman Caliphs, but *they* have been gone for a century or so.

How can the faithful tell when the Mahdi arrives? It is a rum question, indeed, otherwise any *schmuck* can pop up and call himself the Mahdi. The Shiite Hidden Imam I suppose has certain signs, perhaps cave dirt. But those of who saw that grand old turkey of a movie, *Khartoum*, know the score. And I'll say this, we know more about the Mahdi than do faithful readers of the *New York Times*. *Khartoum*, with Charlton Heston playing the crazed British nationalist General Gordon, portrays the last great Sunni Mahdi, who popped up in the Sudan in the early 1880's and killed General Gordon at Khartoum. In the pictures, one great scene, Laurence Olivier, in blackface, rolling his eyes and hamming it up outrageously as the Mahdi, tells Gordon of his significance and his plans for the future: "I am de Mahdi, de Expected One," he says. "I have de signs: I have de gap in de tooth, I have de mole", and then another sign which I forget. And then: "I shall enter de mosque at Khartoum; then I shall enter de mosque at Cairo . . ." "Entering the mosque" was patently a Mahdian euphemism. It didn't mean simply walking into the mosque as a penitent; it meant entering with thousands of his troops, slaughtering all in his path. He proceeded to outline his path of conquest, up to and including "entering de mosque" at Constantinople. I am surprised the movie didn't attribute to him plans for world conquest, and that we'd better fight him in Khartoum or else fight him in the streets of New York. At any rate, obviously he didn't make it; in fact, he never got beyond Khartoum.

And just as obviously the current would-be Mahdi didn't get  
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# "Revolutionary" Fascism

## A Review of Jorge Edwards', *Persona Non Grata*

by Alfred C. Cuzan

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No American interested in the state of human rights and welfare in Castro's "revolutionary" Cuba should miss reading *Persona Non Grata*, by Jorge Edwards. It is available in English from Pomerica Press, although I read the Spanish original.<sup>1</sup>

Edwards effectively demolishes three myths about Castro's Cuba: First, that it is a humanitarian society; second, that it has improved the welfare of its people; and third, that it is egalitarian. What Edwards found was a ruthless police state at the service of an absolute dictator who rules despotically over an impoverished people.

Edwards was no ordinary visitor. He was the first charge d'affaires appointed by the Chilean government to Cuba when the two countries re-established relations after seven years of hostility following the inauguration of Marxist President Salvador Allende in 1970. Edwards' appointment was a historic event, a symbol of a new relationship between two socialist governments.

Edwards was in Cuba during the first three months of the Allende administration, when the seeds of later conflict were being planted. From Cuba he went to the Chilean embassy in Paris to work for the famous communist poet Pablo Neruda, who encouraged him to tell the story. The book assumes that the reader knows about the tragic death of Allende's *Unidad Popular* administration and the resurrection of fascism in Chile. What Edwards tells us is about the other fascism—the "revolutionary" kind.

At the time of his appointment, Edwards was a career diplomat assigned to Chile's embassy in Lima, Peru. A leftist writer and intellectual, Edwards is a poor relative of one of Chile's wealthiest families. Ironically, Edwards' uncle had been Chile's last ambassador to Havana before the break in diplomatic relations in the early sixties. A "liberation socialist," Edwards had publicly supported his friend

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very far either. But Mahdi-watchers can always hope.

15. *Gut Fears of Islam; the 1930's Movie Connection.* In all the hysteria about Muslim Fanaticism there is a touch of old movie. Perhaps there has been an almost neo-Jungian penetration of deep anti-Muslim symbols and fears into the American psyche. Maybe from seeing too many Gary Cooper-French Foreign Legion — Evil and Crazy Arab pictures. Surely you know what I mean. A dozen heroic French Foreign Legionnaires, led by Gary Cooper and ably seconded by Victor McLaglen, are riding across the trackless wastes of the Sahara Desert. There they are surrounded, at the ruins of some old fort, by hundreds of fanatical, hopped up, kamikaze-type Arabs, who are willing to die for their crazed beliefs; one by one the heroic white men get picked off, until zero or one or two are rescued (depending on whether it is an Optimistic or Pessimistic picture). Usually the Arab charges are led by whirling dervishes and other such sinister madmen.

Come on now, fellow Americans! This is *not* 1933, and you are *not* Gary Cooper, and we are *not* hot and thirsty on the Sahara, surrounded by hundreds of fanatical Arabs/Muslims. We're home and safe, in our comfy armchairs, drinking beer watching the Super Bowl. And Jung is dead.

16. *The Persian Imperium.* We have seen a lot about unrest in Iran among the Baluchis, Kurds, Azerbaijanis, et al. But the significance of this unrest has not really penetrated to the media and the American public. It seems pretty clear that Iran is a swollen empire, with the ethnic Persians, in the central core of the country, constituting about half the Iranian population, holding sway over a whole bunch of nationalities on the periphery: The Turkomans in the northeast, the Baluchis in the southeast, Arabs in the southwest, Fars ditto, Kurds in the northwest, and Azerbaijanis in the far northwest. All of these are nations in their own right, and have been oppressed for decades by Persian central control, first under the Shah, and now under Khomeini. One happy result of the Iranian revolution may be to dismember the swollen Persian empire.

How did the empire get this way? How did Persian boundaries extend to include all these minority nationalities? When? Why doesn't the New York Times tell us?

17. *You Can't Know the Ayatollahs Without a Scorecard.* The Iranian crisis has brought to the fore a whole unfamiliar hierarchy of Shiites in Iran, melded in as yet unclear ways into a theocracy over the country. From what we can piece together, here is a tentative reader's guide to all the hierarchs. In the first place, as we mentioned earlier, no one picks or appoints Ayatollahs or any other hierarch. They are picked from below, by public approval of their learning, wisdom, whatever — in a free-market manner. Ayatollahs are selected by the faithful in much the same way as judges would be picked in an anarcho-capitalist society, or were picked under older tribal or common law: those who were considered the ablest, wisest, most learned, etc.

On the lowest level, there is the *mullah*, the local preacher. There are thousands of mullahs throughout Iran, and these indeed constituted the main organization for the revolution. *Ulemas* are teaching mullahs, comparable to professors. Above the mullahs are the *ayatollahs*, of whom there are many dozens throughout Iran. And above them, selected by the same process of veneration by the faithful, are the *Grand Ayatollahs*, of which there are six in Iran. Khomeini is one of the *Grand Ayatollahs*. Of the six, two are inactive somewhere in the boonies, and one of the four actives is quite ill. Khomeini has, of course, acquired supreme political leadership, first of the revolution and now of Iran, and hence is considered the *Imam*. (That is why some? all? of the militant "students" call themselves Followers of the Imam's Line.) Khomeini is considered, or at least used to be considered, only the second ranking Grand Ayatollah in terms of wisdom and holiness. First ranking was always the Grand Ayatollah Kazem Shariat-Madari (of whom more below). Shariat-Madari was originally the leader of the anti-Shah revolution, but he proved too moderate, staying at home instead of leaving into exile, and willing to give the neo-Shah puppet premier Shahpur Bakhtiar a chance. Hence, allowing Khomeini to seize leadership. Shariat-Madari is now heading an Azerbaijani rebellion against Khomeini because he objects to Khomeini's new constitution for Iran proclaiming himself *Faghi* for life. *Faghi* is absolute ruler, and I guess could be considered an Imam with political muscle. All clear now?

18. *Old Curmudgeons in Iran.* For us Old Curmudgeons, there is a particularly lovable aspect to the current Iranian regime. They are, first of all, as Old Curmudgeonly as they come. In fact, if TIME can name the Ayatollah Khomeini Man of the Year, then surely he is even more the Old Curmudgeon of the Decade. (I hasten to add,

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Allende's earlier tries for the presidency. Edwards had also written stories for Cuba's state-controlled literary magazine and had even visited the country in 1968 to serve as one of three judges at a "cultural congress" sponsored by Castro's government. This was a time when Chilean-Cuban relations were at an all time low due to Castro's public attacks on Chile's President Eduardo Frei, under whose administration Edwards worked.

Edwards' appointment as *charge d'affaires* to Cuba was temporary, designed to lay the logistical groundwork until an ambassador was appointed and confirmed by the Chilean Senate, a process that was expected to take only a matter of weeks. After that, he would go to Paris. Given Edwards' "leftist" credentials, his friends assured him that he would be treated very well by the Cuban government. Despite some unexplainable misgivings, he himself expected cordial relations with Cuban officials and pleasant get-togethers with the friends he had made at the "cultural congress" two years earlier. But it did not take Edwards very long to realize how wrong these expectations had been.

From the moment of his arrival at Havana's airport until he departed as a *persona non grata* about three months later, Edwards was subjected to systematic humiliations, surveillance, and harassment by the Foreign Ministry and the secret police. There was no diplomatic reception to greet him, a calculated snub he at first interpreted as an innocent (though painful) oversight. As the days and weeks wore on, however, he came to realize that the government was intent on destroying his career and reputation for reasons that he found difficult to understand.

Throughout his brief tenure as Chile's *charge d'affaires*, Edwards was forced to live and carry out his official duties in two rooms at the Havana Riviera hotel, where the walls contained microphones and the police searched his papers at will. The government assigned him a car chauffeured by three different drivers who Edwards suspected were working for the state police. He was sexually baited with attractive, intelligent women who worked as undercover agents. Even friends and acquaintances whom he had made during the "cultural congress" were used to try to entrap Edwards into doing something that could be branded as "counter-revolutionary." The police monitored Edwards' every move including his "off-duty," private visits to the now disgraced intellectuals and writers who had enjoyed so many official favors only two years before during the "cultural congress."

It finally dawned on Edwards that the very credentials as leftist intellectual which he thought would be an asset in Cuba were a liability in a country where intellectuals were no longer useful. He recalled that at the "cultural congress" he had joined a second judge from Argentina in a vote to award the first prize to a young Cuban journalist and story-teller, Jose N. Fuentes. Fuentes had written a book of sensitive stories about the effect of war on Castro's soldiers and anti-Castro guerrillas who fought in the Escambray mountains in the sixties. The third member of the jury, a representative of the Cuban government, objected vigorously to the decision, but could not deprive Fuentes of the prize.

Unfortunately for Fuentes, this was the end of his literary career. Shortly after the closure of the congress he was denounced in *Verdo Olivo* (Olive Green), the journal of the Armed Forces, and denied any more opportunities to express ideas which the regime regarded as lacking the proper "revolutionary" fervor.

At the time, Edwards had naively interpreted the judge's behavior as reflecting purely literary differences. It wasn't until later that he understood the political ramifications of the event. Upon his return to Cuba as a diplomat he realized that, in the eyes of the government, he had sinned and the "revolution" does not treat sinners lightly. They must burn for their "bourgeois" transgressions.

Edwards soon learned that the "cultural congress" had been Castro's last flirtation with the international "left set" of Marxist and "revolutionary" writers and artists. Shortly after the congress closed, all the country's intellectuals were put on notice to support the "revolution" unconditionally or else. Those who insisted on maintaining an independent posture, even within the narrow parameters of Marxism or "leftism," were branded "bourgeois intellectuals" to be silenced,

intimidated and ostracized by a government which had no use for criticism, however devout and inoffensive. "In Cuba we don't need critics. It is easy to criticize . . . What we need are builders of society." the Chancellor of the University of Havana told Edwards near the end of his stay.

Unaware of the regime's anti-intellectualism at first, Edwards sought out the literary friends and acquaintances he had made in the sixties. He found practically all of them demoralized, fearful, resentful and unhappy. Only Heberto Padilla, the internationally known poet, was still riding high and under the illusion that his friends in the "left set" could protect his independence from the government. While Edwards was still in Cuba, Padilla even read a series of poems mildly critical of Castro's militarism to a small crowd of mostly enthusiastic young listeners. Even the Soviet ambassador was present and offered his congratulations to the poet.

Several weeks later, when Edwards was no longer in Cuba, Padilla was arrested. Shortly after that, Padilla and his friends publicly recanted their "counter-revolutionary" heresies and denounced all those in the "left set" who had protested their arrest from abroad.

Edwards' book is much more than a tale of "revolutionary" oppression, however. It also is a vivid account of hierarchical privilege and elite riches in a country impoverished by "socialism."

Edwards arrived in the midst of the most serious economic crisis in the history of the "revolution." This was the time when the wreckage of the "ten-million ton sugar harvest" that wasn't, had become painfully evident to all. The harvest had been the latest in a long series of economic disasters caused by reckless campaigns to shape the island's economy to the likes of Castro and his government.

The first big disaster was Guevara's failure to industrialize the country in one massive stroke upon coming to power. As Minister of Industry, he wasted precious scarce resources in large purchases of factories and machinery from the "socialist bloc." It was only later that he discovered that the finished goods could be obtained in the world market at a price which was lower than the cost of the raw materials required to put the factories to work. Cuba could simply not violate the economic law of comparative advantage.

Guevara's failure as an economist may have been the reason why he sought "revolutionary" martyrdom in Bolivia. For his part, Castro wasted no time in reversing his policies. He turned the economy around and with characteristic arrogance launched his preposterous "ten million ton sugar harvest" (the record "pre-revolutionary" harvest had been around 7 million tons.) Advisers and counselors who objected or tried to explain to Castro that it wouldn't work were banished to the cane fields to do penance for their "defeatism."

The harvest was given first economic priority, overriding all other claims to resources by competing lines of production. The country was mobilized as if for war. It didn't work. Unfortunately but predictably, the defeat against nature and economics was not confined to the cane fields. The economic dislocations wrecked Cuba's productive capacities. Characteristically, Castro confessed his "mistakes" and imposed even greater sacrifices on a population already suffering from ten years of "revolutionary" deprivation. Even harsher police state measures were imposed to forestall any possible popular uprisings like the ones that had shaken Poland a short time before. Edwards was unable to find out if the inprudent advisors who had argued against the *zafra* (harvest) had been rehabilitated.

Edwards' book presents additional confirmation (as if any more were needed) that Castro's centralized and personalistic management of the economy has impoverished the Cuban people. Of course, anyone who has any respect for facts would have no trouble interpreting World Bank statistics which show that between 1960 and 1976, Cuba's per capita income actually declined at an average annual rate of .4 per cent, the only country in Latin America to suffer a drop in living standards during the period.<sup>2</sup> Several communist diplomats from Europe whispered to Edwards that the Cuban economy was a failure and that Chile should avoid copying Castro's "socialist model." Castro and his apologists cannot excuse away the dismal economic record of the "revolution" by blaming it on the U. S. trade "blockade." In the first place, Marxist *dependencia* (dependency) theory, which Castro himself has popularized, holds that American "monopoly capitalism" exploits the third world when it

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# The Ruling Class: Kolko and Domhoff

by Lance Lamberton

Reading Gabriel Kolko's *The Triumph of Conservatism* alongside, or in conjunction with Domhoff's *Who Rules America?* can be very illuminating, because Kolko's book describes how the ruling class attained its prominence during the Progressive Era, and Domhoff's book describes the ruling class today, and how it functions and maintains its hegemony. The *Triumph of Conservatism* is a political history, and *Who Rules America?* is a social study. The themes of the two books are supportive of one another and should be read together if possible, since Kolko's book answers questions that must invariably crop up in the mind of the reader of *Who Rules America?* How, when, and why did the social upper class become a ruling class or power elite in America, so that the interests of big business

and big government are subservient and mutually protective of each other?

If one is to accept Domhoff's basic premise that the social upper class is the ruling class in America, then the answer to the question of how and when this class relationship came about can be open to a variety of interpretations. One can maintain that this class relationship was transplanted intact from class stratified 17th century England, and simply underwent evolutionary modifications to suit a new political environment. Or one can argue on the opposite extreme that the current power structure is largely the result of changes that occurred in the American polity from the post World War II period.

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exchanges industrial goods for raw materials. Logically, then, the result of the blockade should have been the rapid development of the Cuban economy now that it was free at last from capitalist shackles.

Secondly, French Marxist economist Rene Dumont has carefully documented that most of Cuba's economic failures have domestic causes, primarily Castro's penchant for running the economy as if it were his own personal estate. Dumont visited Cuba five times during the sixties, the last time as Castro's personal guest. In his studies of the Cuban economy, Dumont found an extreme centralization of economic decision-making and the allocation of vast resources to purely arbitrary goals established by Castro himself. Dumont recommended the de-personalization, decentralization, de-bureaucratization and democratization of Cuba's economy. He also urged the adoption of quasi-capitalist measures to improve efficiency, such as the charging of interest and rent to state enterprises, the use of markets to determine commodity prices and the application of material incentives to induce higher productivity among the workers. He did this in reports to government agencies, personal encounters with Castro and in two books, *Cuba: Socialism and Development* and *Is Cuba Socialist?* The second book was written after the last visit and is much more critical of Castro's policies than the first; it contends that Cuba is not socialist but a personal dictatorship. Castro later denounced Dumont as a CIA agent.

For those who like to romanticize "revolutionary" poverty, Edwards provides vivid imagery of the miseries which the Cuban people have had to endure on account of Castro's economic adventurism. Among them are the tyranny of the ration card, which chains the population to interminable queues in order to obtain a meager subsistence allowance; the empty store shelves; the worthlessness of paper money with which the workers are paid; the forced "voluntary" labor which is not paid but "celebrated"; the deterioration of Havana, once one of Latin America's most modern cities, now a shell of its former self; and the shortages of just about everything, except promises and propaganda.

Edwards, too, blames the economic failure on poor planning, on "giantism," on useless projects with which Castro becomes infatuated, like the making of exotic cheeses and the building of huge parks. Edwards observed expensive rows of rusting agricultural machinery left idle for weeks; the dusty remnants of a "green belt" which was to surround Havana with orchards and farms; and Castro's personal dairy where he blends exquisite milk; and he could not help but contrast this "socialist waste" with the efficiency of capitalist management in rural Chile.

The last myth demolished by Edwards is that Castro's Cuba is an "egalitarian" society. Edwards describes a system in which a ruling military elite headed by the two Castro brothers lives in splendid luxury with seemingly inexhaustible resources at its command, totally unencumbered by ration cards or other economic restrictions under which the rest of the population has to live.

Edwards was able to observe Castro's imperial living style at close range on several occasions. A particularly revealing event was Castro's visit to a Chilean navy ship, the *Esmeralda*, which visited Havana's harbor for a few days while Edwards was still the Chilean representative

in Cuba. From the moment he arrived with great fanfare at the docks and boarded the ship with a contingent of armed bodyguards against the explicit instructions of the Chilean captain, Castro behaved like a spoiled emperor whose every wish must be satisfied and every joke laughingly appreciated. At one time during the visit, Castro lectured the captain about the great historic importance of his life for the survival of the "revolutionary process." This was his way of apologizing for bringing armed men aboard the ship.

Making "revolution" has been more than a mystical experience for its creators. They have actually profited materially from their enterprise. Imported cars, historic buildings, sumptuous accommodations, quality liquor and cigars, exotic delicacies, royal entourages, retinues of obsequious servants and aides, armed guards, a huge personal army . . . these constitute the income which a former flunky from the University of Havana, a petty student gangster, now earns as "messiah of the revolution." Edwards records that when Castro visits a village, dozens of young girls rush to hold his hands. Edwards calls him a Neptune, a god. I would call him Napoleon IV, Emperor of the Third World.

If there is a major flaw in Edwards' book, it is that his conclusions are not comprehensive enough. Despite the "revolutionary" fascism which he found in Castro's Cuba, Edwards still holds out hope for a libertarian socialism, for a "revolution" without the police state.

Edwards fails to realize that socialism on the scale practiced in Cuba is simply incompatible with individual freedom and human rights. Liberty is meaningless without private property.<sup>5</sup> Where most of society's resources are "collectivized," control over them is monopolized by a ruling elite, which uses this power to perpetuate itself in office. Dissent becomes a "counter-revolutionary," "reactionary" or "anti-social" activity.

It is only where resources can be owned by individuals independent of the government that freedom and human rights can be defended. Where individuals own houses and lease apartments, the police cannot enter at will; where individuals own newspapers and other forms of mass communication, intellectual expression cannot be stifled. But wherever government treats everything under its domain as "public property" subject to its control, dissent is impossible. How can a writer, for example, express dissenting views in a country where all the paper, the printing presses, the publishing houses and the media are owned and managed by the government as is true in Cuba under Castro? A "libertarian socialism" is a Utopia. Only private property can safeguard human rights and freedom.

### NOTES

1. Jorge Edwards, *Persona Non Grata* (New York: Pomerica Press, 1977). The Spanish version was published in 1976 by Ediciones Grijalbo, S. A., Deu y Mata, 98, Barcelona, 14, Spain. It is available at Libros Espanoles, S. A., 1898 S. W. 8th St., Miami, Florida 33135.
2. *World Development Report* (Washington, D. C.: The World Bank, 1978) pp. 76-77.
3. New York: Grove Press, 1970.
4. New York: Viking Press, 1974.
5. On the relationship between private property and individual freedom see Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962) and Murray Rothbard, *For a New Liberty* (New York: Collier Books, 1978). □

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It is plausible to assert that everything rests on historical antecedents going back to the beginning of Colonial America, and from there to the beginning of human civilization. Kolko claims that the basic structure of what he would call contemporary political capitalism owes its origins to the political changes that occurred during the Progressive Era: 1900-1916. In making this that consensus historians give to this era, and thus aptly calls his book, "A reinterpretation of American History."

What, in brief summary, is the difference between the consensus and Kolko's interpretation of this era? Consensus historians claim that progressivism was a popular response to the growth of big business through the establishment of trusts, mergers, and consolidations, which threatened to grow to the point where all major industries would become monopolies in the hands of one, or at the most a handful, of giant corporations. Such a development would eliminate competition within the economy, and the public would be at the mercy of corporations which could then dictate consumer prices, labor costs, and quality of service at their arbitrary whim, with the general public having no recourse through the mechanism of market competition. Therefore, the government had to step in and break up trusts which threatened to become monopolies, and set up regulatory agencies which would assure that big business would not gouge the public.

Kolko counters this interpretation by stating that most of the largest corporations attempted merger and consolidation between 1896-1901, with a view towards reducing or eliminating what they considered ruinous and cutthroat competition from rapidly emerging smaller competitors. This merger movement proved to be largely unsuccessful, with the merged corporations controlling progressively less and less of the market, and their profit margins beginning to shrink. This failure to acquire monopoly control was the result of a variety of free market factors, which must of necessity prevent the existence of monopolies, except with the protection of the government. These factors were:

- 1.) A rapidly expanding market which the large corporations could not keep up with.
- 2.) The diseconomy of scale: when corporations exceed a certain optimum size for that industry, they become less efficient producers.
- 3.) The basic conservatism of most large corporations to not take dangerous risks which their smaller competitors were willing to take since they had less to lose.\*
- 4.) The smaller companies were far more innovative in the area of technological advancement. In fact, many companies owed their origin to the development of more efficient technological processes.
- 5.) Attempts to minimize competitive threats by mutual cooperation through trade associations and gentlemen's agreements were miserable failures. There was always some non-conforming company which would violate any cartel arrangement as soon as a competitive advantage could be exploited.
- 6.) "Creation of mergers . . . led to the availability of funds in the hands of capitalists which often ended . . . in the creation of competing firms." (p. 20) This was accomplished by promoters and stock brokers offering stock on newly merged companies worth generally 50% more overall than the capital value of the companies merged. This additional capital on the stock market and in the banks was used to create new firms.

For these, and other minor reasons, the efforts towards consolidation and merger failed.

It was then that big business went to the federal government to clamor for regulation to reduce competition and provide stability. Kolko offers a detailed narrative of the events and personalities which led to the creation of the I. C. C., the F. T. C., and the Federal Reserve Board.<sup>9</sup> It is Kolko's contention that there was an identification of class and social values

1.) A prime example is the failure of Standard Oil to purchase and invest to any substantial degree in the newly discovered oil reserves of Texas and California. When greater demand for oil occurred with the development of the automobile, it was the small, new oil companies that were able to meet the demand, and not Standard Oil. By the time Standard Oil was broken up by Roosevelt's Anti-Trust suit in 1911, Standard was already on a ten year decline in the percentage of the market it controlled.

2.) Kolko's account of the establishment of the I. C. C. is covered in his

book, *Railroads & Regulation*, and is therefore not taken up in any detail in *Triumph of Conservatism*.

between key political and business leaders, without which the emergence of political capitalism would have been impossible.

Consensus historians contend that federal regulation was fiercely resisted by a business community which desired no obstruction to their sinister end of monopolization and control over the national economy. In contrast, Kolko claims that big business needed the coercive power of government, through regulation guided by business, in order to accomplish the goals which the merger movement intended, but which could not be accomplished in a truly free market. The conventional historian would look askance at Kolko's thesis, not understanding how government regulation and big business interests are of necessity harmonious within the framework of the American polity.

The primary means by which regulation would serve the interests of the status quo are as follows:

- 1.) Comprehensive federal regulation would eliminate troublesome state regulation, especially for the large corporations which were national in scope. Within this context it is important to remember that the preeminent business and political leaders on the national level were from the same social upper class. Hence big business could shape the nature of federal regulation, but could not do so as effectively on the local and state level, where the upper class exercised less power and influence. State regulation was also troublesome because it was extremely complicated and costly to satisfy many different regulations, as opposed to satisfying the requirements of one regulatory agency.
- 2.) Regulation served as a buffer zone to deflect public antagonism against big business. The establishment of the I. C. C. and the F. T. C., to give two major examples, led the public to believe that they were being protected from the avarice of business.
- 3.) Regulation made it possible for "trade associations to stabilize, for the first time, prices within their industries, and make effective oligopoly a new phase of the economy." (p. 268) This was the basic function of the F. T. C. It could restrict entry into various industries, fix prices, and give prior approval to any merger agreement. This last function served to protect business from anti-trust litigation by giving prior sanction. In essence it formalized the institution of detente between business and government.
- 4.) The primary purpose of the Federal Reserve Board was to arrest the growing decentralization within the banking community, as the power and influence of the national banking establishment was being undermined by the growth of state chartered commercial and savings banks. The F. R. B. was successful in its goal of centralizing control of credit and currency, and the New York banking establishment regained its former dominance which it had lost due to the free market forces leading to increased competition and decentralization.

Kolko's detailed (even tedious) accounts of the personalities and events which led to extensive federal regulation are impressive, and invariably lead to only one possible conclusion: that the largest, and most powerful companies within any specific industry worked diligently to influence the upper echelons of the Federal Government to impose federal regulations. His exhaustive analysis includes the meat packing industry, the steel industry, the oil industry, the tobacco industry, insurance, banking, and the railroads. He repeatedly states that these efforts, and the specific form in which the regulations took, was because, "business and political elites of the Progressive Era had largely identical social ties and origins." (p. 59) By making this claim he provides the historical framework for the theme of Domhoff's volume. □

### ARMY

Politician's pride  
Dictator's machine  
The octopus  
That extends  
Its tentacles  
Of destruction  
In order  
To survive

—Augustin De Mello

# Afghanistan — (Continued From Page 1)

that they could not tolerate a pro-U.S. anti-Soviet regime on its borders, the Russians then moved to depose Daud and replace him with the Communist Nur Taraki, in April 1978. Ever since then, Afghanistan has been under the heel of one Communist ruler or another; yet nobody complained, and no American president threatened mayhem. The reason for the latest Soviet invasion is simple but ironic in our world of corn-fed slogans. For the problem with Hafizullah Amin, the prime minister before the Soviet incursion, was that he was *too* Commie for the Russians. As a fanatical left-Communist, Amin carried out a brutal program of nationalizing the peasantry and torturing opponents, a policy of collectivism and repression that fanned the flames of guerrilla war against him. Seeing Afghanistan about to slip under to the West once again, the Soviets felt impelled to go in to depose Amin and replace him with an Afghan Communist, Babrak Karmal, who is much more moderate a Communist and *therefore* a faithful follower of the Soviet line. There are undoubtedly countless conservatives and Social Democrats who still find it impossible to conceive of Soviet tools who are more moderate than other Communists, but it is high time they caught up with several decades of worldwide experience.

I deplore the Soviet invasion; I hope for victory of the Afghan masses; and I expect that eventually, as in Vietnam, the oppressed masses will triumph over the Soviet invaders and their puppet regime. The Afghans will win. But that is no reason whatever for other nations, including the United States, to leap into the fray. We must not die for Kabul!

The crocodile tears shed for the Afghans point up once again the disastrous concept of "collective security" which has provided the basis for U.S. foreign policy since Woodrow Wilson and is the very heart and soul of the United Nations. Collective security means that any border skirmish anywhere, any territorial rectification, any troubles of any pipsqueak country, necessarily provides the sparkplug for a general holocaust, for a world war "against aggression". The world does not have one government, and so international war is *not* a "police action", despite the successful attempt of the warmonger Harry Truman to place that seemingly innocuous label on his military invasion of Korea. U.S. hysteria over Afghanistan is the bitter fruit of the doctrine of collective security. If we are to avoid nuclear holocaust, if we are to prevent World War III, we must bury the doctrine of collective security once and for all, we must end the idea of the United States as God's appointed champion of justice throughout the world. We must pursue, in the immortal words of classical liberal Sydney Smith, quoted in this issue, "apathy, selfishness, common sense,

arithmetic." But we can't be apathetic in *this* pursuit, because time's a wastin'. American officials are ominously spreading the word that the Afghan crisis is the most threatening foreign affairs situation since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, or even since World War II. No doubt: but *only because* the Carter administration and the war hawks have made it so.

Libertarians must mobilize to Stop the War, and to stop it now! We must stop the embargo (Carter's favorite foreign policy tactic), which is both criminal and counterproductive. Criminal because it aggresses against the rights of private property and free exchange. Criminal because it represses trade and thereby injures both the American public and the innocent civilian public of both Iran and Afghanistan. Counterproductive because, while hurting innocent civilians, embargoes do nothing to injure the power elites of either side. Embargoes will only unify the people of Iran or Afghanistan behind their regimes, which they will identify as defending them and their food supply against the aggressor Carter. We must stop the war; ever since Kennedy abandoned his feeble attempt to talk sense on Iran because of the war hysteria that poured over him, there is no peace candidate on the American scene. The Libertarian party, if it has the will to do so, and to follow its own clear platform, can be the peace party in this terribly troubled time. If it raises a loud and clear call for peace and for opposition to the war hysteria, it can earn the gratitude of all Americans who cherish peace and freedom, and of future generations of Americans who will, one hopes, emerge from the bloody century-long miasma of nationalist chauvinism to see their way clear at long last for the truly American and the genuinely libertarian policy of non-intervention and peace. □

# Notes on Iran — (Continued From Page 4)

to cover my flanks in the movement, that the Ayatollah is most emphatically *not* a Libertarian. But he is definitely an Old Curmudgeon *extraordinaire*.)

But there is a more detailed point to make. For another charming aspect of the Iranian regime is the veneration for age. For *one* of the reasons that the Grand Ayatollah Shariat-Madari has broken angrily with Khomeini is — in addition to the totalitarian and centralizing nature of the regime — because Shariat-Madari, formerly the mentor of Khomeini, considers Khomeini a young pup of 79. Shariat-Madari, you see, is all of 81. As us Old Curmudgeons get inexorably older, facing an American culture that is slap-happy over youth, the attractions of a reverence for elder Ayatollahs grow greater. □

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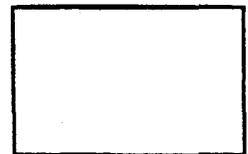
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## The Presidential Campaign: The Need For Radicalism

(The following is adapted from a speech given by the editor at the convention of the Free Libertarian Party of New York, in Albany, N.Y. on March 29.)

The first and most important task of a Libertarian Presidential campaign is to cleave to, and be proud of, libertarian principle throughout the campaign. Second, we must select the *most important* political issues of the day on which to campaign. Thus, at one point, before I became a Communist monster in their eyes, the conservative Buckley-clique thought of me as a lovable nut who put first and foremost a call for denationalization of lighthouses. Much as I hate to disappoint them, and much as I am devoted to private lighthouses, I must admit that this plank should not be a top priority for us during this presidential campaign.

We cannot discuss the *issues* which should have top priority in 1980, without also discussing the *candidates* whom Ed Clark will be likely to face. Until now, with nearly a dozen major party candidates in the race, we have all been properly giving equal weight to attacking each one. But now things are different. Most of the dozen turkeys have dropped out. It looks certain that Reagan will be the Republican, and probable that Carter will be the Democratic nominee.

I'm therefore going to make a daring statement: the No.1 threat, the big threat, to the liberty of Americans in this campaign is *Ronald Reagan*.

There are two basic reasons for this statement: (1) fundamental principle, and (2) the proper strategy for the LP Presidential campaign. Both principle and strategy, as they should, mesh together.

First, on the question of basic principle. The No.1 priority for libertarians must always be foreign policy, a policy of peace, of militant opposition to war and foreign intervention. Many libertarians are unfortunately uncomfortable with foreign policy as the top priority, or even as any sort of priority at all. For one thing, they often *don't know anything* about foreign policy; and they don't see how libertarian principles apply in that arena. They can understand full well why we should oppose price controls, but they don't understand why we should be against intervention in the Persian Gulf or Afghanistan, or oppose nuclear war.

But the explanation for top priority for non-intervention is really pretty simple. For the incineration of hundreds of millions of people in nuclear war — in a mass murder unparalleled in human history — is a worse violation of human liberty even than price-wage controls or the latest regulations by OSHA. Murder — a

*fortiori* mass murder — is a greater violation of a person's liberty than theft or dictatorial control.

Secondly, war has always been the occasion for a huge, catastrophic leap into statism, a leap that occurs during the war and lasts as a permanent legacy afterwards. As the great libertarian Randolph Bourne warned, as we entered the disaster of World War I, "war is the health of the state." Time and again, war and foreign intervention destroyed our ancestors — the classical liberal movement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In England, Germany, France, and the United States, this tragedy repeatedly took place. In the United States, the big leaps into statism came with war: the War of 1812, the Civil War, World Wars I and II, and the Cold War.

So — opposition to war and foreign intervention must be our top priority in this campaign. This is particularly true as the Carter administration has moved sharply away from detente, and as the entire Establishment has expressed its joy in abandoning the troublesome lessons of Vietnam — the lessons of the unforeseen length, the butchery, the counter-productives of war.

With the primary importance of war and peace as our guide, therefore, we must conclude that the No.1 threat to our liberties is Ronald Reagan and the conservative movement from which he springs. Reagan's calm and superficially reassuring personality — a calm and a reassurance that stems partly from slow-wittedness — is beside the point: for Ronald Reagan is a sincere ideologue of the conservative movement. And for the last twenty-five years, conservatism has been above all and if it has not been anything else, a policy of all-out global anti-Soviet crusade, a policy hellbent for a nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union.

That is why a Reagan presidency would likely bring about that showdown, and the consequent virtual incineration of the human race. At every crisis point in the last three decades, the conservatives were there, whooping it up for more and more war: in Korea, at the Berlin Wall, in Cuba, in Vietnam. Only recently Reagan called for a "vast" (*his word*) increase in military spending — this when we already have enough missiles to destroy Russia many times over in a second nuclear strike. Reagan calls for intervention everywhere, in the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan, and demands the blockade of Cuba in alleged retaliation for the incursion into Afghanistan. And what is more, in the service of this policy of global war and militarism, Reagan would totally

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## The Presidential Campaign —

(Continued From Page 1)

“unleash” the FBI and CIA, to do again their foul deeds of harrassing political dissent, or invasion of privacy, or espionage and assassination.

Ronald Reagan and the conservative movement are confident that, in one or in a series of hard-line confrontations, in a continuing game of “chicken” with the Soviets, they could keep forcing Russia to back down. But if they should happen to make just one miscalculation along the way, and we all get destroyed in a nuclear war, the conservatives would not be particularly dismayed. They would take this result as final proof that the Russians are monsters, and they would be all too content that, though the world be destroyed, our immortal souls will have been preserved.

To say that such a foreign policy is dangerous and catastrophic grossly underestimates the point. The property, the lives, the very survival of all of us depend on slamming the door on Reagan and Reaganism, on keeping the itchy fingers of Ronald Reagan and his Dr. Strangelove colleagues far, far away from that nuclear button.

This is not to say, of course, that Carter is a great pro-peace candidate. To the contrary, in a political climate where the *only* voices of opposition are from the pro-war right wing, Carter, whose only principle has been to stay in office, is moving rapidly in a Reaganite direction.

The scrapping of detente, the hysteria over the Russian moves in Afghanistan, — a country that even conservatives had never put in the U.S. defense perimeter, the placing of theater nuclear missiles in Western Europe, the stepping up of military spending, have all been very dangerous moves. But they have occurred not because Carter is a principled warmonger — thank goodness — but because we have been existing in a pro-war vacuum, with no room for contrasting opinion.

Even the pseudo-opposition candidates, Kennedy and Anderson, have confined their few and scattered remarks on foreign policy to attacking Carter's weakness and vacillation: On Afghanistan, on Cuba, on the grain embargo. Having said these few words, they are relieved to return to their favorite themes: Kennedy in calling for a wage-price freeze, and Anderson in trumpeting his own courage in calling for a grain embargo and a high gasoline tax.

No — there is only *one* peace candidate in 1980, and thank God he is in the campaign — and that is Ed Clark!

Clark has a golden opportunity to make war and the threat of war the major issue in this campaign. In the process, he can demonstrate to conservative-minded people that we can't have cuts in government spending — and we can't have effective cuts in taxes — while military spending goes through the roof. And that we can't avoid controls and regulations in a war economy — if indeed there is any economy for people at all left to worry about if war comes.

So those are the principled reasons for stressing war and peace as the No. 1 issue of this presidential campaign. The other basic reason is *strategic*. For as it stands now, Ronald Reagan is going to take away a lot of Clark votes. A lot of people I have met around the country simply regard Libertarians and the LP as “extreme Reaganites”, as “purist conservatives.” And so they say: “I agree with you Libertarians, but you're impractical. I know that Reagan isn't as pure as Clark, but Reagan can get elected and Clark can't, so why don't you abandon all this starry-eyed naivete and get behind Ronnie?”

We've got to let these people and all libertarian-inclined folk know, and make it clear to everyone else for that matter: that *if* they were right, that if we were really just extreme conservatives or ultra-Reaganites, they would *then* have a darned good point. But the vital point is this: we are not repeat *not* extreme conservatives; we are not Reaganites. We regard Ronald Reagan and the conservative movement as our No. 1 enemy — for they carry with

them at all times the stench of nuclear annihilation.

It is the failure, the widespread failure, of all too many libertarians to stress foreign policy that generates this confusion. So if we do stress foreign policy, if we hammer again and again at the war question and at Reaganism, we will demonstrate to all the unbridgeable chasm that lies between us and the conservative movement. And, as we do that, as we show this clear and dramatic cleavage, we will stop losing votes to Reagan, and we will gain votes from the confused who see little distinction and from people who are opposed above all else to foreign intervention and to war.

Both principle and strategy, therefore, dictate making the war question our top priority for the 1980 campaign.

There are, in addition, other crucial issues for 1980. One is *the draft and registration*. I don't have to elaborate on the importance of this battle. For all libertarians, at whatever part of our spectrum, are united in intense opposition to the draft. But I should underline one key point. It is *politically* — though not conceptually — impossible to be opposed to war and yet favor the draft. Opposition to cold and hot war takes the last prop away from the drive to reinstate the draft.

Then there is *taxes* — surely our key domestic issue should be to offer drastic, that means *drastic*, cuts in taxes. Here again, principle and strategy fuse together. Taxes are a uniquely libertarian issue. And the nation has seen a growing tax rebellion in the last few years. This year, California may pass “Son of Jarvis”, Proposition 9 cutting the state income tax *in half*. It would be criminal for the LP to fall behind the growing anti-tax sentiment throughout the nation. We must *lead* the sentiment for tax cuts, not tail it.

This brings me to a vital general point, which applies not only to taxes but also to our positions on all the other issues: that on all of them, we must have the principle and the courage to be *radical* — to hold high the banner of libertarian principle, to urge the principles as well as the detailed political applications in our great platform, to call for dramatic and radical advances toward these principles, and, finally, to state our case boldly, clearly, and dramatically.

There are two basic reasons for taking this radical stance: once again, they are both basic *principle* and correct *strategy*. On the question of principle, as the LP gets stronger and more influential, and gets an influx of more money, votes, and media attention, the temptation inevitably arises to waffle, to hide our principles, to get deliberately fuzzy, to seek “respectability” rather than principle. We must shun this temptation to opportunism as the very plague.

For we are, and must always be, what we proudly proclaim ourselves: The party of principle. Our principles are the whole point of what we're doing, and why we're all here today. If we hide, fuzz over, or betray these principles, we have no reason for our existence. And we would then do better to shut up shop altogether. For if we don't hold our own principles aloft, *who will?*

These principles and their applications to political issues are all embodied in our superb national platform. Our platform should be something to *stand on*, to display proudly, not to hide in embarrassment in some dark corner.

And so, on taxes, we should reiterate our goal to get rid of this engine of organized theft and oppression. In the meantime, let us propose tax cuts that are *really* “drastic” (to quote from the platform). In particular, it is vital that we keep our proposals simple, clear, and dramatic. The public is not interested in a four-year Plan, or in a careful and complex structure that loses the real point in a morass of subordinate clauses.

The public is concerned, and rightly so, about *income* taxes. We must propose income tax cuts that are *so* drastic as to make the Reagan-Kemp-Roth 30% cut seem as puny as it really is. Anything that fails to make a dramatic difference between us and Kemp-Roth would be both a betrayal of principle and totally counter-

(Continued On Page 3)

## The Presidential Campaign — (Continued From Page 2)

productive. And, as long as we are talking about a drastic tax cut, how about following our platform and proposing, for openers, *repeal* of the 16th Amendment and therefore of the income tax?

In fact, how's *this* for a tax plan with both principle and punch? I offer it to Ed Clark. Often our Presidential candidates are asked: but how could you get anything accomplished as President without a Libertarian Congress? Here's one way. The President has *unlimited* power to pardon, as we saw in the notorious Ford-Nixon ploy. That power cannot be overridden by the legislature or the courts. Our candidate should announce that when elected President, his first act would be to issue a declaration pardoning all past, present, and future perpetrators of victimless crimes — and that one such non-crime is non-payment of income taxes. At one stroke, federal taxes would be made voluntary, at least for the duration of the Clark presidency. Why shouldn't Clark make and stress such a pronouncement? The heck with the "Anderson" or "Anacin" difference; then we would have a *Clark difference* that would catch everyone's attention!

Next, on the *strategic* reasons for a radical stance. For apart from principle, good strategy dictates that we take a radical position in this campaign, and nowhere more so than on the income tax.

For we are a brand-new party. We are urging voters to cast off the habits of a lifetime and vote, not Democrat or Republican, but for the Libertarian Party. But to do this, we must shake the people up, we must offer them a sharp, radical alternative to the existing parties. For if we sound like *them*, why in blazes should anyone vote for *us*? To use economic jargon, as a new firm we must differentiate our product. A couple of months ago, a writer in *Chic* magazine counseled us to "take on the responsibilities of growth" by getting rid of these restrictive, constraining principles of ours. But I say that if we do this or anything like it, we will lose both our principles *and* our growth. We will collapse, and we will deserve to collapse.

So, both principle and strategy dictate a radical campaign to go hand in hand with our already radical platform and statement of principles.

Let me give an example of the strategy I propose. At his first official press conference kicking off his campaign in Washington D.C. on January 20, Ed Clark was asked, in the question period, what his ultimate goals might be. Clark did not evade, he did not equivocate. He answered as befits the spokesman of the party of principle. Let me quote from the *New York Times* report:

"Most Presidential candidates this year are talking about reducing the cost of government. Many are talking about reducing government itself. Edward E. Clark is different. He is talking about eliminating government altogether.

The elimination would be accomplished gradually as the public school system was replaced with private facilities, the courts eliminated in favor of private fee-charging arbitration companies, the antitrust laws abolished and all political boundaries between states and localities wiped out . . .

Ultimately, the Libertarian said at a news conference here today, we believe in the complete privatization of society, with a vastly restricted government and a corresponding huge reduction in the taxes that finance that government.

Mr. Clark told a questioner that eventually he advocated returning highway and street systems to private ownership, the way they used to be under Colonial tollroad practices."

*This* is the kind of campaign we should be running throughout.

Ed Clark did not evade or equivocate or hide his and our principles: he stuck to his guns.

But there are powerful voices in our party who counsel otherwise, who have forgotten that our objective in this campaign is not repeat *not* to get millions of votes, but to get the maximum number of votes *for* libertarian principle. We are not interested in votes *per se*: if we were, we should have stuck to the Democrat or Republican parties. But there are those in our party who counsel evasion and deceit, who would have Ed fuzz over and betray his and our principles.

And there is another point, which may seem trivial by comparsion, but is actually very important.

There are powerful voices in our party who counsel that our campaign statements, while sticking to principle, should be *so bland and judicious in tone* that they emerge as almost *boring*. It is quite a feat to take our splendid and exciting principles and make them boring, but it has been done before and it can be done again. But once again: the whole point of our effort is to hold aloft our great principles and spread them far and wide. We have a golden opportunity to do this by means of a mighty campaign, a campaign which can reach millions of people. We must not lose this opportunity; we must not blow it. We must reach the people and fire them up with the exciting message of liberty. For our ideas *are* exciting and dramatic, and to treat them as anything less, to make them bland and have them blend into the political landscape, betrays those principles and *also* loses the votes. Once again, both principle and correct strategy dictate a rousing campaign, not a tepid one.

To sum up: We must avoid any temptation to run anything that so much as smacks of a "Rose Garden" campaign. The "Rose Garden" strategy almost lost the nomination for Ronald Reagan and he, let's not forget, was the frontrunner, a position that at least makes such a strategy plausible. Unfortunately, Ed Clark is *not* the frontrunner. His strategy must be the opposite of the Rose-Garden: it must be to stick to and be proud of libertarian principle: to hold it aloft and then to select the most vital issues of this campaign, and to deliver the message with all the drama and excitement that these issues deserve. This drama will attract to the Clark banner those who are inclined to libertarianism but have not yet heard the message, and also those who are so vitally concerned with one or more of the key issues that they will vote for Clark even if they differ on his other policies. And the Clark campaign must slam with all possible intensity and passion against Reagan and the conservative movement as the great danger that faces all of us, indeed all Americans, today.

If we do all of these things, we should emerge from this campaign as a major force in American politics: not only that, we will never again hear the canard that liberty is just an extreme version of conservatism. Liberty will then be standing on its own feet, proud of its principles and its inherent drama, a vital, independent and growing force in American life. ‡

### Ballad of the IRS

No man who earns a dollar  
Is safe from probing eyes  
He fills out many forms  
And pays until he dies

When a man lies in his grave  
The tax men take his home  
And plague his family members  
Until they weep and moan

No bandits in this country  
Have ever stolen more  
Than infernal tax collectors  
Who thrive on rich and poor

—Agustin De Mello

## The Nuclear Issue Once More

In our special July-August 1979 LP Convention issue, we published a letter to *Libertarian Review* by nineteen prominent and long-time libertarians protesting the one-sided opposition to nuclear energy in LR's July-August issue. After failing to publish the letter in its September issue, LR finally carried it the following month, along with hysterical and vituperative replies; more than that. LR affixed to the names of each of the signers distorted designations to try to bolster the idiotic contention of Roy Childs and his cronies that *Inquiry* and *Reason* (two journals not exactly in cozy symbiosis) had engaged in a dire conspiracy against *Libertarian Review*. George Smith, one of the signers of the letter of nineteen, wrote a letter to LR protesting this shabby treatment, and Wendy McElroy (Grosscup), another signer, speared some of LR's distortions.

Childs & Co. claim that they are interested in an open discussion of the entire nuclear issue. How genuine that claim is may be gauged by the fact that LR refused to publish either the Smith or the McElroy letters, which we are bringing to you below.

Before the usual misunderstanding pops up, let it be made clear that Childs has every legal right to publish or not to publish anything he wants in his own publication. True. But so do we, or anyone else, have the legal right to call his moral character or his probity into question for suppressing letters which expose his own distortions.

All this points up the danger of having the libertarian movement monopolized by one magazine. *Libertarian Review* is becoming dangerously bloated and swollen, its editors puffed by *hubris* into thinking that they *are* the libertarian movement. We have been highly critical of *Reason* in the past, but we must all be thankful that *Reason* and frontlines are *there*, offering an independent voice and diverse "lines" in the libertarian spectrum. The same is to be said for the resurgent *New Libertarian*.

*The suppressed Smith and Elroys letters follow.*

### From George H. Smith

THE EDITOR  
Libertarian Review  
1620 Montgomery Street  
San Francisco, CA 94111

To The Editor:

Readers of *Libertarian Review* who labor under the misapprehension that its Editor is conducting the nuclear power debate with editorial integrity and responsibility should be made aware of a few points concerning the October, 1979 issue.

First, the nineteen signers of the letter protesting the previous "anti-nuclear" issue of LR were not submitted in the same order as they appear in the letters column, nor were they submitted with affiliations to *Inquiry* and *Reason* attached. Roy Childs, in an effort to concoct a "Reason-Inquiry clique" (which must have the staffs of both magazines in switches), decided to score editorial points by altering the original letter.

As it was my idea to write the letter, my name appeared first, followed by Bill Evers, who had a major hand in its drafting. The other seventeen names were listed in alphabetical order. For Milton Mueller to refer to the "Rothbard-Evers letter," when Rothbard had no knowledge of the letter until after it was written and signed by others, is irresponsible and dishonest.

Secondly, the credits assigned to the first nine signers are deceptive. Murray Rothbard is listed as a Contributing Editor of *Inquiry*, but he is also a Contributing Editor of LR. Why was this omitted, if credits are deemed so essential by Mr. Childs? Another signer, Leonard Liggio, is listed without affiliation, but he is an

Associate Editor of LR. Such credits would have made the nuclear controversy appear to be a split within the ranks of LR itself, rather than a conspiracy of *Inquiry* and *Reason* against LR.

So anxious was Roy Childs to manufacture an *Inquiry* clique, that he falsely lists David Gordon as an Associate Editor of *Inquiry*. At the time the letter was written, and until well after it was received by LR, David Gordon had no affiliation whatever with *Inquiry*. Roy knows this. To make matters worse, although David Gordon presently works on the staff on *Inquiry*, he is not an Associate Editor even now. The title was manufactured to buttress specious conspiracy theory.

If Roy Childs has a theory about a *Reason-Inquiry* axis, then he has a perfect right to launch his trial balloon in the pages of LR, however harebrained his theory may appear to others. But to manipulate a letter without the permission of its drafters — indeed, in the face of their strong objections — is another matter. Bill Evers and I objected in advance to the manipulation of signatures, but our protest fell on deaf ears. The best we could get was an assurance that a note would follow the letter explaining the editorial change. No such explanation appeared.

Why was Roy Childs so willing to throw editorial fairplay to the wind? In a conversation he made it clear to me, in no uncertain terms, that he considered the letter to be an "Evers plot," and that he was determined to communicate this to the readers of LR. When I pointed out that it was my idea to write the letter in the first place — and even Roy didn't have the nerve to suggest that I was part of an *Inquiry* clique — I was told by the omniscient Editor that I was being "used" by Bill Evers in a nefarious scheme to discredit LR.

No outside help is needed to discredit Roy Childs; he does an admirable job all by himself. The letter signed by nineteen prominent libertarians and the letters by Eric Mack and Walter Block were calm and to the point. They should have been answered in a similar vein, instead of by immature hysterics — e.g., references to "silly claims," "the gang of nineteen" (Childs), "unthinking nuclear reactionaries," and the insulting quip that Bill Evers is a "clone" of Murray Rothbard (Mueller). Then there is the childish ad in the classified section that typifies the intellectual level at which Roy Childs chooses to conduct this debate.

Some of the issues raised in LR concerning nuclear power are significant and need to be considered by libertarians. I disagree with LR's cause, but it is an important one. I only hope that it will find individuals with integrity to lead it.

### From Wendy McElroy (Grosscup)

Dear Sir:

In response to a straightforward letter criticizing LR's apparent nuclear energy position, Mr. Childs' unmasks the letter as an "attack" by the "Reason-Inquiry clique" (a fact hitherto unknown to its signatories) and shows up some of the most prominent and scholarly of libertarians for what they really are — "a gang of nineteen". A similar letter from Eric Mack is similarly refuted by pointing to Eric's alleged lack of humor and to his griping attitude. I congratulate Mr. Childs on meeting the nuclear power question head-on with such dignity and such desire for honest debate.

He appeals to the readers of LR to "consider who is at fault: LR for raising such issues so strongly, or the major leaders of the libertarian movement, for not having done so before." Putting aside this strange concept of fault/innocence as a matter of timing, Mr. Childs must know that it is the content and not the strength of his presentation which is in question. The content, then and now, appears to be that nuclear power is so dangerous it should be banned rather than privatized. I say this despite Mr.

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## Nuclear Issue — (Continued From Page 4)

Childs' protest to the contrary, for the protest also seems contrary to facts of the matter.

An unpaid ad on the inside cover of LR July/Aug. pictures a tombstone inscribed "Nuclear power is a terrible way to go", but Mr. Childs protests that this free ad does not argue anything. The same issue contains cartoons highlighting the danger of nuclear power through captions such as "Hurry dear, your soup is getting contaminated." But, he protests, the cartoons are not anti-nuclear per se; moreover, anyone who questions their implications is dismissed as a humorless griper. When you add to this particular issue of LR an article by Milton Mueller, who calls not for denationalizing but for "stopping" nuclear power, an interview with Wilson Clark, a strong anti-nuclear industry politico who advocates an excess profit tax on oil companies to finance solar energy and an article by Patrick Lilly who by implication, suggests banning nuclear energy because of its high risks, it is difficult to accept Mr. Childs' *ad hominem* protest of being misunderstood by the world. It is difficult to accept his statement: "nowhere did we (L.R.) oppose nuclear power per se."

Much has been made of this phrase "nuclear power per se". The whole of LR seems bewildered as to what it could possibly mean even though its meaning — particularly in the context of the "gang of nineteen" a/k/a "Rothbard-Evers" a/k/a "Reason-Inquiry clique" letter — is quite clear. It means: nuclear energy at the

present level of technology but without government involvement. Of course, to Milton Mueller who clairvoyantly sees no distinction between denationalizing the industry and simply eliminating it, there is no nuclear energy per se and thus no area of discussion. Those of us who cannot predict the course of the free market, to whom it seems at least conceivable that nuclear energy could be privately used and so wish to investigate that possibility, are "unthinking nuclear reactionaries" and need to be considered no further.

I sympathize with Mr. Childs' stated desire for open, honest debate on this subject, although I am struck by the incongruity of this appeal coming, as it does, at the end of an *ad hominem* editorial response. If Mr. Childs sincerely wants an intelligent exchange (similar to that which Patrick Lilly offered), I would suggest: that he deal with the issues as stated and not with personalities or his analysis of motives; that he acknowledge LR's obvious slant on nuclear power; that he abandon the guise of not understanding objections raised; that he clearly answer the question "If the nuclear industry as it technologically exists today were privatized, would you advocate banning it?"; and that he remain consistent?

Some people are so mentally constructed that they cannot refrain from impugning the motives of others in order to compensate for weakness in their own arguments. I prefer not to believe this of LR and I wait for this letter to be answered with the thoughtfulness of which the staff is capable.

## Quebec: Province or Nation?

by Leonard P. Liggio

For the first half of Canadian history, Quebec was Canada. Quebec was founded in the early 1600's at the same time that the English settled at Jamestown and the Dutch at Manhattan. In 1759-60 Quebec was conquered by England, which granted recognition of the customs of the Quebecois. In their satisfaction, the Quebecois declined to join the American Revolution, and were rewarded for their loyalty by having imposed upon them tens of thousands of the Tories who opposed the American Revolution. Since the more reactionary elements in America tended to be Tories, the potential for an enlightened English-Quebecois relationship was not very great.

During the early nineteenth century, the Quebec leaders were increasingly influenced by nationalism and modernism. From 1815, when he became speaker of the Quebec assembly, Louis Joseph Papineau was the leader of the Patriot party. In 1837 Papineau and his party sought to gain Quebec independence by armed action and were defeated. The Patriot party lacked popular rural support in this endeavor due to the dominant role of the Catholic clergy in the villages. The Catholic clergy stood with the English government and was rewarded by that government with a free hand in the running of local affairs. Meanwhile, Quebec and Ontario were united under a single parliament with the aim of the Anglicization of Quebec. This goal was not achieved because, while the rural people were in the hands of the ordinary clergy, the French-educated class was formed by a strongly international higher education system conducted by the Jesuits. Thus, while the Quebecois masses were the most provincial in Canada, the Quebec leadership was the most sophisticated.

In 1867 Canada became a confederation of provinces, and two national political parties emerged. The conservatives, protectionist, anti-American, oriented to England, were rooted in the English Protestant provinces. The Liberals, free traders, not anti-American or oriented to England, had their strongest base in Catholic Quebec. For 32 years the national Liberal leader was Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier's fifteen years as prime minister occurred in the midst of an important conflict over the rights of French parents to have their children instructed in French in provinces other than

Quebec. Teaching in French had been outlawed in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. In 1890 Manitoba outlawed Catholic schools and the teaching of French, in conflict with its own provincial constitution. Laurier insisted on supporting the provincial autonomy of Manitoba, and set the stage for restrictions in what became Alberta and Saskatchewan (reaffirmed in 1905), in Ontario in 1915 and culminating in a Saskatchewan law in prohibiting the teaching of French outside school hours.

An additional area of English-Quebec conflict concerned the rise of English imperialism. The Quebecois have no interest in England's wars, while the English supported very actively England's conquest of the Boer Republics in South Africa. The Canadian government was pressured by England and the English in Canada to develop a national military establishment. Henri Bourassa, grandson of Papineau, and editor of *Le Devoir*, began a strong anti-imperialist and anti-militarist campaign in Quebec. During World War I, he led a major campaign against conscription which, along with the prohibition of French in the schools, led the Quebec assembly to consider withdrawal from the confederation.

In this context it is easy to understand why the Liberals dominated Quebec politics and why the Conservatives represented an almost nonexistent opposition. However, the Liberals' leading role in national politics undermined their support in Quebec and there emerged in the mid-1930's the *Union nationale*. The *Union nationale*, which dominated the Quebec assembly until 1960, represented the rural population and the village clergy. Although encouraging investment and economic development of Quebec's rich resources, the *Union nationale* pursued a highly regressive policy on cultural matters. While articulating the strong Quebecois opposition to conscription and involvement in World War II, it prohibited and repressed new cultural and intellectual directions. As Pierre Lemieux has noted, it was in the context of this anti-cultural regime that modern Quebec intellectuals have developed, and the only alternative many recognized was the association of intellectual freedom and socialist politics.

Leon Dion, in *Nationalismes et Politiques au Quebec (1975)*,  
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## Province or Nation —

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emphasizes that Quebec has never experienced the intellectual contributions of laissez-faire individualism. Whenever liberalism is mentioned, it has been in the context of apologies for the status quo. Thus, the intellectuals around *Cite libre*—Trudeau, Pelletier, etc.—looked to the “*dirigiste*” philosophy of French bureaucracy, to be accompanied by cultural freedom. This spirit infused the Liberal party at the point that it reemerged in 1960 to assume leadership in Quebec.

However, this local reemergence followed the huge Liberal losses in the 1958 federal elections. In that year, the conservatives out-poled the Liberals and won 50 of the 75 Quebec seats. In the next federal election, 1962, for the first time a third party made important gains in Quebec. The Social Credit party, which dominated some western provinces, emerged in Quebec as the *Ralliement des Creditistes* under Real Caouette. The Creditistes gained over a quarter of the vote and 25 seats in the federal parliament. Except for its ‘funny money’ plank, Social Credit has been a major conservative force in Canada, combining balanced budgets with cultural repression. Viewing private property and private management as crucial, it opposes centralization, bureaucratization and public ownership. Using television, Caouette was able to mobilize former non-voters and introduce this new element into Quebec politics. *Maurice Pinard, The Rise of a Third Party, A Study in Crisis Politics (1975)*.

Meanwhile, the Liberals in Quebec, after 1960, embarked on a “Quiet Revolution” in an attempt to modernize and develop the economy. Marcel Rioux, in *Quebec in Question (1978)* calls this a mental liberation.

“What was this quiet revolution? Who but Quebecers could dream up such an idea, or carry on such a thing as a quiet revolution? The concept unites the hot with the cold and makes them work together. Our people, in fact, have a “hot” culture, i.e., a Dionysian culture that has been repressed, historically, by the domination of rigid influences (the French metropolis, the British, the Americans, Jansenism and religious rigidity). How strange, then, after centuries of subjection, that enough “hot” elements have survived to make us refer to a simple reform movement and a climate of change as “revolutionary.” . . . The alternation between hot and cool plays an important part in the collective psychology of Quebecers, not only because of the climate but because of two cultures of which one is renowned for its cool, understated character.

Marshall McLuhan believes that Quebec has jumped from the seventeenth to the twentieth century while the English are still living in the nineteenth century.

The leading figure in the Liberals’ Quebec cabinet was the former TV personality, Rene Levesque. When the Liberals regained power on the federal level, Trudeau and others joined the federal cabinet, while the Liberals in Quebec lost control to the *Union nationale*. Under its auspices, President Charles de Gaulle visited Quebec and called for an independent Quebec. Rene Levesque was ousted by the Liberals from party membership to satisfy Trudeau and the Liberal cabinet. Levesque in 1968 formed a new party, The *parti quebecois*. The *parti quebecois* was fundamentally an ideological party. Its advantage was a nationalism that had deep roots in Quebec and had now come to the fore, and an economic program based on the tradition of the two major parties, planning and state investment. In the 1970 Quebec elections, the PQ received 23% of the vote and seven seats in the assembly to the Liberals 42% and seventy-two seats: *Union nationale* 20% and seventeen seats, and the *Creditistes* 11% and twelve seats.

The crisis of October, 1970, when a secret nationalist group

kidnapped a cabinet member and businessman, led to the federal government’s imposing martial law. The general reaction of the Quebec population was that such an extreme overreaction and denial of civil liberties would be directed at Quebecois only — because of their being viewed as second class citizens of Canada. The *parti quebecois* was able to gain strong Quebec-wide support for its vigorous condemnation of the government’s repression while emphasizing the electoral road to sovereignty-association: Quebec sovereignty in economic association with the other parts of Canada with common currency and trade policies. (Andre Bernard, *What Does Quebec Want? (1978)*)

In answer to the left’s charge that the PQ was only a more modern version of the Liberals, the PQ leaders adopted a traditional political position in Quebec — attack both socialism and capitalism: “It is obvious that doctrinaire socialism and suffocating state hegemony have not managed, any more than grandfather’s capitalism in its various modes, primitive or refurbished as practised up to now, to bring into being a paradise on earth or even decently to eliminate the most unjust abuses and inequalities.” As John Saywell, *The Rise of the Parti Quebecois, 1967-1976 (1977)*, shows, the 1973 provincial elections confirmed the PQ as the alternative party in Quebec. While the Liberals swept to almost ninety percent dominance in Assembly seats, the PQ gained more than 30% of the popular vote, while the *Creditistes* received less than ten and the *Union nationale* less than 5%.

In 1974 the PQ leadership established a daily newspaper in Montreal, *Le Jour*. It gained a circulation of thirty thousand, the same as the influential *Le Devoir*, at the cost of losing about \$45,000 per month.

By 1976, the value of the daily paper became evident, as the Liberal government faced a major crisis over language education in the schools. In 1968, the school board of the heavily Italian suburb of St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice decided that all classes in first grade be taught in French. The *Union nationale* and the liberal governments attempted to foster French instruction without violating the rights of parents to determine the education of their children. Fuller understanding of the national differences in Canada is possible only by recognizing that the English and the French populations constitute merely two-thirds of the population and that the other one-third is roughly divided between East European descendants in the English provinces (Polish, Ukrainian and Hungarian) similar to their cousins along the U. S. Great Lakes, and the mainly Italian (but including Portuguese and Greek) settlers in Montreal (similar to Atlantic Seaboard cities in the U. S.) The Italian Canadians of Montreal recognize the English language standards imposed by the large corporations and banks in the city and necessarily opt to educate their children in the language of the mobile sector of the economy. Thus, a perceptive cartoon showed a Colonel Blimp and a Union Jack leading the Italian Canadian-based constituency for English against the French who are told that if the French had given them good reason to be with them they would have won the issue.

By 1976, the Liberals attempted to impose French on the Italian Canadians. In protest, the principals of the English language schools in St. Leonard admitted thousands of students that the government had decided must attend French schools. Parents in other areas refused to accept government decisions and thousands of Italian Canadian parents demonstrated against the Liberal Quebec prime minister. Meanwhile, Trudeau’s federal government attempts to impose bilingualism on the rest of Canada received new rebuffs. Non-Quebec liberals revolted and Quebec liberals resigned from the cabinet protesting the temporizing. But these notables’ participation in the November 1976 Liberal reelection only contributed to the disaster. The Liberals lost the support of the Italian-Canadians only receiving 34% and 26 seats. The *Union nationale*, gaining the former Liberal voters, received 18% and eleven seats. The *Creditistes* lost half their vote, receiving less than

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# Canadian Separatism: the Second Front

by Samuel E. Konkin II

Even the most anti-political libertarian has to admit elections do change things, even if only because they are believed and acted upon. The most striking example in the democratic enclave of Western society may well be the two Canadian federal elections within the past year. And the most recent results could well portend strong gains for objective libertarianism, grist for the activist's mill.

After 16 long years of Liberal (pro-U.S. centrist party, like unto U.S. Democrats with right and left wings) Party rule, eleven of them under the Gallic Kennedy-type, Pierre Eliot Trudeau, the West, Maritimes, and English-speaking East-Central of Canada voted for Alberta's Joe Clark and his Progressive Conservative (mildly anti-U.S., centre-right Party, like unto mix of British Tories and French Gaullists with a smattering of American Liberal Republicanism) Party. Since Quebec stubbornly supported Trudeau's Liberals and the Social Credit (pro-U.S., radical right party, similar to a mixture of Birchers and populists), Clark could only muster a minority government, though only four seats short of a majority. The Creditistes had five seats, well, six originally until one was bought out by the Tories (as the P.C.'s are known, the Liberals are called "Grits"), and the assumption by most pundits in the Canadian press was that fiery Fabien Roy and his Creditistes would prop up their ideological near-kinsmen.

Such was not to be. Although Trudeau was berated for his arrogance, it was nothing compared to that displayed by Clark & Co. to the Social Credit Party.\* After dragging out the calling of Parliament after the election to a record four months, Clark presented a budget calling for higher taxes and more controls and assumed the free-enterprise Creditistes had nowhere else to go and support him. In the greatest act of political moral suicide since Gilles Gregoire blocked the House of Commons single-handedly to begin Social-Credit Separatism and paralyse the federal government, the Creditistes refused to vote for the budget. The Liberals, smelling blood, swam back from their scattered constituencies, parties (cocktail variety), and homes to join the social-democrat New Democrat Party (NDP) into narrowly defeating the budget. In any heir of British Parliamentary tradition, that constitutes the strongest possible vote of non-confidence, and Clark promptly resigned, calling for an election.

The winter election, coming just eight months after the last one, was manifestly unpopular, and Clark's 18-cent gas tax even less so. The Liberals regained seats in the Maritimes and Ontario, and wiped out the Creditistes in Quebec (so much for the rewards of morality in the political arena); the NDP further cut into the Tories in the West. Worst of all, from a libertarian political viewpoint, Trudeau won an absolute majority of seats and remains safe from non-confidence motions (and elections) for the full five-year maximum term. Ironically, Trudeau was about to step down in disgrace when the election suddenly happened, and the Liberals had been gearing up for the bruising leadership convention. *Maclean's* (the *Time-Newsweek* of Canada) called his return on the cover of its election issue: "The Second Coming."

From a Fabian political libertarian viewpoint, the February 1980 ("Valentine's Day") election could be considered a gain for statism, with the loss of the proto-libertarian Creditistes and a majority government. Furthermore, Trudeau is the champion of strong, central government, and will be using his prime ministry to battle Rene Levesque's Parti Quebec (commonly called *pequistes*) in the coming referendum on "Quebec sovereignty." This concept, by the way, requires some twisted unraveling, thanks to Levesque's continued weaseling and selling out of Separatism, but it basically allows the voters of Quebec to vote for "separatism" without actually getting it; it's taken as a bargaining ploy by most of the media pundits to give Levesque a stronger hand in bargaining with Trudeau for Provincial vs federal rights and powers.

Before dealing with this crucial libertarian issue of separatism, or as the Yanks (especially the Yankees from Mississippi) like to call the concept, secession, there was one direct blow for libertarianism in the election. No, the very conservative Canadian Libertarian Party (overwhelmingly minarchist, anti-communist in foreign policy, and worst of all, anti-separatist because the strongest faction in the PQ is socialist-liberal) got not only zero seats, but failed to get any significant mention in the press. At least the CBC election coverage mentioned only the four parties above and "Others;" *Maclean's* also made no mention of the CLP before, during or after the election. Ah, but the Rhinoceros Party, a Canadian variant of the "Nobody for President" campaign, received mention on the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, government-owned and largest TV network) and fully a third-page in *Maclean's*. More importantly, quoting from *Maclean's*, "While all other parties watched their slim Quebec footholds trampled under the Liberal thumping, the Rhinoceroses saw their total vote almost double to 110,000. "But we weren't worried," confides Rhino heavy Charles McKenzie. "We took the precaution of doubling our number of candidates." One bitter Quebec Tory candidate, Clark aide Andre Payette, appearing on the provincially owned TV network, Radio-Quebec, after its election centre had been invaded by a Rhino band, confessed to having alot in common with Rhino star Sonia (Tickle) Cote — such as roughly the same number of votes. Sonia, perched beside him in her clown outfit and hanging over her accordion, could only look up and blush coyly from under her single forehead.

"Meanwhile, back at their east-end Montreal rent-a-hall, the Rhino machine — basically a hippie revival, complete with construction boots, giggling kids and barking dogs — danced drunkenly around a giant TV screen, celebrating the 1,000-plus votes won by a horned cousin in Calgary."

Calgary, brings us to the point of this article. The second largest and second most conservative city in Alberta (and the most Americanized, with its own John Birch Society chapter) after Edmonton, the capital, is probably the most libertarian in the sense most Americans would think of it, with a thriving anti-tax movement winning plebiscites just like Howard Jarvis. All Alberta, like British Columbia and Saskatchewan on either side, voted in zero Liberals, and while BC and Saskatchewan voted in many NDPs, Alberta went solidly PC, showing those Eastern bandits what it thought of those who would steal its precious oil. Calgary also is the home of provincial premier Peter Lougheed, himself a Kennedy-esque type who ousted the Alberta Social Credit Party in 1972 and remained in power since. Lougheed has bloated the Alberta Heritage Fund with oil royalties to the point where he could probably buy the entire Canadian army should it ever be used to invade a seceding Alberta. Would ultra-right, tax-free, regulation-loose, anti-union Alberta secede? Undoubtedly the most bigoted anti-frog (French equivalent of "nigger") area in Canada, would Alberta go separatist? *Maclean's* seems to think so.

Back when this author was the firebrand Social Credit leader at the University of Alberta (1964-1968), he had to look long and hard for another secessionist, even those who liked the idea but not the French Canadians. Then a report about five years ago mentioned that an Alberta separatist party had been started and 500 members had joined. *Maclean's* reported, in the issue after its election special, "For Albertans, it was back to the barricades, back to their traditional sense of grievance and isolation. Having felt themselves a part of the federal government for the first time since John Diefenbaker's days, the shock of being on the outside looking east again have shoved some toward separatism. At the Canada West Foundation, the think tank devoted to forging a new Canada

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## Second Front —

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within Confederation, the telephone was ringing at 8:15 the morning after. 'I picked it up and someone said, "I feel totally disenfranchised today," ' says administration officer Nancy Sanford. 'Every five minutes since, there has been another call. A quarter of the callers are looking for a separatist party, which we aren't. The rest are saying they feel totally sick and they want to voice their frustration to someone.'

How serious is this possibility of Alberta separatism taken? Of course, short of shipping oil by pipeline to Montana, land-locked Alberta has the Pacific coastline — and an equally strong separatist pull. Again, from *Maclean's*, "BC IN POLITICAL ISOLATION. And it is Perrault ( Liberal senator from BC ) who is reminding Trudeau of events such as last week's radio survey that showed six out of every 10 callers in favor of separation from the rest of Canada. 'But usually it's just the dissidents who call these shows,' he philosophizes."

The quote comes from the lead article in *Maclean's*, along with a cartoon showing Trudeau facing a battery of microphones, with an array of knives, arrows, tomahawks and darts protruding from his backside "... and I am reminded that while we face the threat of separatism in Quebec, we must not turn our backs on the alienation of the West ..." Yes, the threat of Western separatism is taken seriously.

Even though the other two Western Provinces elected only two Liberals total (from urban Manitoba) giving an Alberta - British Columbia "Rocky Mountain Republic" a nice buffer zone, the battle will be fought economically, not on the battlefield. The fact that Alberta is rich and economically free, and the rest of Canada is suffering under austerity budgets and heavy government regulation and taxation is the key. And it's also the problem because there is no firm ideological leadership in the West. Lougheed is simply a conservative who is following the political dynamics of the situation which leads him to the coming confrontation with Ottawa (the federal capital) over oil controls. But he's not fighting for Alberta non-regulation of petroleum vs federal regulation, rather they're arguing how the plunder should be divided. This could kill any principled rally against the central state.

And, finally, the link between Quebec and Western separatists must be established. Again, Lougheed is not the medium, a symbol of a (relatively sophisticated, to be sure) anti-frog mentality, and not likely to win Levesque's support. The old Social Credit Party, strong precisely in Alberta, Quebec (and still the provincial government in British Columbia) would have been the perfect

vehicle — but it's at a new low in strength, most of its old supporters supporting the pequistes in Quebec and the PCs in Alberta.

The potential for libertarian organization is obvious. ‡  
\*Apologies for name-dropping, but Prime Minister Clark was a PM at the University of Alberta when this writer, in his pre-libertarian days, sat as Social Credit whip in model parliament and remembered his arrogance well toward the SC Party, then the dominant one in Alberta politics.

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5% and gaining one seat only — the Creditiste accusations that all their opponenets were godless communists hardly helped. Some of their vote went to the Popular National Party which opposed "statism, syndicalism and separatism" and advocated freeing the individual of heavy taxes, the state of heavy budgets and the economy of strikes. This preaching of economic liberalism had no traditions in Quebec on which to place a foundation.

The PQ received over 41% of the vote and seventy-one seats in the assembly: Levesque became the Quebec premier. He immediately went to New York to indicate to investors that he would pursue financial orthodoxy. His first two budgets were reductions on a significant scale. The PQ has been stronger in resisting subsidies in order to create an improved investment climate. In addition, Quebec, being blessed with many natural resources, is a major economic growth area. This growth will be fueled by Quebec's massive hydroelectric capacity. Quebec is the Saudi Arabia of electricity. By 1985 Quebec will add another 18 million kilowatts with an additional potential of 25 million. Quebec Hydro sells power to the Power Authority of New York State, and since Quebec's peak demands are in winter, it frees electricity for the summer in New York almost 1400 miles from the James Bay complex.

A major contribution to the PQ victory in 1976 was the editorials in *Le Devoir* of Claude Ryan. Ryan had been consistently critical of the failures of the federal and provincial cabinets to address the fundamental realities of Quebecois demands. He noted that each time the nationalists failed to win an election, the older parties put the crucial issues on the shelf. Ryan held the PQ defeat of the Liberals would force the Liberals to review their leadership and their goals. The PQ defeat of the Liberals did force a review and in 1978 Claude Ryan became the leader of the Liberals. It is likely that he will present a clear alternative to the PQ at the next elections, within the context of their common acceptance of the realities of Quebec nationalism. ‡

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## Opportunism, Nukes, and the Clark Campaign

OK folks, this is it. For several issues of the *Lib. Forum* I have been a Jeremiah warning of the structural and power conditions within the LP and particularly within the upper strata of the Clark campaign which make them ripe for opportunist betrayal of libertarian principle. This supposedly groundless warning was, indeed, a crucial reason for the purging of my "Plumb Line" column from *Libertarian Review* (See inside, "Fired from LR"). Now, unfortunately, this warning is coming true.

The crunch came, as luck would have it, with the famous nuclear energy issue. From its inception, the Clark campaign established a five-man publications review committee, a broad spectrum within the movement, consisting of myself, Dave Bergland (national chairman), John Hospers, Bill Evers, and Bob Poole. All Clark campaign communications with the outside world: brochures, releases, scripts, whatever, were supposed to be cleared in advance with the review committee, which could veto any statements which deviated from libertarian principle.

For several months, communications (under the direction of Ed Crane) were issued, but the review committee never saw them — even *after*, much *less* before, publication. Much apologies were delivered by the campaign director, Ray Cunningham, with the explanation that the computer wasn't working yet. After several months, the releases arrived — *after* publication — with the assurance that from *now* on, we on the committee would receive all publications of any importance to be cleared in advance.

Nothing arrived, but presumably that was because the campaign was still in early stages. The previous literature turned out to be all right, with some minor problems. The Publications Review Committee awaited the turn to play its supposedly appointed role.

Then, we heard, over the grapevine, that the Clark campaign has issued an anti-nuclear brochure. Not only wasn't this brochure cleared with the committee, as far as I know none of the committee has officially *gotten* the pamphlet. The communications people sent the leaflet to campus groups, who of course are nothing if not anti-nuclear, and, we find, also to press kits of state parties where Clark is to speak. As of this writing, none of the committee has been officially sent the brochure; my own copy is a Xerox sent by another committee member who in turn got it informally.

Not only does the anti-nuclear Clark brochure violate solemnly agreed-upon procedures — in short, violates a solemn contract by the Clark campaign people. But the committee made known to the Clark campaign as early as *last fall* our unanimous decision that anti-nuclear sentiments, the anti-nuke propagandist John Gofman, and support or attack on any energy forms per se, must have no

part in the Clark campaign. This was agreed by the campaign director, who repeated his assurances both on the anti-nuke content and the procedural clearance with our committee at the California LP convention a few weeks ago. Furthermore, Clark himself joined in these assurances.

But now the Clark campaign has violated all of these solemnly pledged guidelines, in procedure and in content. The brochure glorifies Gofman, quotes his anti-nuclear views (with picture yet), and then these views are seconded at length by Clark himself.

Gofman's quote is headed by the proclamation that "a founding father of the anti-nuclear movement" endorses Clark. Gofman proclaims also that "aggression is integral to the nuclear power industry", and that he supports Clark because the latter's fundamental beliefs are in accord with Gofman's position. There then follows, like a roll of the drums, all of Gofman's titles, including such of his books as "Poisoned Power: the Case Against Nuclear Power Plants."

There then follows a page of quotations from Ed Clark. Clark begins with what he thinks a crucial point: "The nuclear industry is lock, stock and barrel a creation of government, and it depends to this day on massive government subsidies." The Mueller-creation of government-line is totally irrelevant; radar was a creation of government, but that does not mean that any private use of it from then on is somehow morally tainted and illegitimate. Modern roads and highways are a creation of government, and were built and are maintained on massive government subsidies. But that does not mean that highways should be shut down or destroyed; they should instead be privatized.

And while Clark is perfectly correct in calling for an end to government subsidies to nuclear energy, he fails to recognize that the federal Nuclear Commission cripples and restricts, as well as subsidizes, nuclear energy. Federal regulations have raised nuclear costs, created inefficiencies, and delayed the construction of nuclear power plants. Libertarians should recognize that the government both restricts and subsidizes nuclear energy, and that *all* aspects of regulation should be abolished. Which is empirically more important — the subsidizing or the restrictions? We won't know for sure, until they are all abolished, and the nuclear power industry is set free to achieve whatever level it can on the free market. Which, of course, is precisely what Libertarians should be calling for, no more and no less.

Clark then goes on to say that he favors an end to all restrictions on the development of alternative energy sources, such as solar  
(*Opportunism, on page 2*)

## Opportunism — (from page 1)

power. Implicit in his discussion is that solar power, which from all indications is inefficient and uneconomic — certainly for the generation of electricity — is somehow better than nuclear or other forms of energy. If not, then there should be some recognition that nuclear power is restricted as well as subsidized by government. Also, there should have been mention by Clark of *other* forms of energy than solar; for example, what about coal and oil? Why are they not mentioned, as well as a call for their liberation from government control?

Furthermore, in his discussion, Clark indicates that he buys the unproven Gofman line that nuclear energy is unsafe. He first twits the government for stating that nuclear radiation is safe, and then

talks about "when the dangers of nuclear power became known . . ." Clark concludes that the "Libertarian position" is to "forbid aggression against innocent bystanders through the release of harmful radiation." This smear that nuclear power radiation is harmful is precisely the point at issue; it is unproven and is repudiated by almost all people knowledgeable in nuclear physics, engineering, or medicine.

Among all the nuclear physicists and engineers, most of whom work and live, along with their families, near nuclear power plants, Gofman is one of a tiny handful that claims that nuclear radiation is unsafe, and his methodology is based on unsound extrapolations from the admitted dangers of high-level radiation to the supposed dangers of far lower levels. It's as if Scientist A points out that drinking ten gallons of milk at once

(*Opportunism, on page 3*)

## Fired from LR

As has been disclosed in *frontlines*, I was fired by Roy Childs from my supposedly valued "Plumb Line" column in *Libertarian Review*. The column suppressed by Childs, and which precipitated the firing, is presented to our readers below ("Following the Leader"). Childs indicts both the style and the content of the article as "terrible" (a rather cheeky denunciation of style considering the source). The "terrible" content from my "outrageous and destructive" claim that there are powerful forces in the Libertarian Party who are trying to attack or suppress any criticism of the LP structure or the Clark campaign. Ironically, of course, Childs' suppression of this and all future of my columns is proof positive that the charge in my article is correct.

And so, continuing our policy of pursuing truth without fear or favor, we hereby publish the suppressed column and allow the readers to make up their own mind. Do all of you also believe that this column was so subversive that it should not have been run?

I must admit, however, that I do not regret no longer being associated with *Libertarian Review*. In addition to its various peccadilloes that we have detailed in our pages, LR has, in recent months, become windy, flatulent, and boring. It is beginning to reach the exalted status in my eyes of flipping through a new copy to see if I am attacked, and then tossing it in the nearest wastebasket.

LR is a perfect example of a problem which has gotten more and more out of hand in recent years in the libertarian movement: of institutions where money and personnel have far outstripped the talent available.

The offending column follows:

### FOLLOWING THE LEADER

One of the most disturbing aspects of the Iranian crisis has been the alacrity with which Americans of all stripes have rushed to Follow the Leader — to unite behind the President and to follow sheeplike wherever he may lead. We are told at every hand that there must be Unity in this crisis — as we have been told in every foreign policy crisis in this century. Unity, of course, means following loyally and uncritically behind our constituted Leaders; any other option is shouted down immediately as being divisive, disloyal, trouble-making, and counterproductive. Gone and forgotten are the foreign policy disasters as recently as Vietnam, that followed from Trusting the Experts and obeying the President uncritically.

Already, at the time of writing, there is much in Carter's policy open to severe criticism if such were to become once more part of acceptable discourse. For example: the attempt to deport innocent Iranian students in America, over a third of whom are opponents of the Khomeini regime and none of whom is guilty of any crime; the confiscatory freezing of Iranian deposits in American banks; the threatened embargo of trade with Iran; and the even direr

threats of naval or military warfare, which could only inflict murder and aggression on innocent Iranian civilians, endanger innocent American civilians, and would not even do a thing to get the hostages back — in fact, would endanger their lives. The bank freeze also involves a possibly sinister Rockefeller connection with the Administration. First, David Rockefeller and his satrap Kissinger pressure Carter to admit the Shah into the U.S.; then, after the hostages are seized, the confiscatory freeze is followed by Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank declaring its loan to Iran to be in default (since the freeze conveniently prevented Iran from paying interest), enabling Chase to confiscate Iranian assets under its control.

Yet, the unity hoopla has prevented these questions from getting any sort of full airing; even when Kennedy simply stated the truth in attacking the depredations of the Shah, he was hooted down by everyone and fell drastically in the polls.

But it is not simply that following the leader allows him to take us on a gravely wrong path. There are even worse consequences. Stifling criticisms means that freedom of thought and expression are crippled, and that the healthy debate needed for both a free society and for a democratic polity is suppressed. Foreign policy then slips back to being what it was before Vietnam, "bi-partisan", deadly and therefore potentially disastrous because operating without the check of a vibrant public opinion.

These strictures against following the leader in the name of a stifling unity apply not only to government, but also to the libertarian movement itself. There is great danger that, amidst the euphoria of the exciting 1980 presidential campaign, everyone in the Libertarian Party will submerge his or her independent critical judgment in the name of a simple-minded and oppressive "unity." Already there are voices denouncing any attempt at criticism of the LP structure or the campaign as being divisive, disloyal, trouble-making, and counterproductive. And if these voices are heeded, we will have a legion of contented followers ready to follow their leaders into whatever grave errors or compromise of libertarian principle the leaders might find expedient. And since not even the best of men are infallible and all of us are bound to make errors, a lack of critical vigilance will mean that error will be compounded, and libertarian principle might fall prey to the temptations that opportunism and surrender of principle always brings to a party on the brink of seeming success.

Besides, one would hope that libertarians, of all people, are individualists and would never surrender their independent judgment to any person or group. If we should abandon our hard-won personal independence of State propaganda only to fall prey to the same sheeplike syndrome within our own party, then the cause of liberty would be in sad shape indeed — despite the golden opportunities that the real world now offers to liberty as never before in this century.

‡

## Opportunism — (from page 2)

will kill you, and Scientist B then extrapolates this downward to the assertion that one glass of milk will cause you considerable damage.

The effect of the entire brochure, then, is to adopt the Gofman-Mueller-Childs-Crane line attacking nuclear and favoring solar energy. This is a betrayal of libertarian and free-market principles in a transparent and cynical attempt to suck in liberals (especially in the media) and leftists (especially on the campus) to support the LP and the Clark ticket. It is an attempt to play on the moronic counter-cultural attitude that "artificial" (nuclear) is BAD while "natural" (solar) is GOOD. This attempt must be repudiated forthwith, and in no uncertain terms.

The publications review committee has already launched this repudiation, and unanimously so. The committee has demanded the immediate withdrawal of this reprehensible brochure, along

with a written guarantee from the campaign director that this high-handed violation of clearing procedures with the committee will never be repeated, and that we will review in advance all future communications by the Clark campaign with the public. We also demand an investigation into what went wrong here, and how this gross violation could occur. The committee has decided to go public with this protest, and we are unanimously determined to stick to our guns, and to refuse to serve as window-dressing or to give our sanction to violations of agreed-upon procedure and of libertarian principle.

Already, the Executive Committee of the California LP has voted *unanimously* to back this stand, to demand immediate recall of the brochure, and to turn investigation of this violation to the Judicial Committee of the party. Let us hope that other state parties, and the National Committee, will follow suit. We must make it crystal clear that we tolerate no further violations of principle or procedure from the Clark campaign and its power elite.

## Evers for Congress

One of the most exciting and important Libertarian political races in this country has not — oddly enough — gotten any play from national party headquarters. Bill Evers, that rare combination of a brilliant theoretician and effective activist and organizer, is running for Congress on the LP ticket from his long-time home base in Palo Alto, California. Taking off from his lengthy career as student activist at Stanford, Evers has gained formidable media attention and considerable aid and interest for his campaign. The campaign is at one and the same time wedded to hard-core principle and focussed effectively on the vital political interests of the time and place. Tactics are effective and on target, but always subsumed under consistent libertarian principle. Libertarians throughout the country should take heart: *Evers won't sell out.*

Recently, Bill Evers was fired from *Libertarian Review's* sister — or cousin — publication, *Inquiry*. Under Evers' leadership, *Inquiry* has become by far the best political magazine in the country, of any ideological bent. In appreciation for these services, Evers was unceremoniously dumped. He will, in the long run or even in the short run, be better off. He will be at liberty to pursue his doctorate in political theory, and is also now free to plunge fulltime into his Congressional campaign. Sometimes, too, unemployment can liberate the soul. At any rate, one prediction we can make flatly and with absolute certainty: *Inquiry Magazine* will suffer far more than Bill Evers from his enforced departure.

At any rate, Evers has a golden opportunity to make hay for

Libertarianism in this campaign. The incumbent Congressman is Pete McCloskey, a leader of the vanishing breed of liberal Republican. In addition to that, the handsome McCloskey is one of the leading advocates of the draft in Congress. Two years ago, McCloskey got a whopping 75% of the vote against his wimpy Democratic opponent Kristen Olsen. Olsen is running again this year, which means that the Democrats will be swamped once more. Here is a splendid opportunity for the formidable Evers to come in second to McCloskey. Evers is expected to attract three large groups: Stanford students opposed to the draft; Democrats who are disgusted with the mediocre quality of Ms. Olsen; and conservative Republicans eager to dump the hated McCloskey.

We would like to urge our readers across the country to contribute what they can to the Evers for Congress campaign. For four basic reasons: because here is a marvelous opportunity to win votes and support for the LP; because it would support a model campaign fusing correct principle and strategy; because Bill Evers stands as a rock for libertarian principle and against the rising tide of opportunist betrayal in the Libertarian Party; and, finally, as an expression of personal support for a man whom these same opportunist forces have been doing their best to lay low and out from any leadership role in the party or the movement.

Send your checks to:

Bill Evers for Congress Committee  
1357 Pitman Avenue  
Palo Alto, CA 94301

## Some Thoughts on Supply-Side Economics

by Richard M. Ebeling

When Keynes' *General Theory* was published in 1936 there was no reason to believe that it would soon serve as the framework for 40 years of economic theory and policy. Almost to a man, every important economist of that era condemned the book and its message as confused, inconsistent and dangerous. Joseph Schumpeter compared Keynes' proposals with the types of economic policies pursued by France's Louis XV, which led to the bloodshed of the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Hayek angrily insisted that Keynes was asking us to abandon 200 years of economic theory and return to the crude and naive idea that somehow the more money you create the wealthier you become.<sup>2</sup> And Kenneth Boulding declared that, "Mr. Keynes' economics of surprise, like Hitler's, may be admirable in producing spectacular immediate success. But we need Puritan economists like Dr. Hayek to point out the future penalties of spendthrift pleasures and to dangle us over the hell-fire of the long-run."<sup>3</sup>

Yet, by 1946, only 10 years after the appearance of *The General Theory*, all that had changed. Keynesian economics had swept the

field and those who refused to accept the new vision were considered as-out-of-date and antiquated as those who still believed that the sun revolved around the earth. Paul Samuelson could prayerfully give thanks that Keynesian system had given economists, "a Gospel, a Scripture, a Prophet."<sup>4</sup> And Gottfried Haberler, who had once been one of Ludwig von Mises' most promising students in the 1920's and early 1930's, could insist that, "Only a dullard or a narrow-minded fanatic could fail to be moved to admiration by Keynes' genius."<sup>5</sup>

Promising price stability, Keynesian monetary policy produced 30 years of ever worsening inflation; pledging an era of full employment, Keynesian contra-cyclical manipulations created severe fluctuations and distortions in employment and output, particularly in the last 10 years; and assuring the public that the secret to ever greater investment and productivity lies in the government's fiscal ability to stimulate aggregate demand, the last 20 years has seen productivity increases falling rapidly and capital investment

(*Economics, on page 4*)

## Economics — (From page 3)

become ever more erratic.

With such a widening margin between promise and performance, a revolt against the Keynesian system was inevitable. The first step in this revolution was the rediscovery of the quantity theory of money. Both Austrian and Chicago economists hammered away at the public and their fellow economists that a prolonged and accelerating rise in prices could never happen without an ever-increasing expansion of the supply of money and credit.

How successfully has this truth been learned? James Meade, a leading British Keynesian and Nobel Laureate, gave a lecture in Vienna last year in which he said that a "system of uncontrolled [trade union] monopoly power" combined with a "Keynesian governmental undertaking that, whatever happens to the level of money wages, demand will be stimulated sufficiently to avoid any General Unemployment", has created a "set of institutions which might well have been expressly designed to set in motion and maintain [a] process of explosive inflation . . ." When one of the leading intellectual advocates of the British Welfare State and the Keynesian system begins to show such grave doubts, we can hope that the era of naive but highly dangerous rationalizations for monetary expansion may be coming to an end.

Another major blow against the Keynesian paradigm is now being leveled by those who call themselves the "supply-side" economists. Pointing to the low rate of savings in the United States (approximately 3%), and the low rate of (real) investment and productivity increases, the "supply-siders" have lifted from a bookshelf long neglected by the Keynesians, the old 19th century classical works that had so cogently argued that only that which has been produced can be consumed and only that which has been saved is available to be invested. With great articulation they have helped bring back to Say's Law the respect it always deserved and should never have been denied.

All exchange has as its purpose the fulfillment of human wants and desires. We offer to trade something we possess for something held by another because we believe that that which the other person presently has title to would give us greater satisfaction than that which we presently own. Yet, unless we have been the beneficiary of a magnanimous gift-giver, the only way to acquire what we want is first to produce or participate in the production of something that other individuals might possibly desire.

That too much of one thing and too little of another might be produced is almost inevitable in a world where the future is uncertain and *present* production must be guided by *anticipations* of future wants. But through the process of profit and loss, incentives are always being created for producers to supply greater quantities of some goods and less of others. Thus, while a perfect balancing of supply and demand may never exist at any moment in time, that is the tendency that is at least always at work in the system.

The "supply-side" economists have not only repeated these arguments but have also attempted to analyze under what conditions it is worthwhile to trade or not to trade, work or not to work and save or not to save. Individuals, they point out, must compare the relative advantages of doing one thing rather than another and the alternative that offers the highest anticipated gain will be the one chosen.

In the market place, relative advantages come to be expressed in terms of prices. We enter the supermarket and, given our income, we allocate our expenditures so as to maximize utility or achieve the highest level of satisfaction possible. If the relative prices of some goods change, we reevaluate our estimations of them and most people will tend to buy a relatively or achieve the highest level of satisfaction possible. If the relative prices of some goods change, we reevaluate our estimations of them and most people will tend to buy a relatively smaller amount of the products that have risen in price and a relatively larger amount of those which have gone down in price. Relative prices, and any changes in them therefore, in-

fluence and guide the allocation of income on the part of consumers and the allocation of production activities on the part of producers.

The same tools of analysis, the "supply-siders" argue, can also be applied to a study of fiscal policy. Tax rates, for example, represent some of the relative prices that an individual has to take into consideration when making a decision. If an individual is considering working additional hours or is contemplating a new investment or a new device for improving productivity, he must compare the additional revenue or gain that he would receive from carrying out this plan with the additional costs — including taxes — involved. Thus, they conclude, progressively rising marginal tax rates that take a greater and greater proportion of one's income will tend to dissuade work, create incentives to move into barter or cash transactions that can avoid the leering eye of the tax collector, and diminish the incentive for saving and investment.

How could work, productivity, saving, investment and greater division of labor be stimulated? By lowering the marginal tax rates, so that at every level of income the proportion remaining in the hands of workers and producers would be larger. Then the relative cost of making a work or saving or investing decision would have fallen and these activities over time would probably be expanded.<sup>7</sup>

Now, if the "supply-side" argument was left at that, the main thrust of their argument could be considered unobjectionable in its general outline, with few grounds for major disagreement. They would have only more or less supplied the basic tools of price theory to some aspects of fiscal policy.<sup>8</sup>

An additional ingredient in the tool kit of some "supply-side" theoreticians, however, is the concept of the "Laffer Curve," named after Arthur Laffer, a USC economist. Laffer argues that there are two possible tax rates that will generate the same level of government revenue. If taxes are zero, government revenue is zero and the people retain 100% of their income. If taxes are 100%, government revenue would again be zero because, Laffer says, nobody would bother to work if they were not allowed to keep any of what they had earned and produced. If the rate of taxation is lowered from 100%, individuals would have an incentive to work, since they could now keep some of what they had produced and government revenue would rise from zero to some positive number. Every lowering of the tax rate would continue to induce more and productivity, with greater government revenue besides. Greater government revenue, that is, until some point at which any further lowering of the tax rate would, in fact, generate less of a government take rather than more. Hence, the "Laffer Curve."<sup>9</sup>

What, then, is the goal to which economists and politicians should direct their efforts? In *The Way The World Works*, Jude Wanniski, one of the leading gurus of the "supply-side" school of economics, gives as an answer, the discovery of the actual shape of the "Laffer Curve." That part of "The Curve" at which government revenue is maximized should be pinpointed and fiscal policy implemented to assure that the economy is moved to that point without further delay.<sup>9</sup>

The obvious question is, how do we ever find out the actual shape of "The Curve" and where we are on it? If, for sake of the argument, we accept that such a "Curve" exists somewhere out there, it is important to realize that it would be nothing more than the cumulative subjective estimations of a multitude of individuals about the relative advantages of work vs. leisure, consumption vs. savings, etc. "The Curve" would be no more fixed or stable than the expectations and preferences of the individuals in a particular community. Changes in people's valuations, revisions in expectations about the political, social or economic climate and new discoveries of cost-saving production techniques would all work to make any hypothesized "Laffer Curve" a shifting, shadowy entity whose position and shape would be as fluid and erratic as the imaginative minds of the individuals who comprise the elements living under "The Curve"

(Economics, on page 7)

# Abortion and Self-Ownership: A Comment

by George H. Smith

*The Right to Abortion: A Libertarian Defense*, co-authored by Sharon Presley and Robert Cooke, was published recently as a "Discussion Paper" for the Association of Libertarian Feminists. In most respects it is one of the most persuasive defenses of the right to abortion yet to appear. But it contains a rather peculiar twist: the monograph criticizes not only libertarian anti-abortionists, but also pro-abortion libertarians, such as Murray Rothbard, who defend a woman's right to abortion on the ground of self-ownership (i.e., the argument that a woman has a right to dispose of her body as she pleases). I wish to comment briefly on this aspect of the paper, pointing out, first, the misunderstanding by Presley and Cooke of the self-ownership model<sup>1</sup>; and, secondly, the serious inadequacy of their proposed alternative.

Presley and Cooke write:

'(W)e have found that serious problems arise out of the proprietarian model. In particular, the question of abortion does not resolve itself unambiguously under the "self-ownership" model.

... For instance, we recognize that any kind of physical property — be it animal, vegetable, or mineral — is a *thing*, not a person . . . Yet, the Lockean theory of rights holds that we are, in fact, property. To be sure, we each own ourselves; this still leaves us with the curious equation that self-slavery equals liberty.

This seems a small matter practically, only a detail to be cleared up, or ignored. But . . . a few such loose ends may be more than the theory of self-ownership can tolerate.

... (P)roponents of the Lockean theory have clearly ment "self-ownership" literally. But why create such a concept in the first place? The physical body, after all, is not separate from the psychological self; they are both aspects of the same entity, the same process of existence. And if there is no discrete "self" owning a separate body — and short of the supernatural, there cannot be — then the concept of self-ownership dissolves in to the absurdity of a "self" owned by the same self, *ad infinitum*. We find it simpler to accept the idea of a whole person, who acts and who is not reducible to smaller selves.

After indicating that self-ownership is a plausible, if somewhat inadequate, notion ("To be sure, we each own ourselves . . ."), Presley and Cooke abruptly turn about-face and declare that the concept of self-ownership "dissolves into (an) absurdity." Self-ownership, we are told, entails a bifurcation of human nature into the owner and the owned, a distinction not in accord with the integrated human being.

This objection is a common one<sup>2</sup>, but it rests on a fundamental misunderstanding of the so-called Lockean tradition. The term "property" was used in various ways by seventeenth and eighteenth century political theorists. It usually referred, not to property in the narrow sense as an object or thing that is owned, but rather to *moral jurisdiction* over something. Thus, as Locke put it, "every Man has a *Property* in his own *Person*. This no Body has any Right to but himself."<sup>3</sup>

The phrasing is significant. Locke speaks of property *in* one's person, not of a person *as* property in the narrow sense. This permits him to include "Lives, Liberties and Estates" within the general category of property.<sup>4</sup>

Several decades prior to Locke we find a similar sentiment in the writing of Richard Overton:

To every individual in nature is given an individual property by nature, not to be invaded or usurped by

any: for every one as he is himself, so he hath a self-proprietory . . . and on this no second may presume to deprive any of, without manifest violation . . . of the rules of equity and justice between man and man.

William Wollaston, writing in 1722, left no doubt as to the meaning of "property" in the broad sense:

To have the property of any thing and to have the sole right of using and disposing of it are the same thing: they are equipollent expressions.<sup>5</sup>

To have property in one's person is to have *moral jurisdiction* over one's mind, body, faculties, labor, and the fruits thereof. Perhaps "self-proprietorship" better captures the meaning of this idea than "self-ownership," but in neither case is there an *implication* that one aspect of the person "owns" another aspect of the person, as Presley and Cooke suggest. Self-ownership simply means that one's consent is a necessary condition for the use or disposal of one's body, labor, etc. Auberon Herbert, a great champion of the self-ownership concept, made this point well:

What is a self-owner? He is a man who retains the power of *consenting*, as regards the disposal of himself and of his property. The man who is not a self-owner has lost this power of consenting. Consent is the distinguishing mark of the self-owner.<sup>7</sup>

To base the right of abortion on self-ownership is to argue that the use of a woman's body falls within her own moral jurisdiction. For another person to contravene the woman's decision in this matter thus constitutes a moral transgression. It may require some argument to convince a nonlibertarian of this, but I fail to see why Presley and Cooke find it so troublesome.

Presley and Cooke offer another objection to self-ownership:

Furthermore, if rights are property, then inalienability may mean only that a person must consent to any disposal of his or her rights. As property can be alienated (in the legal sense) by consent, so may rights be when defined as property. (Many natural-rights theorists, from Hugo Grotius onward, have supported this argument.) The proposition that a person can enter slavery by voluntary agreement, though utterly repugnant to us, is not easily — if at all refutable within this frame. This, as David B. Davis concluded (in *The Problem of Slavery*), "was the fatal flaw in the traditional theories of natural rights."

This paragraph extends the confusion of earlier passages. One cannot alienate or transfer one's moral jurisdiction. One cannot, for example, "give" oneself to another person, commit murder, and then offer the defense that because one is the property of another person, it is that "owner", and not oneself, who is morally responsible. Moral rights and responsibilities do not derive from an act of choice, and they cannot be alienated. One cannot transfer one's will and faculties to another person. Neither, therefore, can one transfer the moral rights and responsibilities that devolve from one's will and faculties.

Presley and Cooke exaggerate the problem that voluntary slavery has caused for the natural rights/self-ownership tradition. (The two traditions, incidentally, are not coextensive, and the reference to Grotius is beside the point. Grotius was not a self-ownership advocate.) Self-ownership was the moral premise on which most anti-slavery agitators and abolitionists based their attack. Slavery — the ownership of one person by another — brought its fundamental alternative of self-ownership into clear relief. Slaveholders were condemned as "man-stealers" because they expropriated from the slave that which was properly his own: his person, his labor, and his freedom. Just as "the true owner has a (*Abortion, on page 6*)

## Abortion —

right to reclaim his goods that were stolen, and sold," argued Thomas Paine, "so the slave, who is the proper owner of his freedom, has a right to reclaim it, however often sold."<sup>8</sup> The anti-slavery activist William Channing argued that "The right of property in outward things is as nothing compared with our right to ourselves"; and "if there be property in anything, it is that of a man in his own person, mind, and strength."<sup>9</sup>

The radical abolitionists were even more emphatic about self-ownership. The basis of all abolitionist organization, wrote William Lloyd Garrison, was "the right of the slave to himself as paramount to every other claim."<sup>10</sup> The abolitionist Stephen Foster echoed the same theme:

(E)very man (has) an inalienable right to himself — a right of which no conceivable circumstance of birth, or forms of law, can divest him; and he who interferes with the free and unrestricted exercise of that right, who, not content with the proprietorship of his own body, claims the body of his neighbor, is a manstealer.

So obvious was the incompatibility of self-ownership and slavery that many Southern defenders of slavery did not even attempt to reconcile the two. Slavery apologists "usually conceded that it was of course true that man . . . could not be the property of another person." Instead, they resorted to the lame argument that one could "own another person's service or labor."<sup>12</sup>

We see that, contrary to Presley and Cooke, it is quite simple to refute the argument for voluntary slavery based on self-ownership. Moreover, the historical defenders of self-ownership almost unanimously defended its inalienability; this was not a "fatal flaw" in their theory. Finally, it was the self-ownership advocate who comprised the anti-slavery vanguard.

What do Presley and Cooke offer in place of self-ownership?

A contrasting view of natural rights defines them as the protectors of individual conscience rather than of property. Human beings are free moral agents and their liberties derive from the right of self-determination. Such rights, once we grant their existence, are not by nature transferable. This was the liberty of conscience of the English Dissenters, the 'inner light' of the Quakers, the 'individual sovereignty' of Josiah Warren, the 'moral accountability' of the abolitionists, and was, far more than property, a motive behind social and religious revolt from the Middle Ages onward. A person is a moral agent by virtue of having and being aware of the possibility of choice (that is, the capacity to choose and act). The *whole* person is the self and the actor."

Space prevents me from commenting on the fast and loose survey of intellectual history contained in this passage. I shall simply repeat an earlier point: The self-ownership theorists did not split the individual; they, too, talked about the "whole person." Indeed, the "self-determination" model outlined here is merely a variant of the self-ownership model. Liberty of conscience was viewed as a subset of self-proprietorship. "Self-determination" could easily be substituted for "self-proprietorship."

Unfortunately, the version of "self-determination" defended by Presley and Cooke is fuzzy around the edges. Granted, they do not attempt to elaborate or defend their view at length; nonetheless, there are serious problems with the summary contained in the final paragraph:

Rights, we repeat, are human artifices. Justice and morality are at best provisional constructions that attempt to summarize the wisdom gained from human experience and insight. But the results of behavioral codes are very real and final without appeal; we must have, then, the right to judge laws and morals by their

results and correlatively the right to reject principles that in practice result — however noble their intent — in human misery. No authority for any ethic exists beyond self-determination or individual sovereignty; the creation of prescriptions and proscriptions is within the capacity of each person as a free moral agent. To establish any moral authority antecedent to human conscience — be it the law of identity, God, or Marx — is to lay the foundation for despotism.

Frankly, I find it difficult to decipher this muddle. Earlier in their paper Presley and Cooke defend "A contrasting view of natural rights" based on the capacity for moral choice; now they inform us that rights are "human artifices," and that justice and morality are "provisional constructions." Let's get this straight. Is their defense of the *right* to an abortion, based on self-determination, a *moral* defense? Yes, or so it seems. But now, in virtue of their final statement, their own argument is reduced to an artifice or provisional construction. Then, as their article proceeds to self-destruct, they confuse things even more by maintaining "the right (!) to judge laws and morals by their results and correlatively the right (!) to reject principles that in practice result . . . in human misery." This appeal to concrete results is offered as an alternative to the artificial and constructivist nature of rights and justice — which makes the "right to judge" and the "right to reject" in this context bizarre, to say the least.

Presley and Cooke reject "any moral authority antecedent to human conscience" — including the law of identity! (Presumably this is to prevent reality from ruling over one's life.) The appeal to the sovereignty of conscience makes good copy but little sense. What if my conscience tells me to prevent women from having abortions? Legalized abortion, as we know, causes a good deal of anguish and misery for those who regard it as murder. So, exercising my sovereign "right to judge laws and morals by their results and correlatively the right to reject principles that in practice result . . . in human misery," I decide to eliminate the misery I perceive by bumping off all abortionists. Perhaps it will be argued that I do not have the right to violate the sovereignty of other individuals. Need I remind Presley and Cooke that, as they put it, "to establish any moral authority antecedent to human conscience . . . is to lay the foundation for despotism"? My conscience tells me to kill abortionists, and that's that.

Obviously, moral principles — specifically, *rights* — are needed in order to sketch the boundaries of human interaction. Rights define the moral sphere in which the individual is sovereign; they map out the area in which one's conscience is indeed supreme. Moreover, there is no way coherently to evaluate concrete results without moral principles. Simply to appeal to human misery is to resort to a subjective and indefinable standard. I suspect that Presley and Cooke understand this, as indicated elsewhere in their essay. Their final paragraph is therefore even more bewildering.

### NOTES

1. I shall not speculate on the degree to which Murray Rothbard, a major target of Presley and Cooke, agrees with my interpretation of the self-ownership tradition. I have concentrated instead on the classical self-ownership tradition, beginning with the Levellers in the seventeenth century.

2. See the criticism of Auberon Herbert's theory of self-ownership by J. M. Robertson in *The National Reformer* (July 19, 1891). "The phrase 'I own my mind and body' is meaningless," argued Robertson; "I *am* my mind and body." Herbert's response, it should be noted, was less than satisfactory.

3. John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, in Peter Laslett, ed., *Two Treatises of Government* (New York: New American Library, 1965), p. 328.

4. *BID.*, p. 395.

5. Richard Overton, *An Arrow Against All Tyrants* (1646), in G.

(*Abortion, on page 7*)

## Abortion — (from page 6)

E. Aylmer, ed., *The Levellers in the English Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975), p. 68. I have modernized the spelling in the quoted passage.

6. William Wollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (London, 1726), p. 136.

7. *The Free Life* (April, 1897), p. 29.

8. Thomas Paine, "African Slavery in America," in *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. by Moncure D. Conway (New York: Putnam's/1906), Vol. 1, p. 5. Cf. the discussion in David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 267 ff.

9. William Channing, "Slavery," in *The Works of William E. Channing, D. D.* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1890), p. 704 and p. 694.

10. William Lloyd Garrison, *The "Infidelity" of Abolitionism*, in *The Antislavery Argument*, ed. by William and Jane Pease (Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 131.

11. Stephen S. Foster, *The Brotherhood of Thieves, or A True Picture of the American Church and Clergy*, in Pease, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

12. H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1972), p. 138. □

## Economics — (from page 4)

But even more important than the theoretical difficulties of determining the position and shape of "The Curve" is the assumption that the goal of fiscal policy should be the maximizing of governmental revenues. The primary trade-off is not seen as that between income kept and income seized via taxation from the public. That analysis is incidental to the main purpose of discovering the tax structure that generates the most revenues for the State coffers, i.e., the incentive structure that entices and induces the slaves to produce the output that assures the maximum booty for the slave-masters and their lacky underlings. Indeed, the in-fighting and emotional hysteria in Congress over the Kemp-Roth Bill is nothing more than the politicians and the special interests arguing over whether the proposed tax cut will or will not supply the government with ever greater sums to dole out to the friends and favorites of the political court.<sup>10</sup>

"Supply-side Economics," as it has developed over the last few years and as it is usually presented when its case is being made, is not a vehicle for diminishing the size of government or expanding the economic liberty of the general public.

Having reached a dead-end in attempts to stimulate the economy on the side of "aggregate demand," the macroeconomic manipulators have now discovered there is a new set of economic equations that can be massaged on the "aggregate supply" side as well. Already the economic model-builders are busy at work revising their equations and adding more variables. Michael Evans, the designer of two of the leading Keynesian econometric models, has changed over to the "supply-side" school. Having opened a new economic forecasting business, he is designing a new "supply-side" model and is already estimating how much of a percentage cut in tax rates will produce what percentage increase in savings and work effort.<sup>11</sup> And after having slowly been shown the light, the economic forecasters working for Congress are licking their chops calculating what tax levers should be pulled, and by how much, to generate revenue and production where the government considers it worthwhile.

Rather than a means for freeing the economy from the fiscal tax burdens of the State, "supply-side" economics may very well serve

as the vehicle for what in France has long been called "indicative planning." Instead of directly ordering the movement of labor and resources from one area of the economy to another, indicative planning operates through a system of tax incentives and subsidy programs to entice business enterprises into certain parts of France and into certain lines of production that the government considers "socially desirable."<sup>12</sup>

Supply-side economics could open the door for systematic government manipulation of tax rates as a means to assure the "socially desirable" level of saving and investment and the "socially desirable" combination of work and leisure. Just as the old Keynesian macroeconomics has been a mechanism for distorting the economy through "aggregate demand" tools, the new "supply-side" macroeconomics will almost certainly result in economic distortions through the use of "aggregate supply" tools.

Tax cuts and lowering of tax rates are desirable. But they are desirable because they would allow those who have earned the income the right to keep and spend it as they see fit. Would savings and investment be greater if personal and corporate tax levels were lower? Probably they would, since existing fiscal actions have set up disincentives for both activities.

But individuals, themselves, should be left free to decide how much to work or not and how much to consume and save. And equally important, entrepreneurial and business activities should be free from regulations and fiscal gimmickry so production can be organized and resources can be allocated to reflect the preferences and desires of income earners in their role as consumers.

There is no "socially desirable" level of work or of saving and investment other than what individuals freely choose as desirable. And unless the case for "supply-side" economic reform is modified to reflect an argument for individual freedom, it may very well serve as a means for even greater State control over the economy and not less.

### FOOTNOTES,

1. Joseph A. Schumpeter, "Review of *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* by John Maynard Keynes," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* (Dec., 1936), p. 794.
2. Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Pure Theory of Capital* (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1941), pp. 409-410.
3. Kenneth E. Boulding, "Review of *The Pure Theory of Capital* by Friedrich A. Hayek," *Journal of Political Economy* (Feb., 1942), p. 131.
4. Paul Samuelson, "The General Theory," in *The New Economics* ed. by Seymour E. Harris (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 147.
5. Gottfried Haberler, "The General Theory," in *The New Economics*, *ibid.*, p. 161.
6. James E. Meade, "Stagflation in The United Kingdom," *Atlantic Economic Journal* (Dec., 1979), p. 6.
7. Jack Kemp, *An American Renaissance, A Strategy for the 1980's* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), pp. 32-76.
8. See Murray N. Rothbard, *Power and Market: Government and the Economy* (Menlo Park: Institute for Humane Studies, 1970) pp. 63-123, who draws similar conclusions, though with important qualifications.
9. Jude Wanniski, *The Way the World Works* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), pp. 97-115.
10. Arthur B. Laffer & Jan P. Seymour, eds., *The Economics of the Tax Revolt* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 1979), pp. 45-68.
11. Michael E. Evans, "The Bankruptcy of Keynesian Econometric Models," *Challenge Magazine* (Jan.-Feb., 1980) pp. 13-19.
12. Vera Lutz, *Central Planning for the Market Economy, An Analysis of the French Theory and Experience* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1969). ‡

# Free Market Revisionism: A Comment

by Robert L. Formaini

This short note is not concerned with economic historians, many of whom have demonstrated the fallacies surrounding regulation, anti-trust laws, licensing, and the government's role in promoting depressions. Rather, I am concerned over a recurring argument that seems to have been invented solely to discredit the Cato Institute. In their recent attack on Cato, *National Review's* Lawrence Cott made what was, at that time, a rather unique argument concerning what is, and is not, proper and moral on a free market. Cato is bad because it is subsidized. By implication, Cato is hypocritical in its endorsing free markets and free enterprise because it is not "on the market."

At the time, I thought this was merely the ravings of a conservative lightweight, a mere aberration. Yet this "argument" has been picked up and repeated by many libertarians who oppose one or more of Cato's programs or personnel. The final straw, for me, came at the American Economic Association meetings in Atlanta last month when one of America's leading "free market economists" informed me that Cato "didn't believe in the market because we gave away books."

The hypocrisy of being criticized by *National Review*, whose subscribers are yearly dunned with a William F. Buckley direct mail plea for contributions, was actually surpassed by the gentleman in Atlanta, who works for a vast state-supported educational institution! What in the world is going on here? What sort of newspeak is this?

In a superficial sense, all money made in this economy is subject to, and in many cases profits by, government involvement. But surely there is a difference between private individuals contributing to private organizations, whether it be in the form of money or time or books, and taxation? Cato wears a white gown compared to our economist friend, for it receives no money taken by force from people.

Are we to condemn *National Review* because it can't pay all its bills with subscription monies? Are we to condemn private institutions that give things away? The Salvation Army is surely not doing the devil's work is it? And the *injustice* of it all! My economist friend may not know it, but it's a violation of IRS regulations to sell anything at conventions held by non-profit institutions! In his haste to attack Cato, God knoweth why, he simply overlooked both logic and fact.

It is time to remind many conservatives, and libertarians, that private money can be spent in private ways with no one's rights

being violated and no harm to the market. Free market theory does not maintain that one must make a profit to be moral, unless one is an extreme Randian. There is simply no way to maintain the opposite, and leave the market intact.

The economist tried with the following: if you opened a steel mill, you wouldn't be giving anything away, and you would have to have "faith in the market." Is this to be believed? No wonder the market is losing adherents. The analysis neglects several key facts of free market life:

- (a) No matter what is started, there is no guarantee of success. All original capital invested is a subsidy offered in the *hope* of making a profit.
- (b) There is a period when all businesses expect to operate in the red. There is a break-even point that is always in the *future* when a business starts up. It may *not* be reached, but that is not a violation of the free market.
- (c) Consumer utility is independent of the financial position of the organization supplying the goods and services people buy. Who cares if Chrysler is in the red or black? As long as they have cars to sell, people can profit by buying them. Is it valid to say that they have been subsidized by the shareholders? That they are free market violators? I say *no*, up to the point they ask for favors from the state.
- (d) The fact that goods and services will often trade at a zero price is not a violation of the market. The fact that new enterprises offer "get acquainted" gifts and benefits is not a violation of the free market.
- (e) All this goes *double* for non-profit organizations.
- (f) All monies made in the market can be spent any way the owner chooses so long as he does so within the laws.
- (g) Some things may make a profit . . . some may not. This is not, at any given point in time, a test of their relative "quality." Quality is subjective, and resides in the mind of the consumer. So is value. Free market economic theory is objective, and fortunately, contradicts the new revisionists.

If subsidies by private individuals are "bad", then everyone's bull is gored at some point. Those who propagate spurious arguments will, some day, be haunted by their own creations. ‡

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## Ethnic Politics In New York

Life being what it is, time and the political campaign move faster than the *Libertarian Forum*. So I am writing this during the campaign while you are probably reading it after the election is over. Nevertheless, the defeat of Jacob K. Javits in the Republican primary — whether or not he manages the unlikely feat of pulling out the election on the Liberal line — is a cataclysmic event in New York politics. The good, grey Javits, the epitome of Rockefeller Republicanism, unbeaten in countless elections and seemingly unbeatable — what in the world has happened? Has New York swung dramatically rightward? Not likely in view of the victory of Liz Holtzman in the Democratic primary. No, the Javits defeat, as well as the Holtzman victory, can only be understood — as is the case of New York politics in general — in the light of ethnic-political analysis.

Let us begin with certain constants. In the first place, New York City Jews dominate every statewide, much less citywide, Democratic primary. Why is that? Because ethnic realities are such in New York that (a) all WASPS are Republican; (b) all Jews are Democrats; (c) most Italians are Republican; and (d) Irish, what is left of them, are split between the two parties. But what of blacks and Hispanics who are also all Democrats? (Individualists will undoubtedly bristle at the use of the word "all" in this paragraph. But "all" means statistically significant votes.) Ahh, herein lies the rub. For one of the notorious facts about New York politics is that enormous proportions of eligible Jews turn out at the polls not only in general elections but also in primaries, whereas blacks and Hispanics barely bother to vote in elections, much less in the seemingly unimportant primary balloting. Ergo, Jews dominate Democratic primaries.

Since there are very few WASPS in New York City (a group virtually limited to Park Avenue millionaires, corporate executives, and actors), Mayoralty elections are invariably won by Democrats. On the other hand, since there is a paucity of Jews, blacks and Hispanics outside the city, and since upstate and suburban New York is largely WASP, we are left with a rough balance between the parties on the statewide level.

Since Jews dominate every statewide Democratic primary, this means that if the Jews will it, every statewide candidate will be Jewish. But in that case, care has to be taken that the candidate not be too leftish, for then all the other ethnic groups will be alienated, and the Republican will win. In short, if the Democratic candidate for Governor or Senator is Jewish and — or too leftish, he or she will lose.

During the old days of the "brokered" conventions, political leaders, schooled deeply in the intricacies of ethnic reality, made sure that the statewide ticket was "balanced", i.e. that each major ethnic group had its share of the political pie. But now that

"reform" has won out, and primaries have taken over for every post-disaster can easily occur, because there is no human mechanism to assure balance. Thus, a few years ago, for the five major statewide posts the Democratic primary system nominated four Jews and a black (a ticket unkindly known by New York politicians as "four Jews and a jig.") Every one of them went down to ignominious defeat in the general election.

On the other hand, God must have been looking out for the Democrats in the 1976 primary, when Daniel Patrick ("Pat") Moynihan narrowly defeated the redoubtable Bella Abzug. For Bella, ultra-left and Jewish to boot, would have been smashed in the election. But how did Moynihan manage to win? Because he was able to put together enough Irish and other "ethnic" (i.e. Catholic) Democratic votes, plus attract enough Jewish support to win. Part of the split in the Jewish vote came because of the palpable shift to the right among many Jews in recent years. Another part because Moynihan is the political embodiment of neo-conservatism, a trend launched and virtually consisting of New York Jewish (usually ex-Trotskyite) intellectuals. But, third, the defection from Bella was not simply a question of ideological content. It was more a matter of style, of esthetics. For Bella is the last of the raucous, shrewish, fishwife generation of the 1930s; many male Jews fled from Bella at the ballot as they have fled from other embodiments of the generation in real life.

What then of 1980? Since there are very few Jewish Republicans, it is difficult if not impossible for a Jew to win a statewide Republican primary. But, *once* accomplished, as Javits did as a loyal Dewey-Rockefeller liberal Republican, once a tradition of Republican victory is established, then the liberal Jew will capture half the Democratic vote at the election, and ease in to victory in a landslide. This is precisely what happened to Javits. Tradition and the Rockefeller machine saw to it that there were no sharp primary challenges to Javits; and then, commanding the Republican vote plus a huge chunk of the Democrats, Javits was able to win by a huge margin every time.

This year, the aging Javits launched his campaign with bold self-confidence, admitting frankly that he suffered from motor neuron, a progressively debilitating disease. His only opponent was the unknown Alfonse D'Amato, the supervisor of the town of Hempstead, in suburban Nassau County. It looked like another Javits walkover. But D'Amato launched a vigorous and bitter TV campaign, hammering away constantly at Javits' age and infirmity. It is generally a myth that this kind of "negative" campaign creates an overcompensating sympathy backlash. Certainly it did not in Javits' case. For the facts were incontrovertible, and D'Amato led an exultant group of rising Italian Republican voters, who voted not only as conservatives but also as Italian-Americans embittered

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# The Boston Anarchists and the Haymarket Incident

by Wendy McElroy (Grosscup)

One of the effects of the Haymarket incident was to polarize the American anarchist movement of the late 1880s into the "Boston" and the "Chicago" factions. This incident occurred in Chicago on May 4th, 1886. As a peaceful street meeting — organized to promote an eight-hour day — was breaking up due to rain, a squad of policemen charged down the street toward the crowd demanding that it disperse. From somewhere within the crowd, a bomb was thrown among the policemen, killing several and inciting the rest to fire randomly into the assembly. Several people died and many were injured.

Although he was demonstrably innocent, A. R. Parsons, one of the speakers and a prominent local anarchist, was accused of tossing the bomb. In the subsequent outburst of anti-anarchist hatred and hysteria, seven other anarchists were arrested and subjected to a sham trial that resulted in the hanging of four of them. (Parsons escaped this fate by committing suicide in his cell.) The other three were given lengthy imprisonments. The extent to which justice was satirized is shown by the fact that one of the three, Oscar Neebe, was not even present at the street meeting and had no part in its planning; he was arrested solely for being on the premises of the *Alarm*, A. R. Parsons' paper, when it was raided.

The catalyst for this split between the Boston and Chicago anarchists was the issue of force. The Boston anarchists (so named by Burnette Haskell's San Francisco *Truth*, although most of them did not live in Boston) considered force to be the last resort of a civilized man, even when it was morally justified. This position was best exemplified by Benjamin R. Tucker, editor and publisher of the individualist-anarchist journal, *Liberty*. The Chicago anarchists were basically communist and had a history of advocating force as a means of societal change. They were best exemplified by Dyer D. Lum, a compatriot of the condemned men, who assumed the editorship of the *Alarm* after A. R. Parsons's imprisonment and suicide.

Although Tucker was far from a pacifist, he was outraged by the Chicago anarchists' promotion of force. The editors of the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*, for example, were said to keep sticks of dynamite on hand solely to impress outside reporters with the true meaning of anarchism. Theoretically stated, the issue was: at what point, if any, does force become a valid means of expression, or resistance? Both factions acknowledged the morality of direct defensive force, for, as Tucker stated in *Liberty* of May 22, 1886: "The Right to

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## Ethnic Politics —

(Continued From Page 1)

at the thin political pickings that always have been accorded to their ethnic group. Liberal Jews were not there to save him, because they do not register Republican; and the Rockefeller machine is no more. And so, in the most stunning upset of 1980, in an overall light turnout, Alfonse D'Amato trounced Senator Javits, carrying every borough in New York City except Manhattan.

The Democratic primary was equally fascinating, and equally dominated by ethnic considerations. The two leading candidates embodied two generations of Jews. There was Bess Myerson, only a few years younger than Bella, but a woman of the 1940s and 50s rather than 30s. Bess represented the upwardly mobile Jews of post-World War II, the Jews who made it in business, industry, and the arts. That Bess was the first and last Jewish Miss America — that she was able to crack at least for a while that great citadel of wholesome heartland WASPdom — all this meant an enormous amount to this generation of Jews.

Bess is also representative of her generation in that she is basically non-ideological; her entire campaign rested on her personality, on her looks and charm, on her *persona*, on the fact that she has Made It. Her political ideas were almost non-existent. Except on two related points: one, an increasing hawkishness that led her to be one of the founders of the Committee on the Present Danger, and a corollary intense devotion to the interests of the State of Israel. As Miss Neo-Conservative, Bess was enthusiastically endorsed by Mayor Koch and Senator Moynihan. She also acquired the formidable media talents of the supposedly unbeatable David Garth. And she waged a highly expensive TV campaign.

Her leading opponent was the Representative Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn. If Bess Myerson embodies the Jewish generation of the 40s and 50s, Liz Holtzman represents the activist, antiwar generation of the 1960s. Tough, unsmiling, dour, Miss Holtzman is hardly anyone's image of a jovial politico. But she won her spurs on television as the sharpest opponent of Nixon on the House impeachment committee, and she has been popular in her

Brooklyn Congressional district, thereby overcoming the rightward shift of many Brooklyn Jews in recent years.

Miss Holtzman is one of the most antiwar members of Congress, a theme which Myerson chose to hammer away at day after day; for if Miss Holtzman consistently refuses to vote for increased military budgets, how will the United States be able to rush to the defense of beloved Israel in any conceivable emergency? Fortunately, New York Jewish voters proved able to rise above this patent demagoguery.

What about the two others in the race? They had no chance from the beginning. One was former Mayor John Lindsay, whom I suppose many non-New Yorkers thought had a good chance to win. The handsome Lindsay ended his term in office universally hated by all New Yorkers (with the exception of blacks) regardless of ethnicity, creed, or occupation; by the end, Lindsay could not have been elected to the proverbial post of dogcatcher. He therefore had only two constituencies for this primary: blacks, who don't vote; and upstate WASPS, almost none of whom are Democrats. Upstate WASP county chairmen came out for Lindsay, but in the Democratic party they don't amount to a hill of beans.

Queens District Attorney Joseph Santucci was a last-minute entrant into the campaign. On the surface, Santucci was the Democrat D'Amato, proclaiming himself the champion of middle-class conservatism. But there are few Italian Democrats, so Santucci never had a chance. More conspiratorial analysts charged that the Santucci race was a ploy of Queens Democratic leader Donald Manes, who supported Holtzman, in a sneaky effort to take conservative votes away from Myerson and elect the Congresswoman.

In any event, Elizabeth Holtzman surprised observers by the strength and depth of her victory; not only did she overcome the Myerson media blitz, but she carried every New York borough except Manhattan.

The election is still anyone's guess. Javits is still hanging in there, on the Liberal party line (the Liberals are a fading party of aging Jewish social democrat trade unionists); and it is possible that he and Holtzman will split the Jewish-and-liberal vote enough to allow victory for the obscure D'Amato. ‡

## Boston Anarchists —

(Continued From Page 2)

resist oppression by violence is beyond doubt . . ." The dispute centered around his further statements: "In *Liberty's* view but one thing can justify its (force's) exercise on any large scale — namely the denial of free thought, free speech, and a free press." And: ". . . force settles nothing, and no question is ever settled until it is settled right."

In that same issue, Henry Appleton, writing under the pseudonym of 'X', stirred up the waters by saying: "One of these days Communism will be weeded out of Anarchism, and then thinking people will begin to recognize that the Boston anarchists are the only school of modern sociologists who are in the line of true peace, progress, and good order."

It is more difficult to directly quote the Chicago anarchists. The *Alarm*, the *Budoucnost*, the *Vorbote*, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, major voices of Communist-anarchism published in Chicago, were suppressed and their editors were imprisoned as Haymarket conspirators. The most direct response was from Dyer D. Lum, who championed their cause. In the next issue of *Liberty*, he wrote: "The question is not . . . whether 'The Boston anarchists are ready to denounce the savage Communists of Chicago,' as 'X' puts it, but whether they are ready to calmly philosophize and leave these men to their fate."

This, of course, was the common charge — that the Boston faction were "philosophical anarchists." They discussed their beliefs while others fought for them. This accusation was absurd on several levels. It completely ignored the history and the pugnacious nature of Benjamin Tucker, who once risked jail by publishing Walt Whitman's suppressed *Leaves of Grass*. It ignored *Liberty's*

clear, bitter denunciation of the injustice with which the Haymarket martyrs were handled. Moreover, it was a far too convenient way to avoid Tucker's clear, cogent criticisms: "The Chicago Communists have chosen the violent course, and the result is to be foreseen. Their predicament is due to a resort to methods that Liberty emphatically disapproves . . . Liberty cannot work with them or devote much energy to their defense. If this be "time-serving cowardness," so be it. Mr. Lum must make the most of it. But he should remember that this is not a question of faith without works. *It is a question of difference of faith.*"

Victor Yarros, in his article "The 'Philosophical Anarchists,'" hastened to agree but changed the emphasis: ". . . the Anarchist should make it clear to the oppressor that he knows how to discriminate between a bitter foe, to whom no mercy is to be shown and no quarter given, and a friend, whom we do not cease to love and honor despite severe reproof and censure we may be compelled to pass upon his hasty and irrational actions." The oppressor, of course, was the police system that imprisoned the Haymarket eight and the judicial system that condemned them. The oppressor was the state.

Tucker shared this view and was not without admiration for these men who were willing to die for beliefs so similar to his own. In response to Yarros, he said: ". . . the Chicago Communists I look upon as brave and earnest men and women. That does not prevent them from being . . . mistaken."

To many in the radical community, the Haymarket martyrs became saints and a rallying point. Benjamin Tucker's refusal to accept them as such or to excuse the violence they advocated made him an object of some scorn and suspicion. Nevertheless, he stood sternly by the conviction that force is the last of all possible means that a civilized man can employ. ‡

## Is It Legal To Treat Sick Birds?

In October, 1978, Arnold Werschky, M.D., of Mill Valley, California, decided to have some fun with the state medical authorities. He wrote to the California Board of Medical Quality Assurance, asking if it were in any way illegal for him to prescribe medicine for someone to treat his sick birds. The birds might well have died before the Board sent its reply: for it took no less than ten months for the improbably named Foone Louie, Staff Counsel, to construct his reply. It is clear from Mr. Louie's response that the birds would have to die anyway, for the help they could legally get from Dr. Werschky. For, as one might have guessed, they were out of luck. Dr. Werschky's attempt at saving the birds would be illegal. Foone Louie sternly warned, on two counts: 1) it is unprofessional and illegal for any physician to prescribe or administer dangerous drugs without a "prior good faith examination" of the person? bird? in question. And secondly, how dare Dr. Werschky poach on the territory of the state's licensed veterinarians? But this priceless correspondence is reproduced below in full. — Ed. Note.

October 4, 1978

Board of Medical Quality Assurance  
1430 Howe Avenue  
Sacramento, California 95825  
Gentlemen:

I have been asked to supply the following medicines: Garamycin Injectable, Garamycin Ointment, Ampicillin Injectable, and Chloramphenicol Injectable, to a person for the intended purpose of caring for and treating his sick birds.

I am wondering, that, if I should supply such medicines and/or drugs, would I in fact be in violation of any law, regulation,

directive, desire or inclination. In as much as I am certain of the current law (s) or perhaps your interpretation of the law, I am requesting your direction.

Sincerely,

A. G. Werschky II, M.D.

August 9, 1979

A. G. Werschky II, M. D.  
279 Miller Avenue  
Mill Valley, California 94941

Dear Dr. Werschky:

You've been asked to supply certain drugs to a person for his sick birds. You want to know what laws, if any, might be violated if you did this.

I can think of two, offhand.

It's unprofessional conduct for a physician to prescribe, dispense or administer dangerous drugs without a prior good faith examination and medical indication therefor. (Section 2399.5, Business and Professions Code.) Drugs requiring a prescription are generally designated dangerous drugs. (B&P 4211) The fact your friend wants the drugs for sick birds is not a legitimate medical reason under B&P 2399.5

On the other hand, it would probably be a technical violation of the state veterinary laws for an M.D. to be in the business of treating sick animals or birds — other than his own pets.

Sincerely,

FOONE LOUIE  
Staff Counsel

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## “Free-Market” Congressman in Action?

When Professor Dr. W. Phillip Gramm, an eloquent and hard-hitting champion of free-market economics, was elected to Congress from the 6th district of Texas, many people thought that Congressman “Phil” Gramm (as he was promptly renamed) would be a mighty force for liberty and the rollback of the State. But this seems to be the season for libertarian sellout, and Representative Gramm has been anything but. When Gramm managed to gut a powerful drive for railroad deregulation in order to subsidize Texas coal producers, a young Texas businessman, Austrian economist, and libertarian, Robert Bradley, Jr., took him to task. There followed the full reply of Congressman Gramm and the eloquent rebuttal of Rob Bradley. One of the most interesting aspects of Congressman Gramm’s self-serving reply is that he is taking the now standard line of libertarian sellout: “I of course am for complete liberty, but . . .” The “but” in this case, as in most others, is that some people and some businesses might have to suffer in the short-run if liberty, or in this case total railroad deregulation is to be achieved. Those people living off the public trough, living off the taxpayers and consumers, are going to be temporarily discomfited. The question then is? Are we going to postpone getting liberty into the indefinite future so that these people can continue living parasitically in the style to which they have been accustomed? Or are we going to press on for the cause of liberty and prosperity regardless of inconveniences? Liberty is not always a rose garden — especially for the existing ruling class and those living off the State. The political temptation is to forget principles, and this is what Congressman Gramm has done, perhaps helping to scuttle railroad deregulation altogether. These are the eternal temptations of politics: to abandon principle for the politically expedient: that is, to continue the politicians own perks in office.

Ed. Note

Mr. Robert Lee Bradley, Jr.  
1201 McDuffie, No. 150  
Houston, Texas 77019

Dear Mr. Bradley:

Thank you for writing to let me know of your dissatisfaction with my vote in support of Congressman Eckhardt’s amendment to the Rail Act of 1980.

As an economist who is firmly committed to competition and free trade, I can understand your view that Congressman Eckhardt’s proposed amendment would be anti-competitive and would continue the federal over-regulation of the railroad industry that has crippled that industry. However, the Rail Act raises questions that are more complex than simply whether regulation is desirable or undesirable, a question about which you and I would have few disagreements.

The present condition of this nation’s railroads results from market forces and government regulations that have their roots in the 1920’s when mass production of automobiles first began to threaten the railroads’ domination of transportation in this country. If we are to again have a vital rail industry, as I believe we must, Congress must act carefully to begin reintroducing competition in the railroad industry while preventing cold water shock treatments that could cause destructive market perturbations. In particular, the coal producers in Texas and neighboring states have become dependent of rail transportation provided at artificially low rates. Many of these producers have no options other than to ship coal on a single available rail line because competition exists neither from other rail lines nor from other modes of transportation. To give the railroads excessive freedom to raise rail rates to such “captive” shippers would create massive dislocations in the coal industry, dislocations that would reverberate throughout the economy of Texas and the economies of states that depend on Texas coal. I supported Congressman Eckhardt’s amendment and I will support similar efforts that may be introduced when the House reconvenes July 21 because I believe these efforts provide constructive progress toward complete deregulation of the railroad industry while preventing short-term

problems that would benefit neither the railroads nor the shippers who depend on the railroads. I appreciate having the opportunity to represent you and other Texans in Congress. If I can be of service to you, please contact me.

Yours respectfully,  
Phil Gramm  
Member of Congress

Dr. Phillip Gramm  
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Dr. Gramm:

I thank you for the explanatory letter dated July 16. Your letter certainly had a better tone than mine, but I am very sensitive about economists-turned-politicians, i.e., those who know better, *selling out* the market in favor of personal goals. Perhaps you can avoid this criticism since the “Chicago School” brand of market economics, from the writings of its founder, Henry Simons, to its doyen, Milton Friedman, has stressed instances of “market failure” and government “correction” as you claim is the case concerning railroad deregulation. However, many economists of this persuasion — Harold Demsetz for one<sup>1</sup> — have in recent years abandoned this textbook view in favor of the unhampered market. Some of the cogent arguments that have changed their minds I will attempt to present below.

As I understand your position, you wish to avoid the “cold water shock treatments” of total deregulation of the railroads by retaining the Interstate Commerce Commission’s power to regulate rail rates. This stance has your support since “coal producers in

(Continued On Page 5)

## Bloated and Swollen

We are always glad to allocate credit (or blame) where due, and so we are happy to publish Mr. Riggenbach’s letter claiming responsibility for some of the peccadilloes of *Libertarian Review*. But we must reiterate that Roy Childs, as the proclaimed “The Editor”, must take responsibility for the ultimate decisions that constitute the magazine. But Riggenbach’s letter raises an interesting point: Just how much time does “The Editor” spend on his cherished periodical? Is anyone minding the store at LR? Or is “The Editor” using his post as a sinecure from which to politic endlessly around the country, and to exercise his alleged talents as a demagogic rabble-rouser?

Editor Note.

Dear Editor:

As one of the “bloated and swollen” editors of *The Libertarian Review*, I must protest the shabby misrepresentation of me (or, rather, *non* representation of me) which appeared in your March-April issue. I not only conceive myself to be at least one-half of the libertarian movement (though there are those who argue that as only one of four editors at LR, I can at most conceive of myself as one-fourth of the movement); I am also so “puffed with *hubris*” that I resent seeing others receive credit for what were in fact *my* accomplishments. I was the LR editor who chose the famous pro-solar, anti-“Big Oil” cartoon by Mike Peters. I was the creator of the “childish ad in the classified section” which George Smith so sactimoniously informed your readers “typifies the intellectual level at which Roy Childs chooses to conduct this debate.” I demand credit for my own hard won childishness and intellectual insignificance! They are, after all, my bread and butter. Let Roy Childs be content with receiving proper credit for his own “dishonest,” “irresponsible,” “harebrained,” and “unfair” work. He doesn’t need credit for mine as well.

Jeff Riggenbach  
Executive Editor  
The Libertarian Review

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## Congressman — (Continued From Page 4)

Texas and neighboring states have become dependent on rail transportation provided at artificially low rates" as have the electric utilities and their consumers, and to allow a location monopolist rate freedom would "create massive dislocations" for both the producers and ultimate consumers of the coal. Further, I have learned from a recent *Houston Post* article that you, along with fellow Representative Jim Wright, are proposing government loan guarantees for a new railroad to operate in the Powder River Basin to "increase" competition.<sup>2</sup>

Before I embark on a critique of the regulation you support, I ask how you can boast of "constructive progress toward complete deregulation" when the basic business decision of rate setting is left in the hands of bureaucrats? According to the *Post* article cited above, proponents of deregulation see your amendment as so restrictive that the entire deregulation bill will have to be "gutted". And certainly, if you wish to launch a "private" railroad with government subsidy, the entire industry will that much more be in the hands of the State.

A number of eminent free market economists have brought forth an impressive case against government regulation of "natural monopolies" which I bring to your attention.

First of all, there exists no scientific procedure of discovering what the "right" price should be. Or in Kirzner's words: "... what is the likelihood that government officials, with the best of intentions, will know what imposed prices, say, might evoke the 'correct' desired actions by market participants?"<sup>3</sup> After all what is "right" for the railroad company, given its costs, capital requirements and risk, may not be "right" for the producers and consumers of the coal. For, conceding the subjective nature of value, only the market process can balance — in a non-haphazard manner — the forces of supply and demand. Summarizes Mises:

Prices are a market phenomenon. They are generated by the market process and are the pith of the market economy. There is no such thing as prices outside of the market. Prices cannot be constructed synthetically, as it were. They are the resultant of a certain constellation of market data, of actions and reactions of the members of a market society.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, if the "right" price cannot be found, then the decided upon price from a market standpoint is either too high — thus punishing the consumers and producers of coal — or too low — thus undermining the capital requirements of the railroad. In the latter case, this could mean higher future railroad rates from capital disrepair.

Computing an "average rate of return" for the railroad to add to its cost is not an escape in this regard. There is nothing normal about the disequilibrium phenomenon of profits and nothing homogeneous about returns industry to industry and firm to firm within industries. And the cost side of the "cost plus" equation is not objective but subjective as James Buchanan has recently taught the profession, further muddling the government allowable price calculation.<sup>5</sup>

But let us step back and realize that Godlike creatures and value-free econometricians are not in charge of such price determination, as if they could find the "best" price in the situation. The forces at work are bureaucrats and special interest lobbyists — persons having judgment-distorting elements such as personal biases, emotional tendencies, political favoritism, career biases and corruption avenues. And certainly the entire lobbying and testimonial effort is a cost for all parties involved, parties who believe they can costlessly cheapen the market price of railroad services.

So, in all, not only do we see that scientifically a bureaucracy cannot find the "right" price, but that the worst forces will be at work to decide such a price. So much for the textbook correction of market "failure", in spite of the history of bureaucratic and ICC pricing.

Another line of argument against your position has been

receiving wide attention in recent years, specifically since Kirzner's 1975 *Competition and Entrepreneurship*. His argument demonstrates the fundamental weakness of equilibrium neo-classical theory in judging market "failure" or "imperfection" — from which your textbook reasoning is derived. The argument is that the government regulation of prices retards the consumer benefits that in the absence of such regulation would accrue from uninhibited entrepreneurship. (In equilibrium, of course, the entrepreneur does not exist.) This is true since, as Kirzner puts it, "nothing in the course of the regulatory process suggests a tendency for as yet unperceived opportunities of resource allocation improvement to be discovered."<sup>6</sup> To be more specific, in any "cost plus" regulatory environment, entrepreneurial alertness to new methods to minimize costs and service innovations to maximize revenue is stifled though, of course, not entirely eliminated as under socialism. This is very much a cost for the coal parties that economists cannot ignore.

The third line of argument is one you have undoubtedly taught many times in your academic career: the problem of non-market pricing on resource allocation in general. The "artificially low price" you admit exists creates an overutilization of coal and underutilization of coal and transportation substitutes (such as nuclear power and pipeline fuels). These are further costs of your regulatory stand.

In all, the above drawbacks of regulation counter the supposed "massive relocations" of deregulation. In sum, they offer a supportable case for the free market unless (1) an economist rests his case on the first approximations of equilibrium theory to the exclusion of the real world of disequilibrium and bureaucratic realities or (2) a politician rests his case on the special interests of his district. But utilitarian arguments pro and con aside, are you, Dr. Gramm, a true lover of liberty? Do you support the market only when you are convinced it will produce "umpteen more bathtubs", as Murray Rothbard puts it?

To end this open letter, unless you can convince me that:

- (1) bureaucratic pricing is "costless" and a better alternative to market pricing;
- (2) entrepreneurship — particularly in the cost minimization sense — is not inhibited by price regulation;
- (3) resource allocation is satisfactory with an "artificially low" price;
- (4) ultimate deregulation, your alleged goal, is helped by continued regulation; and
- (5) the market and individual freedom to exchange on non-coercive terms are not to be valued for their own sake; then

I — and all true free market economists and libertarians, many of whom will read this letter — call on you to renounce your claim as "an economist who is firmly committed to competition and free trade". Having repudiated this noble claim, you, I am sure, will continue to do fine in the political arena. However, future historians will remember you as not only destroying legislation that would have been a rare victory for the market in this day and age, but as one of the many who destroyed the market economy in the twentieth century. Revise your stand immediately and use your influence to tilt the close vote toward passage! The legislature, after all, is still in session. And please, write me such a letter if I were to ever put politics and personal gain over liberty!

Sincerely yours,  
Rob Bradley, Jr.

Footnotes

- 1) For example, see his "Why Regulate Utilities?" in Yale Brozen, ed., *The Competitive Economy* (Morristown, J. J.: General Learning Press, 1975) for sophisticated arguments explaining competition with so-called location monopoly instances.
- 2) "House's OK of rail decontrol amendment may spell end of measure for this session", *The Houston Post*, July 25, 1980, 1-A.
- 3) Kirzner, "The Perils of Regulation: A Market-Process Approach", Law and Economics Center Occasional Paper, The University of Miami (1978), p. 15.
- 4) Mises, *Human Action* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), p. 395.
- 5) See Buchanan's *Cost and Choice* (Chicago: Markham, 1969).
- 6) Kirzner, *op. cit.*, p. 16. ‡

# Isolationism Reconsidered

by Barry D. Riccio

*NOT TO THE SWIFT*, Justus Doenecke, Bucknell University Press, 1980, 289 pages, \$8.95

For libertarians and pacifists alike, 1980 will prove to be a rather depressing year. No more so, perhaps, than any other election year, but nonetheless there is a special reason for despair this autumn. We are told repeatedly by both major-party candidates that the choice is real and the ideological contrast stark. Yet, really, is there all that much difference between the Scylla of Mr. Reagan's Pentagon capitalism (to borrow Seymour Melman's term) and the Charybdis of President Carter's guns-and-butter liberalism? To be sure, Mr. Carter and his cohorts are not as strident in their rhetoric as are the Reaganite reactionaries, but there is now palpable evidence that at least in some matters (e.g., the grain embargo, the Olympic boycott, and draft registration) the President has attempted to out-Reagan Reagan, and has done a rather successful job of it, to boot. And the Republicans? With that former denizen of Hollywood at their helm, they proffer us the laudable objective of slashing our taxes at home along with drastically increasing our commitments abroad. At one and the same time they deliver pious bromides on the virtues of a balanced budget. One need not be schooled in the nuances of formal logic to perceive a glaring contradiction gnawing at the heart of Republican Party policy, and more significantly, conservative ideology in general. Murray Rothbard put it well in the pages of *Inquiry* not so long ago:

How can we reconcile the plea for individual liberty, the free market, and the minimizing of government with the call for global confrontation and increased power to the FBI and the Pentagon? How can an economy be free of government control when an ever greater share is to be deflected to military use? How can a free market be reconciled with an aggrandized military-industrial complex?

There are many of my generation who would indeed be surprised (nay, shocked) to learn that there once was a sizeable number of conservatives (and especially Republicans) who not only recognized the contradictions pointed out above but also did much to oppose the militaristic tendencies of both parties. In criticizing the aggressive foreign policy adventurism of the Truman Administration, these conservative gadflies often dissented from what many revisionist historians have dubbed "the Cold War consensus". (This consensus stretched so widely that it could later include a Barry Goldwater on its right fringe and a Norman Thomas on its left fringe.) To be sure, a good many of the critics of the early Cold War were leftists and socialists, but the non-interventionism of the right wing had recent history on its side. After all, the vast majority of those who opposed U.S. entry into the Second World War were of the right. In part their opposition to that war stemmed from their intense dislike for "That Man", alias Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a politician about whom we've been hearing quite a bit lately (from Democrats, Republicans, and partisans of National Unity alike). But it would be unfair to these gentlemen of the right to indulge in such simplistic monocausationism. For their hostility towards Roosevelt was both part and parcel of their hostility towards Big Government in general. And today's Governor Reagan notwithstanding, these men realized that Washington could be the biggest beneficiary of a bellicose foreign policy.

It is the story of these men that is told in Justus Doenecke's *Not to the Swift*. Close students of American pacifism and non-interventionism probably are familiar with Doenecke's extended bibliographical essay, *The Literature of Isolationism*. His most recent work is marked by that same judiciousness of temperament that has so distinguished all his earlier writings. Thoroughly

researched, carefully organized, and extremely well-written, Dr. Doenecke's book is a treat to read. Where else could one learn that Frank Lloyd Wright and Sinclair Lewis were non-interventionists in 1940 (save, perhaps, in biographies of those individuals) and that young Gerald Ford contributed to the coffers of the America First Committee? True, all students of isolationism have benefited greatly from Wayne Cole's *America First*, but Doenecke provides us with an exhaustive treatment of these selfsame isolationists discussed in Cole's work (and then some) throughout the entire early Cold War period. By no means, however, can *Not to the Swift* be labeled a sequel, for Doenecke does not confine himself to any one organization. His is an account of "the isolationist impulse" (to use a term coined in Selig Adler's book of the same name, a rather snide and sneering account of our isolationist heritage). However, Doenecke casts a wider net than did revisionist Ronald Radosh in the truly pathbreaking *Prophets on the Right*.

Doenecke eschews any narrowly reductionist approach to his subject. Thus he finds fault with all of the single-factor hypotheses which have been invoked to explain (and oftentimes explain away) the roots of isolationism. Certainly, Doenecke admits, there was an ethnic dimension to American isolationism. This dimension found expression to some extent in both Oswald Garrison Villard and Henry Regnery (both of whom were either German-educated or virtually Germanophile) and to a much greater extent in Senator William Langer, who represented a largely German (and rural) constituency. But, avers Doenecke, in an implicit rebuttal to Sam Lubell's *The Future of American Politics*, an exclusively ethnic interpretation of isolationism will hardly suffice, as the overwhelming majority of isolationists were WASPS. Emphasis upon the geographical sources of American isolationism has also been misleading, Doenecke contends. While in large part accepting Reinhold Niebuhr's dichotomy of the eastern internationalist financier and the midwestern isolationist manufacturer (the latter of whom was not nearly as dependent upon experts as the former), Doenecke points out that the Mississippi Valley had at the turn of the century been as congenial to expansionism as it later was to non-intervention. So much for geographical determinism.

What about economics? Surely there must have been some relationship between one's economic status and his stance on foreign policy issues, as hinted at by the Niebuhr example above. There damn well was - according to Doenecke, and in this connection cites the support given the Marshall Plan by both the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. But the economic aspect of isolationism (not unlike its geographical aspect) was closely intertwined with yet another, namely the rural-urban divisions in American society. As a rule, right-wing isolationists were far more suspicious of the city than were either conservative or liberal interventionists. Regarding this there is that unforgettable quote from Louis Taber, a man who was at once a luminary of America First and a National Grange master. Taber defined cities as places "where there were slums and dirt, and noise, and filth and corruption and saloons and prostitutes". Yet another "explanation" of isolationism (popular during World War II) pointed primarily to anti-Semitism and xenophobia. Both of these found expression in Representatives Clare Hoffman and John Rankin, but, as Doenecke takes pains to point out, these men were a minority within a minority.

What makes Doenecke's interpretation a refreshing one is the author's ability to take ideas and attitudes seriously and on their own terms, rather than as reflexes of, say, class, race, or ethnicity. For Doenecke American isolationism was first and foremost an ideology, and an ideology deeply embedded in the American

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experience. Puritan theology, the American wilderness and physical separation from the Old World all conjoined to make American isolationism what it was — a distinctive blend of moralism, nationalism, and individualism. This was also an ideology that had roots in the writings of the eighteenth-century Commonwealth men and the American War for Independence. And it was an ideology that slowly began crumbling under severe social, economic, and international stresses with the advent of what Henry Luce once labeled the American century. According to most commentators, its swan song was sung with the defeat of the Bricker Amendment in the mid-1950's.

Yet "a funny thing happened on the way to" Indochina a decade later. It was now becoming acceptable, almost fashionable, in fact, in certain left-liberal circles to sound like an isolationist even if one would never apply that opprobrious term to oneself. Of course, to mainstream Republicans who had long ago repudiated the "provincial" wing of their party (Richard Nixon, for example) the word "isolationism" was still an epithet. Now, though, the politics of our foreign policy had come full circle. During the Nixon Administration conservatives found themselves not only supporting an imperial presidency (long an object of their) but also a futile, costly, and vicious war in Southeast Asia. At the same time many liberals began heeding the admonitions of the Taft conservatives of a generation earlier. Dr. Doenecke puts us in his service by documenting the close affinities between what the isolationists of yesteryear were saying and what the neo-isolationists of my generation have been articulating. Not only did the "old" or "veteran" isolationists warn of the dangers of a bloated bureaucracy and profligate government spending; they also waged a veritable verbal holy war on imperialism. Senator Taft did not hesitate to attack the foreign policy of the Truman Administration as "imperialistic", while the *Chicago Tribune* waxed eloquent in its fierce denunciations of both British and French colonialism. The Chicago industrial magnate Sterling Morton went so far as to compare Vietminh nationalists to the American revolutionaries. One of the most stalwart of the old isolationists actually perceived the Truman Doctrine as an example of "petro-diplomacy" and even had some words of sympathy for the Communist-supported Greek rebels. This same individual, Senator Edwin Johnson of Colorado, accused the United States government of adhering to a double standard. How, Johnson asked, could our government defend its own right to control Panama on the one hand, and, on the other hand, deny the Soviets the right to control the Dardanelles? Not only were the isolationists of the early Cold War era harbingers of the neo-isolationist critique of the sixties and seventies; certain aspects of their own critique of U.S. foreign policy were not all that far removed from those of George Kennan and Walter Lippmann.

The above examples go a long way toward suggesting that many of the isolationists were by no means head-in-the-sand ostriches, completely ignorant of foreign affairs and insensitive to the plight of other nations. (Their fervent indictment of our government's "rape" of Germany bears out this point even further.) And at least a few of the old isolationists (Felix Morley and Edwin Borchard, to name the most eminent) had been quite active in internationalist endeavors prior to World War II. It is a rather sad commentary on political semantics, though, that it should be that former isolationist-turned interventionist Arthur Vandenberg who comes real and—or was in large part a function of which party was in

Not to Professor Doenecke's mind, however. To many a superannuated isolationist, I am sure, Doenecke's description of Vandenberg alone is worth the price of this book. For the Sarasota academician paints an acid-etched portrait of the Michigan Senator as an opportunist par excellence, with one eye out for the Polish vote and another eye out for the Detroit auto manufacturers. In the eyes of many a Vandenberg foe, the Senator was so vain that "he could strut sitting down". Doenecke also repeats the rumor of non-candidate Vandenberg carrying an acceptance speech in his pocket

during the 1948 Presidential Convention. The upshot of Doenecke's discussion of Vandenberg, however, is not to cast aspersions on the Senator's character. Rather, it is to demonstrate that throughout his career and on a myriad of issues, ranging from Yalta to NATO to intervention in Asia, Senator Vandenberg concealed a neo-nationalist fist behind his internationalist glove. In fact, Doenecke asseverates, "internationalism" more often than not was simply a smokescreen for unilateral military action overseas.

Ironies abound in this masterful magnum opus. Who would have imagined that the conservative industrialist Robert R. Young and the ultra-rightist broadcaster Upton Close actually anticipated the "Alperovitz thesis" of atomic diplomacy? Or that Frank Hanighen of *Human Events* forecasted the Sino-Soviet split? Or that crusty old Robert McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* was an inveterate critic of Open Door diplomacy long before William Appleman Williams even attained maturity? Perhaps the most delicious irony of all, however, is the case of Lawrence Dennis. Dennis was a self-proclaimed "fascist" who proved to be the most consistent (and persistent) critic of Cold War militarism. In fact, the anti-war utterances of a Fulbright or a Church in the late sixties pale in comparison to those of Dennis.

Is that so astonishing, though? In the wake of the Iranian crisis, the invasion of Afghanistan, and the phantom Soviet brigade in Cuba, many if not most congressional liberals have demonstrated their commitment to the cause of non-interventionism to be lukewarm at best. And who could expect otherwise? As Doenecke makes clear in a number of passages throughout his book, it is the liberals who must bear a major responsibility for not only the debacle in Vietnam but also for the thrust of our entire Cold War policy. Concurring with the judgments of historian Stephen Ambrose, Doenecke declares unequivocally that the Cold War was, for the most part, the liberals' war. True, most conservatives were far from innocent bystanders or reluctant participants, but it was the liberals who seized the initiative and defined the terms. And what of the much vaunted American liberal devotion to tolerance? As Doenecke's account reveals, any number could play the baneful game of red-baiting. The *New Republic* went so far as to speak seriously of "the Stalinist caucus in the *Tribune* tower (that) would bring out in triumph the first Communist edition of the *Chicago Tribune*". Senator Robert Taft was repeatedly accused of being an "appeaser" of the Soviets, as were other even more intransigent isolationists. And so on, and so on. Whether the onus for this state of affairs should be placed on liberalism as ideology as well as on liberalism in practice is to many a problematic issue. To the more radical critics of U.S. foreign policy, however, to refuse to condemn the philosophy while indicting the public policy is merely Hamlet without the prince of Denmark.

In all fairness, though, liberalism cannot and should not be made the scapegoat for our foreign policy sins. Doenecke not only realizes this but does justice to the complexity of his subject by refusing to engage in special pleading. "One can no more responsibly isolate elements in the isolationist world view," he states, "pulling out the favorable and dismissing the rest, than one can selectively clip a person's thought in the middle of a sentence." It is to Doenecke's credit that he recognizes the old isolationists were often weak in their insights, unsound in their judgments, and inconsistent in their proclamations.

In fact, on the basis of the evidence supplied in Doenecke's book alone, one could make a plausible case that American isolationism bore within itself the seeds of its own destruction. To be sure, we cannot ignore (and Doenecke emphatically does not) the importance of exogenous factors behind the waning of isolationism. For one, the advent of increasing industrialization and urbanization served to erode that ideology's largely rural base. For another, there was the simple matter of attrition. Death, illness, and defeat at the polls robbed the isolationists of many of their more preeminent spokesmen. There is also the interpretation put forward by Eric Goldman in *The Crucial Decade*: 1949 was indeed a "year of shocks", what with the explosion of an atom

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bomb in Russia, the coming to power of Mao Tse-Tung in mainland China, and the Alger Hiss trial. Under drastically altered circumstances it is hardly surprising that many a World War II isolationist gradually began marching to the tune of a different drummer. And one cannot neglect the impact that the liberals' smear campaign against the isolationists during World War II must have had. Should we be surprised, then, that right-wing isolationists of the Cold War era became increasingly strident in tone, bitter in spirit, and intolerant in action? Of course all of this rendered them even more ineffective.

Yet we romanticize these "prophets on the right" at our own peril. For we simply cannot afford to overlook the sundry flies in the isolationist ointment. There is first of all the question of sincerity, a problem before which the courageous Doenecke does not flinch. For some isolationists (e.g. Congressman George Bender) devotion to non-interventionism was more rhetorical than real and—or was in large part a function of which party was in power. Thus the force behind much of the isolationist impulse was greatly attenuated by the election of Dwight Eisenhower, a Republican and an impeccable conservative, although by no means an isolationist. Doenecke also questions just how genuine many of the isolationists were in their praise of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations. After blasting the U.N. for its alleged cynicism, several isolationists actually went so far as to suggest that the powers of the General Assembly be strengthened when such a suggestion proved to be to their political advantage.

And then there is the issue of nationalism. If the isolationists occasionally could sound as libertarian as Thoreau, at other times they could sing the praises of the military ethic as lyrically as could any four-star general. In fact, many isolationists themselves had military backgrounds. The careers of both General Wood of *Sears Roebuck* and Colonel McCormick of the *Tribune* offered cold comfort indeed to a real pacifist. And the response of most isolationists to Hiroshima and Nagasaki was, at least as far as the moral issue goes, a rather cavalier one. That many of them could rally as readily as they did behind the banner of the perniciously pompous General Douglas MacArthur is yet another index of how much they had mired themselves in the muck of militarism. There is irony here too, for the General was far from an isolationist, both during and after World War II. Nor was Senator Joseph McCarthy much of an isolationist either, however, that hardly precluded most isolationists from enlisting in his service. For McCarthy was a nationalist, albeit of a rather crude sort, and his opponents had long been the opponents of isolationism. The isolationists' logic was similar to that of the conservative

commentator Morrie Ryskind who, during the Watergate affair, argued tirelessly that all true believers in conservatism should defend the President because his detractors were invariably of the liberal persuasion. Moreover, a good many isolationists perceived McCarthyism as a cheaper and more viable way of combatting Communism than intervention overseas: by concentrating on the "red menace" at home, the American government could be far more effective than if it pursued "pinks" in distant lands.

Ah, yes, distant lands. Many a scholar would argue that it was precisely the isolationists' devotion to a distant land that did them in. It is not a far-fetched claim to say that "Asialationism" was the Achilles heel of American isolationism. Somehow, and in some way, all of the trenchant arguments that the isolationists had advanced against intervention in Europe were conveniently forgotten when the subject of China and Taiwan (and to a lesser extent, South Korea) came up. As Doenecke points out, virtually all of their telling criticisms of the Truman Doctrine applied even more so to the case of Asia. Yet it was the Asialationists who became exponents of the domino theory long before it became fashionable in the circle of the best and the brightest. (The erstwhile isolationist William Henry Chamberlin went so far as to propose a Marshall Plan for Asia to check Communist aggression.) At times it was difficult to tell which was the more isolationist, the Truman Administration or its isolationist critics. After all, it was the latter group which, along with General MacArthur, wished to broaden the Korean conflict. Logic, though, was not the forte of the Asialationists. (Hubert Humphrey facetiously proposed that Senator Taft be given a "doctor of laws in inconsistency" for his stance on Asia.) Those isolationists who took a "tough" position on Asian questions could not see that their own charge of inconsistency leveled at the Truman Administration might well prove to be a double-edged sword. For the price they might have to pay for increased commitment to, say, China, could well be even greater intervention in Europe. The China Lobby realized this, even if our isolationist friends did not.

It is an ambiguous legacy, then, that American isolationism has bequeathed to us. On the one hand, we can only benefit from its astute criticisms of the abuses of power and the follies of foreign aid. On the other hand, there were certain glaring deficiencies in the isolationist ideology that cannot be wished away. And it is the least lovely aspects of that heritage that are coming to the fore as American political conservatives launch their way into the eighties. With historian Manfred Jonas, Doenecke notes that a belief in unilateral military action has been a persistent thread running throughout America's right wing. In the past, though, we could be consoled that this nationalistic strain of American conservatism would be tempered by at least a modicum of libertarianism and pacifism. Today, alas, we can have no such consolation. †

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## The Clark Campaign: Never Again

"O Liberty! O Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name!"  
— Madame Roland

The proper epitaph for the Clark campaign is this: "And they didn't even get the votes." Libertarian principle was betrayed, the LP platform ignored and traduced, our message diluted beyond recognition, the media fawned upon — all for the goal of getting "millions" (2-3, 3-5 or whatever) of votes. And they didn't even do that. All they got for their pains was a measly 1% of the vote.<sup>1</sup> They sold their souls — ours, unfortunately, along with it — for a mess of pottage, and they didn't even get the pottage. Maybe they'll demand a recount. Extrapolating from the Clark gubernatorial campaign of 1978 — as they liked to do last winter — they in effect promised us 4.6 million votes. (5.5% of the total). They got less than a million.

The Clark/Koch campaign was a fourfold disaster, on the following counts: betrayal of principle; failure to educate or build cadre; fiscal irresponsibility; and lack of votes.

Betrayal of principle is of course the most important, as well as the most extensive, category. The campaign was marked throughout, in strategy and in tactics, by deception and duplicity. The platform was ignored, the message distorted. Basic principles were evaded and buried. The Clark defenders maintain that, in many of the instances of betrayal, he took a good stand from time to time — generally not in front of the media but before small libertarian audiences. My reply to all these feeble defenses is simply this: It's a helluva note when all we have to fall back on is the inconsistency of our candidate.

### 1. Back To Camelot

The Back To Camelot theme, arguably the single most odious aspect of the Clark campaign, reached its apogee on the ABC-TV national *Nightline* program (11:30 P.M. EST) a few days before the election. Commoner and Clark were each invited to give a brief, one-minute summary of their respective programs. Commoner, with his usual forthrightness, summed up his platform as a governmental assault on the corporations. And Clark? Here was the entire libertarian position of the man whom *Libertarian Review* has had the chutzpah to refer to as "Mr. President": We want to get back to the tax and spending and inflation levels of the Kennedy

1. If reports are correct, David Koch spent \$2.1 million of his own money to achieve 1% of the total vote. But to achieve victory, surely he would have to spent *at least* as much per vote as did Jay Rockefeller procuring his re-election victory in West Virginia this year: a mere \$50 per vote. At that rate, we figure that for a measly \$2 billion of his personal fortune, David could buy us victory in 1984!

administration. When the puzzled interviewer asked for clarification, Ed Clark reiterated the theme: "We want to get back to the kind of government that President Kennedy had in the early 1960's." At this point, the rather bewildered interviewer, thinking naturally that Libertarians were some species of left-wing Democrat, wanted to know why we didn't end it all by merging with the Citizens Party. To which Clark replied no, they are believers in centralized power whereas we are in favor of decentralization.

So no wonder that Tom Wicker and all the rest of the liberal media loved Clark during the campaign! And here I had thought for two decades that Kennedy was one of the Bad Guys! Live and learn!

But of course in the Clark campaign there *were no* Bad Guys. One of the mendacious aspects of the campaign was the hiding, the distortion of our platform and our principles. Another was the strong impression given by the Clark commercials that there are no Bad Guys and no conflict. Every American is going to join Clark in celebrating "A New Beginning, Amer-i-ca"; there will be no pain, for anyone, not even briefly, as we all march into the new dawn. No bureaucrats will lose their jobs, no specially privileged will be kicked out of the public trough. All sweetness and light and jingles. The Clark generation.

But of course this is all pap and nonsense. The advent of liberty will immeasurably benefit most Americans. But some will lose — those who have been exploiting us and feeding at the public trough. And these special interests and ruling elites will not surrender their ill-gotten gains so readily. They will fight like hell to keep it. Libertarianism is not a message of treacle and Camelot; it is a message of struggle. What will happen to those who have joined up thinking that all they have to do is sing and pull a lever to achieve victory? Won't they be the first summer soldiers to fade away when the going gets a little tough? How are these supposed new recruits to be prepared for a protracted struggle against the State?

The Kennedy theme was a leitmotif throughout the campaign. The infamous Clark White Paper on Taxing And Spending Reduction which the campaign played up heavily and took out big ads listing the endorsers, was repugnant partly because it assured the readers that the projected budget cuts in the first year of the Clark administration should not be thought of as radical. After all, they would only return us to the budget, in real terms, of the Kennedy regime of 1962. Which was one of the things wrong with it.

And then there were subliminal messages: there was the Clark brochure with our candidate standing in front of a picture of Jack Kennedy; and there was the Clark TV commercial promise that he was "bringing a message of hope" to the American people. There

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was the graceless imitation of the jabbing Kennedy finger of the right hand in the anti-draft commercial; and the Clark hair in the late commercial that seemed uncannily made up to look like Jack Kennedy's.

So it's to be Camelot again. And, gentlemen, *who* is going to be dunked in the White House pool? (To mix our Presidents, we all know who is slated to be the new Haldeman)

It was almost enough to make one vote for Jimmy Carter. After all, inept as he was, he *did* manage to whup some Kennedy ass.

### 2. Low-Tax Liberalism

Meshing neatly with the Camelot theme was Clark's oft-reiterated favorite summary slogan of libertarianism: "low-tax liberalism." We are of course not, repeat not, "low tax liberals." We are no-tax libertarians. The "low tax liberal" scam was clearly designed to suck in the media, who were seen, not very incorrectly, as being moderate liberals. How better to get favorable media attention than to pretend to be just one more moderate liberal? And, the calculation went, if we get media attention, we will get more votes, and votes are the name of the game, right?

Wrong. The purpose of an LP electoral campaign is *not* to get as many votes as possible. If that were the objective, then the place to go for votes is the Democratic or Republican parties. The purpose of any campaign is, in the short-run, twofold: to educate the electorate in libertarian principles, and to find more libertarians and bring them into the party ("party-building" or "cadre building"). The third, long-run, objective is to get into office so as to roll back the State.

But the evident strategy of Clark, his campaign chief Edward H. Crane III, and the other handlers was to maximize the number of votes, so as to fool the media and the public and the politicians into thinking that we really have millions of dedicated libertarians. In short, their purpose was not to build cadre, or to start the march for the long haul, but to reap a quick success by use of mirrors: using lots of money and slick media commercials to con everyone into thinking we are really a mammoth movement. Libscam!

Many of the specific deviations and horror stories committed by the Clark campaign were denied by the handlers, attributing them all to bumbles, misprints, typos, et al. But not only did too many of these alleged bumbles pile up, they all slanted in one direction. How come that all of the "bumbles" pointed one way: to creating a media image of libertarianism as "low tax liberalism", that is, as approximately the same ideology as the readers — and more importantly the writers — of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *CBS News*, etc.? In short, that we are a likeable, nonthreatening group who believe in slightly lower taxes, in a more efficient version of the welfare state, in moderate civil liberties, and in a moderately dovish stance abroad. Sort of a Jerry Brown Democrat. That we achieved this part of our objective can be seen in the fact that Tom Wicker and a whole bunch of other media people liked us. But did they *vote* for us?

### 3. Keeping the Welfare State

A genuine libertarian stance, like our platform, must be abolitionist; that is, we must not ourselves embrace gradualism as in some way better than an immediate achievement of the libertarian goal. Because, if we do so, this means that we are holding something else to be more important than the achievement of liberty. And that means that we are no longer libertarians. In the words of the great Strategy Statement, adopted by the National Committee of the L.P. several years ago, and the forgotten stepchild of the Clark campaign: "Holding high our principles means avoiding completely the quagmire of self-imposed, obligatory gradualism: we must avoid the view that, in the name of fairness, abating suffering, or fulfilling expectations, we must temporize and stall on the road to liberty. Achieving liberty must be our overriding goal."

And this means, too, that Libertarians must not commit themselves to any particular order of destatization. We must not present a four-year plan, saying we will Cut Tax X by a certain percent. Cut Budget Y by a certain figure, etc. in the first year, then a bit more in the second year, etc. For this would imply that any *greater* tax cut or budget cut in any of these areas is bad, would be combatted by a Libertarian President. We must never act so as to close the door on more and more destatization, wherever and whenever we could achieve it. The relevant question is this: If President Clark introduced his 30% tax cut scheme in next year's Congress, and some principled Libertarian Congressman amended the bill to repeal the infamous income tax altogether, would President Clark veto it?

Again, the Strategy Statement says: "We must not commit ourselves to any particular order of destatization, for that would be construed as our endorsing the continuation of statism and the violation of rights. Since we must never be in the position of advocating the continuation of tyranny, we should accept any and all destatizing measures wherever and whenever we can."

But the Clark campaign did just the opposite. From the beginning, Clark expressly stated that we must cut all subsidies to business before we can even conceive of slashing the welfare state. In his first formulation, Clark vowed not to cut welfare until private charity voluntarily assumed that burden (fat chance!), or, next formulation, until "full employment" is achieved. So it is not only back to Kennedy, but also back to Keynes! Are we to pick up on these two gentlemen just when they are finally being repudiated by one and all? There is no such thing as "full employment". Employment depends on wage rates, and, must I point this out to a libertarian reader?, welfare payments reduce the net wage a person can earn by working. Hence, the higher the welfare payments, the more the unemployment. Are we to repudiate elementary economics as well as libertarianism?

In Clark's odious White Paper on Spending and Taxation, welfare is kept virtually intact. And Clark manages to find a way out of having to advocate even eventual abolition of welfare: in his neo-Lafferite vision, one year's thirty percent budget cut (only returning us to Kennedy!) would so enormously increase jobs, production, and prosperity that no one would be on welfare anyway. Thus we see a typical example of Clark's evading the necessity of making hard choices or statements that might lose some votes; worse yet, the supposed new converts among the public are not being prepared for the nasty fact that the budget cut would not eliminate welfare clientele because the incentive to remain on welfare — free handouts — would remain unbreached.

But we cannot eliminate welfare until we reach neo-Lafferite heaven, Clark is strongly implying, because of the suffering of those removed from the welfare rolls. But what happens to the libertarian insight that welfare is bad for its clients, not helpful; and what happened to the Strategy Statement? Blankout.

### 4. The Order of Destatization

Despite the Strategy Statement, the Clark White Paper commits us to a specific and detailed order of destatization in the first year of the Clark administration. No other candidate bothers with such a detailed program. Why must we? To look "Presidential". To look "respectable." Like a low-tax liberal. There are some gratifying abolitions and cuts, but there are some mysterious omissions. Why isn't the Department of Agriculture abolished? Or the Federal Reserve? Or the FBI? And who can shout hosannahs for Back to Kennedy, anyway?

Moreover, the White Paper is far worse than a Four Year Plan. For it only commits Clark to *one year's* worth of cuts. And that's it. This is far worse than mere "gradualism". For the ultimate goal is not simply downplayed, but drops out altogether. Which makes Clark seem like a slightly more libertarian John Anderson (or Jack Kennedy?) rather than a genuine Libertarian. Another crucial part

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of the Strategy Statement is here violated: "Any intermediate demand must be treated, as it is in the LP platform, as pending achievement of the pure goal and inferior to it. Therefore, any such demand should be presented as leading toward our ultimate goal, not as an end in itself." But the Clark White Paper merely points to the first year program, and then says, wildly, that these cuts will be so beneficial, will lead to so much prosperity, etc. that the public will raise a clamor for further budget and tax cuts, after which President Clark would be happy in taking the lead to achieve them. I should hope he would at least tail after public opinion. But we are supposed to be the vanguard of libertarian opinion; what is the Party except leading the way to liberty?

Moreover, how long is it supposed to take for the public clamor to arise? Instantaneously, as in Laffer's increased revenue from tax cuts? How many years? And in the meantime, before the clamor, it is clearly implied that President Clark would sit on his laurels and do nothing further to achieve liberty.

### 5. The Tax Cut

Libertarians are nothing if not anti-taxation, and it is therefore our duty to take the lead in pushing for "drastic" (as the platform calls it) cuts in taxation, pointing toward its eventual abolition. It therefore behooves us never to allow ourselves to be outflanked by other groups; never to allow any other group to be more libertarian than the LP on taxation. And yet, the Liberty Amendment people, calling for the repeal of the 16th Amendment and abolition of the income tax, have been toiling in the vineyard for many years. We owe it to truth and justice and liberty not to fall behind the Liberty Amendment people. Instead, Clark calls for a piddling 30% tax cut. Shortly after his nomination, Clark appeared at a press conference in Denver, at which he expressly repudiated the Liberty Amendment as "too radical." For shame!

Defending his piddling cut, Clark, in an interview with the *L.A. Times*, said that we could not cut the corporate income tax at this time. Like hell we couldn't! But I suppose that this would be considered too radical, too extreme, by Tom Wicker and our other buddies at the *New York Times*.

Clark has devoted a great deal of time to showing that the Reagan proposed Kemp-Roth 30% tax cut (at least before Reagan's shift to the center) is *really* much less than *his* 30% cut. Frankly, I'm not much interested, and I don't think the voters were either. It is absurd and shameful for a *libertarian* candidate to run up and down demonstrating in detail that our tax cut is greater than the Republican proposal. We shouldn't have to spend a lot of energy on such demonstrations. Our anti-tax superiority should be crystal-clear to all. For example, if we called for repeal of the income tax. Not only the Liberty Amendment people, but even John Rarick, the American Independent Party candidate for President this year, called for repeal of the income tax. How dare we be less libertarian than they?

Suppose they ask us what specific budget cuts we would make? But apart from calling for abolition of a bunch of departments, we don't *have* to spell out our budget in detail. And we wouldn't, if we weren't captivated by the idea of looking "Presidential." We could simply say: "That's *their* (the bureaucrats), headache. We'll cut their budget by say 90 percent, and let *them* figure out where to allocate it."

And while we're at it, while up in Wyoming, Clark endorsed the controversial state tax on coal, which is beloved of Wyoming citizens of all political persuasions because they are thereby mulcting the national coal corporations. Clark is quoted as endorsing the tax because "coal is a non-renewable resource." So what? The Clark handlers have intimated that this was a bumble or misquote, but if that is the case, why was the press clipping on this sent out as part of the official Clark literature? Even "free-market" Senator Wallop supports the tax, so perhaps this gained Clark a few votes in Wyoming.

### 6. Social Security

The Social Security system is not only coercive; it is the biggest single racket of all the welfare state programs. It is also bankrupt, and many people now understand this fact. Instead of taking the bull by the horns, following the platform and calling for the abolition of this system, Clark calls for a 35-year phase-out (*there's* "gradualism", with a vengeance!), while in the meantime, everyone 40 and over must stay in the program and can mulct other taxpayers for the rest of their lives. Even the Clarkian "ideal" or "ultimate" program is scarcely ideal; it involves a network of tax exemptions for individual retirement funds. There is nothing wrong with tax credits and exemptions as a *step toward* the ideal of *no taxes*, but it is a betrayal of principle to term this an "ideal." Tax credits, after all, distort the economy, and will continue to do so until the day of tax abolition. Furthermore, in the Clark White Paper on Social Security, even the "ideal" and "ultimate" explicitly includes retaining the welfare system. Except that, again in Clark's neo-Lafferite buncombe, "increasingly, as Libertarian administration frees the economy and produces economic growth", in which case "voluntary, charitable institutions" would be allowed to take over the welfare functions (Clark, White Paper on Social Security Reform).

Once again, a more efficient, more streamlined, welfare state is the Clark program.

And what happened to our platform, which demands that Social Security be abolished forthwith, and that payments to meet expectations be met by selling off government land and other property? Too extreme, of course.

### 7. Money and Inflation

Clark and his handlers know damned well that the cause of inflation — America's No. 1 economic problem and the No. 1 issue of the 1980 campaign is the Federal Reserve's continued expansion of the money supply. They also know that the only cure for this is to stop the Fed, in short to abolish it and return to a market commodity money like gold. And yet Clark persisted throughout the campaign in falsely identifying federal deficits as the cause of inflation. In his infamous White Paper on Spending and Taxation — the major Clark showpiece of the campaign for which they obtained extensive ads and support — there was not a mention of Fed responsibility. Quite the contrary. The public was assured that if the Clark 30% budget and revenue cut were put into effect, this would *end* inflation.

What is more, the detailed Clark budget made no mention whatever of the Fed, of whether it would be cut or not. Presumably it would *not* be abolished, again despite the clear-cut call of the LP platform.

So base and mendacious was the Clark campaign that when Clark kicked off his White Paper at the American Economic Council meeting in Los Angeles — a gold standard, anti-Fed, outfit — he failed to mention either the Fed or gold, giving his standard balanced budget (i.e. Keynesian) line. Even when asked point-blank by one of the libertarian gold advocates at the press conference where he stood on the gold standard, Clark ducked it, and finally stated lamely that he favored a "gradual return to the gold standard."

Anyone who knows anything about gold or money knows that there ain't no such thing as a "gradual return"; either one is on gold or off it. A gradual return to gold makes as much sense as someone being "gradually pregnant." Gradualism gone berserk!

When Clark came a cropper at the gold standard group's press conference, Ed Crane's characteristic way of handling the situation was to denounce the libertarian gold-bug for raising the issue and thus hurting the Clark fund-raising. Typically, the manipulator blames the person who reveals the truth.

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Later in the campaign, under severe pressure by outraged libertarian economists, Clark did, at various points, endorse the gold standard, as well as issue a paper by myself on the causes and remedies for inflation. But all this was grudging and low-key. The real, upfront discussion was balanced budget all the way.

Now, why is this? There can be only one answer. Because John Anderson-type, New York *Times*-type liberals all favor a balanced budget (who doesn't, at least in theory?) but they get edgy and nervous when they hear about gold or the Federal Reserve. To them, this sounds crackpotty and "right-wingy", and God forbid that Clark and Crane should ever be caught dead sounding like that!

### 8. Education

The Clark idea of educational tax credits is a fine first step, but one wonders why his maximum limit of \$1200 per student? This is substantially below most private school annual tuition; why not provide tax credits for full tuition, whatever that may be?

But there are two disquieting aspects to the tax credit idea. One is that there is no clear-cut statement by Clark that this is only a transition demand, and that, in fact all tax credits distort the economy by pushing people in the direction of spending toward which the government would like them to go (the same criticism applies to the elaborate retirement tax credit scheme of the Clark Social Security scheme.) Still, tax credits are excellent, but only insofar as they lower taxes; our ultimate objective should clearly be to eliminate taxation altogether. The Clark proposal should have been made in the context of the nineteenth century speech of President William F. Warren of Boston University to the university's approving trustees: "Tax Exemption the Road to Tax Abolition!" Instead, all we get from Clark's White Paper on Education are cloudy phrases about how great it would be if someday government were completely divorced from education.

But nowhere does Clark spell out in the concrete what this really means: for example, abolition of the monstrous public school system, and of compulsory attendance laws. To the contrary, Clark has stated during the campaign that the objective of his tax credit proposal is to "improve" the public school system. That should *not* be our objective; our goal should be abolition. Similarly, Clark angered Southern California party members early in the campaign by sidestepping a question by a reporter about his stand on compulsory attendance laws. That, Clark evaded, is not "a Presidential issue."

Well, well! Not a Presidential issue indeed! No one says that Clark should have made abolition of compulsory attendance laws a key feature of his speeches or pronouncements. But when asked the question, he had the moral obligation and the obligation to libertarianism and to his fellow Party members, to answer and to answer truthfully! We call for the abolition of compulsory attendance laws! And be damned whether Tom Wicker likes it or not! Instead, we got Libscam!

It is important to realize that Clark was not simply his own person, running for office. By getting our nomination, he put himself into a moral obligation to carry forth our principles and our platform, to truly represent us in the political arena. He failed that test time and again, consistently and grossly. Always, he and his handlers acted with total arrogance toward the Party and its members; the members' job was to gather signatures, get us on the ballot, contribute funds, and keep their mouths shut; the job of Clark, Crane, et al. was to run the campaign, and to brook no interference.

### 9. Answering Questions Truthfully

While we are on the issue of answering questions truthfully, Clark, to be sure, did it and did it very well — but *only once*. In his kickoff January press conference in Washington, D.C., he was

asked about the ultimate objectives of the Libertarian Party. What about the streets, the courts, etc? And Clark answered it well: that our ultimate objective was to privatize all of society, to turn all governmental operations over to private enterprise. It was a great and shining moment for Clark, but it was to be his last. Edward Crane was livid at this disclosure of truth to the media and to the public; how can they be conned into liking us if they know our real views? And because of Crane's pressure, Clark was never allowed — or perhaps never even felt tempted — to stand up for basic libertarian principles ever again.

Many of us have been hammering away at Clark on these matters since early last winter. All we got for our pains was lots of soft soap and mendacity. The object: to baby us along and keep us quiet so that they could get on with their unprincipled and sellout campaign. For example, after the hard-hitting criticisms of the Clark campaign by the Radical Caucus this summer (notably, my own "Libertarianism versus 'Low Tax Liberalism' ", *Cadre*, July/August, and Justin Raimondo's "A Matter of Principle," *Cadre* Supplement), Clark let it be known that his soft approach was all a design. His Grand Strategy was that, *after* August, with the media already softened up by his low-tax liberal approach, the Clark campaign would become feisty and hard-core. Well, of course, it was all a scam. Libscam! If anything, the Clark campaign got worse as it kept going, and the deviations and betrayals accelerated, especially whenever the precious media were in attendance. Babying along the critics was a key *leitmotif* of the Clark-Crane campaign. How many more times are we going to permit ourselves to be fooled?

### 10. Unions

Let us press on. What did Clark say about unions during the campaign, either in person, in literature, or in white papers? Not a damn thing. Even though the government-union complex is a key part of our economy and our society, and even though labor law reform is a direct and immediate political issue. Correction: he did say one thing, and only one. In his *Village Voice* interview with Cockburn and Ridgeway, Clark said that there is nothing wrong with unions. Period.

Again: well, well! It is true that in a free society, provided that unions don't use coercion against strikebreakers (a *big proviso!*), there is nothing un-libertarian about voluntary unions. But this is not a free society, as our "realists" never fail to remind us, and unions are now specially privileged, almost a creature of, the State. Yet nowhere in the Clark literature is there a hint of our platform position: the repeal of all this special privilege, notably including the Wagner Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Why no mention of removing special privileges to unions? Again, the answer is obvious: N. Y. *Times* liberals wouldn't like it, and Tom Wicker might not like us anymore. Tsk, tsk!

### 11. Immigration

Immigration provided probably the greatest (or perhaps the second greatest) single scandal of the Clark campaign. New York *Times* liberals, you see, love Mexicans but only *in Mexico*; they are not too keen on Mexicans emigrating to the United States. And so the Clark position, which not only betrayed the libertarian principle of free and open immigration, but also froze immigration restrictions in with the welfare system. Clark's position on immigration, detailed in an interview with the English-language newspaper *La Prensa*, published for San Diego's Mexican-Americans, was stated as follows:

As President I would move to increase substantially the immigration quotas from Mexico and Latin America. . . I believe absolutely in free immigration! In a perfect society people would be allowed to move freely anywhere. Today's realities, however, make it difficult. In the United States we have a welfare system that precludes that. The level of maintenance for U.S.

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citizens is so high that it would induce individuals to come here to live only on welfare. . . I would support a legal contract system of labor to bring in people from Mexico (two to three million) to come for six months at a time to work then return . . ." (see *A Matter Of Principle*, pp.2-3.)

The Clark position on immigration manages, at one and the same time, to betray principle and to be factually and economically incorrect. Undocumented aliens, including Mexicans, have not gone on welfare for the simple reason that they would have exposed themselves to arrest and deportation. These "illegal" aliens, as in the case of most immigrants of the past, have proved themselves to be among the most productive, hard-working members of society. Clark kicks them in the teeth, and unjustly.

Later, on nationwide television, Clark managed to retain his position but to put it less baldly. When asked where he stood on foreign trade and immigration, he said, craftily, that he favored free and open trade, and *increased* immigration (*not free and open*.) *This is holding high the banner of freedom? This is the lamp beside the golden door?*

Moreover, as Raimondo points out, Clark's endorsement of the hated *bracero* program (the six months-and-then-return) would return to a policy that locked the Mexicans into their cheap-labor status, and which kept Mexican-American wages below the free market level. The Clark-*bracero* program, Raimondo properly concludes, is "nothing but government-sanctioned-and-enforced exploitation on a massive scale."

Note, also, how Clark has been brought to this shameful point by having locked himself into a measured, prepared order of destatization. He has already asserted that we can't slash the welfare state until we have achieved "full employment"; he now adds that we can't have free and open immigration until we eliminate the welfare state. And so it goes; the "gradualists" lock us permanently into the status quo of statism. As the great libertarian abolitionist of slavery William Lloyd Garrison prophetically warned: "Gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice."

There is another grotesque feature of the Clark stand on immigration. He adds, in the *La Prensa* interview:

I would say that in an ideal society there is little or no need for a Border Patrol. I don't believe the Border Patrol should be involved in violence. Their role is administrative. Individuals should not be killed just because they are trying to cross the border to work.

Well, bully for you Ed! So if the Border Patrol is not supposed to shoot to kill, what *are* they supposed to do? How are they supposed to administer the quotas on Mexican immigration? Maybe a bit of clubbing? Or tranquilizer guns, such as are used on animals?

Clark's position on immigration is akin to his position on virtually the entire spectrum of political issues. It always takes the form: "Of course, I am a libertarian, but . . ." Pick any issue, and you can fill in the blanks yourself. "As a libertarian, I am of course in favor of . . . . . However, we must understand that we are living in the real world. In such a world, . . . . . would be too extreme, would cause problems, suffering, and fail to fulfill expectations. Therefore, much as I favor . . . . . in the abstract, in the meantime we must advocate . . . . ." and here comes the sellout. The sellout, "realistic" position turns out to be more or less what everyone else says, more precisely like a middle-class liberal.

### 12. Nuclear Power and the Environment

I have already spelled out the nuclear power controversy at great length in the *Lib. Forum*. Suffice it to elaborate here on two aspects of this controversy: (a) the treachery and duplicity of the Clark/Crane forces *vis a vis* the Publications Review Committee;

and (b) that nuclear power is only the tip of the environmentalist iceberg.

First, to carry the story to its conclusion since our May-June 1980 issue ("Opportunism, Nukes, and the Clark Campaign.") When we left our story, Crane, communications director for the Clark campaign, had issued an infamous anti-nuclear brochure in which Clark endorsed the notorious anti-nuke propagandist Gofman, and *vice versa*. This brochure had been issued despite the fact that it had never been submitted to the campaign's Publications Review Committee, which was supposed to clear all publications in advance. Furthermore, the brochure was issued in defiance of the express unanimous directive of the Committee not to issue any anti-nuke or Gofmanite propaganda, and despite the repeated assurances of the campaign's nominal director, Ray Cunningham, and of Clark himself, that such a brochure would never be issued!

After the brochure was issued, intense pressure zeroed in on Clark, fortified by the fact that *frontlines* broke the issue open (*frontlines* has been the major force for truth in the libertarian movement). At that point, Crane and his catspaw, Chris Hocker, the virtual co-director of the campaign, gave one and all assurances that the offending brochure was being withdrawn. Victory appeared to be ours, but one of our members, highly knowledgeable in the ways of Crane et al., sardonically commented: "I won't believe they've withdrawn the brochures until I see them burned at the Washington office."

Our cynical associate turned out, of course, to be right. For lo and behold! at the August Students for a Libertarian Society convention in October, what should turn up but our old friend the anti-nuke pamphlet, being happily distributed by the SLS ruling clique at the Commoner-Clark debate? In short, in the old but now we see to be highly revealing phrase, if lying helps . . .

Clark's handlers declared in their defense that "we couldn't write letters to every group withdrawing the pamphlet." Why not?

In a massive bit of rewriting of history (to put it at its kindest), the Clark people now maintain that the Publications Review Committee was not supposed to have the final say on Clark literature, that we were only supposed to be advisory, to express our input.

Who is right? Or who is lying? Or, more charitably, who is "misspeaking", to use a word that came back from obsolescence under the Nixon-Agnew regime? Well, the decisive point is that none of us would have joined such a committee if we had thought it was going to be in a purely advisory role. This has not been publicly revealed before, but the whole point of forming the committee is that some of us, at the August 1979 convention, were worried about Crane's potential for dominating the campaign, and distorting libertarian principles in the course of that control. It was to mollify, to soft-soap us, that Clark and his handlers set up the Publications Review Committee, which was explicitly designed to have *the same role* as the similarly named committee long in force at the National Committee: namely, decision-making rather than advisory. The members of the Committee were many of the same people who had expressed such concerns about a future Crane-dominated campaign. We would therefore never have accepted a purely advisory role. But of course now we know, as the more realistic of us suspected all along, that the function of the PRC was to soft-soap us and baby us along until the election. To which we must all resolve: Never Again!

Secondly, the nuclear power issue is only the tip of the environmentalist heresy that Crane, Childs, Mueller and Co. have been toying with for a couple of years. Not just nuclear radiation, but any radiation, indeed anything which someone might think to be "pollution", is to be outlawed. All this, even at best, violates the fundamental libertarian rule laid down a century ago by Benjamin R. Tucker: When in doubt about whether some activity is

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aggressive, the answer is *laissez-faire*. Let the person alone! Or, to apply venerable Anglo-Saxon law, nothing should be considered aggressive or criminal or tortious unless proven so beyond a reasonable doubt. Every person must be assumed innocent until proven guilty.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the Cranian imposition of environmental tyranny goes grotesquely much farther than even the weak "preponderance of evidence" rule. Sometimes, it seems that if A's action could conceivably or possibly harm B, then it should be outlawed. This, of course, would outlaw the human race. Every person, for example, emits radiation; from radiation, *some* other person *might* get a random cancer, etc.

Yet Clark has hinted that he, too, would go to the grotesque extremes of the Childs/Mueller clique. In his *Village Voice* interview, Clark spoke with great favor of the Environmental Protection Agency, asserting that it was engaged in establishing property rights! Even if, some day, libertarian courts might establish property rights in this area, it is absurd and outlandish to claim that the current EPA is doing anything of the kind. What it has been doing is crippling production, raising costs, and imposing the life-style of upper-class liberals on the rest of society.

Moreover, in his White Paper on Spending and Taxation, Clark keeps EPA and OSHA, the tyrannical agency engaged in crippling small businesses everywhere through idiotic regulations in the name of "safety." Again, Clark, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, indicated that he would keep EPA and OSHA, and even went so far as to suggest that any action that might eventually give some one cancer should be outlawed. Like smoking? Like going out in the sun? Like living?

OSHA is perhaps the single most hated governmental agency across the country, certainly among small business people. We could have picked up a lot of votes, as well as followed libertarian principle, by launching a blistering and radical attack on OSHA. Why didn't we do it? Indeed, why have we succumbed to the worst excesses of environmentalism? Clearly, because middle-class N.Y. *Times* liberals love environmentalism above all else, and we must suck up to them, mustn't we?

### 13. The ERA

If environmentalism and anti-nuke agitation are the liberals' first love, ERA comes in a close second. So naturally, ever attentive to their concerns, and to the putative votes of N.Y. *Times* liberal females, Clark has strongly supported ERA throughout the campaign.

It is ironic that, in a campaign in which basic principles, and a term like "rights" were to drop out completely from the Clark vocabulary, the only place where "rights" was stressed was in an anti-libertarian manner. The ERA is anti-libertarian for two basic reasons: (a) because "equal rights" can just as well be equal *tyranny* as equal liberty; and (b) because the courts would not construe such wording as "public" or "government" action the way *we* would; and so they would enforce this equal tyranny upon private groups and employers as well as the government. The pro-ERA libertarians answer the first count that "we" will fight to see that equality is equal liberty and not tyranny. But that evades the point. The basic point is this: if there is a draft, should women be drafted as well as men? The answer must be no for every libertarian; just

2. Some of our fuddy-duddy libertarian lawyers are horrified at this proposal. They point out that the "reasonable doubt" standard only applies to criminal law; in civil cases, in cases of torts, the weaker "preponderance of the evidence" rule has applied. But there is no reason that libertarians should advocate current legal rules when they are incorrect, since we believe in fusing crimes and torts anyway, we should apply the innocent-until-guilty rule to tort as well as criminal cases.

because half the youth population is enslaved, is no reason for *us* (though it may be for egalitarians) to call for enslaving the other half. It is no answer to say, with the ERA advocates, that we're against the draft altogether and must fight against it. For this evades the crucial point: If there *is* a draft of males, should women *also* be drafted? The ERA would impose a Yes answer, that is, would impose female slavery. All genuine libertarians must say No.

The pro-ERA reply to the charge that in our present context public or governmental would be construed to include private citizens, either denies this outright or says that we must go only by how *we* would construe the phrase. But this is absurd. As George Smith has pointed out: Suppose that this were 1850, and some Senator introduces a Constitutional amendment calling for the government to protect the absolute rights of private property. Should we have shouted hosannahs, because the phrases looked great? Certainly not, because if we were alert people, we would realize that the courts would have interpreted such an amendment by hauling back fugitive slaves from the North, since slaves were then considered as "private property". The analogy holds.

Bill Evers, myself, and others wasted a great many man-hours last year arguing with the Crane-Childs-Mueller clique about the principled libertarian stand on nuclear power and ERA. We needn't have wasted the time. What we should have realized is that these gentry did not have the slightest interest in discovering the libertarian position on any particular issue and then upholding it. What they were interested in was finding libertarian-sounding rationales for positions already held by what they conceived to be "our constituency": middle-class New York *Times*-type liberals. Libscam!

### 14. Civil Liberties

We might recall that in the dear dead days of the MacBride campaign of 1976, Roger stuck closely to the triad of libertarian principles: free market economy, civil liberties, non-intervention abroad. The Crane clique might have been right that Roger showed less than full enthusiasm for applying these libertarian principles to the gamut of specific issues, but by God he never sold out on the principles themselves.

One of those fundamental principles was civil liberties. What did Clark, in contrast, have to say about civil liberties this year? The answer is zilch. Nada. Hardly once did civil liberties ever get mentioned. Perhaps the Clark handlers will say that civil liberties are not "Presidential". Like hell. Like wiretapping, like rooting out "subversives", like COINTELPRO? At any rate, civil liberties dropped out of the campaign. When asked about drugs — and of course the Federal government plays a large role in drug enforcement — Clark would reply that he is in favor of legalizing "soft" drugs: i.e. marijuana. Here, again, was "gradualism" with a vengeance, for this sort of answer directly implied that "hard" drugs, e.g. heroin, should remain outlawed. Thereby not only abandoning principle, but failing to point out a major cause of urban crime.

The problem here for the Clark/Crane clique was simply this: everyone, even middle-class liberals, is in favor of legalizing marijuana; hell, most of them smoke it themselves. But heroin is a very different story; it has the aura of the poor, the blacks, the ghetto, and so heroin continues to be a definitely "out" rather than "in" drug at the good grey New York *Times*. So therefore, we cannot come out for its legalization. How embarrassing when Clark is trying to be so Presidential!

Clark finally resolved the heroin problem to his own satisfaction on nationwide television: for heroin, we should adopt the British system. Sounds good, because heroin there is legal, right? Wrong. Heroin is dispensed gratis by licensed, socialized doctors to their certified addicts; in every other situation, heroin, marijuana and all other drugs are ruthlessly stamped out by the police.

So *this* is Clark's odious "libertarian" solution to the heroin  
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question: the taxpayer has to be coerced into paying for free heroin shots for some addicts, while everyone else is heroin-freedom ruthlessly stamped out! Another cause of Clark-Crane "gradualism" in action!

### 15. The Draft

But how about the draft, you might ask? Surely libertarians are solidly against the draft, and Clark was adamant on this issue? Surely? Well, yes and no. We can excuse the fact that it took a while in the campaign for Clark to attack the draft as "slavery"; he finally did so. We can also excuse his caution in not taking the possibly illegal step of advocating resistance to the draft (although some ACLU lawyers were bold enough to do so.) But then, like a bolt from the blue, there was the incident of the lengthy Clark interview in *Penthouse* November 1980. Here was unquestionably the strangest incident of the campaign.

In the course of a lengthy interview (in which precious little was said about libertarian principle), Clark declared that, as a libertarian, he would of course be against the draft if this were a perfectly free world. However, since we live in a non-libertarian world (here it comes again!) and since Russia has the draft, we have to be content with a "gradual dismantling" of the draft.

The Clark handlers have been claiming that it's all a misprint. But look at the offending passage carefully. It sure doesn't *read* like a misprint, and if "draft" were a typo for "defense" the passage would n't have made any sense. So, it doesn't read like a misprint. Furthermore, they can't claim that the interviewer was hostile. The interviewer was long-time libertarian Jim Davidson, who certainly wouldn't have deliberately distorted Clark's words in a non-libertarian direction. And besides, why didn't Clark complain when the interview was in galleys? No, if they want to convince us that some grisly error occurred, let them get a copy of the taped interview and play it for us . . . and make sure that there's no 18-minute gap.

The concept of gradual dismantling, a gradual "phase-out" (a favorite Clark term throughout) of the draft, of course requires that the draft be imposed *now* and then be phased out over *how long*? How about 35 years, the same arbitrary numbers game as in the Social Security scheme?

### 16. Foreign Policy

Most libertarians are under the impression that, at least on foreign policy, Clark stuck to the LP platform position of nonintervention. It is true that the sellout here was proportionately less than in other areas; but the reason, of course, is that New York *Times* liberals are pretty dovish themselves. But very, *very* moderately dovish. And therein lies the rub.

For Clark's policy pronouncements, supported by his White Paper on Foreign and Military Policy, abandoned a *principled* policy of non-intervention. There is nowhere a hint that the reason for our policy of non-intervention is to avoid the high crime of mass murder; principles, rights, mass murder all dropped out here just as they did in the rest of the Clark campaign. Instead, we had a tough, "realistic" Ravenalian analysis (not a coincidence, since Professor Earl Ravenal was the author of the White Paper) which reads like a left-liberal counterpart of the Hudson Institute; the discussion is all on throwweights, triads, diads, etc., and the reason given for a foreign policy of non-intervention is that *nowadays* West Germany and Japan are strong enough to pay for their own defense, so why should *we* pay for it? All this is fine and correct, as far as it goes, but for a Libertarian presidential campaign, it scarcely goes far enough. Non-intervention is a principled position deriving from the nature of States and the avoidance of mass murder; whether or not West Germany or Japan are strong is irrelevant to the principle. Thus, the Clark/Ravenal position implies, say, that in the 1940s and 1950s, when West Germany and

Japan were weak, the United States *should have* then paid for their defense. Indeed, Clark has said as much during the campaign. Thus, the search for utility and "practicality", what C. Wright Mills called "crackpot realism", abandons libertarian principle and undermines the policy of non-intervention.

Furthermore, Clark, during the campaign. Thus, the search for utility and "practicality", what C. Wright Mills called "crackpot realism", abandons libertarian principle and undermines the policy of non-intervention.

Furthermore, Clark, during the campaign, had the gall to suddenly expand the American defense perimeter to include Canada and Mexico. As Clark demagogically put it, "We shouldn't wait for them to get to Toronto before we defend Detroit." So if we are to abandon a *principles* policy of non-intervention on behalf of the domino theory, why stop at Toronto? Why not Saigon? And are we to defend Mexico despite itself, yet not admit Mexicans into the U.S.?

And even this utilitarian non-intervention is, like everything else, to be "phased in" gradually. We are only to pull our troops out of NATO gradually.

On the Iran question, Clark was no more steadfast or principled than the major politicians. Denying the right of asylum, he first declared that the Shah should not have been admitted into the country; later, however, Clark opined that the crackpot Iran rescue mission was within the "outer limits" of permissible intervention!

Furthermore, Clark, in summing up his military policy, used the phrase: "a strong national defense." This phrase is, of course, a code word for the militarists and the war hawks, and should not have been used. What's wrong with "adequate" national defense, such as is used in our platform? Also, Clark was silent on another key plank in our military platform: the search for mutual complete and general disarmament down to police levels. The nuclear threat hangs over the human race; why didn't Clark launch a great crusade to try to remove that threat? Instead, it's "strong national defense," and West Germany and Japan are strong enough to pay for their own defense. It is to such a dismal status that the noble policy of anti-war, anti-foreign intervention, and anti-militarism has been reduced!

### 17. Gradualism Versus Principle

Throughout the Clark campaign, libertarian principle was traduced and abandoned in a quest for media respectability and votes. Thus, Clark repeatedly defined libertarianism as a belief that everyone should be allowed to keep "more" of their own money. Well, well! How *much* more? By what standard? How about *all* of their own money, Ed? As Jarret Wollstein records, the worst single example of this sellout gradualism was David Koch's definition of the three "great principles" of liberalism at the disastrous Alternative '80 telethon (for more, see below): "*lower taxes, less intervention into the affairs of other countries, and less interference with people's personal lives.*" (Jarret B. Wollstein, "The Clark Campaign" *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, *Individual Liberty*, November 1980, p. 4.) The three great principles are, of course: *no taxes, no intervention, and no interference.* In this way, as Wollstein puts it, we are presented with an "ugly and dishonest trivialization of radical and revolutionary principles of libertarianism." Wollstein concludes his analysis: "Clark has in fact succeeded in running a campaign under the banner of the 'Party of Principle', without clearly enunciating a single fundamental principle. He gives lip services to liberty, but never mentions the concept of inalienable individual rights. He talks about 'non-interventionist foreign policy,' but never defines just what this consists of. He opposes 'high taxes,' but never identifies taxation as theft."

Wollstein concludes: "In the long run the battle for liberty will be won or lost based on the strength of our principles and the courage of those who advocate them. It is both philosophically dishonest and tactically mistaken for professed advocates of libertarian to

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abandon forthright statement of principles in the name of pragmatism." (Wollstein, pp. 4-6.)

### 18. Where Reagan Was Better

A minimal responsibility of any Libertarian candidate is not to let himself be outflanked by any other group or candidate; he should be ahead of, not behind, any other group in his libertarianism. We saw above that we should never have been outflanked on taxes by the Liberty Amendment people. Similarly, Clark should never have been behind any of the other presidential candidates. Yet there were several significant issues in which moderate Conservative Ronald Reagan was substantially more libertarian than Clark. (And this is not to deny the massive sellout that occurred during the campaign of Reagan's own commitment to the free-market.) Let us set aside the tax cut, in which Clark certainly did not place himself as *perceptibly* more radical than Reagan. And let us set aside Clark's astounding "gradual dismantling of the draft" position — in contrast to Reagan's seeming opposition to the draft — as some sort of unexplained fluke. There are several other significant areas where Reagan was more libertarian than Clark.

(a) Clark was ardently in favor of the statist ERA; Reagan, in an unexceptionable statement, said he was for equal rights for women, but against government as the enforcement arm of such rights. (b) Clark was in favor of outlawing nuclear energy *per se*. Reagan was not. (c) Clark was in favor of restricting Mexican immigration; Reagan called for a Common Market with Mexico and Canada, which, at least presumptively, seems to call for unrestricted immigration. (d) Clark was against welfare cuts until we have achieved "full employment." Reagan at least favored eliminating the "welfare cheats" from the rolls. (e) Clark timidly came out in favor of the promising idea of a "freeport" or "urban enterprise zone" for Miami only; Reagan favored it for "several" inner cities.

### 19. George Smith's Prophetic Satire

George H. Smith, a brilliant young philosopher and a leader of the anti-party libertarians, wrote a satire during the 1976 campaign that was published by anti-party leader Sam Konkin. (George H. Smith, "Victory Speech of the Libertarian Party President-Elect, 1984" *New Libertarian Weekly Supplement* (October 31, 1976, pp. 3ff.) As a pro-party person, I have to admit that Smith's projected "Victory Speech" is a chilling and dazzlingly prophetic portrayal of the Clark campaign. It deserves quoting at length.

The victorious LP President is making his 1984 victory speech. He begins his sellout thus: "I appear before you this evening to tell you of my vision for this country and to unfold my plan for liberty. . . . But let us not forget that we live in the real world. We live in a world of brute facts that cares nothing for our ideals, we must face the fact that the devastation caused by political meddling has created an extremely complicated situation. Many of our citizens depend entirely on government jobs and handouts. As much as we desire liberty, we cannot sacrifice these innocent people in a blind repeal of laws." The President goes on to say that the coercive laws can only be whittled away gradually.

" . . . there are those who criticize our gradualism. Some of our former comrades who, before the purge of 1980, also referred to themselves as 'libertarians', continue vociferously to campaign for the immediate and total repeal of all unjust laws. In upholding gradual repeal, they say, the Party must necessarily defend and enforce those unjust laws that remain. This is true. . . . So many people have become dependent on government money and services, that to abolish them outright would clearly lead to disorder, rioting, and starvation. The good of society requires that such laws be phased out in increments, step by step, while we

prepare the country for freedom. This is the wisdom of gradualism.

"But still we are assailed by reckless visionaries who scream for the immediate abolition of taxation — the root, they say, of most government evil. Now, taxation is wrong, of course; but to repeal all taxation would lead to the collapse of national defense, police services, welfare, and many other essential services. Thousands, perhaps millions, would die. We are unwilling to sacrifice lives to the tyranny of false freedom, in a country where people cannot as yet handle their freedom in a proper manner.

"Indeed, it was policy of gradualism that led to our massive support by the American people."

Smith's "President" then goes on to point out how various groups of voters were convinced to vote Libertarian: because they were told that all of their privileges: Social Security; welfare; union privileges; taxi monopolies; victimless crime law enforcement; whatever, that all of these would "be chiseled away in painless steps". To abolish such privileges would be "only a long-term objective."

The rest of the satire is even more chilling, for then the "President" goes on to say that any libertarian purists who insist on disobeying these unjust laws or in not paying taxes must be cracked down on by the "libertarian" government; otherwise that government would be discredited in the eyes of the public. The "President" urges the libertarians in his audience: "Become a model law abiding citizen for the sake of gradualism, even if you personally disagree with many of the current laws. Above all do not cheat on your taxes. Remember that your tax dollars will now go for the cause of freedom . . ."

We are going to have to have a mighty and thoroughgoing transformation of the Libertarian Party if we are going to demonstrate that George Smith and his fellow anti-party libertarians were not right in their qualms about Libertarian political action. So far, their warnings have been all too correct.

### 20. Fooling The Media

So much for the grievous and systemic betrayals of principle. What was the point? The goal was to maximize votes; the larger the vote totals, the greater the "success" of the campaign was to be defined. How were votes to be maximized? By getting the media to like us, to pay attention to us, to give us wide and favorable coverage. Who are the media? As everyone knows, they are moderate liberals, *New York Times* — CBS liberals. If, then, we pretended to be *New York Times*-type liberals, we would get favorable attention.

What was the point of whoring after maximum votes? The idea was that if we got a lot of votes, this would fool the media into thinking that we were really a mighty mass movement, with several million dedicated libertarians. Of course, we are not a mass movement; essentially what we were in 1980 was half a dozen guys at the National Offices, lots of money, and slick, Pepsi-type TV commercials. But a movement cannot be created by trickery, cannot be achieved with mirrors.

Once again, the entire Grand Strategy of the campaign rested on lies and duplicity: fooling the media, fooling the party members, fooling the public. But a solid movement cannot be built on duplicity; it can only be built by honesty and by educating the public in our libertarian principles.

To an extent, the narrow tactic worked: surely we got more national media attention than we have ever gotten before. (Although, as Dave Nolan points out, we did not get to tap the *crucial* national media.) But so what? For to the extent that we fooled the media into giving us attention we didn't deserve, they *will not be fooled again*. To some extent, the media fell for our

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propaganda that we would get "several million" votes, become a major third party in 1980, etc. But when the piddling vote totals came in, the media learned the truth. The tipoff was Walter Cronkite's contemptuous dismissal of us on election night: "The libertarians thought they'd get millions of votes, but they're doing nothing." Come 1984, and the media will remember the floperoo of 1980; we can predict that media attention will be much less in 1984. Even on whoring after the media, we muffed it.

But suppose we had gotten 2, 3, 5, 10 million votes. So what? What would these votes have *meant*? Would any of the media have believed for one moment that these millions of votes were votes for libertarian principles? How, if these principles were carefully buried throughout the campaign? What's the point of getting millions of votes, for low-tax liberalism, for some vague replica of Jack Kennedy? How does that build the libertarian movement or spread the ideas of libertarianism?

How the media regard us may be seen in the flap over the notorious Hocker TV commercial, in which a bunch of national office employees and volunteers pretended to be "men-in-the-street" coming out for Clark. Apart from the general meretriciousness of the commercial, former National LP Director Chris Hocker, the No. 2 man of the Clark campaign, is pictured behind the wheel of his car, saying: "I used to be for Anderson, but now I'm for Clark . . ."

This bald-faced lie is defended by the Cranians as mere use of advertising techniques, as simply doing what other parties have done. But most advertising people I know believe in truthful advertising, and would consider such an ad mendacious and unethical. But apart from that, it's tacky. Let's put it this way: Crane and his henchmen have always prided themselves as being "professionals"; in contrast to the rest of us bumbling amateurs, *they* are bringing us competence, and major-party professionalism. But what *professional* party would have, say Jody Powell, acting as a "man-in-the-street" pretending to be converted from Reagan to Carter?

For all its slickness, the Hocker-commercial demonstrates that the Clark campaign was tacky and sleazy, rather than professional. It also demonstrates that there are damned few libertarians around, that we are *not* a mass movement, or anything like it.

Hocker's defense of the commercial is that the media didn't care about the duplicitous tactic. But that is just the point! The media would have roasted Jody Powell and the Carter campaign if *they* had pulled such a stunt. Why didn't they roast us? Precisely because they didn't care, they didn't care about us *at all*. We were at best a pleasant diversion, and no real threat to anyone, much less the major parties. And because they didn't care, they didn't bother to investigate.

The media liked us; we sucked up to them enough for that. But what reason did we give them, or other *New York Times* liberals, to vote for us? If they wanted "low tax liberalism," they could support John Anderson, or the major parties; at least *they* had a chance to win. By aping the "respectable" parties and candidates, Clark offered no real alternative; he didn't give anyone a *reason* to vote from him. If you've got no chance to win, you should at least offer the voter a sharp alternative to their other, more realistic choices. Clark failed to do so, and therefore his entire whoring-after-the-liberal-media strategy was a disaster, *qua* strategy, and apart from the gross betrayal of principle throughout the campaign.

Actually, the most charming media articles on the LP during the campaign were in two Marxist weeklies: *In These Times*, and the *Guardian*. They were charming because, being Marxists, they took ideology seriously and proceeded to engage in a fairly objective, though naturally critical, depiction of Libertarian ideology and its variants. The *Guardian's* article (Sam Zuckerman, "Anarchy for

the Rich", October 29, 1980, p.9) was particularly heart-warming because it stressed our platform, and therefore thought that our campaign was much more hard-core than it actually turned out to be.

### 21. Education and Party-Building

The major purpose of a political campaign by a Libertarian Party is surely not to get into office or to amass votes; the major purpose is to educate the public in libertarian principles, and in that way to build the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party as our spearhead in the political realm. But the Clark campaign did not educate; it *mis*-educated. Hiding and burying libertarian principle, it instructed the voters that "libertarianism" was some sort of Jack Kennedyish movement.

Even if we had gotten several million votes, and even if these millions had joined the LP, it would not have *built* the LP as a libertarian party; for we would simply have been swamped by millions of Kennedyish liberals, and Libertarianism would have been crushed in the party.

At least we don't have to worry about that; for there is no evidence that the 900,000 LP voters are going to join the LP or become libertarians. The number of new LP voters are going to join LP members or libertarians discovered by this large and highly expensive campaign is minuscule; essentially, we have the same number of activists we had before. After Clark's famous 377,000 votes for governor of California, for example, *nothing at all* was done to recruit these voters into the movement or Party; in fact, nothing was done with the 90,000-odd registration signatures we gathered to get us permanently on the California ballot. It is doubtful, in fact, that the Clark/Crane forces are particularly *interested* in building the Party or the movement. Party members *vote*, and are therefore troublesome, because they might vote "incorrectly"; how much easier to employ half a dozen people and millions of dollars! They are far easier to *control*. If you get more than a handful of people, they might not be willing, in one of Crane's favorite phrases, "to go along with the program."

To educate the voters in libertarianism, you must run a principled campaign; to build libertarian cadre, you must run a principled campaign. An unprincipled campaign might get votes, it might fool people temporarily, but it will mis-educate, and it will not build a movement. There is no substitute for honest education and for patient, long-range building of a movement and of a party. There are no short-cuts to victory. That way lies only betrayal and defeat.

### 22. Fiscal Irresponsibility

In addition to everything else, the Clark campaign was run wildly, with all-out spending and ineffective fund-raising (except of course from David Koch.) After they had proclaimed loudly and repeatedly that the campaign would not run up any debt, we now find that Clark/Hocker *et al* have run up the gigantic debt of \$300,000 *some of which, furthermore, they are trying to get the National Committee to assume.*

*In a magnificent piece of truth-telling and investigative reporting, frontlines* (November, 1980) reports on the debt and the mismanagement of the campaign. It reports that Dr. Dallas Cooley, Treasurer of the LP and a high official of the Clark campaign, is worried about the \$200,000 deficit, which is 60 percent of the entire LP operating budget for one year. "The LP is in trouble," said Cooley, "and we could have accomplished just about the same thing without going into debt at all."

Particularly disastrous was the highly touted Alternative '80, a fund-raising telethon put on at Los Angeles and distributed across the country. *frontlines* quotes many hype comments at the event, such as Roy Childs' trumpeting that "with the kind of enthusiasm we see here, we could raise a hell of a lot of money." Indeed, the Clark campaign put out a whopper of a press release the day after

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the telethon (Sept. 29), proclaiming that it had raised \$247,000. Mendacity, mendacity! In actuality, the telethon *cost us* no less than \$100,000.

*frontlines* reports that the finance director of the Clark campaign, Dale Hogue, later resigned his post, partly in disgust at Crane's mismanagement. Hogue points out that the telethon, as he originally had planned it, would have raised a considerable amount of money, perhaps up to \$150,000, but that Crane had insisted on turning the telethon into a costly "entertainment and media event." The result: financial disaster.

Again, in real, *professional* political parties, campaign committees are responsible for their own debt; they can't stick the Party with liability for that debt. If the National Committee has any spunk or sense of fairness, they will tell the Cranians to go clean up their own mess, to pay for their own fiscal irresponsibility. And all libertarians should tell them the same thing.

### 23. And They Didn't Even Get The Votes

After promising "several million" votes, after trumpeting imminent major party status, after a campaign of lies, evasions, and mendacity, the Clark/Crane campaign fell flat on its face. They got only 1% of the vote.

What has the C/C response been to the vote totals? Predictably, by rewriting history, and by claiming that the campaign was, after all, a big success.

Part of the success claim rests on the smug assertion that *this* is what the Cranians had expected all along. Perhaps so: and their prescience is supported by my information that the national campaign office put on a betting pool, in which no one was more than several hundred thousand votes off the mark! But that hardly gets the Cranians off the hook. Quite the contrary. For it means that at the same time they lied to the media to hype them, while they lied to the party workers to fire up their enthusiasm and get financial support, they knew all along that they would get less than a million votes!

And, what is more, both Clark and Crane said many times publicly that less than a million votes would mean failure. On their own terms, then, they failed, and failed miserably.

It might be said that, after all, we got more than four times the MacBride vote. Sure, but at enormous financial expense. Furthermore, we slipped badly in our strong states, such as California. Clark's 1.7% of the vote is a miserable flop compared to the 5.5% he got for governor in 1978. In Alaska, we were promised that we would come in second, and add three or four more state representatives. We added only one, and garnered only 12% of the presidential vote. None of the other races amounted to a hill of beans. The "victory" of Mary Shell as Mayor of Bakersfield, California had better be soft-pedalled; for this was a non-partisan race, and Miss Shell, though an LP member, is in favor of outlawing marijuana and a hawkish foreign policy.

One repellent aspect of the campaign was the way that financial supporters were conned. For example, the hype had it that Roberta Rhinehart had a "good chance to win" a seat in the State Assembly of California from Los Angeles; and on that basis, many California libertarians were induced to kick in funds at the last minute. In reality, Ms. Rhinehart got only 17% of the vote.

We must face up to the hard facts: We are not going to be a third major party, now or in the foreseeable future. The Cranians wailed that Anderson spiked our guns, that he had, in the words of Cranian Youth Leader Jeff Friedman in *Libertarian Review*, "stolen our constituency." But Anderson's "constituency" is ours only if we try absurdly to be more "low tax liberal" than he; as libertarians, our constituency is not confined to New York *Times* liberals, but to anyone and everyone ripped off and exploited by the

State. Furthermore, the Cranians had better reevaluate the future, because Anderson is going to be around for a long time; he is already threatening to build a real party and run again in 1984. And then there is Barry Commoner's Citizens Party. It is true that we beat him four to one, but on the other hand, for an initial race, Commoner did better than MacBride in 1976. He is not going to disappear either.

No, we had better not try to barter principle for a lot of votes, for Quick Victory. We're not going to get all that many votes, and There Ain't No Such Thing as Quick Victory. (TANSTAQV).

### 24. Conclusion: What Is To Be Done?

During the campaign, the Cranians and most of the Partyarchy tried to silence all criticisms of the campaign. The excuse was that the unity of the campaign must not be breached, that we need maximum votes, and that it would be disloyal to the candidates to launch any public criticism; that should wait until after the campaign. Now that the campaign is over, however, the Cranians take a new tack: the campaign is all ancient history, we did pretty well, so let's forget the whole thing and go onward and upward into the light.

No! That must not be permitted to happen! Many party members throughout the country, fed nothing but pap from a puff press, don't even know what went on. They must be informed, and right away. We must have a mighty campaign of analysis, and of protest, throughout the country. The party members must be aroused before it is too late, and before our souls have been lost. We must not permit this infamy to happen ever again. Honest libertarians will not stand for another Presidential campaign like the one we have been through. Once was a tragic mistake, twice would be intolerable.

We must expose and denounce, not only to right the record of 1979-80, but also that we may escape a similar fate in the future. We must form a mighty popular coalition throughout the Party to make the necessary changes. For this is not a question of "right" or "left", "liberal" or "conservative." This is a fundamental question that cuts right to the heart of our movement: of honesty versus duplicity, of principle versus betrayal.

We must resolve Never Again, and to do this we must make fundamental changes in our Party. There must be structural changes, so that candidates will no longer be able to get away with murder, and betray us and the platform; all candidates must be accountable, day by day, to the Party structure and the Party platform. State candidates must be accountable to state parties, and national candidates to the national party and its National Committee. And since opportunists are real persons, and the betrayal was engineered by persons, we must see to it that those persons are never again in a position to run and to ruin a presidential campaign. In short, we must resolve: Never Again Clark, Never Again Crane. ‡

## Carter's Administration

Humiliation  
Fabrication  
Tribulation  
Consternation  
Inflation  
Devastation

— Agustin De Mello

*"If we get less than a million votes, we blew it."*

—Ed Clark, November, 1979

# CLARK PRESIDENT

## A Campaign Critique

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By David F. Nolan

*"Those who will not learn from history are condemned to repeat its mistakes."*

—George Santayana

### INTRODUCTION

*The Bonaventure Hotel, Los Angeles, September 8, 1979:* Ed Clark, newly-nominated presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party, stood before a crowd of 2,000 cheering supporters and spoke stirringly of building a three-party system in the United States.

The campaign's goal, he stated, was to produce "several million votes," and thereby propel the Libertarian Party to major-party status.

And, he assured the assembled multitude, this would be a hard-core campaign, with no compromise on libertarian principles. The loudest cheers came when Clark spoke of abolishing the IRS; his rhetoric left little doubt in listeners' minds that this would be a campaign we could be proud of.

\* \* \*

Fourteen months later, the cheering had faded into a stunned silence. On Election Day, Ed Clark and David Koch polled only 900,000 votes nationwide — a far cry from the oft-referred-to "several million".

Worse yet, the campaign had *not* been hard-core. Instead, it had been a campaign of principles betrayed and promises broken. The abolitionist rhetoric of 1979 had given way to liberal reform proposals; the basic issue of individual rights versus state power had been obscured by a fog of amiable-sounding platitudes about benevolence and hope.

Only one percent of the electorate had cast their votes for Clark's "new beginning". What portion — if any — of that vote was cast for libertarian principles, and what portion for "low-tax liberalism", will never be known.

In the following pages, we will examine the record of the Clark campaign in some detail. The first section compares the campaign's stated goals with its achieved results. Following sections deal with the conduct of the campaign itself, focusing on the questions of Strategy, Purity, Management and Ethics. The final section offers a summary and conclusions.

Your comments are solicited.

### GOALS AND RESULTS

The announced goal of the Clark campaign was to make significant progress toward establishing a three-party system in the United States — to get "several million votes", achieve a "balance of power" position, and create a new "mass alternative party". A top priority was to gain inclusion in the presidential debates sponsored by the League of Women Voters; another was to generate significant, continuing coverage by the major mass media. And it was all to be done without compromising principles.

Judged by any of these criteria, the campaign was a disappointment. Although the term "several million" was never defined publicly, most Libertarians took it to mean somewhere in the region of three to five million votes. At an early Steering Committee meeting, campaign mastermind Ed Crane spoke confidently of getting 4% of the vote, and produced a writeup by

one political analyst citing this as a realistic possibility. The most commonly mentioned figure (in private) was three million votes, and when I publicly ventured a projection of two million, I was chided for being "negative". Both Clark and Crane readily acknowledged that anything under one million would be "a failure".

The actual result — 900,000 votes, or just over 1% — was thus only one-third to one-fourth of the announced goal, and less than half of my "pessimistic" estimate. As to whether a showing of 1% can be described as evidence of a "mass alternative party", and the beginning of a "three-party system", an examination of political history quickly shows that it is not.

Since 1900, no less than *nineteen* third-party and independent presidential candidates have done better than Ed Clark did in 1980. Seven of these were men who broke away from one of the existing major parties, and thus not directly comparable. Setting these aside, however, we are still faced with the fact that Clark's showing was bettered by the Socialists on six occasions (top showing: 6% in 1912), the Prohibitionists on five (top performance: 1.9% in 1904), and the crypto-fascist Union Party with just under 2% in 1946. As far as I know, none of these is generally considered a "mass alternative party", but perhaps I've missed something.

The term "balance of power" is of course subject to debate. Obviously, in any presidential election, there will be a few states where the outcome is decided by a margin of 1% or 2%. And in this year's election, the presence of John Anderson makes it difficult to say where — or if — our votes "made the difference". But to suggest that a 1% showing has the GOP or Democrats quaking in their boots or established the LP as roughly equal to the two major parties in anyone's mind is patently absurd.

So we didn't achieve major-party status, or anything remotely like it, with the Clark campaign. Still, Clark's 900,000 votes represent a substantial gain over past showings, and show that we're still gaining momentum . . . don't they?

No, not really. At first glance, Clark's performance appears to be a solid step forward from MacBride's 175,000 in 1976 — an increase of better than five to one, and surely a healthy sign. But on closer examination, even this achievement is not all that it seems.

First, it must be noted that about one-quarter of Clark's vote came from states where MacBride was not on the ballot four years ago — which means that in states where a direct comparison is possible, the average gain drops to less than four to one. And even that figure is deceptive. For when you look at the results on a state-by-state basis, some disturbing facts emerge.

By and large, Clark's largest gains over MacBride's showing came in states where our '76 showing was very feeble indeed — 0.1% to 0.2%. Starting from a base this small, large *relative* gains are easy to make.

Our gains in areas of previous strength were far smaller. In the nine states where MacBride polled 0.5% or better in 1976, our gains were far less encouraging. Our percentage in Alaska barely

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doubled, as did those in Arizona and Idaho. Clark's showing in California was little more than 2½ times MacBride's total four years ago — and was 60% less than Clark's own performance there in 1978, despite a 23% increase in total vote cast!

The same "low gain" pattern holds true for most of the other "high base" states. In fact, there is only *one state* — Colorado — which was able to quadruple its vote total starting from a base of 0.5% or better in 1976! (The actual gain in Colorado was the only high-base, high-gain state.)

These results suggest that the Clark campaign failed, almost completely, to capitalize on our existing strengths — despite having spent over three million dollars. The cost per vote received works out to an almost unbelievable *three and one half dollars*. In contrast, many of our state and local candidates — such as David Bergland, running for U.S. Senate in California — spent only *ten or twenty cents* per vote. Clearly, the Clark campaign was a horrible failure from a cost-effectiveness standpoint.

The burning question to be answered, of course, is "Why?" Why did Clark's campaign fail so abysmally at gaining public acceptance, and moving the Libertarian Party toward "mass alternative party" status? What went wrong?

The answer that will be put forth by those who managed (or, more accurately, mismanaged) the Clark effort will be "Anderson". But this explanation (or excuse) fails on two counts.

First, it should be remembered that all through the campaign, up until the last month or so, the crew at Clark Headquarters in Washington was staunchly maintaining that Anderson's presence in the race would actually help Clark. Their argument was that by breaking the "two-party mindset", Anderson would increase people's receptiveness to alternative choices. At one point, Crane even gleefully referred to Anderson as "our stalking-horse".

More significantly, historical evidence indicates that this hypothesis should be correct. The one and only time during the twentieth century that an ideological third-party candidate got more than 3½% of the vote was in 1912, when Socialist Eugene Debs received 6% — about double the usual showing for the Socialists in that era.

The only plausible explanation for this sudden upsurge is that 1912 was the year when a major "breakaway" candidate — Teddy Roosevelt — was also in the running. Roosevelt's presence in the race did in fact "break open the system", and as a result, people were more willing to vote for a radical alternative.

Given the temper of the electorate in 1980, and the widespread dissatisfaction with the establishment party candidates, a similar phenomenon *should* have occurred this time. Clark *should* have done far better than he did, Anderson or no Anderson. And any attempt to pin Clark's failure on Anderson's candidacy is thus nothing more than a cheap attempt to weasel out of accepting the blame for a showing that — by Clark's own definition — was a failure.

The real reasons for the failure of the Clark campaign lie in its misconceived strategy and poor management. And the greatest share of the blame rests squarely on the shoulders of Communications Director Ed Crane, who — despite a promise to the contrary by Ed Clark — was given almost total control over the campaign.

With this in mind, let us now turn to an examination of the campaign's strategy.

### STRATEGY

Murray Rothbard has described the essential strategy of the Clark campaign as "trying to create a movement with mirrors — fostering the illusion that a new mass party already existed, and

getting the media to cover it, in the hope that the reality would materialize as a result."

Inevitably, this strategy necessitated a fair amount of deception: pretending to be something we aren't, and disguising what we really stand for. (Elsewhere, I have referred to this tactic — somewhat indelicately — as "whoring after the media". After reading this report, you can judge for yourself whether this description is accurate.)

Questions of principles and ethics aside for the moment, it should now be obvious that this strategy was misconceived; the major media simply didn't fall for the trick.

To be sure, the Clark campaign generated feature articles in 15 or 20 general-circulation or special-interest magazines with a combined total circulation of about 15-20 million.\* Most of these articles were unbiased or mildly favorable in content; one or two were very favorable; two were quite hostile. In terms of reaching the voters, the most significant piece was probably the interview in *Penthouse* (circulation 4.7 million).

Unfortunately, magazines like *Penthouse* do not play a major role in shaping political opinion or setting the social agenda in this country. Most people's perception of who is — and who is not — a "real and significant" presidential candidate is shaped largely by a small handful of news media: the two leading wire services, two or three prominent newspapers, the three major weekly newsmagazines, and, most important of all, the three television networks. (Uncle Walter reaches more people, on any given evening, than the readership of all those magazine articles combined.)

And these are precisely the media which paid little or no attention to the Clark campaign.

Of the hundreds of hours spent on the presidential campaign by the three TV networks, Clark received a grand total of perhaps two hours; three minutes here, eight minutes there — with much of it devoted to describing him as "the unknown candidate", and/or pairing him with Barry Commoner.

Likewise, while *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News* each spend about 200 pages, over the year, on the presidential election, their coverage of Clark was almost nil: one short piece in *Newsweek*; the same in *U.S. News*, nothing at all in *Time*.

It is reasonable, of course, to ask why this happened. Why did the key national media so resolutely ignore the Clark campaign? And the answer, I will submit, rests on two points.

First, it should be noted, the people in the media are not stupid. And they resent any attempts to trick them into covering things on false premises.

A simple check with the Federal Election Commission would reveal that the Clark campaign was not, in fact, a "mass alternative" phenomenon — that two-thirds of its funds were coming from one man. And the fact that Clark, Crane and company were not telling the truth about this point could only serve to anger any ethical professional journalist. (Clark even went so far as to state, on *Issues and Answers*, that Koch's contributions were "not a very large proportion" of the campaign funds — hardly a move calculated to win the respect of the media.)

But there is a deeper, more fundamental reason why Crane's "media-oriented" strategy failed. And it is simply that the major, opinion-molding national news media organizations are *integral*

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\*Assuming that each copy of each magazine was read by two people, chances are that one of them actually read the piece on Clark. Thus, the combined effect of these articles was to reach about 10% of the voting-age population, *one time apiece*. If half of those who read the articles actually voted, we're looking at about 8 or 9 million, or about 10% of the voters.

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part of the power structure we are seeking to dismantle. They are fundamentally hostile to our goals; and no matter how much the Clark campaign tried to disguise us as a liberal reform movement ("low-tax liberals", if you will), that fundamental hostility remained. The controlled national media were not about to help us topple the corporate-state power structure in this country!

If anything, the slick, soft-sell approach backfired on us. By pretending to be something other than what we really are, we gave the media the ammunition to say, "Not only are these guys really radicals; they're dishonest, too." This was precisely the position taken by *People* magazine in its sneering, sarcastic article on Clark. *People*, it should be remembered, is part of the *Time* empire.

The worst aspect of Crane's "media" strategy, however, was that it caused the Clark campaign to make serious compromises on principle. The next section of this report deals with that point.

### PURITY

In hopes of attaining massive media coverage for the Clark campaign, Crane and his cohorts adopted what has come to be known as the Low-Tax Liberal ploy. This involved two basic elements:

First, positioning Clark as a "liberal reformer" — presenting proposals in the context of making the existing system more humane and benevolent, while avoiding "controversial" statements (i.e., references to absolute principles) at all costs.

Second, wrapping this watered-down version of libertarianism in a "mod" package — giving Clark a Kennedyesque hairdo, adopting a vapid campaign slogan, and setting the whole thing to music, in the form of a cute, sing-songy jingle.

The first sign of The Shape of Things To Come appeared in November of 1979, when *The New York Times* quoted Clark as describing himself as a "low-tax liberal". This aroused considerable ire in the libertarian community, and the unfortunate phrase was eventually abandoned . . . but the idea it represented lingered on through the campaign.

The next major indication that the Clark campaign was going to pull its punches came in February, when Clark's reply to Carter's State of the Union Message was published (as an ad, three weeks after the fact) in the *Times*. The ad was devoted almost entirely to foreign policy, and spoke out against Carter's plans for draft registration . . . but somehow, in its 1800 words, never got around to mentioning that Libertarians are opposed to the draft on principle.

Tibor Machan, writing in *frontlines*, summed up the ad's basic flaw very accurately: "In opposing draft registration, the advertisement frets a lot about the consequences of war but nowhere mentions that conscription is evil in principle, even if no war resulted from it. The idea that individuals have an unalienable right to life is crucial in this discussion, but the ad sacrifices this in favor of an appeal to the liberal, Vietnam War-fearing readers of the *Times*. A party of principle has no justification for this kind of slanted presentation of its views, not on such a basic issue!"\*

Was this ad just an isolated fluke? Or was it part of a carefully-planned attempt to create misimpressions as to what libertarianism is all about?

A look at the Clark campaign's treatment of several major issues leads to the conclusion that the latter is the case. As Murray Rothbard observed toward the end of the campaign, "Libertarian principles and the LP platform have been diluted and contradicted

\*To be fair, after some haranguing, Clark eventually did take the hard-core position on the draft, calling it by its rightful name — slavery — and stating that Libertarians oppose it on principle.

in order to tailor the Clark campaign to middle-class liberals of the sort who read and write for *The New York Times*."

Murray is generally regarded as representing the radical wing of the party; Tibor is usually viewed as one of our most conservative spokesmen. Yet they both have made essentially the same observation. My views fall somewhere close to midway between Murray's and Tibor's — and I, too, have made the same change. Are all of us off-target? I think not.

Let's look at the record.

On the subject of *foreign policy*, Clark was at his best: resolutely non-interventionist, willing to take the pure position even on the tough one, Israel. No quarrels here.

On *defense*, he waffled, trying to cut it both ways. After receiving some heat from pro-defense forces within the party, he adopted pro-defense rhetoric in his speeches. But the White Paper on Foreign Policy and Defense came out against every single proposed new defense system, and offered no alternatives. Still, given the disagreements within the party on this issue, he can't really be seriously faulted for his performance here, either.

That's the good news. Now for the bad parts . . .

On *taxes*, the Clark campaign equivocated mightily. To be sure, Clark's position on taxes was far superior to Carter's or Reagan's, but it wasn't the libertarian position. Clark continuously stated that taxes were much too high; that people should "be allowed" to keep "more" of their earnings. The libertarian position, of course, is that taxation — like conscription — is *wrong on principle*, and that people are entitled to keep *all* of their earnings. Yet if you read through the little green campaign book, or even the White Paper on Taxes and Spending, you will not find one word to indicate that we oppose taxation on principle.

(Please note: I am not saying that Clark should have proposed immediate abolition of all taxes. But to do everything possible to hide the fact that abolition is our eventual goal is, in my opinion, a severe violation of principle.)

Regarding *Social Security*, Clark significantly reversed himself from 1979 to 1980. Speaking at the Colorado LP state convention in April of '79, Clark stated that Social Security should be made voluntary, and that future obligations should be paid, in part, by selling off Federally-held lands. In 1980, he called for allowing people *under 40* to drop out of the system; those over 40 would be forced to remain.

Since when do people lose their individual rights when they turn 40? The *only* acceptable position for a libertarian to take on Social Security is that participation should be completely voluntary, for anyone and everyone!

Regarding *welfare*, Clark stated at a news conference in San Francisco on July 10 that he would not get rid of welfare programs until his tax-cut policies had produced a "full-employment economy". Again, hardly the plumb-line libertarian position. Who defines "full employment"? And what happens if it isn't achieved? Are we stuck with tax-financed welfare programs forever?

On *nuclear power*, the Clark campaign was perhaps more brazenly opportunistic than on any other issue. In a blatant attempt to woo studnet anti-nuclear activists, Crane issued a flyer which did everything possible — short of directly lying about the LP position on nuclear power — to create the impression that libertarians are anti-nuclear *per se*. Despite earlier promises to the contrary, the flyer prominently featured a photo of, and quote from, anti-nuclear leader John Gofman. This brochure (like most of the Clark campaign material) was not submitted to the campaign's Review Committee — because, as Crane admitted, he knew they wouldn't approve it!

But all of these transgressions pale in significance when compared to the final act of betrayal.

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On Thursday, October 30, *ABC Nightline* interviewed Ed Clark (along with Barry Commoner) and asked him to explain to their viewers what the Libertarian Party was all about. Clark's reply was as follows (verbatim transcript):

"We want to get back immediately to the kind of government that President Kennedy had back in the early 1960's, which I think was much more benevolent . . . had much lower inflation, much higher growth rates, much lower levels of taxes."

The interviewer, apparently somewhat confused, pointed out that John F. Kennedy was a Democrat, not a Libertarian, and then asked whether Clark was saying that the LP in 1980 was roughly equivalent to the Democrats of 1960. Clark's reply (again verbatim) was as follows:

"No, I'm saying that we want to get back to the size of government that we had in 1960, right away. That is our immediate program. The Libertarian Party, of course, is not the Democratic Party; we're a new party, and we're several years away from doing what the Democrats did."

There was no hint that Libertarians might have visions beyond that "immediate program". Even though asked to clarify himself, Clark did not choose to say, "That is our immediate program, but of course it's only a first step; in the long run, we seek to reduce government far below that level. Our ultimate aim is a completely voluntary society."

Instead, he chose to identify himself with one of the most explicitly statist Presidents in modern times: the man who said, "Ask what you can do for your country", who gave us the tyrannical Bobby Kennedy as Attorney General, who gave us the Bay of Pigs, the Missile Crisis and the beginning of the big buildup in Vietnam.

(Was this strange silence about Libertarian principles and implied endorsement of the Kennedy regime simply an accident? Or was it part of a plan to create what John Mason jokingly referred to as "The Camelot Consensus"? In retrospect, the Kennedy-style hairdo and the widely-disseminated photo of Clark artfully posed in front of a picture of JFK *do* begin to assume a new significance — but perhaps not. Coincidences do happen, after all.)

Listening to Clark that night, I was stunned. For that, we labored fourteen months? By any standard, those minutes must stand as a low point in the history of the libertarian movement; a grotesque mockery of everything we have fought for and believe in.

One can only ask: how many of us would have gone out petitioning and doorbelling for Clark contributing our hard-earned cash and talking him up to our friends, if we had known that he would do what he did that night?

Just as important, how can we now claim that Clark's 900,000 votes really stand for anything at all? How many of the people who voted for Clark were voting for anything that any of us would even vaguely recognize as libertarian principles — and how many were voting for a Return to Camelot?

### MANAGEMENT

There is a myth, widely accepted in Libertarian circles, that Ed Crane is a "uniquely competent" person. "He may be arrogant and exclusionist," the argument goes, "but he gets results."

It is time that this myth is put to rest, once and for all. Hopefully, we have already shown that Crane is a poor strategist. But what about his skills as a manager?

If strategy is the art of devising plans for attaining goals, management is the art of implementing those plans. An effective manager is a good organizer, minimizes problems through

planning and foresight, has good "people skills", and is fiscally responsible. A poor manager has the opposite qualities.

With these points in mind, let's look at Crane's record, starting with the 1979 Presidential Nominating Convention.

Crane managed to get himself appointed Convention Director on the basis of his alleged "professionalism" and a glittering proposal which showed the party making a bundle off the event. In his dealings with The Convention Connection, he repeatedly told Dave Galland to plan on the basis of 4,000 attendees. Convention package prices were set at far too high a level (to cover the cost of dozens of speakers, most of them of marginal interest) and promotion to Libertarians in the Los Angeles area was neglected.

As a result, only 2,000 people showed up — many of them for only a small portion of the scheduled events — and the convention *lost* \$35,000, which had to be made up by the Clark for President Committee. Still, we were told, the convention was a great success because it got us lots of media coverage — only fourteen months before the election — and launched the Clark campaign to a flying start.

The selection of a *campaign theme*, for consistent use throughout the year, provides another illustration of Crane's managerial talents. As any communications professional will attest, *continuity* is a key to successful recognition-building, especially on a limited budget. And yet, incredibly, the Clark campaign changed its theme *three times*.

The first theme was "Toward A Three-Party System". This was replaced with "Free Up The System", and then with "America: Freedom Was The Original Idea". None of these is a particularly great slogan, but at least the latter two give some indication of what the LP is all about. And you'd think that by July of 1980 (ten months into the campaign) one or another of these themes would have long been settled on.

You might think that. But you'd be wrong. In July, for no discernable reason, another campaign theme was unveiled: "A New Beginning for America". In terms of content, this one was weaker than any of its predecessors — so bland and vapid that anyone, from a Communist to a conservative Republican, could use it with equal facility.

In fact, the conservative Republicans *were* using it! The same week that the first Clark spot using this theme was aired, millions of Americans sat in front of their TV sets and watched the Republican national convention — whose podium was emblazoned with the words "Together, A New Beginning". Sound, smart planning pays off again!

The next Crane triumph was *Alternative '80!* Originally planned as a relatively low-cost, low-key fund-raiser, it was transformed at Crane's insistence into a "media event" with guest appearances by various "celebrities". Launched with far too little lead time, it was a dismal flop. The "big names" who participated included Howard Jarvis (who explained that he was supporting Reagan) and Gene McCarthy (who soon thereafter also came out for Reagan). The media ignored it almost completely. And instead of raising \$250,000 (the announced goal), the event *lost* \$190,000. Never one to let the truth stand in his way, Crane nonetheless sent out a press release stating that *Alternative '80!* had generated a net profit of \$245,000.

The generally inept management of the Clark campaign was not confined to the Big Events, however. They dropped the ball on the little things, too.

A good example was the production and distribution of the White Papers. In Colorado, we first learned about the release of the White Paper on Taxes and Spending when a hostile write-up on it appeared in *The Rocky Mountain News*. Colorado LP State Chariman John Mason — also a Congressional candidate — was asked for comments, and could only grin sheepishly, as he had not

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## Critique — (Continued from page 14)

been sent a copy. Neither, as it turned out, had any of our other candidates. The same thing happened again, a few weeks later, when the Foreign Policy Paper was released. (In fact, even after repeated assurances by the campaign, none of Colorado's Congressional candidates *ever* received a full set of the White Papers, issue papers or fact sheets.)

But perhaps the worst example of managerial ineptitude in the Clark campaign was in the area of fund-raising and financial responsibility. Despite David Koch's generous contribution of \$2 million, the campaign raised only \$1 million from other sources. (I think if I were David Koch, I'd feel that I'd been taken for a ride by Fast Eddie.) And, at last report, the final deficit for the campaign was in the area of \$200,000.

Of course, one reason for the financial problems is that the campaign didn't have a professional fund-raiser on board until it was half over. Then, finally, Dale and Carolyn Hogue — experienced professionals — were persuaded to take on the responsibility for raising money. After a few months, they quit, because they couldn't stand working with Crane — and at last report were suing the campaign organization for money owed them. (One sign of a good manager is his ability to attract and hold good people.)

This litany of mismanagement could be continued *ad nauseam*. But hopefully, a pattern has been made clear. Crane's standard operating procedure is to *make grandiose promises, fail to deliver, and then belligerently maintain that the failure was in fact a success.*

It's time we stopped falling for this routine.

### ETHICS

Political cooperation depends, more than anything else, on *the participants' willingness and ability to negotiate in good faith.*

Differences in ideology or strategic vision can be overcome, if those who seek to work together can reach an accommodation with one another, and honor their agreements. Conversely, no real cooperation between ethical and unethical individuals is possible. Liars and honest men cannot be allies for long.

And the ugly truth is that throughout the Clark campaign, people were lied to — regularly and deliberately.

On Wednesday, September 5, 1979, a group of prominent Libertarians — including myself, David Bergland, M. L. Hanson, Murray Rothbard, John Hospers, Bob Poole, and others — met with Ed Clark in the Bonaventure Hotel on the eve of the presidential nominating convention. Several of us expressed great concern that his campaign be open and accessible to a full range of Libertarian viewpoints, and fear that unless adequate safeguards were established, the campaign might stray from Libertarian principles.

After some negotiations, we agreed to support Clark in return for three promises: that Ed Crane *not* be in charge of the campaign, that a Steering Committee consisting of certain individuals be established to formulate campaign strategy and policy, and that a Review Committee be established to pass judgement on all campaign materials before they were issued. One of the people Clark agreed to have on the Steering Committee was Bill Evers.

All three promises were broken.

Ed Crane *was* in charge of the campaign; by early Spring, all pretense that Ray Cunningham was really in charge had been dropped.

The Steering Committee was formed, but virtually ignored. Bill Evers was excluded from the group, blackballed by Crane, who stated that he found Evers "impossible to work with".

Very little of the material released by the Clark campaign was

submitted to the Review Committee; virtually none was submitted in advance of its actual release. (Given the content of much of that material, it's easy to see why!)

In sum, our pre-convention fears proved all too accurate. The campaign *did* become a virtual "one-man show", and principles *were* abandoned. In addition to the Big Lies noted immediately above and the waffling on principle documented earlier, the campaign began, increasingly, to indulge in what might be called Nasty Little Lies as well. Some examples:

\*In late December of 1979, Ballot Drive Co-Ordinator Howie Rich told Colorado LP Chairman John Mason that it was absolutely imperative that Colorado complete its ballot drive by December 31, because "Colorado will be the 30th state, and it's really important that we make it in 30 by the end of the year". The same day he said this to Mason, he told Paul Grant — then a National Committee member — that the drive had been completed in only 21 states!

\*As previously noted, Clark and Crane regularly told the news media that "most of our funding is coming from small contributors", when in fact David Koch was providing about two-thirds of the money.

\*On October 3, 1980, Boulder businessman Binx Selby called the Clark Headquarters in Washington and requested copies of the White Papers. Selby was told that the Foreign Policy Paper was out of print, but that the other would be sent immediately. A few minutes later, Ruth Bennett, office manager for the Colorado Libertarian Party, called and also asked for the White Papers. The same person Selby had talked to told her that they were "unavailable".

\*Throughout Clark's campaign literature, it was stated that the Libertarian Party was founded in 1972. In actuality, the party was founded in 1971; this fact is widely stated in party literature, and both Clark and Crane know it. Yet they chose to deliberately falsify historical fact. Why? (Hint: Clark and Crane first became involved in 1972.)

To be sure, none of these latter examples is overwhelming in its significance. But taken cumulatively, and added to the previously-cited prevarications, they point almost inescapably to one conclusion: that the Clark campaign was a fundamentally unethical, unprincipled, and opportunistic operation.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this writer's opinion, the evidence presented in this report proves all but conclusively that the management of the Clark campaign was neither competent nor honest.

One more campaign like this will, quite literally, kill the party; nobody in his right mind will stick around for another round of lies, abuse, and betrayal of principle like the one Ed Crane engineered in 1980.

The question is — what do we do about it? How do we learn from our mistakes, and assure that they are not repeated in the future?

In my belief, the first thing we must do is enact changes in the LP Constitution and By-Laws, firmly establishing the National Committee's control over all future presidential campaigns. This will go a long way toward solving the problem.

The other thing that must be done is that Ed Crane and the cheap opportunism he represents must be repudiated, once and for all, by the honest and competent men and women who make up the vast majority of the Libertarian Party. If we are to consort, politically, with liars and opportunists, let us go back to being Democrats and Republicans. They, at least, are liars and opportunists who win elections!

Each of us must stand up and be counted. Whatever your beliefs, now is the time to make your feelings known. ‡

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

To the thousands of letters and telegrams that have been pouring in asking for me (Wanna bet?), I reply that I have not disappeared; it's just that the movie situation has been getting increasingly intolerable. Since I do not, like my confreres, enjoy freebies to the preview room, I have been facing accelerating opportunity costs for going to the films. Movie prices have been skyrocketing (\$5 for a single feature at the neighborhoods is not outlandish), and — typical of inflationary situations — the quality of theatre service has been plummeting: fewer ushers, popcorn strewn over the floors and seats, etc. To top it all, the quality of new movies has been getting worse and worse, so that, taken all in all, it now becomes far more attractive to say to hell with it and watch an old Cary Grant movie on the tube. Lousy movies mean far less work for Mr. First Nighter.

*Private Benjamin*, directed by Howard Zieff. With Goldie Hawn.

This movie illustrates the miasma that faces movie-goers today. It's not an outrageously bad movie, just a piece of fluff that, in the good old days, would have rated as an inoffensive B picture: what used to be called, in the days when only movies were air-conditioned, "good hot-weather fare." And yet, the chilling fact is that *Private Benjamin* is the runaway smash hit of the season! So far comedies, and movies in general, sunk.

*Private Benjamin* is an extended one-liner, a one-note variation on the old Danny Kaye-type GI movies, in which a sheltered hothouse plant "is made a man of" by the U.S. Army. Except this time it's a female who gets the treatment (the Feminist motif.) At best, therefore, it's a well-worn theme, and the female-GI business can only get you so far in laughs. Another problem is that the dialogue shows virtually no comic ability or invention, and that Goldie Hawn, for all her "dumb-blonde" abilities, ain't no Danny Kaye. The only laughs come in the first part, helped by Miss Hawn being a Jewish Princess, and there is some keen ethnic insight at the beginning (although not nearly as scintillating as in *Goodbye Columbus* or *Annie Hall*). But after a while, the whole thing becomes merely tedious, and we are treated to endless and unfunny feminist preaching, to the effect that (a) Isn't it great that a female can become a Good Soldier, and (b) that a female can leave a two-timing lover and pursue an independent course, even though he is

uniquely able to bring her sexual fulfillment. I agree with (b), although we could have been spared the details, and am not so sure that I favor *anyone*, of either sex, being a Good Soldier. But the point is that the humor gets lost in the preaching, something that the Danny Kay films were never, never guilty of. Verdict: good hot weather fare, or, if your boiler gets broken in cold weather.

*Stardust Memories*, directed by and with Woody Allen.

I have never seen any important film-maker get a roasting as savage as Woody received for this picture. All the critics who loved *Manhattan* felt they had to atone for this admiration by eviscerating *Stardust Memories*. Their behavior is ironic, however, because it bears out the thesis of this picture which they have so bitterly condemned: namely, that adoring fans of Superstars can be treacherous, boring, and selfish, and can turn savagely on their idol when he or she fails to live up to their fantasy-expectations. Again and again, the critics, sensing all too well that Woody considers *them* as part of the problem, have denounced him for treating his fans in this film in cranky and mean-spirited fashion. His fans depicted boorish, ugly, etc. What none of the critics has bothered to ask is: is Woody right? I suspect that he is.

It is true that this is scarcely a great Allen film, and that, not quite as badly as in *Private Benjamin*, the wit and humor tend to get lost in the point of view. But not all together, and it is grotesque that the same critics who like *Private Benjamin* should treat *Stardust Memories* so harshly. There are still funny, even though bitter, moments and scenes in the film, such as when a group of adoring fans greet Allen at his weekend at a Borscht Belt hotel. One presses in to the car, and says, "Oh, Mr. ...., I love all your movies, especially your early funny ones." Only fans can manage to insult while they think they're showering with compliments.

It's true, too, that Allen's copying of Fellini's confusion of reality and dream sequences is annoying. But it is far less annoying than in Fellini, for since the picture has no plot it doesn't really make any difference anyway.

*Stardust Memories* is no masterpiece, but it is still worth seeing; it has fine moments of humor, and provides a rare insight into the fan-idol relationship from the idol's point of view, for a change.

‡

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Purged From Cato!

## It Usually Ends With Ed Crane

On Black Friday, March 27, 1981, at 9:00 A.M. in San Francisco, the "libertarian" power elite of the Cato Institute, consisting of President Edward H. Crane III and Other Shareholder Charles G. Koch, revealed its true nature and its cloven hoof. Crane, aided and abetted by Koch, ordered me to leave Cato's regular quarterly board meeting, even though I am a shareholder and a founding board member of the Cato Institute. The Crane/Koch action was not only iniquitous and high-handed but also illegal, as my attorneys informed them before and during the meeting. They didn't care. What's more, as will be explained shortly, in order to accomplish this foul deed to their own satisfaction, Crane/Koch literally appropriated and confiscated the shares which I had naively left in the Cato Wichita office for "safekeeping", an act clearly in violation of our agreement as well as contrary to every tenet of libertarian principle.

### I. The Road to Black Friday

The saga began a scant three weeks earlier, when Crane sent me two letters, one from himself and one through his secretary (March 5), airily informing me of the "desire" of the majority of Cato shareholders (the shareholders consist of myself, Crane, Koch, and another person, who works in the Koch offices in Wichita) that I yield my Cato shares to Crane & Co. The ground for my abrupt dismissal was a "deep-seated" personal antagonism by myself toward Crane. Evidence cited by Crane for this antagonism was twofold: (a) various conversations by myself as relayed by unnamed informers. Hardly sufficient evidence for this grave action. After all, I *could* have been jesting to people who didn't understand the joke; or, I could have been using the good old muddy Randian concept of "underscoring" my deep-seated admiration toward E.H. (b) the only serious evidence cited by Crane was my *Libertarian Forum* article of Sept.-Dec. 1980 ("The Clark Campaign: Never Again"). Crane concluded that, because of this alleged antagonism, "we believe it would be difficult, if not impossible, for you to objectively evaluate ongoing and future Cato projects as a Board member." In other words, disagreement with Crane automatically robs one of "objectivity"; unflinching agreement and lickspittle fawning upon Crane is the only way to make sure that you are superbly and consistently "objective."

Due to the vagaries of the Post Office, it took until March 11 for me to receive these startling missives. I replied that same day, registering astonishment at the proceedings. I pointed out that for shareholders to have a meeting, due notice (usually 10 days) of such meeting must be sent in advance to every shareholder. But I had had no notice whatever of any meeting, and therefore the alleged

"desire" expressed by the shareholders was illegal, and null and void.

I also pointed out various oddities of the Crane/secretary letters. In the first place, the *Lib. Forum* article dealt only with the disputes I had had with Crane within the Libertarian Party. There was no mention of Cato or Cato activities in the article. Furthermore, Crane had resigned from the NatComm of the LP, in accordance with a Cato Board resolution last November barring senior officers from any partisan political activity. So since the Cato Institute, as a tax-exempt institution under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, is not supposed to have anything to do with partisan politics, how dare Crane make my stand within the LP a criterion for my continued shareholder or board membership at Cato?

To quote from my letter:

"I am also fascinated that the only concrete evidence you have for this alleged lack of competence is my article . . . , where my criticisms of yourself had nothing to do with the Cato Institute, but were solely directed toward your activities in the Libertarian Party, a period when you were on leave from the Cato Institute. I have spent a long time trying to disassociate the Cato Institute from the Libertarian Party . . . And yet you dare to judge my competence as a Cato board member solely on the basis of a strictly partisan political dispute between us! Since you are now supposedly out of politics, I would expect that the entire question had become moot. The critics of the Cato Institute have been saying for a long time that we are merely a front for the Libertarian Party. Are you proposing to prove them right?"

Secondly, I pointed out that usually when a personal dispute arises between a President and a Board member, if *anyone* is fired, it's the President. Who ever heard of firing a board member?

In my letter to Crane of March 11, I also demanded that he send me, as a board member, all the governing documents of the Cato Institute. Despite repeated requests from myself and my attorneys, Crane persistently failed to send the full set of documents I requested.

I concluded my letter to Crane by expressing my intention to appear at the March 27 board meeting and propose various long-needed actions by the Board: e.g., the naming of a chairman, which had never been done at Cato, so that Crane informally but regularly would preside over an "objective" review and evaluation of his own record at Cato. Also, I expressed my intention for once

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## Ends With Crane —

(Continued From Page 1)

to have regular notes taken and minutes sent to every board member, as in most organizations, shortly after the meeting; I was going to raise the point of various anomalies and seeming misstatements that Crane had already sent to the board about the November meeting. I had for a couple of months been illegitimately cut off by Crane from monthly reports and financial statements that he had sent to the other board members; and repeated requests failed to get me a copy of the November minutes. In fact, Crane was overheard ordering his secretary not to send me the minutes.

On March 19, my attorney wrote to Crane, setting forth the legal infirmities in Crane's stance. Crane's case, as expressed in his brusque and totally unresponsive letters of March 16 and 24, was simple to the point of inanity. His March 16 letter merely sent me a copy of the Shareholders Agreement and rested his case on that agreement. Crane's March 24 letter, in reply to my lawyer's letter of the 19th, answered none of his arguments, and simply reiterated that I was off the board already and that this action was in accordance with the Shareholders Agreement and state law, and that he had consulted unnamed attorneys who agreed with his position. Period.

My attorney's letter of March 19, however, which in effect remained unanswered, pointed out several pertinent and clinching facts. First, the Crane letters could scarcely be taken as written evidence of the "desire" of the majority shareholders. For (1) I was not given due notice of any shareholders meeting, which was therefore illegal if held, and (2) There was no written evidence of any expressed desires by the other shareholders. Was I supposed to take Crane's word for their "desire"? And why? This point can now be strengthened, for in the Restated Bylaws of the Cato Institute, introduced by Crane himself at the Black Friday board meeting, Article III, Section IV specifically states that: "A written or printed notice of each shareholders' meeting, stating the place, day, and hour of the meeting and . . . the purpose or purposes of the meeting shall be given . . . to each shareholder . . . . This notice shall be sent at least ten days before the date named for the meeting to each shareholder . . . ." But I had received no notice whatsoever of the shareholders' "meeting", let alone a notice of 10 days! Therefore, any such meeting, on Crane's own terms, was illegal.

Moreover, according to Cato's own Restated Bylaws, as well as the laws of Kansas under which Cato was incorporated, the shareholders are required to hold annual meetings on the second Tuesday of every January; yet no shareholders' meetings at all had ever been held until the unheralded "desire" to kick me out as shareholder had been communicated in some fashion to Ed Crane.

Finally, and what would turn out to be particularly important, my attorney replied to the Crane demand that I send my shares to Cato with the statement that my shares had probably been left in the Wichita office of the Cato Institute for safekeeping. He based this insight on a letter to all the shareholders in my files from Cato's Wichita office, dated March 29, 1977, which said: "please advise whether you wish to hold the stock certificate or if you prefer that I give the certificate to Florence Johnson for safe keeping." My attorney pointed out to Crane that "it would be necessary for the Cato Institute's Wichita office to forward the certificate to Professor Rothbard before he could comply with any properly made request under the Shareholders Agreement."

In short, I remain unalterably a shareholder and therefore a board member of Cato until (a) I receive a majority request to yield the shares after a proper shareholders meeting is held for that purpose, with everyone, including myself, getting 10 days notice of the meeting; and (b) I endorse the Cato shares over to Crane & Co. Cato would, at long last, have to hold a proper and legal shareholders meeting, after which the Wichita office would have to send me the shares, and then I would have had to endorse them

over, before I could be removed as shareholder and board member.

Furthermore, that I remain as shareholder and therefore board member until I endorse the Cato shares is clear from Crane's own basic case, the Shareholders Agreement, and also from the Restated Cato Bylaws, which Crane whipped out at the Black Friday board meeting. (When asked by my San Francisco attorney when these Restated Bylaws had been filed, Crane airily dismissed the question with "some time in the past.") Article VII, Section 3 of the Restated Bylaws, which Crane pointed to in support of his position that I was off the Board, states specifically that "Shares of the Corporation (Cato) shall only be transferred on its books upon the surrender to the Corporation of the share certificates duly endorsed or accompanied by proper evidence of succession, assignment, or authority to transfer. In that event, the surrendered certificates shall be canceled . . ." But I had not endorsed the shares; for one thing, I had never had them in my possession, since they were being kept in Wichita. Secondly, I had never assigned or made over any authority to transfer.

In addition, Article VII, Section 3 goes on to insist that "no shares of the Corporation shall be transferred . . . except upon a showing of strict compliance with the restrictions on transfer imposed by the provisions set out in that certain Shareholders Agreement dated January 26, 1977 . . ." What are these restrictions? As set forth in Section 6, they are that, after the majority shareholders make clear their desire, the shares shall be sent to them "duly endorsed for transfer." In short, until they are so endorsed, I remain ineluctably a shareholder of the Cato Institute.

Time was now a-fleeting, and it was clear that it would be impossible for Crane/Koch to comply with Cato's own internal requirements for kicking me out as shareholder and board member before the March 27 meeting. Regardless of what might come later on, I was legally entitled to function at this meeting as a director of the Cato Institute. It was important for me to do so, both to protect my rights against the high-handed and vindictive actions of Crane & Co., and also because I intended to raise searching questions at this meeting about regularizing Cato board procedures, and about the competence of Ed Crane as president of the Institute. For example, it was learned, as my attorney wrote to Crane on March 19, that Cato has been illegal in the state of California since March 1, 1979. Crane's dimwitted failure to comply with California law could needlessly subject the Cato Institute to considerable fines. All in all, if the board had been willing to ask searching questions about Crane's conduct as president — something that had never been done before — several employees of Cato were ready to spill the beans. And so I decided to go to San Francisco, at my own expense (since Crane insisted on denying me my right as a board member for reimbursement) to press my case at the March 27 meeting.

The stage was set for the ultimate confrontation. Of the seven board members of Cato, three of us had managed to wring concessions from Crane at the previous board meeting last November, including passage in amended form of my resolution that Crane must abstain from any partisan political activity while functioning as president of the Cato Institute.

### II. Black Friday

We had heard from the grapevine that Crane would try to stonewall it, and would pull some stunt or other to prevent me from taking part in the board meeting. I armed myself with a San Francisco lawyer in advance, and the two of us walked into the Cato conference room at 8:45, fifteen minutes early, so as to be able to sit in the room before the meeting began. The purpose of bringing my attorney was to inform Crane and the rest of the board of my rights as a board member.

On Crane's invitation, my attorney again set forth my case on my right to function as a board member. When Koch informed us that

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## Ends With Crane —

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"the shareholders" (i.e. Crane and Koch) had met the previous night and exercised their right to dissolve and reconstitute the board without me on it, I pointed out that this was not legal procedure, since I had never been informed of the meeting (certainly not with 10 days notice!) Koch replied that I was no longer a shareholder. (Catch 22!) Why not? At this point, Crane pulled out the "Restated Bylaws", and pointed to Article VII, Section 3 as his definitive case. When my attorney and myself pointed out that this article precisely supported my case rather than his, Crane (see above) brusquely dismissed my case as a "legal technicality." So, Crane, is that what property rights are in your eyes, just a "legal technicality"? Apparently so, for at that point Crane informed my dumfounded attorney that they had taken my Cato shares, held only for "safekeeping" at Wichita, and simply "cancelled" them, and so that was the end of that! My shares were only in Wichita for safekeeping, and so Crane & Co. had violated the clear requirement in their own agreement and bylaws that I had to endorse the shares over to them before I was off the shareholders. But the fact that they had clearly violated my property rights in my shares was just a "legal technicality"! The blackguards had grabbed my shares!

In short, Crane was arrogantly informing me and my attorney that my property, held for "safekeeping" in Wichita, had been seized by Crane and his confederates and used for their own purposes. For if they had bothered preserving my property rights and sent me the shares for endorsement, there would not have been time to keep me from serving at this March meeting. So determined were they to exercise their power that they were willing and eager to perpetrate this outrage.

When Crane refused to listen to any legal protests and demanded that we leave, my stunned attorney looked around the conference room and asked: "Doesn't anyone else have anything to say?" (Crane and Koch had done all the talking among the board members.) Not a word, not a peep from anyone. We walked out, with me announcing that "this action is illegal, and that therefore any further decisions taken at this meeting are illegal."

All this leads me to ruminate on something I have been pondering for a long time. Let each and every one of you, dear readers, consider this crucial question: How many fellow libertarians would you trust to guard your back in an ambush? How many would you trust? As a friend and long-time libertarian observed in reply: "Ambush, hell. How many libertarians would you allow in the same room with you and trust not to poison your food?"

There are several morals to this little story. One is: "Don't leave *anything* for safekeeping in Wichita, whether it be a stick of bubble-gum or your precious soul." Another is: Just because someone *says* he's a "libertarian", doesn't mean he won't rob you blind if he has the chance.

Crane & Co. must be made to understand that the libertarian movement is after all an ideological movement. And so there must be at least *some* libertarians who hold their ideology dear, who will not be bought, who will not bend the knee to a new set of Masters even if they don't yet call themselves the State. If there is any justice left on this earth, the libertarian movement cannot and will not be run like a giant corporation. We will brook no "chain of command" that rides roughshod over rights and even over human decency. The movement is too big for any set of power-hungry villains to control.

### III. The Background: the Cato Institute

When Cato was first founded in 1976, transformed from what previously was the Charles Koch Foundation, I accepted a post as a founding board member with enthusiasm. Here was what the libertarian movement seemed to need — a well-funded

organization that would gather to itself the Best and the Brightest in the movement, find new and able libertarians, and then advance sound and radical libertarian principles and their applications in the real world.

But that, alas, was only the theory. For while Cato has done many good things, the reality of the Cato Institute was unfortunately all too different. And much of that difference can be laid squarely at the door of its President, Ed Crane.

It has been well said that, after a while, the feel and spirit of any organization takes on the coloration of its head. Since I worked at Cato in San Francisco for virtually the first two and a half years of its existence, I was able to confirm this insight first-hand at Cato, and also to find out what the Cato spirit might be. After the first few months, it became all too clear that the dominant spirit at the Cato Institute was one of paranoia, intense hatred, back-stabbing, and endless crises. At first, the crises, all revolving around personal relations between Crane and other Cato executives, occurred only once every few months. But soon the frequency accelerated, until crises occurred once a week, and then every day or two. I have noted for a long time that the logo of the Cato Institute should be *the closing door*, because if you talk to anyone at Cato about anything except the weather, he or she will say, "Wait a minute, let me close the door."

The atmosphere at Cato is reminiscent of nothing so much as the last days of the Nixon White House. Everything is covered over with layers of secrecy; one of Crane's favorite phrases is an angry, "Who told you that?" (Such is the mania at Cato that a large part of the time the "who" was Crane himself.) Usually, there is at least one hate-object for Crane among his top executives. Crane and the executive will stop talking to each other for many months, even years, and, while the executive in question twists slowly, slowly in the wind (to use a favorite Watergateism), Crane will organize hate sessions against the unfortunate victim among his coterie of fawning toadies. All this is all too reminiscent of the "hate Emanuel Goldstein" sessions in Orwell's *1984*, in which Goldstein's face is flashed on the screen and everyone is expected to heap abuse upon his image.

Finally, after many tense and excruciating months, the victim-hate object is fired or pressured out, and Crane soon finds another victim. For Crane, repeated firings of the "disloyal" has several important uses. One is that he can then blame all the incredible mismanagement and foulups at Cato on the unfortunate hate-object; sometimes, in fact, the victim is blamed for misdeeds committed months, even years after he has been booted out of Cato. Their evil, apparently, lives after them, trailing endless clouds of alibies for Ed Crane. Not only were they disloyal; they apparently engaged in endless plots against the Master. What neither Crane nor his mentors seem to understand is that if you treat everyone *as if* they are eternally plotting against you, pretty soon by God they *will* start such plotting. And so paranoia acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In a magnificent burst of speaking truth to power, a top executive of Cato recently resigned (on a matter unconnected with Black Friday), and wrote to Crane (on March 13, 1981): "In a movement filled with backbiting, I have seldom encountered anyone quite as ruthless or as consistently unprofessional as you. It is simply impossible for me to continue to work under someone whose greatest glory is humiliating, punishing, or purging his enemies, real or imagined, or 'getting even' with his own organization. You do not seem to realize that if you treat someone as an enemy, he soon becomes one, or how easy it would have been to win the loyalty of so many of those people who now justifiably regard you with suspicion." Bravo!

Take a list of top Cato executives of the past and you will find some of the truly best and brightest people in the libertarian movement. It is a veritable drumroll:

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## Ends With Crane —

(Continued From Page 3)

Roger Lea MacBride, board member and shareholder  
 David Theroux, vice president  
 Leonard P. Liggio, vice president  
 Williamson M. Evers, vice president and editor of  
*Inquiry*  
 Ronald Hamowy, editor of *Inquiry*.

I will now add myself to what is really a roll of honor.

Where they now? They are most emphatically *not* at Cato.

Why? Because of one man and one man alone, Edward H. Crane III. We must put the blame on Crane, for that is precisely where it belongs.

There are only two choices here. *Either* Crane is a John Galt figure, a giant among lesser pygmies, envied and therefore plotted against by all the rest of us creeps and low-lives. *Or else*: it is Crane who is out of step, and not the rest of the world. There is no middle way, no wimpy way out of the horns of this dilemma. Either all the rest of us are Bad Guys, or Crane is *the* Bad Guy. The movement must choose.

And furthermore, if Crane is the Good Guy, how come he had the rotten judgment to select as his top executives all these people who turned out, on his own account, to be Bad Guys? What kind of top manager is *that*?

OK, let's stipulate that personnel relations at Cato are a walking disaster. What about other aspects of the Crane Presidency? One important function of the president of a non-profit organization is to raise funds. But Crane has shown no aptitude whatsoever in fund-raising except from one man, The Donor. Direct mail fund-raising hasn't worked, as one might expect from an ideological organization. Only personal fund-raising by the President can work, and, considering what we can very kindly call Crane's "abrasive" personality, this is not a live option at Cato. How much longer will the Donor be willing to put up with this bizarre state of affairs? Who knows? But whatever happens, it remains an odd situation for an organization like Cato to have a President who can't fund-raise his way out of a paper bag.

Another function of a President is to keep costs down and preside over a tight budget. But even Crane's most fervent supporters admit that cost management is not his forte and that, instead, he spends money as if there is no tomorrow. It was only in the year that Crane was on leave to run the Clark campaign that Cato managed to live within its budget. If I had been allowed to be at the board meeting I would have raised a question, for example, about \$15,000 that Crane reportedly spent on a cocktail party in Washington to herald the Ferrara *Social Security* book, a party that brought in virtually no book orders, but presumably enhanced whatever image Cato may have among the movers and shakers of the Reagan administration.

Veteran Crane-watchers, even those favorable to him, will stipulate all of this: that he is a disaster in personal relations, a nothing fund-raiser, and heedless of costs or budgets. Furthermore, they will concede another important point: that Eddie gets bored with any existing programs, and that therefore he is a lousy manager of any continuing institutions within Cato. It is this deep-seated boredom, they feel, that accounts for Crane's fascination with presidential campaigns, which are short-lived, one-shot, and exciting over their brief span.

If Crane is a disastrous manager of existing programs, he is in still other ways singularly unequipped to be the head of a libertarian public policy institute. When I first got to Cato in 1977, I was told by a top Cato officer and Crane crony that Crane despised intellectuals and libertarian theorists and that he read practically nothing, whether books, magazines, or newspapers. At first I resisted this charge, but it turned out to be all too true. The

heads of other public policy think tanks may not be writers or theorists themselves, but they are often genuinely fond of scholarship and of ideas and are therefore well equipped preside over efforts to translate them into more practical applications or more readable form. Libertarian institutions deserve no less, but clearly Crane is not the man for the job.

So — going down this grisly roll call of Crane failings, what in the world is supposed to be his forte? Why is he still in a job which, by any sensible criterion, he is so little qualified to hold? This question has wasted countless man-hours over lunch, drinks, and office chitchat at the Cato Institute. Why is this man there? All of us may guess, but none knows the answer. However, we might as well consider the one favorable item which Crane-watchers have come up with: that he's a "good idea man", that he comes up with fruitful ideas for new projects. In short, he may not be able to run an existing institution or program, but he can come up with fruitful new ones; in a large corporation, he might have been Vice President in Charge of Development or whatever.

But even this does not really hold water. There has scarcely been a creative new idea at Cato since its first year; old programs, such as *Inquiry* and the Cato Seminars, have simply continued in place. And Crane has never made a positive contribution to the contents of *Inquiry*. The best recent program, the quarterly *Cato Journal*, was not Crane's idea at all, and was instituted when he was away on leave. And the best new idea hatched at Cato in years, the concept of a Cato think tank at some university — with fellowships, resident scholars and publishing the *Cato Journal* — was shot down angrily by Crane when he returned from his campaign leave. Probably the greatest single need of the movement right now is for a scholarly university think tank to foster interdisciplinary libertarian ideas. But Crane, in his deep contempt for the human mind, squashed the idea and instead denounced those who drew it up as plotters against his reign. So much for Crane the man of ideas.

So we are left with the puzzle: why is this man there?

We come now to the final bone of contention: the interpenetration of the Cato Institute and the Libertarian Party. When I first got to Cato, I was told by several top Cato officers that the Cato Institute had turned out to be primarily a "front" for the Libertarian Party, an organization designed to funnel material and personnel into LP campaigns, and to provide a resting place for Crane in between presidential races. I told them that this was ridiculous, that I was a founding board member of Cato, and that there was a key difference (which many non-or quasi-libertarians fail to understand) between *libertarianism* and the Libertarian Party. That Cato had nothing to do with the party — as indeed it was legally bound as a tax-exempt organization — but was simply founded to spread libertarian ideas. They smiled back knowingly and insisted they were right.

Though my own rift with Crane began in the spring of 1979, no effort was made to remove me from the Cato board until this spring. To me it is clear that the real cause was not the *Lib. Forum* article but the success which I and others had at the November board meeting in beginning to call Crane to account. I had been a one-man needler of Crane's management at Cato board meetings for a year or more; until last November, I could be ignored as having only nuisance value, since I was just one lone voice tolerated on the board. But last November, suddenly, I had two allies, almost a majority of the Cato board. Over Crane's initial opposition, I managed to carry the board resolution barring all senior Cato officers from partisan political activity, which helped insure Cato's continued non-profit tax-exempt status. Also at the board meeting we managed to set up a Salary Review Committee, to review the salaries of all the top executives — a commonplace for most boards but unheard of at Cato, where Crane prefers to run everything out of his hip pocket. It was because of this success that I had to go, and go quickly.

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## Ends With Crane —

(Continued From Page 4)

While all the above failings of Crane certainly played a large cumulative role, my own break with Crane came sharply in the spring of 1979. Typically, it came over matters that involved not only the Cato Institute but also the Libertarian Party and the movement as a whole.

The Sarajevo of the Cato Institute was a seemingly simple act: the hiring by Crane of Dr. David Henderson as his policy analyst and economist. The hiring of Henderson came as a thunderclap at Cato. Why was he hired? The firestorm of opposition to Henderson that broke out among all the Cato executives was based not so much on personal hostility as on the fact that the Cato Institute was supposed to be deeply committed to Austrian economics. Yet Henderson was not only not an Austrian but strongly hostile. So why was he hired? Especially since all those at Cato with economic backgrounds were bitterly opposed to the appointment.

Henderson is long gone, as his appointment turned out to be yet another Crane mistake, this time admitted as such by all concerned. Yet we never did find out precisely why Henderson was hired, apart for being a way from Crane to impose his will against almost unanimous advice. But in the course of inquiry into the Henderson Affair, we discovered several fascinating and horrifying festering sores underneath the surface of Cranedom. A mighty can of worms was now uncovered.

First, we all found to our astonishment that the only person strongly advising Crane to hire Henderson was Roy A. Childs, Jr. Not only did Childs have no official post at Cato but Childs knew zilch about economics. So how did he come to be picking Cato's economists? What was going on here? What was the Crane/Childs connection?

Deeper trauma ensued. For at this point we heard the following incredible story from a top member of the Crane/Childs cabal who suddenly defected and was promptly removed from Cato:

The essence of the story was this. Crane, and Childs as his Court Intellectual and apologist, began to discover a rising tide of hatred of Cato emerging within the Libertarian Party. Crane had finally succeeded, by early February, in inducing Ed Clark to run for President, and the mighty Clark vs. Hunscher race was now underway. But how could Clark win and, more important, how could Crane run his campaign, if Hunscher could run successfully as the anti-Cato candidate within the Party? A scapegoat would have to be found.

In addition, and more importantly, Crane/Childs had decided on a critical paradigm shift for the Libertarian Party and for the movement as a whole. Crane and his institutions — *Libertarian Review* and Students for a Libertarian Society — had previously been committed to pure, radical libertarian principle. This would now have to be diluted and scrapped, and a paradigm shift made to water down principle and sell out in behalf of big numbers: money, media influence, and votes. The Clark campaign, once he was successfully nominated, would be the embodiment of the new sellout opportunism within the Party.

The first fruits of the new Cranian opportunism was a shift in the line of LR and SLS on nuclear power in the summer of '79, which was not an isolated issue but the beginning of the end of Cranian adherence to libertarianism. Or rather, the real beginning was the Henderson appointment, which, according to the Cranian defector, was a move away from Austrianism and laissez-faire and toward the more respectable Friedmanite economics. In one case Friedmanism, in the other low-tax liberalism! All parts of the new paradigm would hang together.

Also, said our defector, the planned scapegoat for Crane/Childs was myself and particularly Bill Evers. Personal friction had arisen between Crane and Evers the previous year. As publisher of

*Inquiry*, Crane was responsible for the business end of the magazine. When *Inquiry* began to face mounting deficits due to Crane's mismanagement, he conveniently placed the blame on Evers, who as editor had no responsibility for the magazine's budget and was not even shown a copy. In the meanwhile, Childs had conceived a deep personal antipathy to Evers for a long time, to the extent of chanting publicly as well as privately "Death to Evers" at every opportunity. There seemed to be no objective reason for Childs' malevolent obsession with Evers, and here we are in the murky area of psychopathology. The best judgment of objective observers put the blame on a deep-seated envy of Evers: the two were the same age and both had been libertarians for a long time.

The friction and antagonism were there, and to top it off, Evers and myself were, no doubt about it, theoretical purists, quick to denounce deviations from libertarian principle. So we, and particularly Evers, were to be selected as scapegoats. According to our defector, Childs was deputized by Crane to spend virtually full time calling up LP members across the country and denouncing Evers and myself as doctrinaire purists, thereby deflecting anti-Cato fire to ourselves, and also paving the way for future sellouts.

That, said our intrepid defector, was the plan, and it was being carried out. Evers would eventually be kicked out, and I would be quietly shifted from any decision-making role to being exploited as a resource-person and general totem. True, all too true, with the exception that I didn't go quietly.

This story hit me like a sledgehammer. I couldn't believe it. Surely it couldn't be true! Surely my informant had cracked under what would eventually become the well-known Cato syndrome? I knew about the Evers/Crane friction, but Crane and I had always gotten along and Childs had been one of my closest friends for many years. I thought: Say it ain't true, Roy! So I proceeded to ask around. Did such a cabal exist? The more I found out the more our defector's story was confirmed. The moment of truth came when I confronted Childs and asked him point-blank. Childs, who had begun to affect a steely-eyed look, presumably adopted from his mentor, in essence confirmed the defector's story. Childs' odious pronouncement ended the conversation: "The trouble with you is you're too loyal to your friends. (i.e. Evers)."

The great Cato Rift had begun.

### Epilogue: It Usually Ends . . .

So that's it. Another Crane dissenter has become his victim and been purged from Cato. But how many Pyrrhic victories will this man be able to sustain? How long will this be permitted to go on?

The last word on all this was recently sent to me by an old friend and ex-Cato bigwig. He wrote: "Murray, when you write your book or article on the history of the libertarian movement of the 1980's why don't you entitle it: It Usually Ends With Ed Crane?" ‡

### Television 1981

A magnet  
That attracts  
All those  
Awaiting —  
Anticipating —  
Hoping —  
For news  
Of relief  
From inflation,  
Taxes,  
And politics.

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— Agustin De Mello

# The War for the Soul of the Party

The war for the soul of the Libertarian Party has begun. Across the country, a host of LP members have responded to our call in the Sept.-Dec. issue ("The Clark Campaign: Never Again") for a mighty coalition to restore the party to its basic and oft-proclaimed principles. A new organization has been formed, its nature and purposes set forth in its title: The Coalition for a Party of Principle. The Coalition is exactly that: a united front of all principled LP members, "radical", "conservative" and in-between, who feel deeply that the Libertarian Party must return forthwith to its original role as keeper of libertarian principle and as the missionary of those principles to the rest of the country and the world. We did not form and join the Libertarian Party in order to scuttle those principles and whore after votes, money, and media influence. If we wanted that, we would have stayed in the Democratic or Republican parties. We don't want ruthless would-be politicians to corrupt us from within.

No one likes faction fights. No one enjoys having the Libertarian Party, to which we have devoted so much, become the battleground of contending forces. But, like it or not, that is the grim reality. The Crane Machine — the organized forces of opportunism and betrayal — have been able to dominate the presidential campaigns and much of the party machinery. The Coalition recognizes that only organization — dedicated, committed organization — can take back the party from its ruthless betrayal by the Crane Machine.

## I. The Coalition for a Party of Principle

The Coalition has been formed to act as a caucus within the Libertarian Party. That is, we shall decide among ourselves on candidates and measures to support or oppose within the LP. Eventually, we hope to organize as a fully functioning membership organization. In the meanwhile, Temporary Chairman of the Coalition is John Mason, chairman of the Colorado LP.

The Coalition has already agreed to support Mason for chairman of the Libertarian Party at the August, 1981 convention. If this seems premature to anyone, then all LP members should realize that, months earlier, the far-sighted Crane Machine had already handpicked their own candidate: Kent Guida, and managed to secure Guida a visible post in the national party headquarters about the time he was being kicked out as chairman of the Maryland LP. The Crane Machine has already selected a campaign manager for Guida, the redoubtable Howie Rich.

In short: Stop Guida, and Elect Mason.

In addition to his impeccable credentials in the anti-Crane Machine movement, John Mason has other superb qualifications for national chair: as chairman of the Colorado party, he has performed yeoman work in building up the party even at the expense of his own professional career; he has run several times for office on the LP ticket; and, last but not least, he is universally and correctly recognized as a great person, as a warm and kind man, qualities to be cherished in the upper strata of the Libertarian Party.

The chairmanship fight is particularly important because if the Crane forces can obtain the post of chairman, they will very likely control the Presidential nominating convention in 1983 or 84. *This must not be allowed to happen.* Stop Guida; elect Mason.

In the meanwhile, things are looking bright for the new Coalition. Mason's campaign manager is the formidable Williamson Evers, member of the ExecComm of the Coalition and one of the most knowledgeable opponents of the Crane machine. In February, Evers was elected by a landslide to the Chairmanship of the LP of California, the largest and best organized LP in the country.

The tide is rolling for libertarian principle and against the Crane Machine.

Other members of the Coalition's ExeComm, now in process of formation, in addition to Mason and Evers, are: M.L. Hanson, National Vice-Chair; Dave Nolan of Colorado, co-founder of the national LP; Paul Grant, formerly a leader of the Louisiana LP now in Colorado; Bob Poole, editor of *Reason* and *frontlines*; and Tyler Olson, chairman of the Arizona LP. Already on the Board of Advisers of the Coalition are John Hospers, first LP Presidential candidate in 1972; and Fred Esser of the Arizona LP.

## II. The Clark/Crane Defenses

The defenders of the Clark/Crane record have begun to weigh in, in reaction to the tidal wave of criticism across the country and to the many favorable responses to the *Lib. Forum* issue and the formation of the Coalition. The defenders are actually in a state of some embarrassment. In the first place, bureaucratic opportunists and unprincipled technicians and would-be technicians find it difficult to engage in any sort of reasoned argument. Argument means principle, and principle is precisely what opportunists are always weak on. Stalin could never out-argue Trotsky or Bukharin; he just had the bureaucracy with him, which, unfortunately, turned out to be enough. What bureaucrats and power elites always want is for the opposition to *shut up* and go away, to obey orders, to accept their assigned tasks, to — in a favorite Cranian phrase — "go along with the program." The last thing they want is widespread discussion within the LP.

Another embarrassing point — also typical of power elites — is that so far they have not found a single person to defend them who is not a part-time or full-time hireling of the Crane Machine — that is, of Crane-dominated or associated institutions. Arguments, of course, must stand on their own merits or demerits regardless of who expounds them, but still there is something ineffably sleazy about Crane hirelings prattling on about his unique competence and greatness. The smell of the sycophant is never pretty.

With all this in mind, let us now examine the various arguments that the Crane Machine has put forward in defense of the Clark campaign and, by implication, of all future campaigns which they may come to dominate.

### 1. Trivializing and Evading the Issues

Since opportunists have no real arguments in defense of their record, they typically flee from such discussions as from the very plague. There has not been the slightest attempt to rebut the detailed record of sellout that myself, Dave Nolan, Justin Raimondo and others have been making. In print, the Crane Machine and its apologists have generally confined themselves to reciting the record of their campaign's alleged accomplishments. Their real "defenses" are verbal and word-of-mouth; and these turn out to be no real arguments at all.

Their basic oral "defense" is to evade and trivialize the issues by reducing it all to a personality squabble or a mere power struggle. There are many variants of this ploy: Crane and myself are personally at odds; Nolan and Crane are at odds, etc. (It is strange how many people are personally at odds with Ed Crane.) Or, that it's all a power struggle, either because the Coalition is "jealous" of the Crane Machine's power or accomplishments (*sic*) and want in; or, wonder of wonders, even the notion that we of the Coalition are trying to "protect our power" from the Cranians. There is only one way to get past this smokescreen, this evasive tactic, which *should* be obvious to everyone but apparently is not. And that is to stipulate: OK, everyone, let's assume for the sake of argument that we're all Bad Guys, that the Coalition is just as "bad" as the Crane

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Machine, that we're merely engaged in a power struggle, etc. So what? This might make for exciting reading or gossip, but it is totally irrelevant to what should be the concern of every Libertarian. What each and every Libertarian should concentrate on is one simple question: *who* is standing on libertarian principles, *who* is sticking to the Libertarian platform, and *who* is betraying them? That's the only issue that anyone need worry about: Who is for principle, and who is betraying it? That question and that alone should be every Libertarian Party member's only concern. I am confident that if this is so, if Libertarians keep their eye on that central issue, there can be only one outcome: the Coalition will win in a walk, and the Crane Machine will be roundly defeated.

Another related verbal smokescreen set up by adherents of the Crane Machine: why is the Coalition so *negative*? Why are we stressing our opposition to the Clark campaign and the Crane Machine? Why can't we be "positive"?

The first response to this charge is that it is oddly all too familiar: for this is *precisely* the attack that statists and non-libertarians have *always* levelled against libertarians. Why are you so "negative"? Why are you always so opposed to the government? Can't you ever offer positive measures? The answer to this bit of hokum is precisely the same now as it was before: We are strongly opposed to the State to the extent that we love liberty. We *positively* favor liberty and libertarianism, and it is precisely for that reason that we are *so negatively* opposed to those who would trample upon liberty or on the principles of libertarianism. Indeed, how could we love liberty strongly and passionately if we did *not* oppose its enemies with equal fervor?

Another Cranian smokescreen device is as old as the hills: "You're another!" The line now is that Bill Evers, in his notable campaign for Congress warmly endorsed by myself, was just as false to libertarian principle as was the Clark campaign. In the first place, this is hogwash, as anyone who cares to examine both campaigns objectively will attest. But that is not the important point. The important consideration is: even if true, this reply is totally irrelevant. Even if true, this would provide no excuse whatever for the misdeeds of Clark/Crane. If the charge were true, then both Evers and Clark/Crane should be condemned. This malarkey, of course, is the stock reply of all criminals who are caught red-handed: "But *everyone's* doing it." Once again, we must not allow ourselves to trivialize the vital issues at stake. *Nobody* should "do it."

Let us now thankfully turn away from the smokescreens and the evasions to the actual and concrete arguments that the Crane Machine has been making in defense of the Clark/Crane record.

### 2. Everyone Makes Mistakes

The most common defense of the Clark campaign is simply that: no one is perfect, everyone makes mistakes, and therefore all doers are bound to make mistakes. *Ergo*, they who have gone out and dared to do, must not be criticized for their inevitable errors.

Several points must be noted in reply:

First, this kind of argument can be used to whitewash any and every incompetent in *any* activity or organization. Using this kind of rationale, along with the companion "we're on a learning curve", no one, however incompetent, would ever get fired from any position whatsoever. The argument proves far too much, and is therefore sheer blather. The purpose of the argument is to shut critics up, so that the Crane Machine can attempt to run everything without hindrance from people whom they regard as the peanut gallery (i.e. all non-Machine members.)

Second, it is absurd to excuse people who make mistakes unless they demonstrate that they have indeed *learned* from them. Despite vague generalities about "learning curves" there is no evidence

whatever that these gentry have learned a thing from their errors. On the contrary, their references to "mistakes" are momentary and purely ritualistic; from their writings, it is clear they think everything went simply great. Certainly *they* did nothing wrong and took no basically wrong strategic or tactical line. There is not the slightest hint that Crane *et al.* admit to the evils of opportunism or propose to correct their ways in the future. Quite the contrary. The Judeo-Christian heritage is quite correct in refusing to forgive a sinner until he convincingly demonstrates that he has repented his evil ways. Crane and Company remain arrogantly unrepentant. To use the Nixon lingo, they are "stonewalling" it. They must be treated accordingly.

(For the leading Cranian effusions on the campaign, see Tom Palmer, "What the Clark Campaign Achieved: An Insider's View," *frontlines* (Dec. 1980-Jan.1981); and Ed Crane, "A New Beginning....", *Caliber* (Feb. 1981).

### 3. Never Criticize Another Libertarian

This line, which has been offered by sincere independents as well as by conscious and dedicated tools of the Crane Machine and used to much effect, is simply: Never Criticize Another Libertarian — the Libertarian version of the famous "Eleventh Commandment" of the Republican Party. Criticism is not nice, it's low-type, it's less than purely philosophic, and, above all, it's not fraternal. All libertarians are our Brothers (or Sisters), are they not?

A variant of this creed runs: Criticize the Sin, but not the Sinner, the Mistake but not the Person making the mistake.

Granted that life is more pleasant following this tack, but alas, it misses the crucial point. Also, it is unpleasantly reminiscent of the tactic of all ruling classes in history: criticize inflation, but never the inflators; price controls, but never the people doing the controlling, etc. The point is that sins, errors, evils, etc. are *not just* floating abstractions; they are committed by real persons in the real world, and therefore they cannot be combatted unless people know what is going on in the concrete and who is doing it. *Who* is inflating and regulating, and for what purpose? It is at that point that we realize that not just abstract error but conscious evil is being perpetrated for the sake of ill-gotten money and power.

Well, unfortunately, the libertarian movement, brothers and sisters though they may be, is composed of frail human beings. Libertarians are not perfect (do we need to make this statement after so many years of experience?). They are subject to all the temptations of human nature: including betrayal for greed, power lust, etc. The difference is that in libertarians, because of their professed high ideals and principles, it is infinitely more disgusting. If we must choose between cynical politicians who call themselves Democrats or Republicans, and unprincipled renegades who call themselves Libertarians, I'll take the former any day in the week.

Those who say Never Criticize Another Libertarian are treating our movement and our party like a social club, an Elks or Kiwanis. If Libertarianism were just a social club, and I couldn't stomach the people running it, I wouldn't make a big fuss, I'd simply quit and join another club across the street. I much prefer the joys of scholarship and friendship to running around causing trouble.

But Libertarianism is a wonderful and precious creed, and the Party is supposed to be its political arm. If I see it taken over by power-hungry rascals and sellout artists, I cannot remain silent. I cannot sit still and see thirty-four years of devotion to the name and the concept of libertarianism tossed down the drain by a bunch of turncoats. We have tried to criticize them from within and get them to mend their ways; all we got for our pains were lies and soft-soap. If we lose the name "libertarian" like our forefathers lost the word "liberal" a century ago, by what name shall we then call ourselves?

I don't believe that such critics of the LP as George Smith and Sam Konkin are right that any political party that runs candidates for office is inherently betraying principle by joining and

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sanctioning the State. But while I don't agree that Libertarian politicians *sin necessarily*, I do believe that they are always in a position that Catholic theologians call "occasions for sin." The Libertarian Party member and the candidate for office is veritably surrounded by temptation, by occasions for sin, for betrayal of a creed that is fundamentally and inherently *anti-politics*. So that even if a Libertarian politico must not *necessarily* betray principle, he or she may well do so empirically. The history of the 1980 Presidential campaign gives us pro-party people no comfort; in fact, we must all recognize that we in the Libertarian Party are going to have to work like hell from now on to try to prove that Smith and Konkin have been wrong.

But for us to do so, the opportunist ruling clique in our party, the Crane Machine that has been able to dominate the party machinery and particularly the presidential campaigns, must be denounced and defeated. In his excellent critique of the Clark campaign, Justin Raimondo, after pointing to the ignominious defeat of the Cranian Quick Victory Model, writes that in the *Lib. Forum* I "speculated" that the opportunists will henceforth "leave us alone and return to the major parties." No Justin; I have no expectation that they will do so and leave us alone to our cherished principles; that was only a fond but vain hope. I agree totally with Raimondo that the "fight against opportunism in our movement... is not yet over. In fact, it has hardly begun." (Justin Raimondo, "..... Or a Rude Awakening?" *Caliber* (February 1981). The purpose of forming the Coalition is to wage that very struggle.

### 4. The Crane/Palmer Articles

The Crane and Palmer articles noted above are the major apologies in print for the Clark campaign. They are largely uninteresting from our point of view, because they are the usual hype-drumroll of alleged successes, favorable media responses, etc., and there is no attempt whatever to defend the Clark campaign against the volley of concrete criticisms. Crane Machine members are praised to the skies (e.g. Palmer's apotheosis of the legendary Guida, the Machine candidate for national chair), and Machine critics subtly denigrated (e.g. Palmer's dismissal of some of Dave Nolan's criticisms as "politically motivated"). Since the LP is a *political* party, it is a little difficult to derive any coherent meaning from this particular accusation.) There is the usual buck-passing: what went wrong with Alternative '80 was the work of unnamed members of the "finance department"; the modicum of good in it was the result, once more, of the Great Guida.

The most interesting part of either article was the *finale* of Crane's piece, an address given at the Libertarian Supper Club of Orange County, California. Here he sets forth the explicit doctrine — in violation of the LP Platform and of the NatComm Strategy Statement — that the Libertarian Party is not *really* supposed to be libertarian at all! It is supposed to be engaged in "outreach" (or, as Crane ungrammatically puts it: the "Libertarian Party is an outreach.") The LP is supposed to be "the vehicle to bring people into the Libertarian movement", where "there are other institutions whose job it is to radicalize them." The LP, in short, is the wishy-washy front group that brings people into the movement, where other institutions stand ready to radicalize them, that is train them in the correct doctrine. But where *are* these "other institutions"? The answer is that they don't exist. There *are no* radicalizing institutions on any decent scale, and those that *do* exist (e.g. the Radical Caucus, the *Libertarian Forum*) are tiny organizations struggling on with short (or even zero) shrift from the likes of Crane or Crane-dominated institutions. *All* the Cranian institutions are busily engaged in "outreach." There is no attempt by Crane or anyone else to devote any substantial resources to "inreach," or radicalization. If millions of dollars and lots of personnel are devoted to dishwasher "outreach", and peanuts to the dissemination of libertarian principle, *what* in the world does

anyone think is going to happen? The inevitable result will be the swamping and the disappearance of principle, and the use of the great name "libertarian" as a cover for milk-and-water statist pap, whether "low tax liberalism" or "low tax conservatism" or whatever else is expected to draw in the big numbers at the moment. No, far far better to get a few thousand, or a few hundred thousand votes, for genuine uncompromising libertarian principles and programs, than "millions" for a candidate who appears to the public to be only slightly more libertarian than John Anderson or Ronald Reagan. When our candidate is truly a Candidate of Principle, then we will know that whatever votes he or she gets is *for our principles*; but if he is like everyone else, then his votes will merely be for something much like the Democrats or Republicans we are supposed to be against.

### 5. Childs' Comments

Roy Childs is the Court Intellectual, Lord save us, of the Crane Machine, and is indeed what Dave Nolan kindly calls him: the Machine's "chief apologist." Childs, in response to *frontlines* questions about his views of the Coalition (March 1981), has three lines of argument.

One is a rather curious attack on the Coalition, which he calls a "very unprincipled coalition", because it contains a wide variety of tendencies within the Libertarian Party, from myself and Bill Evers to John Hospers. According to Childs, it is "unscrupulous in the extreme" because these people have no "principles in common." There are several points to be made in reply. One is that Childs is consciously or unconsciously parroting the very charges made by Jim Burnham in *National Review* in the early 1970s, denouncing the alliance that the libertarians of the time had made with the New Left in opposition to the draft and the Vietnam War. Does Childs now think that the coalition between libertarians and the New Left against the draft and the war was "unprincipled" and therefore should not have been made? Does he therefore repudiate the current coalition which his pals in the Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS) have been making with leftists who are opposed to the draft? If so, I would like to hear it. If not, why not? Does Childs *really* think that I have less in common with John Hospers than, say, Milton Mueller has with some Trotskyite sect?

In actuality, there is nothing unprincipled about the anti-draft coalition, so long as it remains a coalition *only* on points where libertarian and leftist concerns intersect. It is not unprincipled to be against the draft, even together with people who are not libertarian on other issues, just as it is not unprincipled to join, say, with the Liberty Amendment people to attempt to repeal the income tax. And secondly, though Childs in his own disregard for LP principles and the LP platform may not see it, I *do* have a lot in common with all the other Coalition members, including the dreaded John Hospers. What we all have in common, oddly enough, is the Libertarian Party Statement of Principles and its Platform. All members of the Coalition agree on basic libertarian principles, although we might quarrel about some of the detailed applications.

Childs' second line of attack on the Coalition is that while he admires most of us and considers us "intellectually brilliant", we simply don't understand "political activism." Here is a brand new Childs that has suddenly been trotted out: Roy the hip politico. Roy Childs, like all of us, has his virtues and his defects; but I have never thought that savvy politician was one of them. I dare to suggest, furthermore, that knowledge about politics is at least as abundant within the Coalition as in the Crane Machine. What is more, it doesn't take either intellectual brilliance or political savvy to be able to smell betrayal. How much of a political expert do you have to be to know a sellout when you see one?

How savvy *is* the new Childs? A little story should sum it all up. A few of us had a little betting pool on the Clark vote at the last election. Shortly before the election, Childs insisted to a mutual friend that Clark would definitely get "at least two million votes", and heaped scorn upon this young libertarian because he "didn't

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know anything about politics." The punch line: the mutual friend won our betting pool with a guess that was right on the nose: 925,000. What price political acumen now?

The above two lines of argument by Childs were by way of counter-attacking the Coalition, arguments which, as I have pointed out above, are merely evasions to camouflage the odious record of the Clark campaign. But what did Childs say in actual defense of that campaign? His third line: passing the buck. Whatever wrong might have happened, *it was not Crane's fault; Clark, not Crane, was responsible at least for "low tax liberalism"* and for the repellent stance on immigration. (Childs then continued with a "you're another" on Evers, which we have dealt with above).

The buck stops here; in the case of the Clark campaign, it must stop with Clark himself and with his master strategist and communications head: Ed Crane. I am not interested in sorting out the nuances of which particular Clark bigwig was responsible for which particular evil: the point is that they, and particularly Clark/Crane, were all in it together and must take joint responsibility. If Crane really opposed some of the sellout — a dubious proposition considering the awful brochures, White Papers, etc. for which he was clearly responsible — then it was his responsibility *to say so publicly* at the time. Otherwise, he cannot be allowed to get away with passing the buck. At the very least, Crane should be repudiating these Clarkian positions loud and clear right now: something which he is most conspicuously *not* doing. The sinner must himself confess and repent; having his flunkies make buck-passing excuses for him simply will not do.

At best, pinning all the blame on Clark is going to be very embarrassing for the Crane Machine when they try to run Clark in 1984, as they probably will do.

### 6. Neil Smith and the Third Camp

In *frontlines* and in a widely distributed letter of Feb. 17, veteran Colorado libertarian activist and science fiction writer L. Neil Smith has delivered a stern barrage against *both* the Crane Machine and Coalition, calling *both* factions "bad guys" and power seekers. A leader of the decentralist faction within the Party, Smith calls for radical decentralizing reforms, such as abolishing all national officers and replacing the NatComm with a council of state LP chairs.

My reply to Neil Smith was largely indicated above. OK, let us stipulate for a moment that both factions are Bad Guys lusting after power. But what *issues* are at stake? As I have written to Smith, there are only three goals that I have for the Libertarian Party (not necessarily in this order) (1) keeping the Platform pure; (2) a structural reform that severely binds national candidates to the party and to the platform; and (3) defeat of the Crane Machine. All these three goals are part and parcel of what it means to return the LP to being the Party of Principle. But since Neil Smith agrees strongly with all three goals, this makes him and other third-campers like him, willy-nilly and despite themselves, members of the Coalition in spirit. Surely then, it would be more effective, for Smith's *own* purposes, to unite with us and join the Coalition in fact. I do not agree with his ultra-decentralism, but I consider that question of minor importance compared to the above three overriding goals. The question that Neil Smith and other third-campers must answer for themselves is: *If* his structural proposals fail, and the post of national chairman still exists, *who* will Smith vote for, Mason or Guida?

### 7. Clark and Update

There has recently come to our attention the first issue of the new newsletter *Update*, *Libertarian Review's* spinoff and Answer to the rival *frontlines*. In this March-April issue, there is a lengthy interview with Ed Clark in which he attempts to defend his

campaign and answer Nolan's and my criticisms. It is a feeble performance indeed.

Most of the interview is devoted to Clark's trotting out the usual line which we have already seen from the Crane/Clark apologists: it was a super campaign, no one could have done it better, everyone who does anything makes mistakes, and all the rest of the hokum. The only thing that Clark adds to this aspect of the Stonewall Defense is his sly little aphorism, "I think that the people who don't make mistakes are the people who don't do anything," which ranks in fatuity with Nancy Reagan's famous *mot* that "I notice that all the people who favor abortion have already been born." So determined is Clark to concede nothing that when *Update* concludes by asking him, "What was your campaign's biggest drawback?" Clark in effect refuses to answer, muttering some balderdash about tripling our crowds in 1984. Everyone makes mistakes, but not Clark & Company, right? Clark even sees nothing wrong in the hype predictions of "several million votes" that he and his crew persisted in making down to the very end of the campaign.

On the specifics of the Clarkian sellout, on the low-tax liberalism and the defense of the welfare state, etc., there is not a peep in the interview. Clark, of course, as one might expect, insists that he did not "sell out" principle. The only specific denial, however, is that he made himself up to look like Jack Kennedy, a fairly minor aspect of the Nolan/Rothbard indictments.

There are some interesting aspects to the Clark interview, however. He implicitly charges me with believing that an LP candidate should confine himself to saying: "I own my body and the fruits of my labor, taxation is therefore theft, and so smash the State", or words to that effect. This is a straw-man smear, pure and simple. No, Ed, there *is* a strategy in-between merely reciting pure basic principle on the one hand, and advocating low-tax liberalism and no cuts in welfare on the other. There should be no mystery about that Third Force strategy: it is, old boy, the LP Platform. Or maybe you consulted it so rarely during your campaign that you have forgotten its very existence. That is precisely what the LP Platform has done over the years: applying basic libertarian principles to all the important issues of the day, and coming up with solutions that LP members and candidates are supposed to uphold. The platform is our issue commitment beyond the strictly philosophic.

In forging our hard-core radical platform over the years, the LP has many times made and reinforced its strategic commitment, one which Clark now wants to reconsider. It was a commitment systematized in the LP NatComm Strategy Statement, and it said that we pledge ourselves unswervingly to principle, both in basics and in application to political issues. Contrary to the Clark/Crane charges, none of us wants to neglect interim demands short of the full libertarian goal. What we say is this: (a) the ultimate goal of full and complete liberty must never be forgotten; the candidates must repeatedly uphold it as the ultimate ideal; (b) interim demands must also be truly radical and substantive; and (c) none of them must *contradict* the ultimate goal — as, for example, Clark/Crane did in promising to keep the welfare system intact until "full employment" is achieved. Clark's feeble defense of his "order of destatization" also violates the Strategy Statement, which explicitly bars such an order as being destructive of libertarian principles and goals.

When asked whether the party or the candidate should plan a campaign, Clark, again expectedly, comes out in favor of the candidate being able to ride herd over the campaign. It is not surprising that a runaway candidate should urge us to allow such runaways forevermore. No, he says, the only party control over the candidate should be "to participate fully in the nominating process", which sounds for all the world like the usual argument for "all power to the President:" that the role of the public should be only to participate in the voting for President; after that, the

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public's role is to shut up and obey the orders of whoever is elected. This plea for plebiscitary dictatorship is scarcely softened by Clark's statement that the Presidential candidate should ask for advice from a broad cross-section of the party. Yeah, like 1980, Ed? When one big part of the cross-section was systematically lied to and betrayed?

Clark's one new proposal is that LP members should insist on detailed campaign projections from candidates before they are chosen at conventions. Fine, but this should be done *in addition to* reforming the bylaws to make candidates accountable to the party and its principles and platform. For what if our next Presidential candidate makes detailed promises and then, after nomination, conveniently forgets them, like *you* did, Ed? How is the party to bring this person to account?

The point that Clark and his cohorts conveniently forget is that the LP Platform is our contract that we make with each other and with the voting public. It is a solemn pledge, and betrayals of the platform by our candidates are equivalent to the breaking of a contract and a pledge. Such action must be dealt with severely. If there is no mechanism for doing so, if we must all suffer at the hands of runaway candidates, then we should seriously rethink our policy of running candidates and consider whether we should transform ourselves into a political action group like the ADA or Common Cause. We must never again tolerate runaway candidates.

There is, of course, the obligatory coy refusal by Clark to rule himself out of the race in 1984. In addition to the disaster of the 1980 campaign, there is another powerful reason for never nominating *any* Presidential candidate, however good he may have been, twice in a row. For we would then fall prey to the "Norman Thomas" syndrome. One thing which helped wreck the Socialist Party earlier in this century was that it habitually ran Thomas for President, so that soon the public and the media thought of it as the "Thomas" party and forgot about the party's principles. We must never, ever succumb to any cult of personality. As far as I was concerned, this was the major factor in making me hesitant about Roger MacBride's running again in 1980, a factor which of course would not preclude support for MacBride in the next election.

Perhaps the most chilling aspect of the Clark interview is his hint about putting his mitts on our glorious platform. What he is really saying through the fog is that the platform should be weakened so as to attract wimpy sympathizers into the party who would *then* be radicalized after they became members. We must not permit the opportunists to weaken and destroy our great platform. It is bad enough for our presidential candidate to sell out, it is unforgivable for him to try then to move in and liquidate our platform of principle.

Here, Clark makes an interesting gloss on the Cranian hooey about radicalizing LP members *after* the campaign and after they have joined the party. Crane refers loftily to unnamed "other institutions" which would do the work of radicalization, institutions which I pointed out above do not really exist. But Clark has the answer: the LP *itself* will perform the radicalizing task. Well, bully. But when has the LP ever done the work of education and radicalization? There is only one institution within the LP doing such work on any systematic scale, and it is a maverick with virtually no money or support from LP bigwigs — certainly none from the likes of Clark, Crane or their affiliated institutions. I refer, of course, to the intrepid Radical Caucus of the LP. Typically, and with a few honorable exceptions, the LP only discusses issues, principles, and strategies for two days every other year in convention consideration of the party platform. And even then, discussions are often overridden by the excitement of selecting candidates or officers. And how will the "radicalization" process

be helped if Clark eventually succeeds in emasculating even the platform?

There is no point in running candidates and trying to gain votes unless the campaign is used to educate a broader public in *libertarian* principles and programs and thereby to convert and attract other libertarians. If some people want to run "attractive", soft-core campaigns that are only one centimeter more libertarian than John Anderson or Ronald Reagan, then they should run those campaigns *within* the Democratic or Republican party, or even as a third party "Independent." After all, the two major parties already have lots of built-in votes, money, and media coverage which they needn't build up from scratch. If Clark had run his presidential campaign as a Democrat or Republican or on his own Anderson-type "Independent" party, and not called himself a "Libertarian", I would have had no particular quarrel with his campaign. A soft-core major or minor party might even help the general climate of political opinion. But the horror is that Clark/Crane *et al* persist in calling their program "libertarian" and thereby corrupt everything the rest of us and the Libertarian Party stand for. If they want to try to infiltrate non-libertarians and seduce them gently and gradually, they should leave us alone and go infiltrate the Democrats and Republicans; as it is, they are only infiltrating and demoralizing and corrupting *us*.

Any notion, by the way, that *Update* is any sort of objective newsletter of the movement can be dispelled by merely reading its first issue. In addition to spending half its space on the glorification of Clark, it purports to present an objective rundown on the various candidates for National Chair of the LP, including positive and negative comments on each one. Now watch this: On Mason, the negative comments are: hasn't done anything on the National Committee, and "too tied in with the Rothbard faction." On Kent Guida, negative comments are: "Don't know anything about him" and "He's too short."

"He's too short." Gee, fellas on *Update*, is that the only negative comment you could really find on Guida? As a founder of the Short People's Liberation Front, I want to assure one and all that *I* have never attacked Kent Guida for being too short; I am not and shall never be a Heightist. *My* negative comment is very different and far more *a propos*: that Guida is the handpicked creature of the Crane Machine. Now how come the *Updateniks* never thought of that? Could it be because *Update* itself is a leading Crane-run institution? Or is that being too cynical?

### 7. The Crane Machine

There abounds in the Libertarian Party an almost wilful failure to realize that we are confronting not just one man, Ed Crane, or one candidate, Ed Clark, but a small but powerful political machine which Crane has assiduously built up over the years. Political organizations tend to be run by tightly-knit machines, and Libertarians must wake up to the fact that they are members of a political party and are subject to the same organizational pressures as any party. Political organizations are not run by shareholder-owners or commanders-in-chief but by member-voters, and hence it becomes almost inevitable for ruling coalitions and groups to form around common personal, ideological, or tactical views.

Most political activists are trained to think in terms of party machinery, coalitions, and bosses, and to figure out where the power in their organization lies. Libertarians, who have had little or no experience in party politics, tend to look at each individual as a separate atom, to be judged or voted on for his or her own sake. One reason that the Crane Machine has managed to rule party machinery, and particularly presidential campaigns, for many years is that few Libertarians realize that there *is* a Machine and that all its members must be evaluated as a joint package.

The Crane Machine is small in number, but it is tightly knit, takes orders from one man, and consists of fairly able people. It is also kept permanently in place between campaigns by Crane

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finding niches for them in various Cranian-run institutions: *Libertarian Review*, Students for a Libertarian Society, Cato Institute, and (to some extent) the National Office of the LP. There they enjoy permanent jobs as professional libertarians, which enormously expands their influence in the movement and the Party, and permits them to be wheeled into position for the next Presidential campaign. The Crane Machine resembles a miniature multi-national corporation, with members being slotted back and forth in whatever niche they can best fill at the moment.

And so we have, in the Party, a Crane Machine which is small but tightly knit and enjoying paid positions, confronting an opposition which is far larger but paid little if at all as libertarians. Hence, the Crane Machine can work full time at its task, whereas the larger opposition can only work part-time at the task of opposing the Machine and educating the rest of the party about the danger it poses. Also, the opposition is necessarily diverse, whereas the Machine, funded from one source and dominated by one man, is cohesive and tightly organized. And then, in the middle, the vast majority of the Party, good folk who would be staunchly for principle and against the conscious opportunism and betrayal of the Crane Machine if they only knew what was going on. It is precisely the major task of the Coalition for a Party of Principle to educate the Libertarian Party and the movement as a whole about the danger of the Crane Machine in its midst.

In a sense, battling the Crane Machine within the movement is like battling the State in the larger society: In both cases, a small well-organized group of fully-paid professionals and bureaucrats dominate the larger society of unorganized citizens who are not professionals in politics and who are unaware of the way they have been conned and betrayed.

An important warning: We must begin to think in terms of the Machine rather than the personal qualities of its individual members. Because of his abrasive personality, disliking Crane is as easy as falling off a log. But we must realize that his personal style is not the important problem: The vital problem is the opportunist course to which Crane and his subservient Machine are totally dedicated. Some members of the Crane Machine are highly likable people whom I regard as good friends; they have simply drifted into a course of action that, if allowed to triumph, would be disastrous for the Libertarian Party and for libertarianism as a whole. They are not irredeemable, and I trust that they will come to see the error of their ways and abandon the Machine.

### 8. Summing Up: the Themes

John Mason has chosen a splendid theme for his campaign for national chair: "Principle First." There we have the objectives of the Coalition put in a concise nutshell. My own contribution to Coalition watchwords, of course, is "Never Again". And there we have it: the "positive" and "negative", hand-in-hand, indissoluble, as we go forward to the struggles of 1981, pointing to the climactic 1984 Presidential nominating convention. For putting Principle First means Never Again. ‡

## George Jacob Holyoake, Libertarian Agitator

By Richard A. Cooper

Nineteenth century Britain could be described as a cockpit of change. From a rural society it became the premier industrial power of the world, setting forces in motion that inspired new modes of thought and action. Many of the contemporary political and social movements of the Western world were born and nurtured there. These movements contained many interesting figures. George Jacob Holyoake was one such personality. He described himself as an "Agitator" and was proud to be one. Over the course of a long life (1817-1906) he was an active supporter of many social, political, and philosophical movements. His activities on behalf of liberty deserve our attention today.

In his autobiography, *Sixty Years of An Agitator's Life* (1891) and his two volumes of remembrances in a similar vein, *Bygones Worth Remembering* (1905), Holyoake displayed his great ability as a raconteur. The many personalities and movements with which he has been associated are recalled in a vigorous style. Holyoake was a friend of the heroes of American liberty of his time: Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave abolitionist; Wendell Phillips, anti-slavery journalist; and Colonel Robert Ingersoll, abolitionist and Freethought leader. But his attentions were not confined to the English-speaking world; rather his agitation was cosmopolitan. The heroes of 1848 were his friends: Louis Kossuth, the hero of Hungary; Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, the founders of Italy; and more besides.

It is fitting that such an exemplary of the social movements of industrial Britain should have begun his agitator's life and career in Birmingham, one of the great centers of the Industrial Revolution. At the age of thirteen he went to work in a metal foundry, where he nearly lost his life after becoming caught in some machinery. His desire for knowledge led him to attend the Mechanics' Institute at night, in an era of twelve hour work-days, to study mathematics and physics. Studies of the world led him into politics and

philosophy and he began his career as an agitator.

Was Holyoake a libertarian? A workingman, Holyoake was a friend of trade unionism of the sort known as "Old Model" to distinguish it from the class-oriented "New Model" unionism exemplified by the massive London dock-workers strike of 1890. In addition, he was an Owenite socialist and a leader of the cooperative movement (Holyoake wrote *The History of Cooperation* about the Rochdale pioneers). Furthermore, he was an active "Moral Force" Chartist, struggling for the workingman's right to vote. The foregoing might lead a superficial observer to describe him as a socialist, but a close examination of his views show the contrary. Holyoake was strongly opposed to the Marxists (as a member of radical circles he was acquainted with, detested, and was detested by Karl Marx) and the Independent Labour Party. He had no wish to impose Owen's views on anyone, and simply felt that cooperative (not state) ownership would have beneficial social effects (especially the reduction of class antagonism). Significantly, his stress was on cooperation and self-help, and he was not opposed to competition. Statism, however, was entirely suspect to him.

Holyoake was no "Sunshine Patriot." He fought for liberty in bad times and good at personal risk to himself. For a lecture on atheism he was confined for six months to Gloucester gaol (during which time his daughter Madeline died). At the risk of Bonapartist, Hapsburg, and Tsarist spies, he aided European freedom fighters from France, Hungary, and Italy, with funds, with his printing press, and with places of refuge including his own lodgings. His story in *Sixty Years of An Agitator's Life* recounts his testing of bombs meant for the assassination of Louis Napoleon in an episode ideal for a television comedy plot, combining daring and humor.

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Holyoake was a great friend of General Garibaldi and Joseph Mazzini and rendered yeoman service as a fundraiser and propagandist for the cause of Italian liberation. In fact, he was a prime mover in a British Legion of volunteers sent to aid General Garibaldi in the reduction of the Kingdom of Naples. The Legion suffered from the usual serio-comic mishaps a clandestine operation is heir to but somehow made its way out of Britian. Holyoake's private enterprise and venture in self-help was, strictly speaking, contrary to international law (the mounting of an expedition against a state with which the British Crown maintained diplomatic relations), but the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, blinked a benevolent eye upon the venture in the spirit of Elizabeth's tolerance of Sir Francis Drake singeing the Spaniard's beard. Unfortunately, the Legion arrived too late to make a contribution to Garibaldi's campaign. Its only casualty was the result of an argument.

Chartism was a movement on behalf of democracy in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Chartists presented enormous numbers of signatures on behalf of the "People's Charter," which demanded the extension of the franchise to workingmen. The Chartist leaders were divided into two groups: the "Moral Force" Chartists, who favored mass demonstrations and petitions, and the "Physical Force" Chartists who wished to counter the Government's use of repressive measure with their own force. George Jacob Holyoake and his brother Austen were "Moral Force" Chartists.

The Chartist leaders emerge in a new light in Holyoake's account as the recipients of Tory gold. The Tories and the Chartists roundly detested each other but shared a common *bete noire* in the Liberals, particularly the speakers on behalf of the Anti-Corn Law League. The Tories were the Protectionist Party (a name which they operated under after Sir Robert Peel broke ranks and carried the repeal of the Corn Laws), and were in general, the party of privilege in Church and State. They hated the Anti-Corn Law League and laissez-faire because the free trade victory would upset the aristocratic land monopoly's protectionist bastion, the Corn Laws on the importation of grain. The Chartists hated the Leaguers because it was dominated by manufacturers, and its leaders, Richard Cobden, M.P. for Manchester, and John Bright, M. P. for Birmingham, were strong opponents of the Ten Hours Act and the Factory Acts for the limitation of hours of work and the inspection of factories. They also feared that the Free Trade struggle would divert attention from the struggle for universal suffrage, although Cobden and Bright supported the workingman's ballot. The Tories hired the "Physical Force" Chartists to break up rallies of the Anti-

Corn Law League and to heckle League lecturers. Holyoake is able to offer a unique perspective in his dual capacity as a "Moral Force" Chartist and a member of the Anti-Corn Law League.

Holyoake was a leading atheist lecturer and writer, and spoke widely on the subject in England, despite the harassments of Church, state, and mob. As a publisher and journalist for this and other causes, he was hampered by the newspaper stamp tax, first imposed by Queen Anne as a two-headed monster, with one head devouring revenue and the other head devouring independent opinion. It was the attempt of Lord North's government to extend the already old tax to America which prompted the revolutionary generation's resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765. Flush from the victory of the Anti-Corn Law League, Holyoake and other Free Traders formed the Committee for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, with C.D. Collett as Secretary (Collett wrote the movement's history, *History Of The Taxes On Knowledge*), and Bright, Cobden, and Spencer among the membership. Within seven years of the 1844 repeal of the Corn Laws, their imitation of the League's methods was crowned by success.

Holyoake's books are well-written and offer the reflections of a man whose lifetime spanned most of the nineteenth century and the entire Victorian Age. They richly deserve republication and the attention of libertarians. Holyoake was a stout friend of freedom, individualism, and the oppressed. He participated as a lecturer, author, and fund-raiser on behalf of Free Trade, Free Thought, Anti-Imperialism, European independence, and the abolition of Slavery. In fact, Holyoake served as the Vice-President of The Personal Rights Association (formed in 1871, it still exists in England).

Let me close this sketch of George Jacob Holyoake with an appraisal by a man who knew him, the famous nineteenth-century English libertarian philosopher, Herbert Spencer, who was his friend for many years. Spencer supported Holyoake's cooperative movements and allowed the latter's Rationalist Press Association to reprint Spencer's *First Principles* in an edition within the means of a workingman. The occasion for Spencer's tribute to Holyoake was a testimonial given in honor of Holyoake's eighty-sixth birthday in 1903 by the Ethical Society of South Place Chapel, the oldest Freethought organization in London. Spencer was in his last illness at the time but dispatched a letter (March 28, 1903) which Holyoake quoted with pride in his own tribute to Spencer in *Bygones Worth Remembering*:

... I can do nothing more than express my warm feeling of concurrence. Not dwelling upon his intellectual capacity, which is high, I would emphasize my appreciation of his courage, sincerity, truthfulness, philanthropy, and unwearied perseverance. Such a combination of these qualities, it will, I think, be difficult to find mean. †

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In Two Parts

## Crane/Cato Once More

Part I

### An Open Letter To The Crane Machine

Dear Friends:

And I *mean friends*, for most of you have been and even still are my friends. Some of us have been good friends for many years, and we have fought many joyous battles together, arm-in-arm. Why are we now on opposite sides of the barricades? Why? I can assure you that fighting against you now is not at all joyous, but a very painful experience, as I presume that it is for you. Why? Why have we forsaken each other?

I know what your motivations were for entering the Crane Machine, and they were not power-lust or opportunism. You joined the Crane Machine for the same reason I once did, because you burned with a passion for human liberty, and because you wanted to spend your lives, 24 hours a day, in a noble struggle for the libertarian cause. Having realized that liberty was the only just system for mankind you were not content to remain as parlor libertarians. You wanted to *do* something, to put your considerable talents and energies to work, full-time, to try to achieve the triumph of liberty. You wanted to become "professional libertarians", and when you saw the prospect of jobs and careers opening up as lifelong libertarians, you jumped at the chance.

I don't blame you for that; on the contrary, your motive was a noble one, and probably remains so today. Let us hope that someday there will be a myriad of opportunities and institutions so that all of you can work full time in the libertarian cause.

But, my dear friends, dear brothers and sisters and (alas) *former* comrades, you forgot the pitfalls. In the heady excitement of working full-time as libertarians, as part of a cohesive and well-integrated team, it was easy for you to forget, to lose hold of the larger picture amidst the exciting day-to-day details of working for liberty. As able technicians, it was easy for you to get so wrapped up in the daily technique, the *process* at work, that the ultimate goals and principles began to grow kind of hazy. Didn't they? So that little by little, day by day, the *means* — the razzle-dazzle, the jobs, the excitement, the intake of funds and the output of product, began to be transmuted into the ends themselves. *Didn't* they? Your daily lives, your daily work became the reality, while the reason you entered the whole thing, the very reason for your existence as libertarians in the first place, became ever more remote and ethereal, didn't it?

And so, when Boss Crane, either impelled or followed by his Donor, gave the signal in the spring of '79 to downplay all those now remote principles and go for the big numbers, you went along,

didn't you? I wasn't surprised that you made the shift and went along, but I tell you frankly one thing that still shocks and hurts: That you shifted your gears so damned easily and smoothly, apparently without a second thought or a backward glance. Was it really *that* easy to surrender, my old and dear friends? Didn't you at least have *some* pricks of conscience, some moments of doubt, some second thoughts? Some qualms in the middle of the night, or when you looked at yourselves in the mirror?

I know that most of you are not doing it for the money, because you and I know that, contrary to myth, pay in the the Crane Machine is crummy. I know that it is the *action* that keeps you there, the heady wine of working full-time on behalf of liberty.

But, oh my friends, what good is the action if it has become corrupt? What good is the means if it contradicts and sells out the ends, the goals which once brought you and me together? What good is the process, be it ever so exciting, if it is betraying everything we have long sought to accomplish?

Please, I beseech you in the name of liberty and of all we once meant to each other, to think that you may be mistaken. I plead with you to take off a few days and rethink your present course — in the good old Randian phrase, to "check your premises." To think that you may have allowed yourself to be manipulated by a ruthless politico to betray the cause of liberty rather than advance it. Consider for a moment: surely you must know in your heart that your Boss has total contempt for you just as he has for the entire human race. That he values you only as pawns that he can use to advance his power and his will. Do you think he would spare you for a single moment if it became in his interest to toss you down the tubes? Do you think he is ever moved by a single iota of sentiment, of reverence, of friendship, of love?

And even if you are still blinded by all other considerations, dear technicians, you should at least wake up to the fact that, in the long run, you are on a sinking ship. Eventually, you are going to lose, and I'll tell you why. I don't care if your Boss is backed by a billion dollars. The libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party are not a corporation or a military machine. They are not for sale. Except for the handful of Crane Machine members, we are every one of us independent people. We are all men and women of principle, and we are all passionately devoted to the cause of liberty. And in the LP, every single one of us has a vote. Once they have wakened up fully to what the Crane Machine has been doing, and they are in the process of waking up, believe me, the LP will overthrow the Crane

(Continued On Page 2)

## Open Letter — (Continued From Page 1)

Machine, and all the action that has lured and kept you in its clutches will be over, gone, kaput.

And the reason for your defeat is not only that your Machine has been systematically betraying principle. It is because your Boss, the man who aspires to be the leader of a political party, lacks the most important qualification for that post. To be leader of a political machine, one must be well liked and trusted by his own constituents, his party members. Mayor Daley was loved and trusted by his organization, because he clearly liked them, and because he *always kept his word*. And so with Jim Farley, and with all other successful political bosses. They commanded loyalty because their organization liked and trusted them. But Boss Crane is cordially and fiercely detested by almost all LP members who know him. He has a reputation for almost never keeping his word. Honestly, do you think he would keep his word to *you* if he saw some advantage in not doing so? And Crane is not smart enough to even try to mask his contempt for his fellow libertarians or LP members, so that people cotton to him very quickly. How can a person like that succeed in politics?

Consider: the Crane Machine is in a small minority, and it gets smaller by the minute as more and more LPers wake up to the truth and join the ranks of its opponents. The rising, swelling opposition, my friends, is at the gates.

But do not despair, because as the movement grows, the Crane Machine will no longer be the sole means of employment as professional libertarians. Other libertarians, other institutions, other jobs, even other Donors, will spring up, and provide healthy competition at long last for libertarian careers. More and more, the action will be elsewhere. The Death of the Crane Machine will not be the end of the libertarian movement; on the contrary, the movement will be far healthier and stronger as this blight is removed from its midst.

And so, dear old friends, I beseech you, I entreat you, I plead with you, to leave the dank and fetid air of the Crane Machine, to abandon the sweet smell of corruption, to quit the foul Corridors of Power. Come out, get out, and join me in the clean fresh air of freedom. If you leave, I will rejoice, and embrace you, and then once again we can fight for liberty together, arm in arm, as true comrades. My dear lost friends, let us find each other again, so we can sing once more the sweet songs of freedom.

— Murray. ‡

### Part II

## Catogate: Who's the Mole (Or Moles) At Cato?

They seek him here

They seek him there

Cato seeks him everywhere.

Is it a man, a woman, a band, or . . . ?

That damned, elusive Friend of Candor.

— with apologies to *The Scarlet Pimpernel*

In this world we must take our fun where we may. In the titanic struggle now taking place within the LP and the libertarian movement, the struggle over Crane and his Machine and his institutions, there is a fun aspect which we should not overlook. A few days before my own confrontation with Crane and the Cato power elite (see "It Usually Ends with Ed Crane," *Lib. Forum*, Jan.-April 1981), many Cato board members and libertarian periodicals received a missive from a certain anonymous "Friend of Candor" detailing a power struggle within Cato between Crane and Cato. Vice-President Bob Formaini. The important point is that F of C obviously had access to top-secret Cato memoranda supposedly seen only by Crane and Formaini themselves. Typical of Cato, paranoia struck, and suspicion fell feverishly on one and all. Such is the atmosphere at Cato that one bigwig half seriously set forth the thesis that Crane *himself* was the Friend of Candor, since the revelation of a Crane/Formaini split served to solidify the Cato board against an "outside" or public enemy, thereby strengthening Crane's hand against my own case. Well, who knows? It is not a hypothesis that can be ruled out of court *a priori*.

But the Friend of Candor letter, apparently, was only Phase I of the underground war. For now *Libertarian Vanguard* has emerged, June 1981 issue, with a veritable battery of revelations about not only Cato, but other Cranian institutions: *Libertarian Review* and SLS. Everyone owes it to himself or herself to rush out and buy this sensational issue. (50¢ from *Libertarian Vanguard*, 1800 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94102).

The issue contains not only an article based on the Friend of Candor letter, but also other articles grounded on damaging secret memoranda from Chris Hocker about LR, and from Crane to Glenn Garvin attempting to impose a more right-wing line on *Inquiry*. I also base much of my own critique of the Cranian SLS power elite on a number of secret SLS memoranda.

The most fun aspect of the Mole Question so far is that the day *Lib. Vanguard* came out, a copy was found on the desk of each and

every Cato staff member when he or she arrived in the morning. Knowing the aggravated paranoia which infects the atmosphere of Cato at even normal times, it would have been great fun to have been a fly on the wall at Cato when Crane & Co., astonished, saw and read this damaging and subversive publication in their very offices. Who did it? Who is the mole or moles at Cato? Frankly, I have no idea. What will Crane do? There was serious talk of changing the locks at Cato, but apparently cooler heads prevailed.

But the moles may be everywhere. For on that same morning, every SLS national officer and libertarian biggie in Washington found a copy of *Vanguard* on his office or at his doorstep. A case can be made that there are moles everywhere, at SLS, at LR, in Washington, even at Mother Wichita itself.

Who *is/* are the Friend of Candor?

‡

## Hallmarks of a Free Society

To the extent that the following conditions are approached in any given society, the people of that society are free. To the extent that these conditions are absent, the people are oppressed.

- No Conscription.
- No Taxation.
- No Censorship.
- No Spying.
- No Restraint of Trade.
- No Registration of Citizens.
- No Travel Restrictions.
- No Laws Against Victimless Acts.
- A Hard Currency.
- Citizens Have the Right to Keep and Bear Arms.

# The Moral Foundations Of Property Rights

By Brian Summers\*

Property rights are human rights. They do not belong to property; they belong to people who hold them with respect to property.

Property rights include a person's rights of possession — the rights to peacefully use property, alter it, consume it, and exclude others. They further include the right to transfer possession by any peaceful means an owner sees fit — to sell, trade, mortgage, let, give, and bequeath. Taken together, these constitute the rights of full private ownership.

Why should anyone have such rights? Why should some people enjoy the possession and use of property at the seeming expense of others? These are questions on which the great debate between capitalism and socialism ultimately turns. Let us examine the answers offered by the defenders of private property.

Some defenders of property appeal to First Amendment rights. They ask, for example, how can the press be free if the government owns all the newsprint, presses, and distribution systems? How can religion be free if the government prints all the books and owns all the buildings? Similar arguments apply to freedom of speech and the right to assemble.

Such arguments, as far as they go, are compelling. But private ownership involves a lot more than the free exercise of First Amendment rights.

Other defenders of property go beyond First Amendment arguments to the assertion that property rights are essential to freedom itself. They contend that freedom — the absence of coercive intervention in peaceful activities — is impossible without private ownership.

But full private ownership is not a prerequisite for many peaceful activities. For some activities, such as swimming at a public beach, the right to use property is often sufficient. The rights to alter, consume, exclude others, sell, trade, mortgage, let, give, or bequeath the beach are usually not required for such peaceful use.

Of course, one can ask whether people should be free to do such things with respect to a beach. But this is merely to rephrase our original question: why should anyone have such property rights?

A few defenders of property base their defense on the right to life. They point out that a person cannot eat without at least implicitly establishing property rights over the food he consumes. Similarly, a person would have trouble keeping warm without some property rights with respect to clothing and shelter.

Here again is an argument that, as far as it goes, is compelling. But certainly a person can eat without the rights to sell, trade, mortgage, let, give away, or bequeath his food. In addition this argument, on the surface at least, applies only to consumer goods. What about the main concern of socialists — the raw materials and capital goods which constitute the means of production? Why should anyone own them?

## Economic Approach: Incentives

Economics provides a comprehensive answer. When the means of production are privately owned in a market economy, businessmen seek to earn profits by cutting costs through the prudent use of scarce resources. The businessman who conserves the most resources, while giving consumers the most for their money, earns the greatest profits. Private ownership fosters efficient production.

Consider, for example, the operation of a privately owned bus company. If the operator has full private ownership — if he is free to choose his routes, adjust his fares in response to market conditions, and bargain with anyone who wishes to work for him — he has every incentive to provide cheap, efficient service. Free market competition, and the possible entry of potential competitors, supplies all the incentives needed to improve service and cut costs through conservation.

The bus owner also has every incentive to maintain his capital stock. If he ever wants to sell his company — or bequeath it to his children — he will maintain his buses in good working order.

The same incentives apply to the professional managers of a company owned by stockholders. If the managers fail to maintain the buses, the price of the company's stock will fall and the management will be replaced by stockholder vote or a corporate takeover — unless, of course, the management is bailed out by government subsidies or the takeover is prevented by threats of antitrust action.

## Wasteful Management

Compare this with the operation of city-run buses. The routes and fares of city-run buses are determined by political pressure. The revenues (and subsidies) are devoured by union monopolies which threaten violence against nonunion workers. With no profit motive, and no need to keep the buses rolling past the next election, deficits soar while the buses fall into desrepair.

Incentives are the key to understanding why "publicly owned" transportation is in constant need of repair, despite huge subsidies. Similarly, incentives explain why collective farms are vastly outproduced by privately owned plots; why unowned air, land, and water are often polluted; why unowned timber, wildlife, fisheries, and grazing lands are rapidly depleted (often to extinction); and why private timber companies plant millions of saplings to try to maintain the productivity (and thus the value) of their land.

But the economic case for private property goes beyond an analysis of incentives. Economics proves that private ownership is a prerequisite for rational economic planning.

## Economic Approach: Calculation

In any advanced society, knowledge is divided among millions of individuals, with no one knowing more than a tiny part. Because of this division of knowledge, scarce resources are misallocated — inadvertently used in ways that fail to contribute the most to consumer welfare. A manufacturer may be unaware that a resource could contribute more if used elsewhere. Those who know of other uses may be unaware of the availability of a resource, or even of its existence.

To correct these misallocations of scarce resources, we need a system that (1) provides a means of discovering misallocations, (2) stimulates people to use the means of discovery, (3) encourages people to transfer control of resources to entrepreneurs who have discovered misallocations, and (4) rewards the correction of misallocations.

All this is accomplished by the free market profit and loss system. Any infringement on property rights reduces this system's efficiency. In particular, "public" ownership of the means of production prevents businessmen from competitively bidding for scarce resources. Without competitive bids, the "prices" of scarce resources become arbitrary, so that no one can calculate the true costs of any project.

\*Mr Summers is a member of the staff of The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York.

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## Property Rights— (Continued From Page 3)

### Freedom and the Right to Life

These economic arguments relate to our previous comments about the right to life. We previously saw that human survival requires at least some property rights in consumer goods. We now see that human survival — at least as we know it — requires economic calculation based on private ownership of the means of production. Economics shows how property rights can, indeed, be based on the right to life.

Economics also sheds further light on the relationship between private property and freedom. Freedom — the absence of coercive intervention in peaceful activities — refers to the range of options (alternatives) a person may peacefully *pursue*. At any particular time in a market economy, this range is pretty much the same for all people. Of course some people, especially the wealthy, have a greater ability to *attain* options (goods, services, jobs). But, in general, these options are available for all to pursue.

Thus, as a person accumulates wealth, he doesn't, as a general rule, gain more freedom. But, in a market economy, as *other* people pursue wealth by offering the consumer more goods and services, the consumer's range of options expands. In terms of options, the consumer finds that he has more freedom of choice in a modern shopping center than his grandparents had in a general store.

### The Claiming of Natural Resources

Economics provides compelling arguments for the free market private property system — based on the efficiency of the system itself. But we must still consider the justice of original claims to previously unowned natural resources. If these original claims cannot be justified, the free market will forever be plagued with charges of immorality.

Original claims to property are sometimes defended with a finder-keeper approach. According to this argument, the discoverer of say, an oil field, is its rightful owner.

But if this approach applies to oil fields, it should also apply to the discovery of a continent, planet, or galaxy. Merely being the first to observe something — or putting up the capital that leads to a discovery — seems to be insufficient grounds for full private ownership.

Other claims to property are based on first occupancy. By this argument, the first person to occupy a piece of land is its rightful owner. But merely being the first to set foot on say, Mars, doesn't seem to create a moral claim to the entire planet.

### Lockean Approach

But if the "first occupancy" takes the form of settling and working the land, a strong case can be made for private ownership. In the famous words of John Locke (*Second Treatise of Government*, paragraph 27):

"Though the earth, and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person. This nobody has any right to but himself. The labor of his body, and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature has provided, and left it in, he has mixed his labor with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property. It being by him removed from the common state nature placed it in, it has by this labor something annexed to it, that excludes the common right of other men. For this labor being the unquestionable property of the laborer, no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others."

The Lockean idea of acquiring property by mixing labor with unowned resources has been enormously influential, and has spawned many compelling defenses of property rights.

### Self-Ownership

However, the Lockean approach is not without difficulties. For

one, it includes the troublesome concept of self-ownership. Full self-ownership would imply that an individual has a complete set of property rights with respect to himself. Some such property rights are difficult to deny, such as the right to peacefully use our own faculties. But how can we consume ourselves or transfer possession?

Fortunately, the Lockean approach is more firmly based on the concept of people owning their own labor. But what does it mean to "mix one's labor" with natural resources? This metaphor has led to considerable confusion.

For instance, it is sometimes asserted that if an individual "mixes" what he owns (his labor) with what no one owns (an unowned natural resource), it doesn't necessarily follow that he owns the resource. An equally plausible conclusion, it is contended, is that he has simply "discarded" his labor — like a sailor pouring his coffee into the unowned sea.

But "he owns the resource" and "he has discarded his labor" are not the only possible conclusions. We can also conclude that because a person has mixed his labor L with an unowned resource R, he has created the "mix" LR. Thus, if he is entitled to what he has created, we can conclude that he owns LR. But the concept "LR" is, at best, vague.

### The Lockean Proviso

Another difficulty with the Lockean approach is the proviso that private ownership is justified only to the point "where there is enough and as good left in common for others." This proviso, carried to its extremes, reduces to an absurdity.

For example, if oil companies must leave "enough and as good oil in the ground for others," where should they stop? If the last barrel of oil must be left in the ground for our children, then *our* children must leave the last barrel for *their* children, and so on. No one may ever take the last barrel. But if the last barrel is permanently off limits, then anyone taking the next to last barrel would not be leaving "enough and as good in common for others." No one may ever take the next to last barrel. Similarly with all other barrels of oil. Pushed to its limits, the Lockean proviso prohibits anyone from ever taking any nonrenewable scarce natural resource.

### Compensating the "Victims"

Many interpreters of the Lockean proviso don't go this far. However, they often demand that a first appropriator (such as an oil company) be forced to compensate all the "victims" who could have, but didn't, appropriate a given resource.

But who are the victims? Anyone with an oil rig? Anyone who could have invested in exploration? And how much are they being "hurt"? By any amount they say?

More important, is anyone actually being hurt by the first appropriator? I, for one, am glad when someone else discovers oil. I know that, in a free market, it will eventually mean more gas for my car. In the long run, we all benefit from such competitive market processes.

Even in the short run, a potential competitor who doesn't get to the oil first is not being physically coerced by the driller who does. By what right does he demand compensation from an explorer peacefully going about his own affairs?

Some adherents to the Lockean proviso assert that private ownership is fine in principle, but as a practical matter, the "enough and as good" proviso is needed to prevent all resources from falling into private hands. Anyone coming along later, they contend, would effectively be locked out.

But as a practical matter, it is immigration laws, apartheid edicts, tariffs, and other government restrictions that lock people out. It is precisely because private owners are eager to sell and let their property that regulations are imposed by those who wish to prevent such transactions.

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## Property Rights— (Continued From Page 4)

### Creation-Transformation Approach

These difficulties with the Lockean approach are overcome by (1) dropping the Lockean proviso and (2) replacing the "mixing" metaphor with the principle that an individual owns whatever he (or his agent) creates from an unowned resource. In this approach, the justification for first ownership is not based on the owner's labor, or on the pain and sacrifice associated with his labor. The justification for first ownership is based on the creation brought forth by the first owner.

But who creates property? In the case of physical resources, at least, no one. But to "mix labor" with an unowned resource is to transform it — to create a transformation. Any person who transforms an unowned resource owns what he creates — he owns the transformation.

Thus, the first person to transform an unowned field into a farm, owns the farm. But plowing (transforming) land doesn't, in this approach, give the farmer ownership of oil lying beneath the land. Only if he pumps the oil to the surface, or creates another transformation in the oil, can he claim to own the transformation — and thus claim full private ownership over the oil he has transformed.

If an individual owns whatever he creates from an unowned resource, he clearly owns whatever he (or his employee) creates from his property. For example, if a farmer pays an employee to transform his oranges into juice, the farmer owns the juice.

### Who Owns the Profits?

And he may sell the juice for whatever price the market will bear. If this price yields a profit, the profit belongs to him because (1) he owns the juice and (2) his decision to transform the oranges created the opportunity to discover the profit.

This last argument may appear to be nothing more than the finder-keeper approach. Our farmer-entrepreneur, after all, discovers the profit (or loss) which results from his decisions — much as an explorer discovers lands as a result of his decisions. They both create their own opportunities to make discoveries.

But there is a fundamental difference. The lands exist whether or not the explorer decides to look for them. The farmer's profit doesn't exist without his decision to transform the oranges. His employee is needed to make the juice, but the farmer's entrepreneurial decisions make the difference between profit and loss.

As a practical matter, the creation-transformation approach assigns property rights in much the same manner as the Lockean approach (without the "enough and as good" proviso). But there is at least one basic difference. Some people interpret the Lockean approach to mean that once labor has been "mixed" with an unowned resource, that resource forever belongs to the "mixer" and his heirs. For someone else to take the resource, he would have to "take" the mixer's "stored up labor." Thus, an abandoned, overgrown farm would forever belong to the farmer's heirs.

The creation-transformation approach, however, assigns property rights only as long as a transformation exists. Our farmer acquires previously unowned land by transforming (clearing and plowing) a field. If he abandons the field and lets it revert to a state of nature, his transformation gradually disappears. When his transformation has completely vanished, his property rights with respect to the field would also vanish.

### The Justice of Current Property Holdings

What do the arguments for private ownership say about the justice of current property holdings? Do they endorse the status quo? Or do they call for a massive transfer ("redistribution") of property rights?

The economic argument supports private ownership *as an institution*. Economics tells us that private property, free trade, and peaceful cooperation promote economic efficiency and enhance human welfare. Thus, the economic approach endorses any property holding that came into being through peaceful means. Property holdings acquired through violence, however, receive no such endorsement because coercion — legal or illegal — disrupts the market process.

But economics says little about the justice of original claims to property — the holdings of those who first claim property from previously unowned resources. For this we must turn to the Lockean and creation-transformation approaches.

These two approaches provide ethical guidelines for acquiring property from a state of nature — guidelines for, in effect, creating property rights. As a corollary, they endorse voluntary transfers of justly acquired property.

But these arguments do not endorse property acquired by immoral means. Violence, conquest, and coercion may create legal "rights" to property, but they do not create moral rights.

To what extent are such immoral means the basis of current property holdings? A detailed answer is beyond the scope of this paper. There are, however, two facts we should bear in mind.

1. The original inhabitants of a territory did not necessarily have a moral claim to all its resources. First occupancy is an insufficient claim to first ownership. Claims to original ownership must be based on creatively transforming ("mixing labor with") natural resources.

2. Most current property holdings are not in the form of raw land. Most of what we own has been *produced* since the advent of capitalism. Even if a native has a valid moral claim to the land on which a skyscraper stands, he cannot claim to have created (and thus own) the skyscraper.

Thus, in general, property holdings arising out of capitalistic (free market) activities are morally justified. And violations of these property rights are to be condemned.

### Legal Plunder

In particular, our arguments condemn the morality of all government transfer programs — subsidies, welfare, and the like. Such programs are nothing more than the indiscriminate *legal plundering* of property that has been justly acquired through peaceful, mutually beneficial, market transactions.

Our arguments further condemn all interference with the peaceful exercise of justly held property rights. By what right does anyone dictate how much rent a landlord may ask for *his* apartment? Or how much an oil dealer may ask for *his* oil? Or what a farmer may grow on *his* land?

And our arguments condemn the seizure ("locking up") of millions of acres of land by various government agencies. By what right does anyone prevent people from peacefully transforming unowned resources? By what right do government officials — who haven't creatively transformed an acre of wilderness — claim property rights over this land?

### Are We Being Practical?

Such ethical considerations, of course, receive little attention from men of practical affairs. Real world decisions, it is widely believed, should be made on practical grounds — with ethical arguments best left to the moral philosopher.

On practical grounds, however, those concerned with the future of the free society place themselves at a serious disadvantage by ignoring ethical arguments. The opponents of freedom can always conjure up expedient grounds for further government intervention, confident in the public's ignorance of the economic and historic arguments against such intervention. Unless such expediency is met with compelling moral arguments against the violation of property rights, the would-be controllers will usually have their way ‡

# Against The ERA

By Wendy McElroy

As an individualist-feminist, I find it necessary to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment. The ERA begins "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex," and it appeals to the government, by means of a constitutional amendment, to solve social injustice.

My objections to the ERA are twofold: moral and strategic. Morally, the problem with this reasonable-sounding amendment is that equality under the law cannot be advocated without examining what laws would be extended and what is meant by the word "equality". In a libertarian system of natural law equality would be not only desirable but necessary, since the basis of natural rights is that all individuals have the same claim to their life, liberty and property. But this is not the context of the ERA. Equality under government law means equality under laws that are overwhelmingly unjust in content and totally indefensible in their means of enforcement, i.e. taxation. Such equality would mean that, instead of fifty percent of the people being abused under law, one hundred percent would be abused. In other words, the ERA ensures equal slavery, not equal freedom. The libertarian position must clearly be that *no one* should be subject to *any* unjust law, not that unjust laws should be applied equally.

The concept of equality is also a stumbling block. In the days of Jefferson and Paine, equality clearly meant political equality, or the equality of rights. But with the dominance of socialism — and the predominant political philosophy of feminism is socialist — equality has come to mean social and economic equality. Even if it were possible to ignore that it is largely this second form of equality that is being advocated, it must be emphatically stated that individualist-feminism is not for equality under the law, but for the equal protection of individual rights. These are not identical positions. Historically, they have been antagonistic since most laws have violated rather than protected individual rights. As Rosalie Nichols commented in the ALF Discussion Paper *Are Feminists Capitalistic?*: "As long as there were equal numbers of female and male overseers supervising the female and male slaves dragging their blocks side by side up the escalating Great Pyramid of Statism, then all would be right with 'feminists' in the glorious 'feminist' world according to the socio-economic-equality definition."

To say that equality today means protection of individual rights as it did in the days of the founding fathers is comparable to saying that the word "liberal" today means the same as it did when applied to John Stuart Mill.

Because I believe in individual liberty, I must reject the current notion of equality. Because I am opposed to the government, I cannot act to extend its authority.

But assuming — for the sake of argument — that I did not have these moral objections, I would still oppose the ERA on strategic grounds.

One of the claims of pro-ERA libertarians is that the amendment would not extend unjust laws such as the draft, forced alimony and protective labor legislation. My initial reaction to this statement is incredulity that anyone could believe the government would use a law or constitutional amendment to limit rather than to extend itself; but since my incredulity is not an effective argument, let me quote legal opinions on the matter.

Regarding the draft, the Yale Law Journal (April, 1971) reports: "Under the Equal Rights Amendment, the draft law will not be

invalidated. Recognizing the concern of Congress with maintaining the armed forces, courts would construe the amendment to erase the word 'male' from the two main sections of the act, dealing with registration and induction, thereby subjecting all citizens to these duties." American feminists and ERA proponents have, in fact, often been eager to have conscription of various forms imposed on women. A major target of indignation of the ERA proponents used to be the Supreme Court decision in *Hoyt v. Florida* which allowed exemption of women from jury conscription. [368. U.S. 37 (1961)] Expressly overruled in *Taylor v. Louisiana* [419, U.S. 522 (1975)].

As to alimony, Senator Birch Bayh declared: "... child support, alimony — strike them down? Ridiculous. This [the ERA] would require not that we eliminate child custody or alimony, but that any judge would have to consider the case on its merits." The Yale Law Journal [April, 1971] concurred.

As to protective labor legislation, a Majority Report of the Senate Judiciary Committee declared: "... those laws which confer a special benefit, which offer real protection will, it is expected, be extended to protect both men and women. Examples of laws which may be expanded include laws providing for rest periods, or minimum wage benefits or health and safety protections." In the 1920's there was conflict among feminists over protective labor laws. It was the opinion of the originators and chief proponents of the ERA (the National Woman's Party) that the ERA would extend protective legislation to both sexes.

Another claim of pro-ERA libertarians is that the law will not be used in the private sector. However, it is a longstanding rule of judicial interpretation that "state action" means both governmental activities and numerous private sector activities that are legally treated as though they were governmental. When a private activity is involved with government through some form of license or subsidy (such as all schools, public or private) it would be subject to treatment as if it were governmental. For example, under the HEW rules interpreting Title IX (of the Education Amendment of 1972) federally assisted colleges could not aid, house or cooperate with educationally any single-sex social, recreational, or fraternal associations. In 1974, Congress had to specifically exempt fraternities, sororities and clubs in the HEW appropriations bill. The ERA permits no such exemption.

Moreover, when a private enterprise takes responsibility for a function which the law considers public, that business is subject to government law. Senator John Stennis suggests that religious institutions would be subject to the ERA as well.

There have been many court cases contributing to the blurring of state and private action. In *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), the Supreme Court held that obtaining court aid in carrying out a private activity (a restrictive covenant, a zoning matter) converts such private action into a state action. In *Lombard v. Louisiana* (1963), Douglas argued that because a restaurant served the public, it had "no aura of constitutionally protected privacy about it." In *Marsh v. Alabama* (1946), the Supreme Court held that states can require owners of private shopping malls to provide access to members of the public who wish to circulate petitions, although there is no federal requirement that states follow this course. The court held that, because a shopping center is open to the public, a right of speech and petitioning granted in a state constitution could override federal protections for property rights. The court also rejected the shopping center's libertarian claim that it had a first amendment right not to be compelled to turn its property into a forum for view with which it disagreed.

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## Against The ERA— (Continued From Page 6)

Court cases and legal opinions continue, but the conclusion that emerges is that virtually all private activity would be liable to assault under the E.R.A.

One of the problems libertarians have with the ERA is that the wording sounds good. In a libertarian society, equality under the law would *not* be abridged on account of sex, race or religion. But we are not listening to the ERA in a vacuum. In the time of slavery, Southern delegates were fond of using the libertarian-sounding accusation that Northern delegates were immoral to interfere with a Southerner's right to use and disposal of his own property. But these words were not in a vacuum; the property referred to was slaves, other human beings. And to have agreed with this libertarian-sounding argument would have been immoral.

What I suggest as an alternative to the ERA is the repeal of specific unjust laws or simply the advocacy of civil disobedience of those laws. In many states, women convicted of a crime receive a stiffer sentence than men convicted of the same crime. Women should repeal those laws. A girl of fifteen can be sent to reform school for intercourse with a boy of fifteen even though the boy incurs no penalty. Age of consent laws should be repealed. The slogan of individualist-feminism should be "Repeal, repeal, repeal!" If one-half of the energy and money that has been thrown into the ERA had been used to repeal specific laws that oppress women on a state-by-state, perhaps city-by-city level, freedom would have been substantially increased. And it would have been increased by a means that takes power away from government, rather than extending it.

This last statement is the quintessence of individualist-feminism.

‡

## Contra Reason

Reviewed By Richard A. Cooper

Arianna Stassinopoulos, *After Reason*, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.:  
Stein and Day, 1978. \$10.00.

Arianna Stassinopoulos is a bell-ringer. She sounds the tocsin of our contemporary civilization and its future rebirth. Her somber tones describe the excesses of the reigning collectivism in the West, remind us of the totalitarian threat from the East, and question the paralysis of parliamentary democracy. Interspersed among her doleful reflections are some dulcet tones, cheerful and even humorous. She closes with a soaring cadenza of hope.

*After Reason* brings a critical eye to bear on the decline of political leadership in the West and the rise of collectivist statism. In sharp contrast to many contemporary observers, she perceives a connection between collectivism and the souring of the parliamentary ideal. Similarly, the "Fin de Siecle" period before the First World War saw an increased irritation with parliamentary democracy and the corruption which went in tandem with interventionism. This anti-parliamentary feeling was one of the streams which fed fascism in Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. The parliamentary question was a major point of contention between the factions who would break up the Socialist International into Communists and Socialists (i.e., between revolutionists and evolutionists). The necessary slowness of debate runs contrary to the fascist cult of action for its own sake, and even to many contemporary Americans who bemoan our "laggard Congress." Energy is the particular problem where action is demanded without thought at the present time. Those who do not care what is done so long as something is done are false friends of democracy and liberty.

The author goes beyond the assertion of a connection between collectivism and the deterioration of democracy by tracing its origins to the growth of statism and bureaucracy. It is the politicization of society which collectivist statism has brought about that has deflated the stock in trade of political authority. Robert Nisbet, whom I studied with, has reflected upon these problems in his book *The Twilight of Authority*. Nisbet believes the solution lies in what he calls "... a new laissez-faire," based upon communities and associations, rather than upon individuals.

The aggrandizement of society by the State was not unforeseen. Herbert Spencer, Auberon Herbert, and Ludwig von Mises, to name but a few, warned us of the total state of the planners. In 1959, Frank Chodorov wrote a book called *The Rise and Fall of*

*Society* which held that social power (autonomous and voluntary) was in an inverse proportion with state power (autocratic and coercive). Chodorov drew on insights of Herbert Spencer's distinction between militant societies (characterized by coercion) and industrial societies (characterized by voluntarism) to show the destruction of social vitality and morality wrought by statism with examples drawn from the establishment of Saul's monarchy and America's welfare state. The American sociologist William Graham Sumner in an 1899 essay, *The Conquest of the United States by Spain* predicted that the Spanish-American War would advance statism in America. Auberon Herbert reflected upon the moral type suited to statism and the very decline of parliamentary institutions which troubles Arianna Stassinopoulos. She neglects what these gentlemen realized: the crucial connection between militarism and the rise of statism.

The totalitarian threat provokes Arianna Stassinopoulos to ring a message of alarm. She castigates Communism in no uncertain terms for its physical horrors and moral emptiness. For her, as for Bernard-Henri Levy (*Barbarism With A Human Face*) and Jean-Francois Revel (*The Totalitarian Temptation*), the point was made with special force by the testimony of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. The horrifying face behind the humanitarian mask is revealed by chilling quotations from the ex-Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, and Dr. Lawrence Kolb of the New York State Mental Hygiene Department. Both look upon the welfare state as an instrument for control of persons to obtain "desirable" behavior. Their emphasis upon control and manipulation exposes them to be not humanitarians, but "brutalitarianism," as their predecessors in Germany, Russia, and Jonestown have demonstrated with pools of blood.

Aside from the gloom and doom, the author provides some rather amusing examples of the ridiculous statements which politicians are prone to emit. Politicians remind me of the blowfish which expands with water to raise its spines so that it can slip out of ticklish situations and then slink away in its normal diminutive size. Americans can take perverse satisfaction in knowing that the British are afflicted with as absurd politicoes as we are. Stassinopoulos lacks the Menckonian touch, but her subjects are

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## Contra Reason— (Continued From Page 7)

damned sufficiently as loutish clowns by their own words.

Our author intended to move from the ridiculous to the sublime. Instead, she flung herself off solid ground and into a swamp. I refer to her dedication to mysticism and to her identification of collectivism with rationalism. Let me state forthrightly that I do not share in the least any affection for religion nor theistic belief. Unfortunately, I cannot do justice to this particular clash of ideas in the space available. Therefore, I shall deal with her propositions in strictly logical terms which will command assent, I think, from those who share her religious faith.

First, let us examine her identification of collectivism with rationalism. I presume that she does so because the socialists proclaim themselves the party of reason, science, and truth. She attacks Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek, and Sir Keith Joseph for materialism and rationalism. Now, just because the socialists claim to be the party of reason hardly makes them such. After all, they arrogate to themselves the title of the party of the "people," of "democracy," of "freedom," and of "peace."

Furthermore, collectivists have not always even made a pretense to be the party of reason. The fascists certainly did not, and the New Left has paid obeisance to the same cult of primitivism, intuition, and direct action. In fact, a careful historical analysis of collectivists reveals that their attitude towards reason tends to run along the lines of the prevailing mood. Thus, since we live in an era of antirational counterrevolution, the collectivists pay tribute to

feelings, intuitions, emotion, and mystical notions (especially of unity) generally.

The reader is perplexed by the declaration that no one is an atheist nor can be. I would like to use the same reasoning and eliminate all opposition to my ideas with a single, bold stroke of the pen. I suspect that her proposition has something to do with her definition, of more precisely, her lack of a definition of the spiritual. Ideas, morals, and reason all are spiritual: everything she approves, including nature's beauty is spiritual. Given this position, arguments with her will be as unprofitable as those with Freudians and Marxists: all take your very opposition to them and turn it upside down.

Since everything appears to be spiritual there is no great wonder that she perceives a spiritual rebirth of the West. She is very generous, and specifies no particular brand of religion as necessary to the Western rebirth. The importation of Oriental mysticism heartens her, the interest in psychic phenomena particularly cheers her, and she points to the latter as support for her claims of the limitations of reason. One could interpret these developments as a part of the continuing flight from reason taught by the churches, schools, and popular culture, including cinema and television. True spirituality is quite elusive and so is the determination of what Arianna Stassinopoulos means by spiritual and the spiritual rebirth of the West.

Arianna Stassinopoulos's *After Reason* offers great promise but it is a promise that goes unfulfilled. The clarity of her insights into the decline of democracy is obscured by the occult veil she draws over her remarks upon rationalism and spiritualism. While an interesting effort by a gifted writer, *After Reason* misses the mark.

## For a New Liberty Back

by Richard Cooper

After allowing Rothbard's *For a New Liberty* to go out of print early in 1980, Collier-Macmillan, without informing the author, has finally put a new paper edition back into print. (The bookstores knew, not the author.) While this is officially a new printing rather than a full-fledged new edition, there are a few subtle changes (One change, inevitably, is that the price is up, from \$5.95 to \$6.95.) Most of the changes are simple updating (Warning note: the author was asked to submit his changes in the summer of '79; in the year

and a half since, some of the updating looks rather outdated.) "Libertarianologists," those fascinated by the complex ins-and-outs of the development of the libertarian movement, will be particularly interested in changes in the Appendix, which gives an annotated list of libertarian institutions. *Reason Magazine* and *frontlines* are listed in the Rothbard appendix for the first time; on the other hand, the citation for *Libertarian Review* is considerably less effusive than before. Tune in here for any other developments.

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## Big News! Lib. Forum Reorganized!

Dear Faithful Readers:

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

The difference is:

We will be *regular*.

We will appear monthly, and on time.

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

We're going onward and upward.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## LP/10: A Mixed Bag

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

### I Program and Facilities

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

### II The Race For National Chair

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## LP/10 — (Continued From Page 2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### III Exit Accountability

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

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

### IV Stymieing a More Radical Platform

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

### V The Other Races

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

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

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

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

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

FIGURE 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

**VI The First NatComm, August 30, Denver.**

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

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

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

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

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

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**FIGURE 2**

**Per Cent of Votes Going to Coalition, By Rank**

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

**On Evers' Motion to Reject Any LNC Liability**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**VIII Conclusion: What Now?**

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

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

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

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

**IX: Appendix: Roll Call Votes at Bethesda**

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

A Guide to the Motions below:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

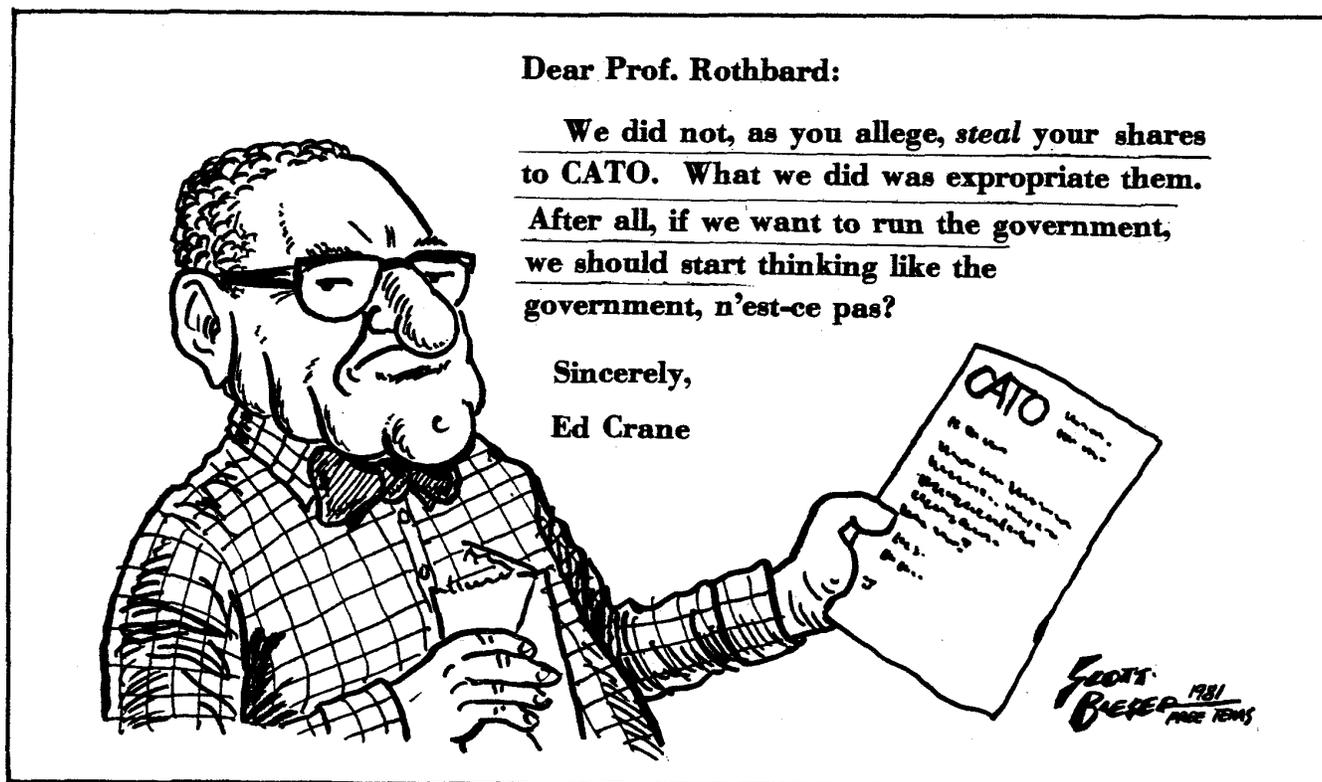
10 — Motion to suspend rules to reconsider Mason as chair. No is good.

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

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

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

‡



## The Kochtopus: Convulsions and Contractions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Hayek's Denationalized Money

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

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

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

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

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

malinvestments and the boom-bust cycle.

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

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

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

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

## Arts and Movies

### Mr. First Nighter

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Arts and Movies — (Continued From Page 10)

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

### Madcap Comedy Redivivus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Against a Government Space Program

Thomas M. Coughlin

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

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

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

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

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

### OUTER SPACE WILL PAY FOR ITSELF!

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

### Errata

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

## Consolation for Activists

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Big News — (Continued From Page 1)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Murray N. Rothbard ‡

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# ARE WE BEING BEASTLY TO THE GIPPER? PART I

One of the reasons we launched the *Libertarian Forum* way back in 1969 was that a number of “libertarians” had eagerly formed themselves into a (largely unpaid) intellectual bodyguard for the new president, Richard Nixon, and were given to trumpeting the President’s allegedly libertarian concerns and designs. Well, we know all too well what happened to *that* theory. But, lo and behold, *plus ca change*, and here we are, one year into the new Reagan Administration, and still more libertarians are now heralding the Gipper as the Libertarian Messiah. If the Gipper is truly our Redeemer, then of course churls such as myself have to be attacked for strenuously resisting the New Dispensation and presuming to claim that the Gip really has no clothes.

Sure enough, the right-wing of our movement, some of whom have quasi-cushy jobs in and around the Administration, have been doing a great deal of such trumpeting and alibiing. Robert Poole, Toni Nathan, David Friedman, David Henderson (now comfortably ensconced in the Labor Department,) and Bruce Bartlett (deputy head of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress) have weighed into the lists, defending the poor old Gipper from the alleged calumny of myself and other unreconstructed libertarians, such as CCE’s Sheldon Richman. If the others merely Deplore Our Negativism and frankly urge “critical support” for the Reagan Administration, it remains for one Lance Lamberton to take off the gloves and denounce us purists for sniping at the greatest libertarian of our century (Ronnie Reagan, natch), and to resort to psychosmearing to “explain” our churlish resistance to the New Order (“Give the Gipper a Break,” *Frontlines*, October 1981). In addition to the usual statist claims that we are negativists and ridden with envy at our Leader’s accomplishments, Lamberton asserts that we are all suffering from an “identity crisis” because we insist on clinging to the view that there is something wrong with the State itself. Well, gee whilleckers! Where did we get *that* notion from, I wonder?

Methinks that if anyone is suffering from an “identity crisis” it is Lamberton himself, who persists — or has the *chutzpah* — in calling himself a “libertarian” even while he smears and besmirches the ideas and the movement. At least when Jerome Tuccille deserted the movement a few years ago he frankly called himself a “conservative”; it would be nice if Lance were to follow suit. Nice but not to be expected.

Meanwhile, there is no need to employ psychobabble to explain the new course of Mr. Lamberton. The last time I saw Lance Lamberton he was a pure but impoverished young lad, working at the stronghold of libertarian radicalism, the Laissez Faire Bookstore. Now Lamberton has come up in the world, employed as a lobbyist in the Bowels of the Beast (Washington, D.C.) for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Might his 180-degree change of outlook be in some way related to his new-found prosperity as a conservative flack?

We are now one year into the Reagan Administration, so let us now examine the libertarian status of the Reagan record. Have we really been beastly to the Gipper? Or have we scarcely begun to rip open the veil of sanctity that our “libertarian” conservatives have assiduously tried to wrap around the President?

We will start at the Gip’s allegedly strongest point — his economic record — since even Lamberton does not muster the temerity to claim that Reagan’s foreign, military, and social policies are pristinely libertarian. Let us first tackle the Gip on Reaganomics.

## 1. Macro Reaganomics: The Budget

We begin with the famous Reagan budget victories in Congress last summer — widely heralded by the Reagan Administration and by the media as “massive” and “historic” budget and tax cuts, cuts that significantly turned

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around the decades-long trend toward Bigger and Bigger government in the United States.

Okay, let's look at the "historic budget cut" effected by the Reagan Administration, a cut punctuated almost daily by pathetic TV interviews with various bozos supposedly suffering from the cuts. In fiscal 1980, the last full year of the Carter regime, he of Big Spending and modern liberalism, total federal government spending was \$579 billion.

Originally, the Reagan projection of his own spending in the first full year of his regime, fiscal 1982, was \$695 billion — thus keeping federal spending below the magic \$700 billion mark. This "massive" and "historic" spending cut, dear reader, amounted to a 10% annual *increase* over the budget in the last days of the Bad Old Carter regime. (We can now omit the intervening year, fiscal 1981, as a year of mixed Carter/Reagan; its actual budget was in between, at \$661 — \$665 billion.)

This egregious fraud, this hoax, this "massive cut", this 10.0% annual *increase* in the budget, contrasts vividly to mild old Ike Eisenhower, who no one, including himself, thought of as a conservative or economic libertarian militant. Ike, in his first full fiscal year in office from 1953 to 1954, actually *cut* the budget (cut-cut) by a fairly hefty 8.7%.

But that is scarcely all. For in the space of a few short months, the Reaganite estimates of *its own* spending this year (fiscal 1982) have already risen from \$695 billion to \$705 billion, and now up to \$735 billion! So, with the fiscal year hardly begun (it ends every year on Sept. 30), we now have an estimated *per annum* increase from the last full Carter budget to the first full Reagan budget of no less than 13%! And Lord knows how high the spending will get to when we finally finish the current fiscal year.

So what are these so-called "cuts", and where did this balderdash come from? Because, in Jimmy Carter's January 1981 budget proposals, his suggested 1982 spending was a whopping \$739 billion. Hence, in their original enthusiastic estimates, the Reagan \$695 billion for 1982 was going to be a 6.0% cut from Carter's *proposed* 1982 budget, not from the actual spending in the last days of Jimmy the Peanut.

But all this is hokum on several different levels. In the first place, a sinister semantic trick is being performed here. In the old days, the days of my youth, a "budget cut" meant precisely that. If this is the year 1954, and if the 1954 budget comes in at less than the previous year, then that is a "cut". Simple and straight-forward enough. But now, the meaning of the term "cut" has been subtly changed. No sophisticated observer expects a cut-cut any more; no one thinks that the budget will actually be *less* next year. What "cut" now means is a reduction from the pie-in-sky blather emitted by a previous President, with no connection to any real budgetary process. Hell, I could do that, too. I could issue "projections" of a \$1 trillion budget for this year and then hail Reagan for his "massive cut" of \$265 billion from this

non-existent hokum figure. No, if we are to keep the meaning of language, a cut must mean a cut *from the previous year*. After all, it's not inconceivable. Moderate old Ike did it in his first two years in office.

And finally, as Reagan spending bloats and balloons upward, projected spending for this year is already almost even with the Carter estimate, and so there is not even a "cut" in *this* sense. There might well be a whopping increase before the year is out.

Perhaps we might salvage the "cut" hoax by saying that Reagan only wants to cut the *rate of growth* of government spending rather than spending itself. But first, that would be a monumental betrayal of Reagan's professed objective of rolling back Big Government. If we have two political parties, a liberal party committed to advancing government, and a conservative party committed only to slowing down the rate of increase, then the inevitable long-run trend will be . . . full-scale collectivism. For when, in that case, are we going to get to roll government back?

But even on these absurdly reduced terms, the Reagan record is an abysmal one. For if we compare the first full year of the Reagan term with the first full year of the Carter regime, we find that the increase *per annum* of the first full year of the Carter budget over the last full year of the Ford budget was 11.7%, a striking contrast to what is *already* projected as a 13.5% annual increase for Reagan. So, comparing the first years of Reagan with those of Carter, we find an *increase* in the rate of growth of spending.

David Friedman, David Henderson, and other "libertarian" apologists for Reaganism have protested that such an attack is unfair since inflation can reduce the "real" level of government spending, as corrected for inflation. But while it is perfectly valid to correct yours and my incomes for inflation to see how well off we *really* are, it is impermissible to do this for the federal government, which, by its printing of counterfeit money, is *itself responsible* for the inflation. It is truly bizarre to try to excuse the growth of Reagan spending by pointing to inflation's reducing the "real" level of spending, for in that case, we should hope for an enormous amount of inflation and hail Reagan's spending "reductions" if such hyperinflation came about. To take a deliberately extreme example to highlight the point: Suppose that the Reagan Administration suddenly doubled the money supply, thereby doubling or tripling the price level next year. Should we then hail Reagan for "cutting" "real" government spending by one-half or two-thirds? How grotesque can the Reagan apologists get?

It is true that a tiny handful of obnoxious agencies got cut-cut, and one or two actually got eliminated. But all this amounted to very little, and, as we have seen, was more than offset by massive increases.

Notice what I am *not* saying. I am not, as a well-known

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# THIS IS THE MOVEMENT YOU HAVE CHOSEN

(a new regular column on the Movement)

by The Old Curmudgeon

Representative Dick Randolph (Alaska) has been the jewel in the LP diadem ever since he won his seat in the State House from Fairbanks. But how many of us know anything about the Alaska Party or about Dick's voting record? Few of us from the Lower 48 know or bother to find out anything about Alaskan affairs. But one indisputable and important fact has received peculiarly little publicity (in fact, zero publicity) in the Movement: namely, that since early 1981, Randolph and Ken Fanning, his new fellow Libertarian in the State House, have been in an official coalition with the Republicans in that legislative body. Isn't this a sellout of principle and independence in order to get some choice committee posts?

But perhaps the Alaskan Party doesn't care a whit about principle. Thus, the *Washington Post* (November 7, 1981), in a favorable article on the Alaska Party, interviews Ken Fanning, a big, bearded professional trapper and wilderness guide, who "warns the party against entangling itself in long philosophical debates over difficult issues such as whether supporting abortion fits the Libertarian

principle." A following quote from Fanning is priceless:

"To the extent that we keep offering a philosophical diversion for Ph.Ds and intellectuals, we're in trouble," Fanning said. The party's followers 'see individualism in a very specific way, cutting wood tonight as opposed to waiting a week to cut wood' because of some government regulation."

Well, there you have it: the Fanning vision for the Libertarian Party. No need for Ph.Ds and intellectuals and their long boring debates. Let's just capsulize libertarianism into one stirring slogan: Chop Wood Now!

Big Fella, I've got news for you. Chopping Wood Now might be the grabber up there amongst the reindeer and the tundra, but down in the Lower 48, nobody really gives that much of a damn about wood while abortion is a very hot issue. And there is no way that rough and ready Folk Wisdom is going to solve that very "difficult" but also very important issue. I'm afraid that for *that*, Big Guy, we might have to keep some intellectuals around and even, you should excuse the expression, Ph.Ds. □

## GIPPER (Continued from page 2)

radical, denouncing Ronald Reagan for being too moderate, too gradualist, in the right direction of cutting Big Government. If this were 1954, I would have said that about Ike. I am saying something very different: that Ronald Reagan is moving us further ahead, and not very gradually or moderately either, in the direction of Big Government and collectivism. He is not moving gradually in the right direction, but at a smart clip in the wrong direction. He has not turned the country around, except in the mistaken notions and fantasies of the media, of deluded rank-and-file conservatives, and of our right-wing libertarians. Only his rhetoric, not his actions, can be called libertarian in any sense. In an age of hype, Reagan's public-relations success was — very temporarily — astounding. But, as we shall see in the case of the deficit, the chickens are already coming home to roost.

## 2. Macro Reaganomics: The Deficit

The deficit turned out to be the Achilles heel of Reaganomics. Reagan, during his campaign and in the early weeks of his Presidency, pledged a balanced budget. No more Bad Old Keynesianism, but fiscal sobriety. In his

budget estimates during 1981, Reagan persistently forecast a \$43 billion deficit this year, and finally, a balanced budget in 1984. Then suddenly, in the fall of 1981, the President threw in the towel, and abandoned his solemn pledge. The balanced budget is *kaput* even in promise, and has gone the way of the Carter "balanced budget" of 1976. And suddenly, Administration forecasts of its own 1982 deficit have zoomed alarmingly, already hitting the enormous total of \$109 billion.

And so, to add to the biggest budget in American history, President Reagan proposes to give us the biggest deficit in our history.

The great Reagan macro-hoax, the non-existent budget and tax "cuts" (on taxes, see part II), emerged from a game plan: the phony cuts would give heart to the market, and inflationary expectations would reverse sharply, bringing down interest rates from their historic highs. The interest drop and reversal of inflationary expectations, went the theory, would give a "breathing space" for the monetarists at the Treasury and the Fed to do their work: i.e., very, very gradually reduce the rate of counterfeiting, so as to lower inflation in slow, painless degrees. Pain, and a severe

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**GIPPER** (Continued from page 3)

recession, would thereby be avoided, and we could, for the first time, gradually end inflation with no severe corrections, dislocations, or recessions.

Well, it was too late for all that. Inflationary expectations are ingrained in the American psyche. No one trusts the government anymore. No one trusts the Fed. And so, sensing the hoax, and seeing the deficit rise rather than fall, Wall Street's inflationary expectations — and therefore interest rates — remained at their embarrassing highs. The confident prediction of the Friedmanite monetarists in charge of Reaganomics: that interest rates would fall swiftly because inflation had "abated", was knocked by reality into a cocked hat.

The first, shameful and panicky reaction by the Administration was to start hectoring Wall Street. Senator Baker and Representative Michel — the Republican leaders in Congress — yelled at Wall Street and, like King Canute, ordered bond prices to rise. If they didn't, the Congressional leaders threatened Wall Street with dire consequences: credit controls, extra taxes on interest, even wage-price controls. None of this received any denial or repudiation by the Administration. Indeed, Secretary of the Treasury Regan added his own hectoring, chastising Wall Street for not having enough faith in America (thereby taking his own old Merrill Lynch TV commercials seriously).

In the last months of 1981, interest rates finally fell, though not spectacularly, but Reaganites took little comfort, since the cause was not the disappearance of inflation but a severe recession that hit in the fall. With unemployment rising sharply, production falling, and inflation still at near double-digit levels, the ever-zooming deficit has left the Reaganites panicky, on the ropes, reduced to praying, like Mr. Micawber, that "something will turn up."

Perhaps the most shameful Reaganite reaction to the accelerating deficit came from the Administration's three top economists, members of the Council of Economic Advisers, Weidenbaum, Jordan, and Niskanen, all of whom have been advising us that deficits are really not so bad, and that therefore We Should Relax and Enjoy It. Surely the ghost of Lord Keynes is smiling now! The single most disgraceful message that We Should Learn to Love Deficits came from my old friend, "libertarian" Bill Niskanen. Niskanen opined (a) that, after all, the "real" public debt — oops, there we go again! — is declining, and (b) that government assets are growing too, so that an accelerating increase in the debt is not that bad.

The point of the "real" public debt gambit is that, as the government prints more money and creates inflation, the value of its public debt in real terms goes down. No doubt, but this is hardly something to cheer about. When the German government created runaway inflation in the early

1920s, one of its reasons was to wipe out its public (especially its foreign) debt. It succeeded all too well. Are we supposed to cheer, Bill, because the government suckers its citizens into buying its debt and then creates inflation to wipe out its "real" debt burden?

The second shameful argument of Niskanen's is that government "assets" too, are growing. As the *New York Times* paraphrased him, "if the borrowed money were invested constructively — not just spent for immediate consumption — the deficit financing might be laudatory." Infamy! Government "investments" are "laudatory?" Since when is government spending anything but unproductive and parasitic "consumption" expenditures by politicians, bureaucrats, and their confederates? Here we see the *reductio ad absurdum* of our "free market" public choice economists (of whom Bill Niskanen is a distinguished member) who treat government as if it were just another — albeit largely inefficient — business firm, making investments, piling up assets, weighing asset and debt, etc. No, the government is *not* just another business firm; it is not a business firm at all. It is our enemy; it is Leviathan. As the *Wall Street Journal* mildly noted in response to Niskanen, some conservative economists "weren't happy with the picture of a steadily growing government, preferring to see government shrink." How old-fashioned of them!

Niskanen is relatively far-out in his service to the State. Other, less repellent, Reaganite arguments on Why We Should Learn to Love Deficits are those of the dominant monetarists, and the fringy but scrappy and voluble supply-siders or Lafferites. To the monetarists, deficits are not inflationary unless they are financed by new money created by the Fed, and since the monetarists propose to order the Fed not to do so, then there is no problem. But, while this is technically true, no one who knows anything about politics or the way the Fed works believes that it will refrain from "monetizing" \$109 billion and even higher deficits. Of course much of the deficits will be financed by new money. Already, Secretary Regan has been exhorting the Fed to create more and more money. So, in practice huge deficits *will* be inflationary; Wall Street's apprehensions are right and the arrogantly confident monetarists are wrong.

But furthermore, even deficits not at all monetized will have a baleful effect. For they will mean that precious and scarce private savings will be siphoned off into unproductive government boondoggles. Growth rates, already alarmingly low, will sink further because government spending will "crowd out" private investment from the capital markets. Interest rates will therefore be driven upward. But the major problem is not the rise in interest, but the crippling effect on private investment, productivity, and economic growth. *Deficits Do Matter!*

The other set of Reaganite deficit-apologists are the

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# ARTS AND MOVIES

by Mr. First Nighter

*True Confessions*, directed by Ulu Grosbard, written by John Gregory Dunne and Joan Didion, with Robert Duvall and Robert DeNiro.

I approached this picture with apprehension, set on edge by critical raves about Miss Didion's characteristic air of downbeat *malaise*, by the repeated warnings that this is *not* a murder mystery, and at the use of such *avant-garde* devices as making much of the dialogue inaudible. (Presumably this last gimmick is to mimic "real life"; but most of the dialogue I hear is audible!) I found to my delighted surprise that while all this is true, *True Confessions* is still a fine, subtle and altogether splendid motion picture.

The centerpiece of the film is of course the acting, with Duvall and DeNiro superb as Irish Catholic brothers caught in a web of general and Churchly corruption. The interplay between the two gives us some of the finest acting and character resonance in the contemporary cinema. Those of you who liked DeNiro in *Raging Bull*, however, those of you think that acting means chewing the carpet, won't like this film. (One dimwit reviewer actually called DeNiro's acting "catatonic.") For DeNiro gives a marvellously and subtly modulated performance; a brief meaningful glance of his says it all.

The fate of DeNiro, and the subtly expressed love between the brothers, make this a deeply touching picture as well. The dialogue is splendid: in turn moving and witty, the screenplay as well as the direction and photography brilliantly evoke the murky world of detectives and prostitutes in the Los Angeles of the late 1940s. Even more, the dialogue and the picture as a whole brilliantly and wittily capture much of the essence of the Catholic Church in the modern world. John Gregory Dunne, who wrote the original story from which this film was adapted, knows his Irishmen and his Church, and so we see the great Cyril Cusack as a cynical Cardinal, Charles Durning as a splendid villain — a real estate crook who receives the Catholic Laymen Award from the Archdiocese just before he gets dumped by the Church, and Burgess Meredith as an aging priest with a true priestly vocation. And of course DeNiro, who begins the picture as a sleek, suave, powerful young Monsignor, the Cardinal's hatchet-man, involved in real estate deals rather than in theology or loving God, and ends humbled and transformed. There hasn't been such a subtle character change on film since Al Pacino did the reverse shift in *Godfather*.

So forget the downbeat and the *avant-garde* touches; *True Confessions* transcends them all and leaves us with a truly memorable motion picture.

## Beads on One Rosary

Every year, the New York Film Festival, like its sister Festivals in Cannes and elsewhere, brings us a host of new movies each more detestable than the last, each a monument to the incoherent, the morbid, the irrational — in short, to the *avant-garde*. Festival is *avant-garde* run rampant, for then directors can indulge their fancies with little or no bows to the average viewer. The hits in the *avant-garde* world then return to plague us for many months. But every once in a great while, a true jewel emerges, and this is one I was privileged to see: the new Polish picture, *Beads on One Rosary*. It is charming, extraordinarily lovable, gut libertarian, splendid in every way; so naturally, it played only once at the Festival, got no critical raves among the esthetes, and will probably not be heard from again. It is far better than the sturdy but scarcely scintillating Russian picture *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*, but unfortunately this does not seem to have helped.

This film features an elderly Polish coal miner and his wife, a remarkably charming couple. For his heroic coal production in the days of his youth, the miner was given his own crude shack, a house which he loves. Now all the miners have been ordered out of their homes and into a modern high-rise public housing development, which they all detest. This miner, however, stubbornly refuses to move. There is a great confrontation between the miner and the smooth, suave head of the mine, who tries to talk the miner into moving. When he says that Marxism requires moving for the sake of progress, the old miner says, with a twinkle in his eyes: "Yes, I know what Marx says about fellows like you who live off the product of the workers." Finally, the mine boss denounces the miner as an "anarchist", the miner goes to the dictionary to look up the word, and orders the boss out of his house.

It requires little stretch of the imagination to realize that *Beads on One Rosary* is a metaphor for the current struggle between the Polish masses (workers and Catholics above all) and the Communist State. But the metaphor is only implicit; this is no heavy-handed "message" picture. It is a marvelous gem in every way, and if it ever shows up in the United States again, see it! □

**GIPPER** (Continued from page 4)

Supply-Siders. First, they don't care about deficits, for they want only tax cuts, and they favor keeping spending levels high. The supply-siders are interventionists and not free-market advocates; they simply want different kinds of intervention. But they agree with liberals and Keynesians that spending levels should be kept high, largely because that is what they think the public wants. Professor Arthur Laffer, in his extreme Laffer Curve variant of supply-side, claims that cuts in tax rates, particularly income-taxes, will almost instantaneously raise tax revenue so much (because of increased work, thrift, and production), that this will achieve a balanced budget painlessly. Like the monetarists, the Lafferites demagogically promise painless economic adjustment; spending levels (and therefore all the goodies from Papa Government) can be kept up; tax rates can be sharply cut; and yet we can achieve a balanced budget through a rise in revenues.

But the vaunted "massive" income tax cut has already led, not to a balanced budget, but to unprecedented and enormous deficits. And so Lafferism has been politically discredited — actually unfairly since, as we shall see later, taxes were not really "cut" at all. A crackpot theory has been unfairly discredited, but eventual discredit was inevitable. It was just a matter of time.

The Reagan Administration, however, has done

something about the deficit problem. It has aggravated deficits, but it has managed to get the conservative Republicans in Congress off an embarrassing hook. In the good old days, we had a statutory debt limit, and every year or so the Administration would come to Congress and induce it to up the limit. One of President Reagan's first acts was to come to Congress and ask it to raise the debt limit once again, to over \$1 trillion. Veteran conservative Republican Congressmen, who had voted against rises in the debt limit all their lives, changed their stance with tears in their eyes. They justified their change of stance because now a good conservative was in the White House, and they all trusted Reagan to fulfill his balanced budget pledge. Well, that pledge is now out the window. But the conservative Republicans in Congress don't have to worry any more. They are off the hook. For, unbeknownst to practically everyone, the Administration managed to change budget procedures last summer so that the debt limit never again will have to be raised officially. The debt "limit" now automatically increases whenever Congress votes a deficit. Some "limit"!

The Reagan Administration of course benefits from this bit of deception. The conservative Republicans are no longer embarrassed in front of their constituents. Only the American people are the losers.

Look for Part II in the next issue of *Libertarian Forum*. □

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## ARE WE BEING BEASTLY TO THE GIPPER? — PART II

### 3. Macro/Reaganomics: Taxes

If Deficits Do Matter, this does not in any sense mean that they should be rectified by tax increases. Taxes should never be raised under any circumstances. They should always be cut, anywhere and everywhere. Why? First and foremost, because taxation is theft, and the more people are allowed to keep their own money the better. Second, because a price, no matter how high, is always better than a tax. Consumers paying high prices, no matter how distraught by inflation, are at least getting *some* goods and services for their inflated money. But the taxpayer gets nothing from his coerced payment except grief and the buildup of an oppressive State Leviathan. Taxes are never justifiable. And third, strategically, as Milton Friedman often points out, the only way the government can be forced to reduce its spending is by cutting off its water and lowering taxes.

Deficits, therefore, should be eliminated by drastic slashes of government spending. But where and how? The answer: anywhere and everywhere. There is no mystery about it. Just slash with a hefty meat axe. Go down, for example, the Eisenhower budget and reduce every item back to it. Or better yet, the Roosevelt budget of the 1930s. Still better, the Grover Cleveland budget. *Still* better yet, return to the average annual budget of the Federalist period of the 1790s: \$5.8 million dollars. If that was good enough for the statist Alexander Hamilton, it should be good enough for our "libertarian" Reagan Administration.

Of course, my most preferred position is that the United States budget go back, or rather go forward, to a nice round Zero. But, to demonstrate my devotion to moderation, I could live with a transitional level of \$5.8 million for a year or two.

At any rate, none of this needs a young blow-dried Whiz Kid with a magical facility with "the numbers." All we'd need to effect this program is a genuine devotion to liberty and a modicum of guts.

Getting down to cases, shouldn't we be hailing, at least as a first giant step down the road to a taxless society, the "massive" and "historic" Kemp-Roth income tax cut we are all now enjoying, plus the other cuts in business and capital gains taxes? The answer is: We should if there were such a

thing, but the problem is that there *is no* income tax cut. The "tax cut," like the non-existent "budget cut," is a gigantic hoax.

Forget that the original 30% cut in three years was postponed, and reduced to 25%. The important point is that the income tax "cut" for 1982, which is supposed to spur work, thrift, and investment, is not a cut but an *increase*. Projected tax revenue for 1982 is about \$50 billion *higher* than 1981, reflecting not Lafferite voodoo but an *increase* in income tax rates far offsetting the puny but extravagantly publicized "cuts." For two massive increases in rates every year consist in (a) a programmed increase in Social Security tax rates; and (b) "bracket creep." Social Security is an admitted sacred cow of the Reagan Administration, even though all sides admit that the Social Security program is bankrupt, and will have to be drastically amended in years to come. But tax rates for this fraudulent program (undoubtedly the biggest single racket imposed by the New Deal) continue to rise every year.

"Bracket creep" is the sinister process by which the federal government gives a devastating one-two punch to the average American. The first punch is the Federal Reserve printing more money every year, thereby driving up prices and extracting more resources from the private and productive sector. The second punch comes as Fed-created inflation raises prices and incomes across-the-board. For as it does so, the average person is wafted up into a higher tax bracket, and has to pay a higher percentage of his income in taxes.

Thus, suppose that a number of years ago, the average American was earning \$10,000, and that now he is earning \$20,000 but that prices have more or less doubled since then. In "real" terms, he is no better off, since the purchasing power of his income is the same as before. Everyone now understands this sad fact. But what is still not fully recognized is that he is now in a higher tax bracket, and will be socked a considerably higher percentage of his income in taxes. He is *worse off* than he was before.

It is estimated, then, even by the Administration, that the average person will be paying considerably higher income taxes in 1982 than he did last year. Misled by Administration

(Continued on page 4)

# Campaign Memoirs Spring/Summer 1981

by Emil Franzi

The advice of J. Paul Getty on how to become a billionaire — “inherit a lot of money and invest it wisely” — is applicable to those who run political campaigns. Pick the best possible candidate and have them name you campaign manager. In the case of the Alicia Clark race for National Chair of the Libertarian Party, this was essentially the basic component.

## A. PRE-CONVENTION

There were three candidates running when Alicia Clark finalized her decision in April of this year. All three, John Mason, Kent Guida, and Dallas Cooley, had been running for several months. None of them had emerged as a front-runner among delegates or potential delegates. Most were unknown to the average Libertarian who would *become* a delegate. Further, it looked to many like Mason and Guida would wage a divisive campaign over whose supporters would “control” the LP, a situation further accentuated by Cooley’s withdrawal at almost the same time as Alicia’s entry. The situation at that time boded well for Alicia’s candidacy based on the following suppositions, almost all of which were borne out by further developments:

(1) While almost the entire leadership of the NatCom and the intellectual leadership of the party was, or would, support either Guida or Mason, most of them would be *incapable of delivering* the votes of the average Libertarian delegate at a National Convention. Libertarians make up their own minds, one at a time. While the others felt they had a great advantage, they only had as big a lead as their “big name” supporters had in their own delegate badges, no more no less.

(2) Alicia’s non-divisive ecumenical approach to the entire campaign was much closer to where the average Libertarian was than Mason’s “purity” or Guida’s elitism.

(3) Alicia’s grass-roots decentralism was similarly far more identifiable to most Libertarians — an area both the Mason and Guida campaigns spent much time attempting to adapt themselves to.

(4) Alicia never pretended to be what she wasn’t and she made clear that she wanted people to vote for ideas and not for personalities.

(5) Alicia would be able to outwork both opponents in sheer energy and time, and was clearly the best-liked *person*. Guida and Mason ended up working much harder at being candidates than either would have had they only faced each other, and both had to re-adjust their plans to keep up with her. It should be mentioned that both Mason and Guida, particularly Mason, improved greatly as the campaign went on.

(6) Most Libertarians respected Ed Clark, even though they had various degrees of problems with those who ran his campaign. This simple fact, assumed by us going in, was totally mis-read by both opposition camps until far too late.

(7) It was evident that Alicia would have to start immediately proving to the entire country that she was more than Ed Clark’s wife — something already known in those areas she had previously visited. As she had already visited during 1980 more states than Mason and Guida combined, she had a residual group of friends among those who would become delegates that was underrated by her opposition.

(8) The campaign hierarchy was quite simple — originally Alicia and myself. We both trusted each other’s instincts and judgment. When we disagreed, or honestly felt unsure, we test-marketed our ideas on close friends until we found a consensus. We also paid heed to diverse field reports, gathered by Alicia in person and me and others by phone. Having no hierarchy enabled us to communicate directly with those who would do the voting without the built-in information filters long-established networks suffer from. As a result of this lack of hierarchy, our campaign intelligence was probably the most accurate of any camp.

(9) Our direct mail program was more intense than either opponent. Mason sent one early mailer, Guida one early mailer and one late Alaska endorsement. We sent a total of four pieces — Alicia’s announcement letter and bio, the Buck Crouch cover letter with brochure and miscellaneous, the Alicia Clark program book, and the Ed Clark endorsement, plus a separate piece to State Chairs on decentralization. All of these brought us in *somebody* before the Convention, making convention structure easier. All five matters stressed the same things — decentralization, administrative competence, and party unity. Libertarians like to read and should be given sufficient time to do so. Long tomes like the Guida blueprint handed out at the Convention are superficially impressive for about half a day, but nobody at a convention has time to *read* them. They should be *mailed* (expensive, but more effective) at least three weeks before the Convention opens.

## B. CONVENTION

(1) *Psychology*. Past history indicates that if a candidate has 100 hard commitments going into the first day, 25 of them will not show up, 10 of them will bail out to another candidate, and 15 more will waffle. We expected this and were not panicked. I’m not sure others can say the same.

(2) *Hierarchy*. Again, hardly any. Most of our key players were picked *at the convention* as many of those with pre-assignments didn’t show up. Again, we expected it and adapted. Our structure was simple — Ed and Alicia talking to delegates and constantly being fed information; myself working the floor through key people in each state while first Mimi Esser and then Kathy Franzi handled the detail logistics such as getting the printing done, setting up the party, etc.; yeoman service by folks like Tyler Olson and others. This kept the external folks — Ed, Alicia, myself, and each state coordinator — able to concentrate on their primary role: getting votes and talking to delegates.

(3) *Meetings.* We had our first meeting on Wednesday, August 26th at 9 pm. We had our last meeting on Wednesday, August 26th at 9 pm. Meetings waste time, encourage pontification, ego-gratification, and the "Chicken Little" syndrome. Their two primary uses are communicative: receiving data and making assignments. Both of the latter can be accomplished without meetings IF (and it is an *important* IF) someone is willing to assume the role of data gatherer and distributor to all who need to know and perform this role *completely*, a role I assumed. Floor personnel and others *must* be able to both talk and listen. They don't need a room full of each other to do so.

(4) *Use of Suite.* Suites are expensive but necessary adjuncts to convention campaigning. They need to be almost constantly open and serve two vital functions besides a place for meetings and parties. They are a communications center and supply depot, and they are an excellent gathering spot for stray delegates who have no place else to go at odd hours, or who want to rap about whatever. They should *always* be wide open to anyone who comes by, and not closed up for "secret meetings."

(5) *Use of Printed Materials.* Most of our hand-outs were written, and some printed, before the convention. We located a Copy-Boy three blocks from the Hotel prior to our arrival, rented an IBM Selectric for the entire week, and were prepared to issue as many more one-page flyers as were necessary. We rotated colors so that each piece was obviously different from the others, to differentiate somewhat from the reams of paper being disgorged upon the multitudes from various sources. It turned out we needed little more, but were prepared if it became necessary.

(6) *Use of Buttons.* As most of the members of our tight-knit clique didn't know each other prior to the convention, we used three colors of buttons: yellow for supporters; green for floor leaders and state coordinators; and gold for those working literature distribution, HQ duty, etc. This was somewhat complicated by my color-blindness, but it did simplify internal communications.

(7) *Hotel's Physical Layout.* In reviewing the hotel plans prior to the convention, it appeared that everything was vertically stacked, making movement easy. I verified this by walking the hotel Monday night with a stop watch. Other hotels are not so easy, and things need to be planned based on *time*. Fortunately, the Denver Hilton was a piece of cake.

(8) *Summary — Strategic Rigidity/Tactical Flexibility.* All of the following strategic decisions were made well before the convention and strictly adhered to:

- (a) That the campaign would stress grass-roots decentralism.
- (b) That the campaign would be positive and never attack either candidate.
- (c) That the campaign would stress Alicia's administrative competence and personal, non-LP track record.
- (d) That Alicia would write most of her own material and speeches and that they would only be *edited* by Ed Clark and myself (emphasis important).
- (e) That Ed and Alicia would talk to as many delegates as possible *one on one*, as opposed to groups and caucuses.

- (f) That we would go for "second choice commitments" from as many Mason and Guida delegates as possible.
- (g) That geography was to our advantage, Guida clearly being weak in the West, Mason less so in the East and South, Alicia with no inherent geographical problems.
- (h) That uncommitted delegates were the *prime* target, delegates committed to Guida or Mason secondary for the second ballot.
- (i) That our main theme of party unity would carry us far enough on the first ballot to pick up a majority on the second ballot.
- (j) That we would *not* run a complete "slate" for the other offices, but would support some candidates who supported us and some who didn't support us, allowing the NatCom to become representative of all factions and personalities.
- (k) That Libertarians are the supreme individualists and that we would treat *all* of them with respect and go for each vote as an *individual* vote. (See e.)

All of the above left a great deal of room for tactical shifts such as timing and use of different personnel in different ways.

(9) *Guida Camp Mistakes.* Going into the convention, we felt Guida was the strongest opponent for several reasons. His campaign was apparently well-organized and staffed by experienced people. He had what appeared to be a tight geographic base in the Mid-West and North East. And his campaign inherited most of the structure that nominated Ed Clark two years before. This lead collapsed for several reasons, and by Friday, Guida appeared to be running third because:

- (a) *The Guida campaign was unable to read the mood of the delegates.* This was clearly displayed the first day with a kamikaze attempt to move the election from Sunday back to Saturday, but manifested itself elsewhere in various ways.
- (b) *Guida's leadership was presumptuous.* See above. Some key Guida folks absolutely reeked with an elitist attitude of "we know best." Many delegates perceived this and were turned off by it.
- (c) *Guida's organization was not well-administered.* Example: While the Guida campaign spent many hours tracking each delegate's arrival through credentials, they missed the golden opportunity to add *three* de facto proxies in Alabama. All they had to do was produce four bodies. They produced one. Likewise, they had other opportunities for "alternate packing" which they blew. Why bother to paper up Rhode Island with five out-of-state residents before the convention, and only have *two* of them voting in the election? Apparently the Guida campaign *had no bodies to spare from any place* (a serious pre-convention mistake) or else they missed several opportunities through sloppy work. This alone cost them more than the margin between themselves and Mason.
- (d) *Guida's campaign never understood Regionalism.*

(Continued on page 6)

**GIPPER** (Continued from page 1)

and media hype about alluring tax "cuts", he will deservedly be bellowing with rage at the government when he finds out that his tax bill is going to rise not fall.

But this is not all. For the *increased* taxes will fall exclusively on the poor and the middle class, while the wealthy will enjoy a hefty tax cut. Why? Because (a) the Social Security tax is a *regressive* tax, so that the wealthy pay a lower proportion of their income to Social Security than the poor or middle class. And (b) because bracket creep of course cannot affect the *highest* bracket, since that bracket cannot rise with inflation. When we also consider that the Reagan tax package lowered the top-bracket income tax on dividends and interest as well as on wages from 70 to 50 percent, and also liberalized depreciation requirements and cut the capital gains tax, we see that the wealthy and business received substantial tax goodies, while the rest of the population has been squeezed further. Not only is this unjust, it is clearly political suicide for the Reagan Administration.

Now don't get me wrong: I'm all in favor of drastic tax cuts for business and the wealthy, the more the better. But it is both unjust and politically moronic to couple that with tax *increases* for everyone else. The only way to get the public to agree to tax cuts for the wealthy is to give *them* hefty tax cuts as well. In this way, there would be sizable tax-cut goodies for everyone, and we could build a coalition for freedom, a coalition based on morality as well as self-interest for all the coalescing groups. Thus, we could "buy" votes for freedom instead of for statism. But if, instead, the average American is socked still further, the result can only be political disaster.

In an illuminating article in the *Business Review* of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, Stephen A. Meyer and Robert J. Rossana estimate the tax impact of the Reagan program on various income groups, conservatively assuming an 8% inflation rate this year. On this assumption, they demonstrate that marginal income tax rates at the \$13,000 level (in 1978 dollars) remain about where they were — about 24%, while households with incomes from \$13,000 to \$40,000 (the broad middle class) will suffer rising marginal tax rates. Thus, families earning \$22,500 who itemize deductions will suffer a rise in marginal tax rates from 24% to 35% in 1983. Those who itemize deductions will suffer a jump in the marginal tax rate from 32% to 40%. Families who take the standard deduction earning \$40,000 will find marginal taxes rising from 39% to 49%, while those who itemize will remain the same at about 43%. However, very high income families will enjoy a substantial drop in their marginal tax rates.

The only really important tax cut in the Reagan tax package passed in 1981 was forced upon the Administration by the Southern Democrats (the "boll weevils") in Congress. That was to index income taxes for inflation so as to eliminate bracket creep. Unfortunately, however, indexing is only slated to begin in 1985, based on 1984 income and tax levels, and hence so far off it is just pie-in-the-sky promised for the future. The way things are going, I would not bet my life savings that the indexing provision will still be there when 1985 rolls around.

The media, led by supply-siders Evans & Novak, are now filled with the saga of the heroic President Reagan manfully resisting the urgings of all his top advisers to raise taxes. "I will seek no tax increases this year", proclaimed the President

in his 1982 State of the Union message on January 26. But the President lied. He *is* seeking tax increases, to the tune of \$32 billion over the next two years, and his tax raises are more pernicious than mere figures indicate. It is true that the President decided *not* to follow the full Thatcher route immediately, as his advisers urged, and therefore not to recommend the doubling of excise taxes on liquor and tobacco, or an increased 4 cents a gallon tax on gasoline. Neither has he succumbed to Senator Baker's monstrous proposal for a national sales tax.

Reagan tries to cover up his lie by semantic trickery, calling his proposed tax increase "revenue enhancement," and merely "closing loopholes." Under this camouflage, Reagan has decided to recommend: acceleration of business and corporate tax payments, cutting back tax exemptions on industrial development bonds, and the elimination of energy tax credits for businesses. Moreover, the President proposes substantial increases in the minimum tax paid by corporations, and he urges delay of corporate writer offs of interest and taxes incurred for construction of commercial buildings. All these tax increases will cripple business recovery and economic growth. Already, furthermore, the excise tax on coal has been doubled at the behest of the Administration.

The pernicious concept of "closing loopholes" echoes the old liberal notion that any amount of one's earnings that the government graciously allows one to keep is a "loophole" which deserves to be "closed" by Uncle Sam. Ludwig von Mises pointed this out decades ago, and one would expect the President, who claims to be a devoted student of Mises' writings, to be aware of this fact. (see A. Director, ed., *Defense, Controls, and Inflation*, University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. 151-152).

Another noxious device of the 1982 Reagan budget is to raise taxes but to call them "user fees." In some cases they are simply taxes outright. Others might not be *called* taxes, but they have the same effect of shifting money from private producers to the State apparatus, raising charges for services monopolized by the government. Thus, while the Administration abstained from an increased gasoline tax, it proposes a savage multi-level assault on an airline industry in deep recession by (a) increasing the federal tax on airline tickets from 5% to 8%; (b) *tripling* the four-cent-a gallon tax on general aviation gasoline, then raising it by another two cents a year for four more years; (c) imposing a new 5% freight waybill tax; and (d) a new \$3 international departure tax.

In addition, navigation and boat and yacht fees are supposed to raise an additional revenue of almost \$2 billion in the next two years. Nuclear waste fees are to be imposed on electric utilities, to the tune of \$800 million in two years. Passport fees on the public are to be doubled, and immigrant visa fees to be quadrupled; this is supposed to raise \$100 million a year. Fees are to be levied for various mediation and arbitration "services" provided in labor disputes by federal mediation agencies. And worst of all, the commodity futures market is to be forced to pay a user fee of 25¢ per contract to pay for its own regulation by the government.

But the most malignant aspect of Reagan's revised "non-increase" tax package for 1982 is his idea that the federal government launch a withholding tax of 5% on interest and dividends. This evil notion was suggested by President Carter, but was fortunately defeated by the lobbying of the elderly,

(Continued on page 8)

# THIS IS THE MOVEMENT YOU HAVE CHOSEN

by The Old Curmudgeon

In my last column, I cast the spotlight on Big Ken Fanning, our newly-elected Alaska State Representative. But the great Hero of the Alaska Party, and of much of the LP in general, is State Rep. Dick Randolph, our first elected LP member. Dick is running hard for Governor this year, and recently conducted a fund-raising tour in the Lower 48. Until very recently, Randolph's campaign outside of Alaska was totally Craniac-run, and for a while it looked as if it would be run similarly within Alaska during next summer and fall. The Craniacs have been talking grandiosely about Randolph's campaign as being "winnable," which in my book means a "good chance of being won." One more Craniac shuck: is anyone prepared to make a substantial bet, even-money, on Randolph's alleged victory?

At any rate, in the course of his triumphal tour, Randolph gave an extensive interview to *Free Texas*. The interview, published in the Winter, 1981 issue, is unremarkable enough. Far more interesting are the suppressed portions of the Randolph interview, which have come into our hands. Let it be pointed out straightaway that editor Mike Grossberg was not responsible for the suppression, which was insisted on by the Randolph camp. Unlike Grossberg, however, the *Lib. Forum* is not bound by any contractual obligations to Randolph.

It is no wonder that Randolph suppressed parts of the *Free Texas* interview, because they are quite revealing. First, he asserts that there should be little or no relationship between libertarianism and libertarian principle on the one hand, and the Libertarian Party on the other. When asked about Jeffrey Hummel's brilliant article advocating unilateral nuclear disarmament, for example, Randolph replies: "I believe there are at least two parts to libertarianism. There are the philosophical positions that we are all coming from and then there is the Libertarian political party. I think that much of what was in the article was very appropriate for libertarians and libertarianism but I don't think it's appropriate for a political party . . . So while I think that the article is apt and accurate for libertarianism, I don't believe it's realistic at all for a political party, which the Libertarian Party is." [Chalk yet another one up for George Smith/Sam Konkin!]

When asked about the *Lib. Forum* editor's concept of libertarian strategy, Randolph's answer displays a contempt for the intellect similar to that of his legislative colleague: "I don't know if Rothbard has planned out a structure of how we will get there or not. What I understand of his thinking on how we're going to get there — I think there's no chance of us getting there that way. I haven't spent a great deal of time philosophizing on how we are going to maintain a libertarian world or how we're going to get to a liberatarian world. [Evidently!] I have spent a great deal of time trying to deal

with specific issues in the political arena in which I find myself, to try to get that area to a far more libertarian society than it presently is."

One of the problems with Libertarians elected to office is that they will be taking tax-stolen funds as government officials. This is a grave problem for Libertarians; Randolph himself was appointed to a NatComm subcommittee to look into ways of voluntarily funding officials elected on the Libertarian ticket. What we found out was that such voluntary funding is illegal under the monstrous and fascistic "election reform" laws. But when asked about this crucial problem, instead of pointing this out and calling for an LP drive to repeal such laws, Randolph was flip indeed: "I think you have to realize that you're in the world you're in. [Thanks for that instruction, Dick.] There's no way that you're going to get in a position where you're going to be able to do anything about anything if you tie your hands behind you and blind-fold yourself and cut your tongue out. I think you are where you are."

And again, after conceding that taxes are compulsory and pernicious, Randolph fell back on LP "Gallup Polling": "I have talked to literally hundreds of Libertarians and neither of these issues [taking tax-supported salaries and taking an oath of office] ever come up. [One of the things very wrong with the Party!] There are a few people, the ivory tower philosophers who worry about these things a lot and they spend a lot of time writing and putting what they're thinking into newspapers and party publications. [Here we go again; how come he didn't attack Ph.D's, too?] I believe that their thoughts and the controversies that their thoughts keep on the surface are not widespread concerns of 90% of the people who consider themselves Libertarian Party members. I have never gotten the feeling at national conventions or the various state party conventions that I have been at that anyone, with the exception of a very small handful of people, is the least bit concerned about whether a Libertarian takes his salary or not. [Me neither.] I think that most Libertarians involved in the political party understand the realities of where they are."

Again, Randolph wrapped up his point about political party *versus* principle: "There's nothing wrong with having a libertarian educational organization or a philosophical debating society or whatever you want to call it [Well, thanks a lot, Dick!] but we are a political party and we have to exist within reality."

When asked about the LP platform, Randolph sneered at the platform committee as a "relatively small group of folks who I think had a different orientation. [True, indeed!]

(Continued on page 6)

## CAMPAIGN MEMOIRS *(Continued from page 3)*

Libertarians are as regionally bigoted as any other group. Westerners, and to a lesser degree Mid-Westerners and Southerners, dislike and distrust people with East Coast (and sometimes West Coast) mannerisms.

- (e) The biggest one of all — *The Guida campaign completely underrated their opposition*. They underrated Alicia's campaign for too long because they were hierarchically oriented and Alicia's campaign had little "big name" support. They *totally* underrated the ability of Bill Evers to run Mason's campaign until too late. When the dawn of realization finally broke upon some of them, it caused both panic and demoralization, something that was evident throughout the Convention. They began making desperate moves such as the phony Guida "announcement" on Friday, which compounded the problem, caused many delegates to feel their intelligence was insulted, and lost them votes.

(10) *Mason Camp Mistakes*. It must be mentioned that along with Guida, we too underrated Bill Evers. Bill is that rare commodity — a bona fide intellectual with real political instincts who can play in either ball park. If there was any doubt, his handling of the Mason campaign flushed it for good. Nonetheless, the Mason effort had some problems, namely:

- (a) The campaign started on a big negative and, although it shifted later to a more positive note, the negative image of Mason was never completely shed. I believe Evers understood this and did much to counteract it, but not enough.
- (b) Despite the constant discussion of "principle," Mason never really specified what all his principles were. Anarchist or minarchist? In the LP context, hawk or dove? Decentralist or centralist? He was long on stressing experience, but vague on specific proposals. He was the only candidate who did not spell out his program. This both got him votes and lost him votes.
- (c) The Mason Campaign, while more adaptable than Guida's, needed more tactical flexibility.
- (d) *They ground too hard for votes*. Some delegates, particularly older people, need a low-key sell. Mason and Guida both pressured too many people and turned them off. Too many people in both camps confused Libertarian delegates with fraternity rushees and tried too hard to put the pledge pin on. It lost both groups votes.
- (e) They, like Guida, missed shots at filling up friendly delegations. They had plenty of Colorado people available, so bodies were no problem. There were vacancies in solid Mason states — specifically Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming. Why weren't these filled up?
- (f) *Mason waffled on Eric O'Keefe*. Both Alicia and Kent Guida announced he would be retained by them. Mason made no such clear statement. When Guida dropped out, Eric was an issue with many of his friends who may have otherwise voted for Mason.

While the 'Alicia Clark Campaign also made some mistakes, I will graciously not mention them and hope that others will point them out on their own. *Noblesse oblige* and the privileges of the victor.

## C. SUMMARY

Alicia Clark won because people trusted and liked her, because she was closest to the most delegates on the most issues, because she was consistent, because her campaign laid out a broad game plan and stuck to it, because she never panicked, because she was never negative about anything, because she treated *everyone* with respect, and lastly because she was much more than Ed Clark's wife. Among other things, she was Ed Clark's *candidate*. If anyone has earned the support of most Libertarians in this country, it is clearly Ed Clark. The 1981 LP/10 Convention in a variety of ways was a vote of confidence in his leadership. □

*\*Mr. Franzi, NatComm representative from Arizona, was Alicia Clark's campaign manger in the race for National Chair.*

## CURMUDGEON *(Continued from page 6)*

Certain folks try real hard to get on the platform committee and I think it's obvious that the platform committee did not reflect what the body in general thought." When pressed about the platform itself, Randolph did not exactly repudiate it, but he warned that the platform and the committee must begin to "mirror the broad spectrum of Libertarian thinking," else the platform will "begin to be used to discredit . . . to at least defeat Libertarian candidates . . . the platform ought to be couched in palatable terminology."

Randolph's vision of the future of the LP, not surprisingly, is that we have to begin electing people. For "one elected official in a state will do more to educate the people in a month than has been done by all the philosophers in a long long time." But "educate" them to *what*, Dick? To Chop Wood Now?

This whole thing — this blatant and cynical call for opportunism and for the ditching of principle — reads like a hilarious George Smithian parody. Unfortunately, it's all too true. Is it becoming impossible to parody the Movement? And after this performance by our premier "winnable" candidate, fellow libertarians, how many shekels do *you* want to kick in for the noble cause of Randolph for Governor? What *I* want to know is, who are the *other* candidates in the race? □

Politics: the conduct of public affairs for private advantage.  
— Ambrose Bierce

## EXIT MARTY ANDERSON

The sudden departure of my old friend Martin Anderson as top domestic policy adviser at the White House should put paid to the flirtation with Reaganism on the right-wing of our movement. A conservative libertarian, Marty was, to the extent that anyone could ever be, Our Man in the White House, and probably responsible for the handful of libertarians and quasi-libertarians that now reside there.

A calm, thoughtful, studious man, Anderson's exit could never be attributed to personal abrasiveness or, as in the case of ultra-hawk Richard Allen, the public embarrassing of Queen Nancy. A foreign policy hawk like his colleagues, Anderson never faced the problem of working within a foreign affairs matrix which he detested. A keen analyst of movement strategy, Marty was the quintessential theorist and practitioner of gradualism. He saw and embraced a broad conservative-libertarian movement, all working together for a common objective, with libertarians as radical point-men aiding conservatives in a common gradual rollback of the State. Even anarcho-capitalists had their place in his movement. (You wouldn't believe who have been offered jobs in the Reagan White House!)

But now it's all over. Even though a top Reagan aide in the 1976 and 1980 campaigns, stories began to appear in the press that he "lacked clout," and pretty soon he was gone. As White House aide in the unlamented Nixon Administration, Marty had plenty of clout, being largely responsible for the end of the draft and the blocking of the pernicious Moynihan Family Assistance Program. But now, despite his characteristic care in picking his spots for battle, Marty indeed lacked clout. Despite what I am sure were his valiant efforts, he failed to persuade Reagan to follow his campaign promises and abolish the infamous draft-registration program. Until near the end, his only accomplishment was to block a Reaganaut proposal for forcing ID cards on every immigrant alien. Then, it was reported that, among the top White House advisers, only Anderson opposed raising income taxes in 1982. And then, despite his victory on this point, Anderson was suddenly gone.

With the departure of Martin Anderson, we should hear the last in our movement, not only of any Reaganite yearnings but also of all impulses to gradualism and to ecumenical embrace of the right-wing. With the enforced disappearance of the master of gradualism, all hopes for a gradualist strategy must now be seen as a snare and a delusion. □

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## MOVEMENT JABS

*Knit One, Purl Two.* Leslie Key, the Madame DeFarge of the libertarian movement, stung to the quick by our analysis of LP/10 in the August-January issue, has penned a lengthy critique of little over a page of the *Lib. Forum* issue. This *samizdat* of seven single-spaced pages, sent out to her pen-pals, is a farrago compounded of equal parts of hysteria, distorted *serioso* pedantry, and billingsgate. Tut, tut, Madame, you are about to lose your legendary cool. Watch out, you'll drop a stitch!

Only one point of ironic interest in this kitchen-midden: That La Key, editor of the Craniac smear sheet *UpChuck*, the *National Enquirer* of the libertarian movement, presumes to instruct us in journalistic punctilio.

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## ARTS AND MOVIES

by Mr. First Nighter

*Absence of Malice.* Dir. by Sydney Pollack, with Paul Newman and Sally Field.

This tough, well-crafted movie has raised a storm in liberal circles. The liberal media have come down hard on this movie, claiming that it constitutes a Reaganite smear of our free press; the shades of Spiro Agnew are conjured up to horrify the reader. In reply, the redoubtable and consistent civil libertarian Nat Hentoff has waged a campaign of vindication of *Absence of Malice*, pointing out the civil libertarian stance of the picture, and chiding liberals for seeming to maintain that the press is supposed to be above criticism, even if they use unethical and despotic methods.

It is easy to see why *Absence of Malice* is going some left-liberal oxen. The press is shown to be dumb, callous, unethical, heedless of the lives they damage — and, in this case, in league with a vicious "crusading" FBI man willing to persecute an innocent man to try to find the goods on a Mafia chieftain. And so this tough, trenchant movie is outspokenly pro-civil libertarian, anti-FBI, anti-muckraking press, and at least mildly pro-Mafia.

Even more pointedly, the movie is frankly and boldly anti-feminist, as the naive, suckered female reporter is constantly and arrogantly put down for her sexual aggressiveness. The splendid irony for liberals to follow is that the leading pro-civil libertarian, pro-Mafia anti-feminist is none other than Paul Newman, long-time darling of left-liberalism. So it is not as if these frankly male chauvinist attitudes ("I'm old fashioned; I like to do the asking") are being expressed by some latter-day John Wayne. Paul Newman yet! It's all made worse for our poor liberals when impeccably liberal Sally Field succumbs ("You do the asking".)

Aside from the point of view, this is one of the better pictures of the year: lean, hard-bitten, suspenseful. The seamy side of the press is shown up, and Paul Newman is at his splendid best.

The reception given to *Absence of Malice* reveals, too, the increasingly thin-skinned nature of our society and the decline of genuine wit and perspective on one's foibles. It was not always considered a mortal sin to criticize the peccadilloes of the press. Forty years ago, Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell said it all in the magnificent and hilarious *His Girl Friday*, a remake of the savage but accurate Hecht-MacArthur satire of the Chicago press of the 1920s, *Front Page*. The cynicism and callousness of the press was brilliantly shown up then, and no self-protective howls of indignation rose to high Heaven. □

**GIPPER** (Continued from page 4)

who get a large proportion of their income from capital and endowment income.

Officially, of course, the withholding tax involves no tax increase, but everyone knows, in fact, that the monstrous withholding provision (put in during World War II as a "war-time emergency" measure, the details of which were worked out by Milton Friedman, then in the Treasury Department) is the key to the success of the income tax plunder. In practice, the withholding tax on interest and dividends will not only be costly in terms of red tape, but will also cripple savings by greatly increasing the tax burden on savers. What price supply-side now?

Monstrous as this is, it should not be a surprise to anyone, for it was the self-same "libertarian" Gipper who, as governor of California, imposed the withholding system for the state income tax.

If Reagan had any libertarian instincts, the very *least* he could do about the income tax would be to weaken the IRS, by drastically lowering its budget and its personnel. But what is our Gipper doing? Quite the contrary: he is proposing adding 5,000 employees to the IRS bureaucracy so that more taxes can be collected. This is not only raising taxes, it is doing so with a vengeance.

It is, finally, characteristic of this Administration that the only hope for its proposing decontrol of natural gas prices is if it can be coupled with a whopping "windfall profits" tax (in fact, a graduated excise tax at the wellhead) on natural gas.

Look for Part III in the next issue of Libertarian Forum.

**ERRATA**

Several typos need correction from our August 1981-January 1982 issue. First, as was indicated in our annotated Roll Call appendix, the attempt to suspend the rules in Motion 10 at the Bethesda meeting was to try to block the appointment of John Mason as Chair of the Internal Education Committee. Motion 10 was *not*, as stated in the text of the article, to "overthrow the (Leslie) Key defeat."

Second, a couple of typos in the vote tabulation at Bethesda. There were 11 votes, so that Leslie Key's score was, of course, *not* 12-9, but 2-9. Also, the perfect scorers, myself and Dale Pratt (Hawaii), should have gotten an 11-0, *not* a 12-0 score. It was not intended, as one wag inquired, to give the two of us a "bonus" vote for getting a 100% rating.

Finally, the ebullient Mary Gingell was *not* a "recent but convent" but rather a "recent convert" to the Mason cause. As far as I know, Mary has never had anything to do with a convent. □

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## TO THE GOLD COMMISSION

(On November 12, 1981, your editor testified before the U.S. Gold Commission on the topic of the gold standard. Unlike other gold standard witnesses, who felt that at the first whiff of possible influence on Power it was important to moderate their views, I figured I might as well make my one chance at Congressional testimony an opportunity to present my all-out position. While the Gold Commission was hopelessly stacked from the very beginning in a Friedmanite anti/gold position, these views might find themselves embedded in the Minority Report to the Commission. This testimony was presented as part of a panel of experts, and in the question period afterward, many Commissioners were bemused at this radical, hard-core approach. The most heart-warming reaction was that of the notorious Edward Bernstein, for decades the *doyen* of Keynesian experts on international money. The elderly Bernstein kept bouncing up and down in his chair, shouting, in his thick Germanic accent: "It wouldn't work! It wouldn't vork!" — Ed. Note)

The most important aspect of the gold problem is how we answer this seemingly simple but vital question: Whom do we trust, the people or the government?

In recent years, economists and other analysts have come more and more to see the errors and fallacies of government control and central planning, and the great importance of maintaining the rights of private property and of free markets and free enterprise. But while the economics of free market and property right has been extended in recent decades, there is one glaring gap: the crucial area of money. Why are we ready to accept freedom and private property, why are we ready, in short, to trust the people in all their economic affairs — and yet make a glaring exception in the case of money? Why do we favor freedom in many areas, and yet advocate total control over the supply and lending of money in the hands of the central government? For if we leave it up to the federal government to control the issue of dollars and demand liabilities to dollars, we are granting it this vital power. Money is relevant to the lives of every American. And yet we are willing to put our lives and our fortunes, if not perhaps our sacred honor, in the hands of the Federal Reserve, the monopoly creator and controller of all dollar issues.

It might be well for us to ponder how perhaps the most despotic regime of this century — Pol Pot's Cambodia — was able to exercise its genocidal policies over the Cambodian people. It did so by abolishing all use of money, so that no one could use money to purchase goods, and everyone had to go to

the central government to receive their meagre rations of food or clothing. The point here is not that I think that the Federal Reserve policies rank with Pol Pot's — only to underscore the vital importance to everyone's life of the people directing the control of their nation's money rather than the government.

Yet in the field of money we have allowed the U.S. government to confiscate everyone's gold in 1933, supposedly for the duration of the depression emergency. But here we are, nearly half a century later, and the people's gold, seized from them, still remains buried at Fort Knox. If we truly believe in free markets, free people, and private property, we must proceed to denationalize gold, and let the people take back their gold property which was, in effect, stolen from them in 1933 and never returned.

But let us go back to our central question: do we trust the people or the government? I would like to submit that it is precisely the area of money — an area nationalized throughout the world — where we *cannot* trust government at all, and even less so than in other areas of the economy. For government operation using taxpayer money rather than voluntary investment or payments from consumers *always* tends to be unsatisfactory and hopelessly inefficient. But in the area of money there is another vital factor, which causes the government to be *inherently inflationary*. Most economists will now concede that the major, if not the sole, cause of our chronic and ever accelerating inflation is the excessive creation of new money. But there is only one institution to blame for this, because there is only one institution that we all recognize to be the sole issuer and controller of dollars: the federal government and particularly the Federal Reserve. But if, as I maintain, government is inherently inflationary, then putting the Fed or any other government institution in charge of the supply of money is equivalent to letting the proverbial fox guard the chicken coop.

Why do I say that government is inherently inflationary? Simply because government, like many of the rest of us, is chronically short of funds — that is, it would like to spend more than it can take in in taxes without stirring up too much political unrest. To pay for the remainder, it can borrow from the public, or better yet, it can create new money and use it to finance its ever-larger deficits. The point is that economically, if not legally, the federal government — now the Federal Reserve — enjoys the monopoly of legalized counterfeiting, of creating new money out of thin air, or out of paper and ink. I submit that *any* institution, no matter how noble its possible

motives, will use any power that it has, especially the power to counterfeit. By creating new money, the government can finance its deficits, and subsidize favored political and economic groups by supplying cheaper credit than they would otherwise enjoy. Since the government, as monopoly issuer of fiat money, has the power and the ability to counterfeit, it will tend to keep using such power.

If we look at the record of governments throughout history, we see a dismal story of such counterfeiting — of fiat money, of runaway inflation that wiped out entire classes of people as well as destroying the value of the nation's currency. There is no economic holocaust — no recession or depression — that can touch the widespread and intense agony of runaway inflation. And if we continue our present course of trusting government rather than the people or the market, we will eventually have such hyper-inflation in America. Let us not forget that two of the notable runaway inflations in the twentieth century had disastrous political consequences: the German inflation of 1923 destroyed the middle class and paved the way for Hitler; and the Chinese inflation of the 1940s was instrumental in the loss of China to the Communists.

It is also unassailably true that the Western world enjoyed far greater price stability under the gold standard than we have had since. If we take the period since the founding of the American Republic, prices were far more stable than they have been since we were taken off gold in 1933. This is still more true if we realize that two of the major inflationary episodes occurred when the federal government issued fiat dollars inconvertible into gold — i.e. when we were off the gold standard — the War of 1812, when the government allowed the banks to issue dollars and not redeem them; and the Civil War, when North and South alike issued irredeemable greenbacks. And the situation improves still more if we take the pre-Federal Reserve era before 1913 and compare it with later periods, for an unmanaged gold standard with free or semi-free banking works much better and more stably than a gold standard managed — and therefore distorted and crippled — by a central bank such as the Federal Reserve.

It is possible, though not easy, to write off this historical record of the virtues of gold and the vices of fiat paper by attributing it to coincidence and various special features in the past. But if we understand that government, as legalized monopoly counterfeiter, is inherently inflationary, then we will see that the historical record is not a problem or puzzle, but simply confirms and illustrates our basic insight.

If we must denationalize gold, then we must also and at the same time denationalize *the dollar* — taking the issuance of dollar? Only by restoring the concept of the “dollar,” not as To eliminate and exorcise the spectre of inflation, we must see to it that gold, dollar, and money are in the hands of the people, of the free market, rather than the central bank.

How can this be done? How can we establish freedom and private property in money, while denationalizing gold and the dollar? Only by restoring the concept of the “dollar,” not as an independent entity, but what it was before 1933: simply a unit of weight of gold. That is what a “gold standard” means. But in order for the dollar to truly be a certain weight of gold, it must be redeemable on demand at that weight. Only if the average person can redeem his dollars at a fixed weight of gold coin can a true gold standard exist or perform its important functions.

This means that nothing less will do. A return to something like the Bretton Woods system, where the dollar was *supposedly* fixed in terms of gold but where only foreign central banks could redeem in gold, would be a sham and would only end in the same sort of disaster as did Bretton Woods in 1971. The dollar must be redeemable in gold not just to foreign governments but to everyone, Americans and foreign citizens alike. Only in this way can the dollar be tied firmly to the stable level of gold. Also it is important that gold be redeemable in coin and not merely bullion. For redeemability in bullion, such as existed in England during the 1920s and the United States from 1933 to 1971, might benefit wealthy businessmen and international operators, but it deprives the average person of the right to keep his property in gold rather than paper or deposit dollars.

It is furthermore important *not* to introduce escape clauses into the gold standard or to provide for changes in the definition of gold weight. A gold standard with an escape clause is useless, for it simply signals everyone that we don't really mean it, that the gold discipline to guard us from inflation won't *really* be enforced. Similarly with changes in definition. The gold standard is unfortunately commonly talked of as “fixing the price of gold.” The gold standard however, does not fix the price of gold in terms of dollars; rather it *defines* the dollar in terms of a weight of gold. Changing that definition makes as little sense, and is even more pernicious, than changing the definition of a pound from 16 to 14 ounces. Just as an “ounce” or “pound” is each a unit of weight and therefore fixed in relation to each other, so should be the dollar and a weight of gold.

But just as “pound” and “ounce” are *initially* arbitrary definitions and, once chosen, should remain fixed, so the *initial* definition of a dollar in terms of gold is also arbitrary. No one takes seriously the current statutory definition of the dollar as approximately \$42 per ounce, because there is no real way in which the dollar and gold are related. We should pick the most convenient initial definition and stick to it from then on.

I suggest that the most convenient definition would be one that would truly embody the dollar as a unit of weight of gold: a 100% reserve of the gold stock to the dollars — paper money and demand deposits — outstanding. This would be at approximately \$1600 an ounce. This high price — or rather low weight — of gold would *not* be inflationary, if, as should be done, reserve requirements are 100% from that point on. In no case should higher value of the gold stock be used to pyramid more inflationary dollars on top of gold. Furthermore, this sort of 100% gold dollar would enable the rapid liquidation of the Federal Reserve System and the establishment of sound uninflated free banking.

There are several common criticisms of the idea of a return to the gold standard. One is that we would be relying on the fluctuations of the supply of gold production on the market. We are fortunate, however, that gold is such a durable commodity that annual production can only be a small proportion of the total stock, and will therefore have little impact on prices. This is in contrast to paper money, which can be increased at will and nearly costlessly by the central government. No one says that gold is an abstractly “perfect” money, whatever that may be. It is far more trustworthy, however, than government.

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# ROOSEVELT AND DISSENT

by Justus D. Doenecke

Review of George T. Eggleston, *Roosevelt, Churchill, and the World War II Opposition: A Revisionist Autobiography* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin-Adair, 1979)

In 1979, the autobiography of George T. Eggleston was published. For anyone interested in the history of the American press, the anti-interventionist movement before Pearl Harbor, and the state of civil liberties under the Roosevelt Administration, this book is most significant. Before he was twenty-five, Eggleston was editor-in-chief of the "old" *Life* magazine, a humor weekly somewhat similar to the British *Punch* and associated with such names as Charles Dana Gibson and Robert E. Sherwood. In 1936, he was on the first board of editors of Henry R. Luce's famous picture weekly, also called *Life*. In 1940 and 1941, he edited *Scribner's Commentator*, an anti-interventionist monthly, and from 1941 to 1957, he was an associate editor of the *Reader's Digest*. Since his retirement, he has written several books on the culture and history of the Caribbean.

Eggleston began his writing career as an undergraduate at the University of California, where he edited the college humor magazine *The Pelikan*. After graduation, he went to *College Humor* and then to the "old" *Life*. In describing Luce's purchase of *Life*, Eggleston notes how anxious the old editorial board was. "We of the about-to-be dissolved magazine felt much the way a group of manacled slaves must have as their new owner came by on an inspection trip prior to sending them down the river," he writes. Yet Eggleston soon became in charge of color features for Luce's magazine, in the course of which he worked with such figures as John Shaw Billings, Alfred Eisenstadt, and Luce himself. In 1937, he travelled through the South Seas, after which he worked for Conde Nast publications.

At least half the book is taken up with the intervention controversy, and in particular with Eggleston's role as editor of *Scribner's Commentator*. It is particularly valuable on this topic, for we have few anti-interventionist memoirs that delve into this crucial period in any detail. The memoirs of Herbert Hoover (who incidentally was a friend of Eggleston's) end with the presidency. The diaries of Charles and Anne Morrow Lindbergh are quite thorough, but Charles's *Autobiography of Values* (1978) is much less so. Autobiographies of such figures as Philip F. La Follette, Burton K. Wheeler, Eddie Rickenbacker, and Chester Bowles are disappointing.

The story of *Scribner's Commentator* began early in 1940, when Eggleston met with Charles S. Payson, a prominent financier and lawyer then in his forties. Tall, slim, and athletic, Payson was a Yale graduate, prominent in steel and sugar refining, and the husband of Joan Whitney, heiress to the prominent Whitney fortune. Payson was then the publisher of *Scribner's Commentator*, a New York monthly founded in January 1937 as *The Commentator*. It was first designed to

carry original articles by radio commentators, and the broadcaster Lowell Thomas was its first editor. By November 1939, *The Commentator* had acquired the name of *Scribner's*, a distinguished monthly known for its literary excellence, and it changed its name to *Scribner's Commentator*. Like Eggleston, Payson was highly critical of Roosevelt's interventionism. Both men believed that Payson's journal could play a vital role in keeping the United States out of World War II.

Eggleston and Payson then met with Douglas MacCollum Stewart. (Stewart should not be confused with R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., a student at Yale Law School and national director of the America First Committee). The Harvard-educated Stewart owned a market analysis service. About the same age as Payson, he was stocky, bald, mustachioed, and — in Eggleston's words — looked like nothing so much as a successful banker. Stewart shared Eggleston's opposition to Roosevelt and got the financial backing of his cousin Jeremiah Milbank, once treasurer of the Republican party.

After a series of conferences involving Eggleston, Payson, Stewart, and Milbank, the P. and S. publishing house was formed, with Payson as president, Stewart vice-president, and Eggleston editor of the journal. Strongly anti-interventionist, the statement of principles began with a call to national defense. It said, "WE BELIEVE: That America should concentrate on defending America with all the might, skill, and resources that make the United States the greatest nation on earth. With sanity, unselfish efficiency, and concentration on our own preparedness now we can stop any nation that is foolish enough to think it can launch a 3,000-mile attack on us." Today Eggleston stresses that he was far from being a pacifist, having served in the ROTC in high school and earning a lieutenant's commission in the Army Air Force Reserve. Stewart had served in the navy in World War I.

The journal statement also stressed opposition to "all foreign *isms* antagonistic to democracy, whether they be communism, nazism, fascism, or socialism." In his own memoir, Eggleston notes that as editor of the "old" *Life*, "We were the first U.S. publication to brand Hitler for what he was." After condemning Hitler's conscription in 1935, Eggleston's magazine was banned in Germany. Similarly, after *Life* denounced Mussolini for invading Ethiopia, it was forbidden in Italy. At the same time, it endorsed the neutrality acts, and in Eggleston's words, called for "the observance of a strict neutrality so that we might be peacemakers to the world."

Once under Eggleston's direction, *Scribner's Commentator* continually stressed anti-interventionism. It usually featured a prominent anti-interventionist on the cover, with a feature story on that person within. Inside were editorials, cartoons (drawn by Eggleston himself), letters-to-the-editor, radio speeches, movie reviews, and quizzes. Book

reviews were written by the prominent libertarian essayist Albert Jay Nock. Stories pointed to America's anti-interventionist tradition, criticized prominent interventionists and groups, and called for the renunciation of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

In this memoir, Eggleston offers some personal impressions of various anti-interventionists and in so doing gives us some surprises. He notes how Henry Ford personally told him that he abhorred (in Eggleston's words) "the diabolical Hitler persecution of the Jews and the Stalin purges of the peasant farmers." He found Charles Lindbergh "anything but the stiff-necked man with the mechanical heart so often depicted by his detractors." Indeed, the prominent aviator had a warm sense of humor. He notes that W. Stuart Symington, later President Truman's Secretary for Air and Democratic senator from Missouri, was an avid fan of *Scribner's Commentator*, even buying it for associates.

In looking back upon this period, Eggleston finds the interventionist press so anxious to back Roosevelt's foreign policy that it deliberately exaggerated German dangers to the United States. He is particularly critical of his former boss, Henry Luce, in this regard. It was Luce who immediately coined the phrase "World War II" when the conflict broke out in September 1939, doing so — Eggleston infers — to create a sense of alarm. It was Luce who, early in 1940, issued a confidential memo to senior executives defining what he called "journalist duty." The memo read: "1. To continue to sound the danger signal in all aspects — Danger to the Sovereign U.S.A. 2. To cultivate the Martial Spirit. 3. To show that America is worth fighting for." Luce had the military writer George Fielding Eliot produce a series of articles claiming that Germany could bomb the United States from several bases in Latin America. Yet until the fall of 1939, so Eggleston writes, Luce had been "an admirer of Mussolini and uncritical of Hitler."

Eggleston also notes Roosevelt's political use of law enforcement agencies, an issue that historians are increasingly addressing. (See, for example, Richard W. Steele, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and His Foreign Policy Critics," *Political Science Quarterly* 44 [Spring 1979]: 15-22; Roy Turnbaugh, "The FBI and Harry Elmer Barnes: 1936-1944," *The Historian* 42 [May 1980]: 385-398). On May 21, 1940, Roosevelt authorized his attorney-general to bug certain private telephone lines. Lindbergh soon told Eggleston that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had ordered wire taps on all Lindbergh telephones, the phones of the America First Committee, and the lines of *Scribner's Commentator*. (Both Lindbergh and Eggleston said that they welcomed the electronic surveillance, as they had nothing to hide). Eggleston also claimed that the Internal Revenue Service was used politically against him and Stewart.

For Eggleston, however, such intimidation was just beginning. He writes that because such journals as the newspaper *P.M.* attacked *Scribner's Commentator* as being pro-Nazi and pro-German, a number of news dealers sabotaged sales. In addition, two sacks of mail were stolen from his mailrooms and never recovered. In the spring of 1941, the journal moved from New York to Lake Geneva, a resort town some 80 miles from Chicago. One day that summer, as Eggleston tells the story, he received a phone call from Stewart, who had been in Lake Geneva about a week after a business

trip to New York. Stewart said, "Please come by the house as soon as you can. I found a very curious parcel in my front hall a few minutes ago — curious, to say the least." Upon discovering that the parcel contained an anonymous \$15,000 donation in the form of twenty-dollar bills, Eggleston first thought that Henry Ford was giving the money, doing so via a messenger of Harry Bennett. However, writes Eggleston, it could have been any one of "a score of wealthy anti-war friends," to whom "any such contribution as Stewart received would have been considered minuscule indeed. And we could quite understand the donor's desire for anonymity."

In October 1941, Eggleston, Stewart, and several members of the journal's staff were called before a grand jury in Washington. Before meeting with the jury, Eggleston conferred with such anti-interventionist senators as Gerald P. Nye, Bennett Champ Clark, and Burton K. Wheeler. All three senators told him that Roosevelt had directly ordered "the grand jury witch hunt" investigation "to harass us out of business." Eggleston was interrogated concerning the finances and backing of his journal, but the case was temporarily dropped. Once the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, *Scribner's Commentator* closed down. "Freedom of speech," Eggleston writes, "was out for the duration."

Eggleston's battle with the Roosevelt Administration, however, was far from over. In December 1943, he received a commission as lieutenant junior grade. However, before he could serve on active duty, he was again called before a grand jury. In February 1944, government prosecutor O. John Rogge accused Eggleston of being "an officer in the Navy [who] had criticized his Commander in Chief." Rogge's evidence? Anti-Roosevelt cartoons Eggleston had drawn and published in *Scribner's Commentator*, said cartoon being published while the nation was still at peace with the Axis. Rogge also kept harping on the anonymous \$15,000 contribution. Almost immediately, and without being granted any hearing, Eggleston was dropped from the service. When he told the anti-interventionist senator David I. Walsh about his experience, Walsh told Eggleston he was lucky not to have been "shipped off to the Aleutian islands for the duration of the war."

Even as late as the middle of 1946, Rogge still hammered at Eggleston, demanding that the Justice Department prosecute him. Rogge, trying to cast as wide a net as possible, also sought to implicate such people as Senator Arthur Vandenberg, *Reader's Digest* publisher De Witt Wallace, former president Herbert Hoover, and labor leader John L. Lewis as being Nazi dupes. At this point, Attorney General Tom Clark fired Rogge for violating the confidentiality of Justice Department exposes. Stewart and Eggleston, however, still had to face another grand jury. They were charged with accepting the mysterious \$15,000 in New York from a German agent, but Eggleston showed that he was in California at the time of the supposed "drop" and was cleared. Stewart, however, faced trial. The defense attorney, in his summation, stressed that the prosecution failed to produce the two material witnesses necessary in a perjury case, had failed to produce any evidence whatsoever, and had forced the two major prosecution witness — two employees of the German embassy — to make statements under threat of death. The jury took little time in finding Stewart not guilty.

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# THIS IS THE MOVEMENT YOU HAVE CHOSEN

by the Old Curmudgeon

## The Craniacs Swoop Again

We owe our estimable colleague, SIL's *Individual Liberty* (February 1982, a bargain at \$5 a year for this monthly, at P.O. Box 1147, Warminster, PA. 18974) the fascinating saga of a Craniac strike in the Maryland LP. At the December 1981 Maryland convention, the Crane Machine was able to depose its long-time opponent, Dean Ahmad, as Chairman and replaced him with a certain Richard Kauffman. The interesting item is that, of those attending the convention, 22 voted for Ahmad and only 5 for Kauffman. The problem, however, was that 36 new member proxies were signed up and paid for by Craniac leaders Kent Guida and Paul Kunberger at the beginning of the meeting. Many of these proxy newcomers were residents of Virginia and of Washington, D.C., and included such Craniac/Kochtopus employees as Chris Hocker (Inquiry), David Boaz (Cato) and Kristina Herbert (Cato).

Allowing proxy votes, especially those paid for on the spot, of course opens itself completely to this kind of odious abuse of the democratic process. There should be no proxy votes in the LP, and this saga confirms that point.

## The New York Party

It is high time to call attention to the parlous state of New York LP (the Free Libertarian Party), in particular its deteriorated and unfortunate condition in its heartland and my homeland, New York City.

First, politically, as we documented in the August-January issue the FLP is one of the worst parties in the nation. Under the tutelage of State Chair Gary Greenberg and his friends the Riches, the New York Party is Craniac to the core. For example, of the 24 votes it cast for National Chair, it voted 18 for Guida, 3 for Clark, 2 for Mason (of which one was the editor of the Lib. Forum's) and one for none of the above. The Crane Machine candidates for NatCom all won by a landslide in New York. Organizationally, it was almost fanatic in its detestation of requiring accountability of our Presidential candidates. And, ideologically, it is generally ultra-rightist, with Greenberg favoring foreign intervention and Albany leader Mike Kessler leading the obstructionist forces in blocking consideration of the radical new planks in the LP Platform.

Organizationally, the New York City party, at least, is in an advanced stage of putrefaction and petrification. In our great city of 7 million, in the cultural and media center of the nation, the number of people who showed up at our August NYC FLP convention in the fall of 1981 was approximately 25! This compares to about 35 in the fall of 1980, and slightly more in the fall of 1979. The New York City party never meets, or so it seems, except for the boring and no-show annual convention. The only "meetings" consist of twice-a-week sessions at FLP headquarters, where a handful of youthful

acolytes stuff envelopes at Greenberg's direction. A large number of dedicated activists have been totally turned off after observing one such "meeting" at the NYC FLP.

Contrast this to the vibrant — if a bit wacko — meetings that the NYC FLP used to have in the mid-1970s, when 70 or more militants would show up, and vote and argue all day over issues and tactics!

Furthermore, the FLP is perhaps the only LP in the nation which stubbornly *refuses* to have any platform! At the keynote address of the annual NYC meeting in the fall of 1980, *Lib. Forum* publisher Joe Peden strongly urged the NY party to have a platform, so that it could apply libertarian principles openly to local and state issues. The idea generated no interest whatever, and Greenberg flatly turned down the proposal. With no platform, this of course leaves all interpretation of issues in the hands of whatever candidate the FLP has to offer, and insures zero treatment of issues outside of actual campaigns.

The latest big election race of the NYC FLP was that of Judith Jones, who ran for Mayor in 1981. After the vote, which can only be accounted a total disaster, the Jones campaign (seconded by the Craniac mouthpiece, *UpChuck*) issued a release somehow claiming a great victory, the highest number of votes ever for a Mayor, etc.

But let us examine the record. The Jones campaign managed to amass a hefty campaign chest of about \$27,000. Ms. Jones obtained a total of 6,902 votes, an expenditure of \$3.91 per vote. This is such a dismal showing to anyone who knows anything about politics that I wonder that the contributors don't ask some very pointed questions and make some agonizing reappraisals.

More than that, the Jones vote amounts to a 0.56% of the total Mayoral vote in New York City. (As one Western LP leader commented "Hell, in my state, the candidates *we* don't vote for get 2%!") Furthermore, the abject decline of the FLP may be gauged by contrasting Judith Jones's 6,902 votes for Mayor with the race that Francine Youngstein made for Mayor way back in 1973, when Youngstein got no less than 8,818 votes!

It is true that the FLP leadership can rationalize this away by pointing out that, after all, Fran Youngstein's 8818 votes was a teeny bit lower percentage of the total vote that year (0.52%). But if we consider that Youngstein's was the first important LP race in the country, at a time when virtually no one had heard of libertarianism, and when we consider that now that we are "the third major party" (Hah!) our total number of votes had *declined* by 21.7% in eight years, the true sorry picture of the New York party now emerges in full blazing light.

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# ARE WE BEING BEASTLY TO THE GIPPER? — PART III

## 4. Macro-Reaganomics: Money

Now that the American people are inured to expect inflation, there is only one way to stop our chronic and accelerating inflation: by stopping, immediately, sharply, and once-and-for-all, the Federal Reserve's continual creation of new money, that is, to stop its counterfeiting. It has to be done sharply and swiftly to be credible, and therefore to end the inflationary process. Furthermore, a sharp, swift "slamming on of the brakes" would lead to a sharp but short recession which would liquidate the unsound investments of the preceding inflationary boom and pave the way for rapid and sound recovery.

Reagan had the opportunity to perform this quick surgery when he came into office. Instead, he turned his economic policies over to the Friedmanite monetarists. Reaganomics is largely monetarism. The monetarist view is that the Fed must only very, very slowly reduce the rate of counterfeiting, and thereby insure a gradual, painless recession with no unemployment or sharp readjustments. The hoax of Reaganomics was that the phony "budget cuts" and "tax cuts" were supposed to provide the razzle-dazzle to give gradualist Friedmanism the time, or the "breathing space," to work its magic.

Instead, gradualism has led to the present shambles of Reaganomics. The rate of counterfeiting declined, enough to bring about our current recession, but *not nearly enough* to end inflation. Since November, in fact, the Fed, stung by the deep recession and by political urgings to expand the money supply, has increased M1 by a startlingly high annual rate of 13.7%. Panicky, the Administration is fighting amongst itself. Secretary Regan blames the Fed for looming re-inflation and higher interest rates since November; Fed Chairman Volcker lashes back by blaming Reagan and Regan's enormous deficits for the fear of Wall Street and higher interest. Both, of course, are right.

There were two fundamental reforms the Reagan Administration could have proposed to end our Age of Inflation. First, either the abolition or the brutal checking of the Fed. Nothing was done, since monetarism wishes to give all power to the Fed and then naively urges the Fed to use that power wisely and with self-restraint. Second, the Administration could have followed Reagan's campaign pledge and reinstated the gold standard. But the Friedmanite monetarists hate gold with a purple passion and wish all power to government fiat money.

When the Reagan program lay in shambles by the end of 1981, the Reagan Administration briefly flirted with the supply-side notion of instituting some form of phony gold standard, where the dollar would not really be convertible into gold but would cloak its decaying corpus in gold's well-earned prestige. For a while, it looked as if a phony gold standard would be the Reaganite diversion from the realities of grinding recession, zero economic growth, high interest

rates, almost double-digit inflation, and huge \$100 billion deficits. But this was not to be, and Reagan has clearly given the green light to the packed Friedmanite majority and staff on the U.S. Gold Commission to reject the gold standard out of hand and to continue the monetary *status quo*.

Instead, Ronald Reagan has found another diversionary tactic, another razzle-dazzle hoax with which to bemuse the media and the electorate: the "New Federalism" (see Part IV of this article).

Not only the gold standard, but all fundamental reform has been rebuffed by the Reagan Administration. The National Taxpayers Union's balanced budget amendment — as namby-pamby as it is — has been spurned by the Reagan Administration, as has the Friedmanite Tax Limitation Amendment, even though that would only freeze the *status quo*.

All of this raises the dread spectre of Thatcherism, of going down the disastrous route blazed by Mrs. Thatcher. More and more it looks as if the Reagan Administration, despite the warning signals sent up by the Thatcher experiment for the past several years, is going down the Thatcher trail. That is, to ignominy and disastrous defeat, and more important, to the discrediting of the free-market, hard-money cause by employing its rhetoric while thoroughly betraying it in practice.

## 5. Macro/Reaganomics: The Spectre of Mrs. Thatcher

Mrs. Margaret Thatcher came in roaring to the Prime Ministry of Great Britain in May 1979 with the promise of free markets, denationalization, and an end to deficits and monetary inflation. The denationalization has been virtually nil. Deficits continue very heavy; money and price inflation continue at double digit levels. The only result of Thatcherism has been to stifle economic growth and to bring about a seemingly permanent recession with very high unemployment. In short, Thatcherism has brought about the worst of all macro-economic worlds. Inflation continues high and rampant, along with very high unemployment levels and chronic stagnation. Moreover, the slight fall in income tax rates was immediately more-than compensated by an even greater increase in the VAT (essentially sales) tax. In this way, slight gains for upper income groups were more than offset by increased burdens on the poor and the middle class. If leftists were asked to describe a right-wing Bogey Man, they couldn't have done better, and with more disastrous results for the cause of economic freedom.

Why such disastrous results from an allegedly free-market regime? Because the Thatcherites are "Burkeans" rather than "right-wing Leninists," and are therefore committed to the glories of gradualism and moderation rather than to a hard-nosed radical and abolitionist approach to the

achievement of economic freedom. But it is too late for gradualism. Gradually tight money succeeded in bringing about a chronic recession, but it was not tight enough to end inflation or turn the economy around. Hence, the worst of both worlds, and the economic collapse. □

Look for PART IV in the next issue of Libertarian Forum.

## GOLD COMMISSION *(Continued from page 2)*

Secondly, gold has often been blamed for the severity and extent of the Great Depression of 1929 and the 1930s. We should turn that charge around and point out that the New Deal could not get us out of the depression despite taking us off the gold standard in 1933. But more important, the crash of 1929 was caused, not by the gold standard but by the unsound *management* of the gold standard by the Federal Reserve System. Throughout the 1920s, the Fed unwisely kept pumping inflationary money and credit into the economy in order to help Great Britain to try to get out of the severe economic problems it had gotten itself into in the 1920s. Britain had gone back to gold at an overvalued pound in the 1920s, and tried to offset the resulting deflation and inability to export by getting other countries to inflate and to return to a phony "gold exchange" standard pyramiding money on top of the English pound. The United States was induced to inflate its own money and credit in order to keep Britain from losing gold to America. The tragic result was the 1929 crash and all countries going off gold.

At the onset of the crash, President Hoover, later followed by Roosevelt, prolonged the depression indefinitely by a host of "New Deal" measures: inducing businesses to keep wage rates at pre-1929 boom levels; vast loans to near-bankrupt businesses; public works expenditures; farm price supports; budget deficits; and the rest of the by now familiar apparatus of New Deal measures.

Another criticism of gold is that the two countries most benefiting from a gold standard would be particularly unpalatable politically: South Africa and the Soviet Union, the two leading gold producing countries. But we have never balked at purchasing oil, minerals, or other important goods from politically repellent nations. Why stop at gold? Furthermore, if the United States becomes healthier economically and defeats inflation by adopting a gold standard, this would help us far more than we would be hurt from Russia's gain from a higher price of gold.

A fourth complaint is that, while an international gold standard would be acceptable, the United States could never successfully go back to gold on its own. Lengthy international negotiations and numerous conferences would need to be held before a gold standard could return. But I see no reason why the U.S. could not return to gold immediately on its own. The resulting stability and end to inflation would set a superb example for foreign nations. I am sure that such hard money countries as Switzerland, France, and West Germany would be delighted to embrace the gold standard should the U.S., now the leading fiat money country, take the lead. But even if they do not, there is no harm done, for a gold dollar would, like the current paper dollar, be freely fluctuating in relation to other fiat paper currencies. A gold standard in the U.S. alone need provide no international monetary shock to other nations.

In addition, it is often said that we cannot go back to gold unless we first adopt monetary and fiscal stability, but if we can do *that*, why bother about gold? The answer is that governments need a leash, a tight rein, in order to cease their counterfeiting and inflationary activities. The same argument, after all, could be used against a Bill of Rights, a constitution, or any other restraint on government. The point is that we always need a checkrein on government, in all areas. In the monetary area, the best checkrein is one wielded not by government itself but by the people themselves through being able to redeem their dollars whenever they wish in gold coin.

This does not mean that gold is a panacea for all our ills, and we must avoid the danger of overselling gold and thereby raising false hopes that would soon be dashed. Gold would not be an instant cure or quick fix for recession, sluggish growth, or high interest rates. It is indispensable for checking inflation, but the Fed could still inflate or mismanage in the short run even under the gold standard if it is determined to do so. But not for long, for it would be subjected to gold discipline, which it would have to heed. Eventually, as I have noted, we should consider liquidating the Federal Reserve System and returning to a world of unmanaged free banking under the gold standard. Short of that, I would like to see, in addition to the gold standard, a law preventing the Fed from purchasing any further assets (that are not gold), and thereby stopping the continual creation of new reserves for the commercial banks.

But I would urge that if a gold standard *is* adopted, it be a genuine gold standard, one where the public can redeem their dollars at will at a fixed weight in gold. While even such a gold standard would not be a panacea, it is indispensable for ending inflation and returning to sound money. Anything else would be merely a sham, and would only wrap the prestige of gold around a program of permanent inflation. Such a hoax is bound to fail; it would be worse than nothing, because then the gold standard would be unfairly discredited along with the ever shrinking dollar. The American public deserves a gold standard in reality and not just in name. □

## ROOSEVELT *(Continued from page 4)*

During the war, Eggleston started to work for the *Reader's Digest*, and he was always close to its publisher, De Witt Wallace. For many years, he directed the *Digest's* arts and graphic section, and in 1957 he retired to St. Lucia island.

For a historian of the anti-interventionist movement, the most important part of Eggleston's account deals with the intimidation of the Roosevelt administration. Even Leonard Mosley, who was highly critical of the aviator's politics, concedes that Roosevelt used the FBI politically. Eggleston's story shows that far more must be researched and written on this topic. Stanford historian Barton J. Bernstein notes the long governmental tradition at work. Showing that secret and partisan use of national security agencies did not begin with Nixon, he writes, "Franklin D. Roosevelt used the FBI to investigate opponents of his foreign policy and wiretap his own aides. Harry S. Truman, acting through his attorney-general, also had the FBI wiretap a former FBI adviser (probably Thomas Corcoran), who was trying to influence the new administration. John F. Kennedy leaked secret income tax information to the press and offered FBI reports to a friendly

*(Continued on Page 8)*

**CURMUDGEON** (Continued from page 5)

And speaking of "third major party," let us ponder the fact that one of the Youngstein campaign's proud boasts (and properly so) is that she got more votes than all the other minor parties put together. But look at the 1981 record: Jones's 6,902 votes only barely edged out Wells Todd, mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, who obtained 5,793 votes. And in other races on the New York City ticket in 1981, the SWP candidates literally trounced the FLP nominees. The SWP's nominee for President of the City Council got 9,093 votes to FLPer John Francis's 5,966, and SWP's Raul Gonzales got 19,192 votes for Controller in contrast to Bob Flanzer's 6,444 on the FLP line. If we compare the total votes for all three city-wide races in November 1981, we get 19,312 votes for the Free Libertarian Party, and 34,078 for the Socialist Workers Party!

Our record looks even more dismal if we realize that the left-sectarian trotskyite Socialist Workers Party makes no pretense at being a mass party, or at running "winnable" candidates. It is frankly a cadre party, with stringent requirements, both in study and activism, for membership, and it regards its electoral campaigns as strictly and purely educational — at least until the hoped-for revolutionary lightning is supposed to strike. And yet the FLP, like the rest of the Libertarian Party, is trying its darndest to be a "third major party," to win elections, to take power through the political party route, and all the rest.

It is true that Greenberg deserves due credit for resurrecting the FLP from its depths in 1977, when Bill Lawry ran an "est-hole" campaign for Mayor, and got 1,068 votes. But it should be clear after eight years that the FLP, at the very least in New York City, is in deep, deep trouble, and that its survival value is very close to zero. Only a thorough and agonizing reappraisal by the Party itself, and a total reconstruction from top to bottom could possibly save it, and the chances of that happening are virtually nil. □

**ROOSEVELT** (Continued from page 7)

journalist in return for favorable stories. Johnson used the FBI for electronic and physical surveillance of rival forces at the 1964 Democratic convention, order FBI reports on Barry Goldwater's staff that year, had the FBI check on the phone calls of Vice-President-elect Spiro Agnew in 1968, and gave other fruits of FBI snooping to friendly congressmen for use against Johnson's enemies" ("Call it a Tradition," *Inquiry*, November 21, 1977, p.22).

Nor is this all. It is public knowledge that Robert F. Kennedy wiretapped Martin Luther King because he believed that King was influenced by a suspected communist. John F. Kennedy ordered the FBI to bug reporters who might have leaked classified information. Attorney General Ramsey Clark directed that federal poverty programs be used to help the Justice Department, in Clark's words, obtain "the most comprehensive intelligence possible regarding organized or other purposeful stimulation of domestic dissention." Then, of course, there are the antics of the Nixon administration.

The Eggleston story, though, is particularly important, for it deals with a president not usually censored by historians and the press for abuses of presidential power or for crude violation of civil liberties (the Nisei internment excepted). Roosevelt, Rogge, and the rest always claimed that issues of great "national security" were at stake. The proof, as so often in recent years, was never forthcoming. □

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## OH, OH, OH, WHAT A LOVELY WAR!

I'm sorry. I know that war is a grim and evil business, and I've surely paid my dues by personally participating in every anti-war movement since the United States launched its savage attack on Great Britain in the War of 1812. But oh please, don't ask me to be grim about, no o ho ho, *not* about the tinpot Falkland/Malvinas Islands! No, there is an irresistibly comic quality about the Falklands Caper. Oh glorious Marx Brothers, where are you now that we need you? Where are you now, Rufus T. Firefly, of *Duck Soup*, who launched his idiotic little war in defense of the Honor of Fredonia?

The title of this piece is of course taken from the joyous music-hall song that sent the demented British masses off to the monstrous charnel-house known later as World War I. It was then used as the ironic title to a (not very good) anti-war movie about that war. But, dammit, this *is* such a lovely war.

In the first place, the Falklands Caper reeks of nostalgia for the Good Old Wars of the nineteenth and earlier centuries. It is so adorably low-tech. In an age when Tom Lehrer can sing: "Goodbye Mom, I'm off to Drop The Bomb . . . Goodbye Mommie, I'm off to kill a Commie . . . I'll see you again when the war is over, an hour and a half from no-o-ow"; in that sort of age, a war which takes the British fleet *three weeks* to get to the action exudes an undeniable raffish charm. And the British ships have good old names like the *Invincible*. It's good to see that *some* values remain eternal.

And then, there's not a Commie in a carload. There's not only no Commies involved, but also no Marxist-Leninists, no ragtag guerrillas, no national liberation front, no non-existent bearded Libyan hit men, no Comrade Carlos, no nuttin! The only "terrorists" involved are the good old-fashioned terrorists of the respective State apparati: Argentina and Britain. (In the modern Claire Sterlingian lexicon, of course, *States* don't qualify as terrorists, only non-state groups.) The Argentinian *junta* are good old-fashioned right-wing military dictators, champions therefore of the "free world." No problem there.

Furthermore, only those people who think that *every* square foot of the globe is of "vital strategic interest" can find any strategic interests whatsoever in that godforsaken little lump of rock known as the Falkland Islands (and you can toss into the pot the South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands to boot). There *might* be some offshore oil, but hell, there might be offshore oil almost anywhere. In the old coaling station days, someone could work up a case about a strategic naval route around Cape Horn, but in a current epoch of the Panama Canal and air travel that old excuse seems a bit moth-eaten.

That little rock could not serve as a more comic excuse for a mighty imperial inter-State conflict. Most of these islands are unoccupied (e.g. the South Georgia and South Sandwich); and virtually the only occupation on the island is sheep-herding. The Falklanders are called "kelpers," because the islands are surrounded by the seaweed called kelp, and because they often spend their days up to their knees in icy sea-water gathering kelp with which to form mulch to feed the sheep. The 1800 inhabitants, half of whom live in a little town of Stanley that functions as the capital, are heavily outnumbered by the 650,000 sheep whom they tend. (Hey, animal rightsers: how about calling for a democratic vote by the sheep?)

The climate of the Falklands is unbelievably awful. The wind is brutal and perpetual, it rains two-thirds of the year, and the sky, to quote an hilarious article in the *Village Voice* (April 13) by Alexander Cockburn, is "perpetually the color of a mud-stained sheep." There are no manufactures on the island, no trees, no fisheries (doubtless they are scared off by all the kelp), and no roads except for the streets of little Stanley. The population of the Falklands has been steadily declining for the last half-century: in the 1920s it had reached the august total of 2300. Why has it been declining? Are you kidding? Would *you* stay on the Falklands?

Yet over this barren and windswept little hole mighty states and armies rage. Each state proclaims the importance of its precious "sovereignty" over this rock, each state quickly mobilizes the deluded patriotic masses of their nation behind it, as Britain trumpets that it will regain the Falklands "by any means possible," (even more ominous a threat than the old "by any means necessary"), and Argentina vows to defend the captured (*recaptured*) Falklands "at any cost." My, my, where is old drunken Winnie at this hour, cigar aloft, proclaiming that "We shall fight them on the beaches, we shall fight them in the hills, we shall nevah surrender?"

So both nations rush exultantly to war, with the British, as usual, being far more repellent and hypocritical about the whole deal. Poor old Lord Carrington, the doveish Foreign Secretary who "lost" Rhodesia to the Zimbabweans, has been thrown quickly to the jingo wolves, and Mrs. Thatcher herself might yet fall, victim of the very war hysteria she is whipping up. The old cretinous nonsense about "National honour" and "Shame!" has been dusted off, and the kept Labour Party has played its usual social-imperialist rôle to the hilt. The only critic of the Falkland War in Britain seems to be the leftist leader Tony Benn, and even he, as Cockburn pointed out, has been wearing his old Naval Reserve tie.

Leave it to the British to use the most odious justification for the Falkland War. The London *Times* mentioned that some of the 1,800 Falkland Islanders, despite their enthusiasm for the remaining British, were "terrified" at the prospect of the British fleet storming the battlements, and slaughtering all of them in the process of "liberating" them from the wicked Argentines. (By the way, is it pronounced Ar-gen-TEENS or Ar-gen-TYNES? The newscasters can't seem to get it straight.) But isn't that always the way? Isn't war always a process of murdering innocents in the name of "liberating" them? Isabel Paterson's beautifully named "the humanitarian with the guillotine" is never more aptly applied than in war. But when Mrs. Thatcher was asked, on television, "what of the people of the Falkland Islands? Some of them seem to be terrified at the prospect of a British invasion," here — and I swear I took it down word for word — is what this Great Statesman (Stateswoman? Statesperson?) replied:

"When you try to stop a dictator, there are always risks. But my generation found out long ago that there are greater risks if you don't stop a dictator."

There it is: a world of high camp in two sentences. First of all, Mrs. Thatcher, *who* is bearing these "risks?" The poor kelpers, huddling on their rock in the Falkland Islands, or *you* perhaps or your smug Cabinet, sitting snugly in London? "There are always risks," indeed, but nothing can be clearer than in the Falkland Caper *who* is being forced to bear those risks. For the risks are being taken up not by the victims (the Falklanders) themselves, but by the rotten gang in London who are ruling Britain and the tatterdemalion remnants of the British Empire, and the risks are being imposed by said gang upon the hapless Falklanders, whose "rights" are supposed to be preserved by the British State. Group A (The British State) imposes grave risks solely on Group B (The kelpers/sheepherders of the Falklands) and has the unmitigated gall to mouth national honor, "rights," and all the rest in so doing.

It's always been that way, especially with the British and (following after their instructors) the U.S. empires. What sticks in one's craw is not so much their foul deeds but the hypocritical rationalizations and moralizing that have always been the unique specialty of the U.S. and British empires.

And then there is the Munich Model, reduced to the utterly ludicrous in being used in the Falkland Caper by Thatcher and the rest of her ministry. "Appeasing a dictator," indeed! Yes, yes. Are we asked to believe, as gossip columnist James Brady sardonically noted, that "let the Argentines keep the Falklands, and next they'll grab the Sandwich Islands, and next they'll grab Coney Island"? Are we to believe that the Argentine Threat will loom if the first domino — the Falklands — is not saved? Is Argentina going to bomb Britain?

And speaking of Threats, what about the good old Russian Threat which the Brits seem to have put in mothballs for the duration? We've been hearing for years about the necessity for a mighty British navy, since Britain is surrounded by Soviet subs poised to cut the jugular of "Britain's sea lanes." And yet fully two-thirds of the entire British fleet are now taking many weeks to steam back and forth to an incredibly remote island. For shame, Mrs. Thatcher! You are leaving Britain helpless and prostrate before the Commie Soviet threat for months! Resign!

And the hokum about "dictators"! Are we really supposed to believe that the Thatcher government would be any less warlike if Argentina were a duly certified democracy

instead of being a military *junta*? Fat chance! But the baloney about "dictators" is deliberately designed to recall probably the single most pernicious fallacy ever promulgated about international relations: the Wilsonian myth that "democracies" are always peaceful and dictatorships ever warlike, so that in any dispute between two nation-states, the "democracies" are always assumed to be angelic and the dictators aggressors. Well, it sounds plausible, but it just ain't true. To find out who are more at fault in international disputes, there is no substitute for detailed empirical/historical investigation of the facts.

The facts, by the way, provide us with two rules-of-thumb that work remarkably well in virtually all disputes through modern history: (1) the United States is always wrong (or more wrong); and (2) Great Britain is always wrong. And what if, once in a while, the U.S. and Britain conflict? Then we look in more detail to the data. Britain was wrong in the Revolutionary War (which was not really an inter-state conflict), and the U.S. was wrong in the War of 1812 and in the near-war Venezuelan Crisis of the 1890s.

The British and pro-British apologists keep repeating the refrain: "the Argentines used force." Heavens to Betsy! What do these worthies think governments *always* use? In fact, what do they think governments *are*, if not repositories of organized force? The Argentines, yes, used force when they conquered the tiny band of British Marines (who, however, managed to kill a few Argentinians and then surrender before any of *their* necks were at stake). But the British are now proposing to use a lot more force to kick the Argentines out. And, more to the point, the British, by virtue of governing the Falklands, "used force" every day of the year, against the Falklands population. Government *is* force.

Which sets international relations in proper perspective. Ever since the incredibly evil Woodrow Wilson, U.S. foreign policy has been committed to "collective security" against any nation "committing aggression" upon another, by using force across boundaries. The United Nations is grounded on this very principle, which is why the Security Council condemned the Argentines and at least implicitly put their imprimatur on the British counter-action. But this analogy with *individual* criminals and "police actions" is a pernicious fallacy, which libertarians at least should be the first to denounce. For *all* governments, by virtue of their existence, are "aggressors" whereas not all individuals are criminals or aggressors. The British government, day by day, aggressed against their Falkland subjects. But if *all* parties are aggressors and criminals, the self-righteous moralizing so beloved by British and U.S. imperialists is peculiarly out of place. If all nation-states are aggressors, the best any nation can do — the best for the cause of liberty and the avoidance of mass murder — is to *stay out* of the fray. Neutrality, not "collective security," becomes the crucial libertarian watchword for international relations.

Moreover, the simple use of the concept of "aggression" every time one nation-state attacks another implicitly assumes that each nation-state has just title to its current status quo boundaries. But why so? For after all (1) no nation-state has legitimate title to *any* territory; and (2) even apart from that, why should any *status quo* boundary be more just than any other, past or future? Thus, in the Falkland Crisis, Argentina's use of force in 1982 is countered by the British conquest of 1833, in which Britain *used force* to oust the Argentine government then in charge of the Falkland Islands.

Argentina's claim, moreover, is strengthened and Britain's weakened by considering the simple fact that the Falklands/Malvinas are only a few hundred miles off Argentinian shores, whereas Britain is 8,000 miles away. And what in blazes are the Brits *doing* there, anyway? (See our separate article in this issue, *The Historical Claims to the Falklands*.)

Another irritating aspect of British/pro-British propaganda in the Falklands Caper is the claim that the Argentine *junta* is using the crisis as a method of whipping up patriotic unity at home and distracting the masses from the economic troubles at home. No doubt. But what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Isn't the discredited Thatcher Administration using this foreign crisis to silence opposition and distract the minds of the public from its economic failures?

It is patently clear that the Reagan Administration, instead of keeping its mitts off of at least *this* foreign affairs crisis, is hip-deep on the British side. It's professed "neutrality" is a sham, a cover for thinly veiled support for the British, a support which includes providing the British intelligence estimates of the movements of the Argentine fleet. (In one of the less comic notes of the crisis, the Soviets are countering by providing Argentina with intelligence on British fleet movements). The pro-British, pro-NATO wing of the State Department (Haig, Eagleburger) has won out over the pro-South American — *junta* wing (Enders, Kirkpatrick.)

By international law, the Argentine claims are far superior to the British, and besides, the United States — believe it or not — played a key role in inducing the British to invade the Falklands and oust the Argentines in 1833 (See our article on the *Historical Claims*). The United States should be neutral-neutral in this dispute, but if it simply *has* to get involved, it should be "neutral anti-British" rather than "neutral pro-British."

Sink the Brits! Destroy the last tattered remnants of the bloody British Empire! Fulfill the Spirit of 1776!

But stop, you may say. What about the poor accursed kelpers, those 1800 stalwarts consumed with love of Great Britain? They *want* desperately to be British, so much so that these very odd ducks, consumed with hatred of all things Argentine, stubbornly refuse to eat good Argentinian steaks and fresh fruit and vegetables, and refuse to drink good wine, instead insisting on canned peaches and second-rate beer imported from Britain. For meat, they persist in eating tough Falkland mutton. Well, so, haven't these curmudgeons the right to remain British?

No, dammit. For why should the British taxpayer be forced to pay for this nonsense, for the maintenance of this godawful rock, for the fleet and the munitions to go to war to defend it, etc? The fact that the Falklanders *want* to be British does not suffice; for why should the British, 8000 miles away, be stuck with the welfare-imperialism of supporting and defending them?

The Argentines, indeed are graciously offering to allow the benighted kelpers to remain British citizens, so long as the "Argies" can occupy and claim sovereignty over the island. But more than that, one is tempted to suggest that the sainted Queen of England disgorge a teeny fraction of her ill-gotten "private" property and offer to move the little cluster of kelpers from the Falklands to Britain proper. They could settle in the marshes of East Anglia, where they could enjoy bad

weather, the wind whipping across the North Sea, could go up to their knees in some marshes, and live out their days eating authentic British food and hanging out in authentic British pubs. Surely, a simpler and less costly solution all around.

If not, let the British, suddenly so suffused with the love of "national self-determination," grant independence to the Falklanders and pull the hell out, leaving the stubborn kelpers to their own devices. If they want "national self-determination," then they should be granted such, and let them take the consequences. And, then, if all the British and pro-British blowhards want to put their money and their lives where their mouths are, let them send Bundles to the Kelpers or let them form an International Falkland Brigade to defend the kelpers against the terrible Argies. Let us localize, not internationalize, the conflict.

Even the "self-determination" argument is not as clear as one might think. For one thing, the British Falkland government has been forcibly keeping out Argentine scrap dealers who wish to emigrate to that lovely rock. Even more interesting is the fact that while there is indeed not a Commie in a carload, the *feudal land* question once again emerges as crucial even in the remote and barren little Falklands.

As much research as I have been able to muster reveals that fully 1¼ million acres, or 43% of the Falkland land area, is owned by one company, the Falkland Islands Company Ltd., which also employs 51% of the labor force and owns 50% of the sheep. How did the Company get its title? By feudal concession, natch. The land area was illegitimately (according to libertarian homestead theory) sold by the British government in 1846 to one Samuel Lafone, a Uruguayan, who transferred his relatively vast holdings in 1851 to the newly-created Falkland Islands Company.

The Company has a monopoly on all the wool exports from the Falklands. Wool, as one might imagine, is the only export — the only product — from the Falklands, and a company-owned wool ship sails once a year to London to sell 1000 tons of wool at auction for \$6 million. The Company also owns the only steamer that sails once a week to and from the mainland.

The Company is the kelpers' main feudal landlord. We are also informed that the other landlords are absentees living in Britain, and that it is difficult for any kelper to own, rather than rent, his own home. (How did these other landlords get their titles? Who knows? We have been trying to do as much research as we can on the Falklands' socio-economic situation, but as you might imagine, these islands have not been the focus of very much detailed historical research. To put it mildly.)

The *Wall Street Journal* (April 8) supplies us with a fascinating tidbit of recent Falklands Company history, which puts the present crisis in sharp relief. It seems that in 1965, when the Falkland Islands Company was still a subsidiary of

(Continued on page 8)

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# THE HISTORICAL CLAIMS TO THE FALKLANDS

Who, Argentina or Britain, has the better historical or international law claim to the Falklands? I take my analysis from a massive and definitive work on the history of the Falklands Question up to the British seizure in 1833: Julius Goebel, Jr., *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands: A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History* (Yale University Press, 1927). Goebel, a crusty Old Right legal historian at Columbia University Law School, was a friend and disciple of those two Grand Old Men of old-fashioned "isolationist" international law: John Bassett Moore and Edwin M. Borchard.

Goebel begins his study with a thorough international law analysis of when a new, unowned land property comes under national title. On an analogy and extension from the private natural law of "homesteading" — or occupation and possession — Goebel asserts that international law properly grants the ownership and sovereignty of an unoccupied land area (*res nullius*), not simply to the first nation whose ship finds it or sails near it ("discovery") but to that nation which first occupies and possesses it. The occupation and possession must be an "apprehension," a physical act of taking possession and control, in effect a Lockean mixing of labor with the land. In a detailed analysis of international law doctrines, Goebel gives top honors not so much to Hugo Grotius but to his now-forgotten German contemporary, Johann Gryphiander, who in his then influential *Tractatus de Insulis* (1623), presented the clearest version of the correct doctrine.

After a lengthy and closely reasoned determination of that doctrine, Goebel then proceeds to apply international law to the history of the Falkland Islands. The Falklands were first colonized by a French expedition under a young naval officer, Antoine de Bougainville, in 1764. Remarkably, De Bougainville financed the expedition himself and from among his relatives, who lived in the French port of St. Malo, whose merchants and sailors were long familiar with the islands. They called the islands a name derivative from their town: Les Malouines, from which the Spanish got their current name, Las Malvinas.

Bougainville established a French colony of 150 settlers on the island of East Falkland (the major island), setting up the fort and village of St. Louis. In 1766, Spain purchased the Malouines from France for a sum of 680,000 livres, and placed the islands under the vice-royalty of Buenos Aires. Meanwhile, in 1765, a British ship had nosed around the neighboring island of West Falkland, and established a small colony there at Port Egmont a couple of years later. (Though "neighbouring," the seas were so rough that it took a few years for each nation to be aware of the existence of the other's colony.)

In 1770, the Spanish conquered the British settlement at Port Egmont, and finally, the following year, the British made a deal with Spain: in return for Spain's allowing the British government to return to Port Egmont, the British would

abandon the entire colony after a suitable interval. In 1774, the British fulfilled their unpublicized agreement with Spain, and abandoned the Falklands. Not only that: the British recognized the Spanish right to the Falklands at the Convention of Nootka Sound in 1790.

Spain, therefore, enjoyed undisputed and acknowledged sovereignty to both the East and West Falklands for two generations. During the Napoleonic Wars in 1810, Argentina (along with the rest of South America) went into rebellion against the Bonaparte-imposed regime in Spain, and during the press of war, Argentina abandoned the Falklands settlement in 1811. After the Napoleonic Wars were over, however, the South American republics declared their independence from Spain, and the new republic of Argentina sent a frigate to the Falklands in 1820. The Argentine government not only claimed possession of the Falklands, but embodied that claim in action by once again settling the islands in 1826. In order to stimulate the colonizing of East Falkland, Argentina had granted a colonial concession to Louis Vernet. After Vernet successfully planted the colony in 1826, Argentina appointed him governor two years later, and granted him a concession of lands and a monopoly of the fisheries in the Falklands. Fishing regulation, while scarcely consonant with a free-market, has always been accepted in international law as a function of any government in its territorial waters, a function which may not be interfered with by outside powers.

There is precious little fish in the Falkland waters, but there were a considerable number of seals, and foreign sealers persisted in defying the Argentine/Vernet edicts. Finally, in July 1831, Governor Vernet precipitated the final crisis of Argentine rule in the Falklands by seizing three American sealing ships for violating the sealing regulations.

At this point, the United States leaped in to play a fateful role in the coming of British imperialism to the Falklands. Andrew Jackson, despite his commitment to libertarian policies in many areas, was a militarist and an arrogant expansionist in foreign affairs. (It was later to be the Jacksonian Polk who would launch the savage imperial assault on Mexico in the 1840s.) The U.S. consul to Argentina, George W. Slacum, was an inexperienced lout who fit the Jacksonian mould in foreign affairs. Slacum began to launch intemperate attacks on Argentina, and to persistently refer to Governor Vernet as a "pirate" who must be brought to trial. Slacum worked his influence on Commander Silas Duncan, captain of the U.S.S. *Lexington* then in Argentine waters, who began to rant about steaming to the Falklands and "protecting the rights of U.S. citizens." In the great tradition of 19th century U.S. naval captains, Duncan was a militarist aggressor, ever ready to use American naval force against foreign countries, even unauthorized and on his own whim. Duncan began further to call for the surrender of Governor Vernet for trial as a pirate and robber.

In all probability, the thirst for war by Slacum and Duncan was whipped up by the British consul-general to Argentina, Woodbine Parish, who saw a beautiful opportunity for Britain to fish in troubled waters. Two years earlier, in 1829, Parish had filed a formal protest against the Argentine occupation of the Falklands, claiming that Britain, despite its abandonment of the islands in 1774, was still "really" sovereign of the islands. Argentina paid no attention to a note she regarded as nonsense, and Parish did nothing further until the Vernet/U.S. dispute arose in 1831. Parish now proceeded to tell Slacum that Britain was still the true sovereign of the Falklands, and Slacum, grateful for a way of shoring up the legality of his position, welcomed the point and began to write home that it would be a "terrible tragedy" for U.S. trade if the Falklands should remain in Argentine hands.

Finally, on December 28, 1831, Commander Duncan sailed the *Lexington* into the harbor of Puerto Soledad (which Spain had renamed from the French Port Louis). After inviting a top aide of Vernet's aboard his ship, Duncan clapped him in irons, and proceeded to invade and lay waste to the Argentine settlement. Duncan seized all weapons, burned all the ammunition, and sacked the settlements, not incidentally confiscating many of the sealskins. Having plundered the Falkland settlement to his satisfaction, Commander Duncan seized seven Argentines, including the Vernet aide, and took them away in irons. On arriving in South America, Duncan only agreed to free the Argentines after receiving assurances that the U.S. Government would retroactively sanction his plunder expedition.

Not that Andrew Jackson was loath to do so. As early as his annual December message to Congress, before Duncan had reached the Falklands, Jackson attacked the Falkland administration as a pirate "band," and announced that force would be sent there to "protect American citizens."

After the Duncan incident, Secretary of State Edward Livingston weighed in, denouncing Vernet as a "pirate" Finally, after a fruitless exchange of charges, the U.S. charge d'affaires at Buenos Aires, Francis Baylies, gave the green light, in an entirely unauthorized manner, to the British to invade the Falklands. In the fall of 1832, Baylies asked Fox, the British minister to Argentina, whether Great Britain, sovereign over the Falklands, would continue to tolerate the "horde of pirates" from Argentina then infesting those islands.

That disingenuous question was all the British needed. The British promptly sent two warships to the Falklands, which claimed and invaded Port Egmont in December 1832 and Puerto Soledad the following January. The British invaded in force, proclaimed themselves the government, and expelled all the Argentine settlers.

Such was the act of naked aggression by which Great Britain ousted the Argentines and gained its rule over the Falkland Islands. Furthermore, the United States government, ever since, has refused to indemnify the Argentines for the illegal acts of plunder committed by Commander Duncan. The excuse was that no indemnity would be paid until the sovereignty question was cleared up. It never has been.

Such is the "powerful" argument, as Samuel Flagg Bemis called it, by which Julius Goebel established the merit of the Argentine claim and the shabbiness of the British claim to the Falklands. But another revelation is the action of the United States, plundering and kidnapping the Argentines, and goading the British on to its invasion of the Falklands in 1833. □

## FELIX MORLEY, RIP

So Felix Morley is dead. Never again will I be able to visit Felix's lovely home on Gibson Island, in Maryland, and listen to the charming and civilized discourse of this man of deep individualism and rugged integrity. Felix has died at the age of 89 and up to the end, though crippled by arthritis, he continued to be a man of great intellectual and personal vigor.

Felix's death leaves a great void that can never be filled. Not simply because each individual is unique and irreplaceable. But because Felix Morley was the last of the Old Right. With him now disappears that wonderful tradition of classical liberalism that animated the right-wing before the mid-1950s, and that dominated the conservative wing of the Republican Party until that period.

An educator, political scientist, journalist, foreign affairs expert, man of affairs, Felix Morley was not only a staunch believer in individualism and minimal government at home, but its corollary in non-intervention and "isolationism" abroad. A co-founder of *Human Events* during World War II to foster the insights of non-intervention, Morley broke with the publication after the war when it became an organ of global crusading and the Cold War. A man of courage and integrity, Felix would never think twice of bending with the prevailing winds to join another futile crusade that could only aggrandize State power and crush the individual.

During the last gasp of conservative isolationism in the Presidential campaign of Robert A. Taft in 1952, Felix was Taft's major foreign policy adviser. There was talk that if Taft had won, Felix might have been Secretary of State. If so, the entire course of modern history would have been changed.

Felix Morley shall always be remembered for his great political works, expounding classical liberalism and non-intervention, *Power in the People* (1949) and *Freedom and Federalism* (1959) (All conservatives and libertarians should be required to read three chapters from the latter: "Democracy and Empire"; "Nationalization through Foreign Policy"; and "The Need for an Enemy"). But the best introduction to Felix is his fascinating intellectual autobiography, *For the Record* (1979), in which he sets forth the dimensions of his life. Acknowledging the influence of F. A. Hayek and Albert Jay Nock, Felix ends by saying that he is a libertarian, even though it is hard to give up the good old term "liberal," in its original nineteenth century meaning.

Felix Morley is one of the reasons why libertarians who were around in the 1940s and the 1950s automatically called themselves "extreme right wing Republicans." With the now vanished Old Right of that epoch, it was a pleasure to be a comrade in friendly dialogue, pointing to the logical conclusions of classical liberal doctrine. All that is long gone, swept away by the theocratic warmongers who have constituted the post-1955, *National Review* and later Right-wings.

We may hope, however, that future generations will be inspired by Felix Morley's life and works to take up the torch of liberty. But one thing they will have to miss: sitting on the patio of the Morley home at Gibson Island and being inspired by conversing with Felix in person. For that some of us will be forever grateful. □

# ARE WE BEING BEASTLY TO THE GIPPER — PART IV

## 6. Macro/Reaganomics: Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics

But there is hope, of a peculiar sort, for the hard-pressed American people. If the Reaganauts cannot relieve inflation or unemployment, they may moderate these twin evils by sleight-of-hand: by doctoring the statistics which everyone has been following avidly. Despite the pretensions of "scientific" economic forecasters, the seemingly precise quantitative data spewed forth by the various statistics factories are highly imperfect indicators of what is going on in the economy. There are no even approximately "scientific" measurements of inflation or unemployment, and there is no way of arriving at such measurements. Every person experiences his own "inflation rate," depending on what he customarily buys. I, for example, buy a great number of books every year, whereas the paradigmatic blue-collar Dayton, Ohio housewife with 2.2 kids buys no books at all. Yet, book prices have been skyrocketing upward at an alarming rate in the last few years, though none of this has been reflected in the orthodox Consumer Price Index (CPI).

There is, then, no "scientific" or unflawed measurement of the movement of consumer prices. The only excuse for any such index is that it be consistent, that is, whatever its flaws, it be consistent over the years so that movements in the index can have a substantial degree of coherent meaning. To change the nature of such indices is to deceive, for it is to abandon consistency and to doctor the data for political effect.

If the Reaganites cannot bring down inflation, however, they have decided that they can bring down the index by redefinition. This, of course is equivalent to bringing down a patient's fever by repainting the numbers on the thermometer. The Reaganites have decided that rises in housing costs have been embarrassing them, so the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which issues the CPI, has been ordered to change the bases for its measurements: From now on, instead of housing prices, all housing will be costed as if it were rented. The reasoning is that one buys a house as a durable good, but during each year one only lives in an amortized yearly quota; hence, a purchased house will be treated in the index as if it were rented.

The reasoning sounds plausible, but is as phony as a three-dollar bill. For why stop at housing? Why not similarly "imputed rents" for all consumer durables: speedboats, hi-fi sets, furniture, even clothing — none of which is used up during one year? The main point is that there are good arguments either way, but the overriding consideration is to remain consistent so as to enable meaningful comparisons over time. Reaganite doctoring of the CPI — which will begin

in early 1983 — may help to fool the public into thinking that inflation is getting better, and may also reduce the upward indexing of numerous contracted wage rates.

The latest scheme of the mendacious Reaganite statisticians is to doctor the embarrassing unemployment data. Once again, there are good reasons both for increasing the number of unemployed (disheartened who have given up seeking work) or reducing them (those only recently off the employment rolls or who are not really seeking work). But the vital thing is to keep the measures consistent over time, and not to doctor the data by changing the measurements. But the unemployment figures have been embarrassing for many years, and are getting worse. After World War II, the blissful state of "full employment" was defined as unemployment of 3-4% of the labor force. But since we haven't seen hide nor hair of such a figure for decades — it's been hovering around 7% — "full employment" has now been redefined as 5-6%. But apparently that's still not enough, and the Reaganites are moving toward still further mendacity.

Specifically, Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan has now proposed to stop including in the unemployment figures all teenage workers still in high school. Since teenage unemployment has been far higher than adult — largely because of minimum wage laws — what better and more painless way to reduce overall unemployment than by tossing teenagers out of the statistics?

And, indeed, why stop there? Why not drop out all teenagers whatever, indeed everyone below 25, where unemployment is the highest? And also drop out women workers, since their unemployment rates are also high? And blacks too? And urban areas of the Northeast, and of New England?

Lies, damned lies, and statistics. Why stop there, Reaganauts? Why not include in the CPI *only* computers and hand calculators? Then, precise statistical data could "prove" that prices have been *going down* rapidly. And why not include in the labor force only adult white males in the Sun Belt? Then we could "prove" that there is virtually no unemployment in today's America.

The Reagan Administration might be a macro-economic disaster, but it has brought us "creative" language ("revenue enhancement") and "creative" statistics. Mendacity, mendacity. For shame, "free market" Reaganites! As Swift once put it, "I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder to see them not ashamed." □

Look for Part V in the next issue of Libertarian Forum.

## CHANGING JUDGMENTS AND ALLIANCES

I am often gently chided by friends and acquaintances about changing assessments about people that I have made over the years. In particular, the chiding applies to changing evaluations of persons and groups in the libertarian movement and Party. "Four years ago, you said that Joe Zilch was a great guy; now he's a *schmuck*." Or, "how do I keep up with your fast-changing alliances?"

Of course, the quick, flip answer is: "Keep reading the *Forum*." But there is more to be said here. Because the implicit assumption of the chiders is that there is something a bit bizarre about the very fact of changing assessments and alliances. But, oddly enough, these critics *only* think of making such statements about ideological friendships and alliances. They would never think of doing so about personal friendships or romantic relationships. Neither they nor anyone else would ever contemplate charging: "Hey, you were in love with Miss X three years ago and now you're split up; what's wrong with you, buddy?" For in personal life it is taken for granted that values change, more is learned about another person whether for good or for ill, etc. So why should it be any different in an ideological movement?

Taken in this light, we see that changing assessments of persons is no odder in the libertarian movement than in "real

life" itself. Life, to use the current horrible cliché, is a "learning experience." Joe Zilch, who seemed like such a great guy at first blush, indeed turns out to be a *schmuck*. On the other hand, Jim Doe, who seemed like a bad guy way back, turns out to be a great fellow when more is discovered and misunderstandings are cleared up. That's life, after all, and the movement (though it sometimes seems to be taking place on Mars) is part of the whole shebang.

In fact, we should naturally expect *more* shifts of friendships and enmities within the movement than in life itself. For the movement is ideological, and ideology (a) must always be applied to new conditions and priorities in the real world, and (b) the result is continual reassessments of strategy and tactics. Even people who agree 100% on ideology can and do disagree on tactics. As a result, a movement and a Party create enormously greater opportunities for shifts in personal ties and assessments than does "real life" itself.

One hopes, of course, that friendships can persist and deepen even in the face of all the conditions generated for shifts and breakups. Friendships which fuse the personal and the ideological bring a deep joy which cannot be equalled. But one should not be puzzled or shocked when such friendships or alliances break up and scatter. *C'est la condition humaine*. □

## ERRATA

### August 1981 — January 1982 Issue:

We noted (p. 7) the assurance of a genial and highly perceptive LP participant/observer after the Nov. 7-8 Bethesda Natcom meeting that the Crane Machine had had it: "Murray, it's the Battle of Iwo Jima. They're (the Machine) the Japs," etc. This self-same observer recently pointed out my error in recalling the conversation: "It wasn't Iwo Jima; it was Okinawa." I stand corrected. It should also be noted that Leslie Key, the Madame DeFarge of the libertarian movement, in her hysterical *samizdat* attacking alleged "errors" in this issue, missed this one — a *real* error. Which proves that Leslie's grasp on World War II military history is at least as weak as my own.

The latest from our Military Maven occurred after the Houston NatCom meeting on March 27-28, a quietly but deeply satisfying meeting in which the cowed Crane Machine was revealed to be in a distinct and substantial minority. Our Military Maven who himself has been one of the great architects of the continuing Craniac defeat, put it this way after Houston: "Murray, I've got a new analogy. They're punchy, they don't know what's going to hit them next. It's France in 1940, and *they're* the French."

Some of our readers have asked us who Madame DeFarge was. The good Madame, of course, was the ultra-revolutionary in Dickens' *A Tale of Two Cities*, who sat, coolly gloating, as various Enemies of the French Revolution were marched off to

the guillotine. She was perpetually knitting, and I *believe* that the Madame knitted the names of each of the victims in the sweaters or whatever that she churned out. She looked suitably evil and hatchet-womanish in the Ronald Colman movie. (If she was not knitting the names of the victims, we can depend upon La Key to read the book, find the old movie somewhere, and report — and then get the whole thing wrong.)

### March 1982 Issue:

Various Texas LPers have corrected our account of the etiology of the suppressed Randolph interview with *Free Texas*. In addition to the fact that there were two interviews involved, the crucial point is that the suppression was effected, not by the Randolph camp, but by editor Mike Grossberg himself in a dispute with interviewer Robert Sablatura over the editing of the interview. One further point: apparently the Jeff Hummel article which touched off the Randolph attack on the concept of a principled Libertarian Party was *not* his controversial call for unilateral disarmament, as we had believed, but *another* radical article of Hummel's calling for repudiation of the public debt. The point of the Old Curmudgeon's critique of the unprincipled nature of Randolph's position, however, remains unblemished and intact. For the content of this odious interview remains undisputed, and repudiation of the public debt is the evidently principled libertarian position, which does not suffer from fears of Russkie invasion or from pointing out the even greater blessings of joint mutual disarmament.

# REAL WORLD NOTES

by The Old Curmudgeon

One cheery note for libertarians is the occasional realization that there are lots of crazies who are not libertarians, who are actually out there in the "real world." The New York Times (March 11) published an absolutely hilarious article (an odd source, of course, for hilarity) about a new cult flourishing in the West. The cult, imbibed by "thousands upon thousands", is called "manifesting" and is one of the "therapies" (natch) taught at Wingsong, a therapy center founded in Oakland, California by a certain Miss Lisa de Longchamps. "Manifesting" is the theory that one can have anything one wants, says a Rolls-Royce, simply by wishing for it. The de Longchamps "divine plan of opulence", which came to her through divine voices, costs only \$815 for four one or two-day "workshops." A Wingsong administrator explains that the workshops are so costly because people only evaluate something highly when they have to pay a lot for it. One of the Wingsong aides clarifies the theory: "Manifesting is about getting rid of all that junk in our consciousness so that we can join the rich."

Miss de Longchamps arrived at her theory by an appropriate route: she got a degree in "humanistic psychology" and then worked in real estate. By then she was ready for the Higher Life.

One of her ardent customers, Toby Clark, 44, denies that the price of the workshops is high. "The cost of the classes doesn't matter to me at all," he said, "I would spend my last dime on them."

Another "therapy" outfit, the Prosperity System, is based, appropriately enough, in Washington, D.C. Founded and run by Jeff Blake (also a real estate maven) and Charles

Stinson, this \$75 one-day workshop has clients throwing crumpled \$10 bills at each other, to "teach people that as money goes out, it also comes back" (Huh?), and that "there is so much money in the world that you can take as much of it as you want and it doesn't matter". One of the Prosperity Systemites, noting its success so far in the West, complained that Easterners "resist" the theory far more: "Easterners have a lack of trust in self-actualization." Rather a lack of trust, we might add, in get-rich-quick hokum at a couple of hundred bucks a throw.

But the last word belongs to the aforesaid Mr. Clark, who, before he arrived at Wingsong, had been through est, "rebirthing", and 14 enlightenment "intensives". (Why do these noted theorists habitually confuse adjectives and nouns?) "Life," concluded Mr. Clark, "is just a workshop."

How come there are no libertarians in this movement? □

## LOVELY WAR *(Continued from page 3)*

Charringtons Industrial Holdings (it is now a subsidiary of Coalite Group Ltd.), an Argentine consortium, sponsored by the Argentine government, offered to purchase the Company for \$7 million. In fact, the consortium was willing to pay "almost any price" to acquire the Company. The shareholders were happy to do so, but the takeover bid was blocked by the British and (British-run) Falkland governments, at the behest of the Company management.

So there we have it. In the grand old Free Trade slogan, "If Goods Can't Cross Borders, Troops Will." In this case, Argentina, in essence, tried to *buy* the damn island by purchasing the Falklands Company, and the sale, though desired by the shareholders, was prohibited by force by the British government. The Brits, so devoted to the "free market," prevented goods (in this case, money) from crossing borders, and so the troops came. It serves the Brits right. □

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# MORE ON THE FALKLANDS

## 1. Insane Disproportionality

Political spectrum on the Falkland War grows curiously and curiously. While ordinarily dovish liberals like Mary McGrory whoop it up for Britain and Empire, the ultra-hawk Patrick J. Buchanan has been a model of rationality. In an attack of good sense and rationality, Buchanan has been asking, in his columns, for God's sake how many thousands will have to die and how many billions wasted in order to give to the 1800 kelpers the flag they love? As Buchanan asks (May 21), "Assume it is the wish of the Falklanders to live, forever, under a British flag. What price should London pay, what price can Britain afford, to meet those desires?"

If he were a libertarian and an anarchist, Buchanan might press on. For, even apart from the imperialist aspects of the war, the minarchist view that the "government should provide defense" runs afoul of a problem they never answer. For "defense" is not a single, homogeneous good, not a single lump. It can be one cop or it can be thousands of missiles, aircraft carriers, etc. *How much* defense should be provided? Minarchy can furnish no free-market answer, and therefore the State, *even* to the extent that it is really defending, does enormously too much because the taxpayer is forced to pick up the tab without his consent. (The *taxpayer's* rights are of course *not* being defended — quite the contrary.)

And, as usual with States, disproportionately means virtually infinite step-by-step escalation. For the British, by mid-May, maddened by the gall of Argie aircraft in actually sinking a British destroyer, the H.M.S. *Sheffield*, were planning to bomb the Argentine mainland to get at the pesky air bases. At that point (*New York Post*, May 14), the Reagan Administration became alarmed, and the President threatened to withdraw his support of the British cause if the Brits bombed the mainland. Presumably, this threat brought the war-crazed Brits partially to their senses. For the next step would surely be to get at the damn factories and loading points that supplied the air bases, and ... would we *really* maybe one day see the Brits nuking of Buenos Aires? All over which national rag flies over the 1800 kelpers?

## 2. Freedom of Immigration

Libertarians favor freedom of movement and immigration, and yet few have noticed that it was the migration problem that actually sparked the present conflict.

Some Argies would like to migrate to the Falklands, and the Brits have prevented them from doing so. The present war began when an Argie group of scrap dealers sailed to the island of Leith, in the South Georgias hundreds of miles from the Falklands proper. For libertarian fans of "self-determination," it should be noted that the South Georgias are *uninhabited*, and that therefore there are no kelpers for Brit imperialists to weep crocodile tears over.

The scrap dealers were in Leith temporarily and not permanently, and were sent there by an Argentine scrap dealer named Constantino Davidoff, to dismantle abandoned whaling stations on the island. Davidoff's expedition was perfectly legal, and had been cleared with Britain. After arriving at the island this March, the 43 Argie workmen, perhaps on a drunken impulse, hoisted the blue-and-white Argie flag.

It was then that all hell broke loose. First, a group of crazed kelpers, fanatically devoted to the Union Jack, broke into the Argentine national airline office at Stanley, the little capital of the Falklands, and decorated it with a Union Jack. Three days later, on March 22, the Brits sent the patrol ship *Endurance* and a group of British Marines to forcibly and illegally (even by Brit law) evict the Argies. Quickly, Argentina and Britain escalated the number of warships sent to South Georgia, and a few days later, on April 2, the Argentine invasion, or reconquest, of the entire Falkland constellation — the Falklands themselves, the South Georgias, and the South Sandwich islands (also uninhabited) — was underway.

## 3. How Much Do the Brits Love the Kelpers?

How much do the Brits really love the kelpers? They may be willing to fight, die, and kill to keep the Union Jack flying over 1800 shepherders 8,000 miles from home, but they don't seem to be willing to allow them elemental justice. For example, the kelpers are not British citizens. Since they are not citizens, they are not allowed to emigrate to Great Britain unless their parents or paternal grandfathers were born there. Perhaps if they were allowed to get off that blasted rock, the kelpers would solve the Falkland problem once and for all by emigrating to their beloved Britain and allowing the Argies to peacefully move in.

(Continued on page 5)

# FREE TEXAS, RIP

by Michael Grossberg

(Recently, *Free Texas*, along with California's *Caliber* by far the outstanding LP state newsletter in the country, was eviscerated and its editor, Mike Grossberg, an outstanding party theorist and activist, was ousted from his post. The name *Free Texas* is slated to continue, but its soul and substance is gone. Grossberg has been trying to get his point of view published in the Craniac smear sheet *UpChuck*, which had printed critical material, but without success. We are therefore happy to print Grossberg's case as originally written for *UpChuck*. — Ed.)

Confident that the track record of FREE TEXAS is its own best defense, I wish to offer a rebuttal to certain allegations recently published in *Update*.

FREE TEXAS has been criticized by one letter writer as a "sectarian newspaper" with a "slanted editorial policy in favor of narrow 'ivory tower' libertarianism." Since 1979, when I first volunteered to upgrade FREE TEXAS into a quality outreach tabloid for the Libertarian Party of Texas, the bimonthly newspaper has featured several hundred articles, editorials, investigative reports, interviews, letters, and news stories reflecting a broad diversity of viewpoints within the libertarian movement. During the past two years, FREE TEXAS theme issues have appeared on such "ivory tower" subjects as health care, urban affairs, civil liberties, inflation, education, and regulation.

Under my editorship, FREE TEXAS regularly presented debates between libertarians on a wide variety of current issues, from foreign policy to the Equal Rights Amendment. Typical of my own "sectarian" editorials was a balanced critique of the Clark campaign, which just may be the only such editorial praised by *both* Murray Rothbard and Ed Crane, not to mention Ed Clark himself.

One anonymous Texas activist, quoted in an *Update* news story, charged that "the anarchist viewpoint gets a disproportionate amount of space compared to the limited government viewpoint". A quick glance through the newspaper's back issues reveals the ironic fact that although several articles and letters disagreeing with anarchism were printed, not *one* article disagreeing with minarchism has ever appeared!

FREE TEXAS was also castigated for its so-called "lack of news reporting". Fortunately, there is an objective standard by which to judge such arbitrary complaints: FREE TEXAS itself. Of the over 100 articles published in the newspaper during 1981, 48 of them — almost half — were news stories, largely written by myself, including the most comprehensive News Notes of any LP publication.

Such incredible allegations are obviously contradicted by the facts. But critics of FREE TEXAS go even farther, stooping to a personal attack on my professional ethics by accusing me of "censorship". I am proud of my work as FREE TEXAS editor and want to state for the record that I have

never "censored" the ideological content of any FREE TEXAS article — even if it was one of the articles with which I differed. Due to space limitations, I often condensed articles, trying to preserve their "meat" while cutting their "fat". For an objective, if somewhat diverse, test of my relative merits as an editor, why not poll a representative sample of those FREE TEXAS contributors who frequently experienced the editor's "knife": Scott Bieser, Ed Clark, Michael Dunn, Jeff Hummel, Bill Howell, Honey Lanham, Wendy McElroy, AnnMarie Perier, Robert Poole, or Sheldon Richman? My critics are highly disingenuous when they urge *Update's* readers to compare the Randolph interview published in the LPT's 1982 newsletter with the "same" interview in the Winter FREE TEXAS. In reality, as my critics are well aware, that "same" interview is actually two separate Randolph interviews.

Editing a newspaper is impossible without editorial standards; such standards inevitably imply occasional rejection of unsuitable articles. Although I encouraged — an often cajoled — party activists to contribute to FREE TEXAS, my "editor's slushpile" of unpublished submissions (including, in my opinion, the other Randolph interview) amounted to a grand total of 4 articles! In any event, it is ridiculous for Libertarians, of all people, to accuse a private newspaper of "censorship".

My critics also accuse me of "opposition to the ballot drive". If I were opposed to the LPT ballot drive — prerequisite for any Libertarian to run for office in Texas — why would I have invested so much energy finding a gubernatorial candidate and developing a statewide campaign strategy for the LP of Texas? My fulltime work on six LP ballot drives, including all three in Texas, happens to be a matter of public record. Apparently, some people misinterpret my opposition to their own political strategy as a generalized "hostility to successful political action." Yet I have always praised Libertarian successes, as shown by my many articles about the LP and its victories in FREE TEXAS.

Beneath such hollow allegations, I sense an unspoken dissatisfaction among a few party activists, not with any imaginary "absence" of news, but with the very real presence of honest ideology, intelligent debate and principled libertarianism in their state party's newspaper. Their constant reiteration that "FREE TEXAS is alive and well" evades the fact that FREE TEXAS has been altered drastically in content, format, length, editorship, and editorial philosophy. Why would so many libertarians, both in Texas and nationwide, be so concerned about the fate of one state party newsletter — unless its *particular* content and guiding philosophy had succeeded in making it of more than just regional interest?

Contrary to popular report, Texas activists did not face a clearcut budgetary decision between a much less expensive, voluntarily edited newsletter and the FREE TEXAS "status quo". At recent LPT Executive Committee meetings the choice was between two FREE TEXAS proposals of *similar* net cost,

but *different* guiding philosophies. By arguing that the "bottom line" of this controversy was economics, my critics gloss over the real strategic and ideological differences which divide Libertarians in Texas. Politics, not economics, was the real bottom line.

It is not a pleasant task to "wash the dirty linen" of the LP of Texas in public, to express my differences with Libertarians who I have worked with for years and still care for as friends. But the controversy over FREE TEXAS is only one manifestation of a deeper conflict within the Libertarian Party, of vital importance to libertarians everywhere.

Will the Libertarian Party remain a Party of Principle? Can the LP continue to combine both political activism and principled ideology? Or shall the pressing need to transform our culture's wider philosophical context be sacrificed for a naive short-range strategy of "Quick Victory" which, even if "successful", may be doomed to ultimate impotence?

When, after many years as a volunteer for the state party and its newsletter, I became the LP of Texas Publications Director in 1981, I was hired not merely to continue my work on FREE TEXAS, but also to implement a broad program of internal education and ideological outreach — based on an earlier consensus that such a principled strategy of consciousness-raising was indispensable to the LP's ultimate success.

Besides my efforts as FREE TEXAS editor, writer, business manager, layout and art director, and advertising salesman last year, a significant portion of my time (and salary) was devoted to media relations, issues research, office work, literature development and distribution, and organization of the successful Politics of Principle Conference (which generated an unprecedented \$1,100 profit). Yet no mention is made of this important program by my critics. Virtually the entire education outreach program seems to have disappeared down some Orwellian "memory hole", along with any lingering interest in the value of such a strategy. Despite certain efforts to rewrite history, over 110,000 printed copies of FREE TEXAS remain an eloquent reminder of the truth.

I would like to conclude by taking this opportunity to thank all the libertarians who have demonstrated their support for FREE TEXAS over the years. I am also grateful for the efforts of the Independence Pledge, the LPT Execom, and particularly Matt Monroe, who made it possible for FREE TEXAS to continue for so long. Notwithstanding any of our honest disagreements over political strategy, I wish all my friends and co-workers in the LP of Texas nothing but the best. May we all succeed in "Legalizing Freedom!" □

Joseph R. Peden, Associate Editor  
Daniel M. Rosenthal, Publisher  
Dyanne M. Petersen, Associate Publisher  
Carmen Accashian, Circulation Manager

## FUHRIG FOR SENATE

There are many good men and women running for high office in the Libertarian Party this year, but it gives me particular pleasure to give my highest endorsement to Joe Fuhrig, running for U.S. Senate from California.

I have known Joe Fuhrig for years. He is intelligent, cheerful, articulate, and tirelessly energetic, an economics professor ("Austrian" to the core) and a dedicated radical libertarian. (Also, a champion golfer, for those with bourgeois cultural tastes.) But what is more, he enters this campaign a determined anti-statist and abolitionist. Libertarians who are either pragmatic opportunists or anti-party purists are going to be buffaloes by the Fuhrig campaign: For Fuhrig is going to prove, in the process of proving, that one can run a Libertarian campaign and still be a principled libertarian, and an anti-state abolitionist to boot. Fuhrig will hide nothing. There are no hidden principles in his closet, waiting for the "proper time" for our LP politico to spring them upon an unsuspecting voter. What the voters for Fuhrig are going to get, they are going to see right now.

Joe Fuhrig, in short, is a model of what every Libertarian candidate should be. He is running as an honest and unterrified libertarian: out to abolish the State ASAP. Although an economist, he is running on principle, moral libertarian principle, first and foremost.

Here are some samples of Fuhrig on the issues from his campaign brochure, which is subtitled "No Compromise in the Fight for Liberty." On Conscription: "Human beings have a right to control their bodies and live their lives. No person or agency can use the person or life of another. Conscription of ALL types from military service to jury duty is a violent crime." Note how Fuhrig commendably raises and widens the consciousness of libertarians from the draft to jury conscription, which is a similar act of slavery in kind, though not of course in degree. How many other LP candidates have come out against jury slavery, even though this is now in the LP platform?

On taxation, there is no nonsense about "allowing people to keep more of their money." Fuhrig is upfront: "Taxation is Legalized Theft." He goes on: "Human beings have a right to the fruits of their labor and to all the property they can justly acquire in voluntary trade. Tax cuts are not 'gifts' to specific people, they are affirmations of property rights."

On foreign policy, Fuhrig emphasizes nuclear disarmament: "The only way to achieve world peace is to have a nuclear-free world combined with international free trade and cooperation." In his campaign, Fuhrig has come out for unilateral disarmament and that other radical platform plank suppressed by pragmatists at the Denver convention: repudiation of the public debt. Fuhrig also stresses "free immigration": "It is essential that a policy of free trade include a return to a policy of free immigration. Immigration laws inevitably become foreign policy tools used to harm third world peoples."

I have accepted with enthusiasm the offer to become Honorary Chairman of the Fuhrig for Senate campaign. Send

(Continued on page 5)

# ARTS AND MOVIES

by Mr. First Nighter

*Chariots of Fire*, dir. by Hugh Hudson, with Ian Charleson and Ben Cross.

*Chariots of Fire* won the Academy Award last year — and it richly deserves it despite chauvinist grumbling about a British film winning a coveted U.S. award. This is a charming, old-fashioned movie-movie, beautifully acted and photographed, celebrating good old-fashioned values like hard work, dedication, and competition. There is a captivating old-fashioned romance between the Jewish runner, Ben Cross, and the marvelous Alice Krige, and there is no sex or four-letter words in the entire picture — a marvel these days. But is it still possible to portray an old-fashioned romance that does not deal, as does *Chariots of Fire*, with an older and sweeter era? Charmingly, Alice Krige has a delectably round face — another nostalgic note in an age of gaunt and haggard actresses.

The picture employs a fascinating counterpoint of the two Olympic runners who, in fact, were British heroes at the 1924 Olympics. One, a Jewish student at Oxford, angers genteel anti-Semites at the college by being bumptious and challenging aristocratic values by hiring his own track coach — superbly played by Ian Holm. John Gielgud is outstanding as one of the college anti-Semites, muttering behind the arras and trying to get Cross to give up the coach.

Particularly admirable is the Scottish runner, played excellently by Ian Charleson. Dedicated to the Calvinist religion, Charleson, a missionary, runs for the honor of God. The most dramatic scene in the movie comes when the English Establishment, finding that the trial heat for Charleson's race comes on Sunday, tries to get him to surrender his cherished religious principle of not participating in activity on the Sabbath. The British Olympic head, and even the Prince of Wales, use all the standard patriotic arguments, but Charleson stands firm on putting God above the State.

Many critics have gravely misunderstood *Chariots of Fire* by claiming that it celebrates the English imperial Establishment of time gone by. But the obvious sympathy of the movie with the runners as against a bigoted aristocracy and the British State shows that the thrust of the film is quite the reverse. In fact, the best lines of the movie are delivered by the Duke of Sutherland, attacking the various Lords trying to talk Charleson into running on Sunday. The Duke points to the recent bloody and senseless war for the honor of the English State as a reminder of where unthinking devotion to the State can lead.

No, the old-fashioned quality in the movie does not lie in loyalty to State and Empire. It stems from the celebration of values, of dedication and individual integrity, and of older charming styles of movie-making, that have virtually disappeared from the modern cinema.

*Death Wish II*, dir. by Michael Winner, with Charles Bronson and Vincent Gardenia.

No movie in recent times has been vilified by liberal critics as much as *Death Wish*, that magnificent celebration of one man's pursuit of justice in using violence to defend person and property against thugs and killers. The liberal excuse was that the movie exalted "violence." That, of course, is nonsense, since countless pictures wallowing in senseless and brutal violence have received the plaudits of the critical fraternity. The difference is clear: senseless, random violence is OK, since it "reflects the realities of our sick modern society," blah blah. But *purposeful* violence, rational violence so to speak, violence in firm defense of person and property against the aggressive violence endemic in modern urban life, *that* is terrible, evil, and "racist." Particularly when the defensive violence is practiced *not* by the official State apparatus, not by the police, but by one lone man, one previous victim, who gloriously turns that victimization into a triumphant victory over brutal street crime. It was bad enough, for liberals, when Dirty Harry, as a maverick cop, did it, but when a mere *citizen* turns "vigilante," then all liberal hell breaks loose. For it might give all of us ideas.

*Death Wish* was a marvellous, exhilarating movie, almost mythic in theme and stature. Most libertarians enjoyed that movie as no other. I saw that film in a jammed theater, of which the audience was about 95% black, and every time Bronson shot down a mugger or rapist, black or white, the entire audience erupted in a roar of approval. Let upper-class white liberals call the film "racist"; that was hardly the reaction of the black man in the street.

Now *Death Wish II*, the sequel, has appeared, and has received the exact same liberal response. But don't worry, it's a splendid sequel, and those who loved *Death Wish* are bound to cherish this one. If it does not have quite the same paradigmatic and mythic quality, it is still worthy of the original.

Admirers of *Death Wish* will remember the superb final sequence. Bronson, after being expelled from New York for his vigilante activities which had cut the street crime rate dramatically, arrives at the Chicago airport, and immediately sees a mugging taking place. He has no gun on him of course, but he bends over and, his face playing in a happy and triumphant grin, crooks his fingers at the criminal in the familiar sign of a revolver going off.

*Death Wish II* opens in L.A., where Bronson, an architect, has moved after a brief stay in Chicago. Once again, as in the previous film, Bronson's daughter — a mental case from a New York assault — is raped and killed, as is his Filipina housekeeper. Bronson becomes a vigilante once more, and once more the cops, holding formal legality and State monopoly higher than justice and individual rights, are out to stop him. In a fine touch, Vincent Gardenia, a police inspector who tracked down Bronson in New York, is sent out allegedly to help the L.A. police, but actually to hunt down Bronson and

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## FALKLANDS *(Continued from page 1)*

And since the kelpers are not British citizens, they are excluded from top jobs, and are not allowed to purchase very many houses or to buy land. Furthermore, in 1980 Britain was ready to grant sovereignty over the Falklands to Argentina in return for a very long, Hong-Kong like, lease back arrangement that would keep the Brits there *de facto*. Argentina was willing to along with the deal, which was blocked by the Falklanders themselves.

Free the kelpers! Independence for the Falklands! In point of fact, one prominent young kelper is now calling for independence, which we thought had been a lone cry of the *Lib. Forum*. Graham Bound, 24-year old editor of one of Falklands' two monthly newspapers, the *Falkland Islander*, who last year called for independence from Britain. Unfortunately, Bound did not stop there, and wackily suggested that the UN take over the islands and maintain them as an International Wildlife Sanctuary, presumably allowing the kelpers to remain there along with the rest of the wildlife. (see J.H. Evans and Jack Epstein, "The Real Losers Are The Locals," *In These Times*, May 5-11, 1982, p. 22.)

Evans and Epstein, who have actually *been* to the Falklands, supply us with fascinating data about their daily life. The British citizens, working as officials or technicians for the British government, the Falkland government, or the monopoly Falkland Islands Company, receive almost twice the salary as the native kelpers for the same jobs. The Brits all live in the "city" of Stanley, population 1,000. Every part of the island outside Stanley is sheep ranches known as "The Camp." The Camp suffers from a feudal-like social structure, in which the absentee Brit landlords serve as veritable lords of the land who double as justices of the peace and are empowered to baptize and to wed the kelpers.

In Stanley, furthermore, vandalism abounds among the bored and discontented youth. Since there are few single women, "young men habitually drowned their sorrows and frustrations in the five busy pubs." Alcoholism is an "urban" kelper problem. (Evans and Epstein, "A Port That Time Forgot," *ibid.*, p. 9.)

### 4. If the Brits Are Doing All This for the Kelpers, Why Do They Insist on Keeping South Georgia?

The British insist that all this monstrous expenditure of blood and treasure is being done to insure justice for the 1800 kelpers. But if that is the case, why is it that the Brits, in their lengthy UN negotiations before their invasion of the Falklands, insisted that South Georgia shall remain British? And that the British seizure of that island has nothing to do with the Falkland crisis and therefore is not subject to negotiations with the Argies? For South Georgia, as we have seen, is an uninhabited island, and therefore there are no loyal kelpers to mope over. Could it be that Britain is simply interested in maintaining its sovereignty and its Empire, period? □

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To force a man to pay for the violation of his own liberty is indeed an addition of insult to injury. But that is exactly what the state is doing.

— Benjamin R. Tucker

## VOLUNTARYISTS ORGANIZE

George Smith, Carl Watner, and Wendy McElroy have organized a new anti-political group of libertarians called The Voluntaryists. The basic purpose of the new organization is to explore nonpolitical strategies to achieve a free society. They claim that one consequence of libertarian political activity is that almost no thought has been given to other ways of broadcasting the libertarian message. The Voluntaryists hope to remedy this oversight.

The term "Voluntaryist" was chosen to identify the group because of its long-standing historical significance in the libertarian tradition. Its roots go back to the Voluntaryist insight formulated in the 16th Century, which claims that all governments must cloak themselves in an aura of legitimacy in order to win the passive acquiescence of their subjects. The Voluntaryists believe that libertarians must seek to dissolve this aura of legitimacy by using nonpolitical methods.

The group has published a number of pamphlets in *The Voluntaryist Series*. George Smith, a long time libertarian and author of the *Atheism The Case Against God* (1974), has written the first in the series. His *Party Dialogue* is a Voluntaryist critique of political action and the LP. Smith is also a frequent lecturer for Cato Institute, The Institute for Humane Studies, and the Center for Libertarian Studies.

No. II in *The Voluntaryist Series* was written by Carl Watner and it deals with his interest in the history of the libertarian tradition. The pamphlet addresses the development of anti-political ideas in libertarian thought, with special emphasis on the controversy about voting in the 19th Century abolitionist movement. Watner has written for *Reason Magazine* and the *Libertarian Forum* and has published numerous articles in *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*.

Wendy McElroy, the third co-organizer of The Voluntaryists, has been active in the libertarian movement for many years. She has recently compiled and published *Liberty 1881-1908*, which is a comprehensive index to Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty*, the most famous of the 19th Century individualist journals. This was facilitated by a grant from the Center for Libertarian Studies. Her lead article in the Autumn 1981 issue of *Literature of Liberty* dealt with Tucker and the individualist movement. Wendy is editor of a forthcoming anthology on individualist-feminism to be published by Cato Institute. She has lectured widely on subjects of interest to libertarians.

"An Introduction" to The Voluntaryists, which includes their Statement of Purpose, may be obtained by sending them a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The Voluntaryists pamphlets are available for \$1.00 each postpaid. Orders and inquiries may be sent to: The Voluntaryists, Box 5836, Baltimore, Maryland 21208.

## FUHRIG *(Continued from page 3)*

whatever contributions you can to the Fuhrig campaign. For information or for sending contributions, the address is: Joe Fuhrig for Senator, 5960 Zinn Drive, Oakland, CA 94611. Phones: (415) 861-2982; (213) 345-3733.

And furthermore, why stop at the Senate? Libertarians everywhere are looking frantically for a Presidential candidate to be nominated in the summer of 1983 at the New York convention. Why not Joe Fuhrig, a Respectable Radical, in 1983-84? Why not Fuhrig all the way? If you contribute to Joe Fuhrig's senatorial campaign now, you might just possibly help put this highly articulate and principled radical in as President in 1983! □

**ARTS AND MOVIES** (Continued from page 4)

even kill him to prevent the New York affair from becoming publicly known.

Gardenia, who fans remember was always snuffling in the first film, has now developed even worse nasal problems, and he is sneezing and coughing throughout the picture.

Bronson's vigilante quest differs from the previous film, for now he got a look at the killers before they knocked him out. And so he sets out, not after random muggers, but to get the rapists and killers of his daughter and housekeeper. In the most dramatic scene in the picture, Gardenia tracks Bronson to a lonely wood, where he comes across our vigilante in a shootout with a half-dozen of the killers. Remarkably, Gardenia jumps in to aid Bronson. In a marvellous confrontation, Bronson, after the shooting is over, goes over to comfort a dying Gardenia.

"Why did you stick your neck out — for me?", Bronson wonderingly asks his old enemy.

"It was either you — or *them*."

At that point, Gardenia asks whether he got the killers. "All but one," Bronson replies.

And then, in one of the great lines in the recent cinema, the expiring Gardenia implores:

"Get the m----- for me!"

Attaboy, Gardenia, and attaboy Bronson, who of course does, in a great scene which manages to blast away at modern "insanity" defenses for violent crime.

Another excellent note is Jill Ireland, Bronson's love interest, a bright lawyer and criminological liberal, who as do so many females in vigilante/spy drama, can't take the gaff when they find that their boy friends are willing to fight and

use violence in defense of right and justice. One thinks immediately of the magnificently tough Matt Helm in the Donald Hamilton spy novels, who is always being abandoned by females *even when* they too are allied spies who are convinced that it is perfectly legitimate for the CIA or whatever to assassinate killers and bad guys.

After the sensitive ending of *Death Wish II*, with Bronson alone and deserted by Jill Ireland, one is left with the question: will our vigilante hero ever find a heroine, a "Rebel Girl," who admires him as vigilante as well as architect and is willing to stick? Let's hope that there will be a *Death Wish III* so we can find out. In the meantime, Michael Winner has produced another *Death Wish* great. □

**ERRATA**

**April, 1982 issue.**

In our lead editorial, "To the Gold Commission," there were five missing lines in the fourth paragraph of the first column of page 2. That paragraph, and the next two lines, in their entirety, should have read as follows:

If we must denationalize gold, then, we must also and at the same time denationalize *the dollar* — taking the issuance of dollars out of the hands of the government or the central bank. To eliminate and exorcise the spectre of inflation, we must see to it that gold, dollar, and money are in the hands of the people, of the free market, rather than the central bank.

How can this be done? How can we establish freedom and private property in money, while denationalizing gold and the dollar? Only by restoring the concept of the "dollar", etc.

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## DOUBLE VICTORY FOR AGGRESSION

June 1982 will go down in history as a banner month for aggression. In the same week, two aggressors in two separate wars — Great Britain and Israel — smashed their opposition in an orgy of empire, vainglory, and mass murder, all to the scarcely disguised cheers of the Reagan Administration.

In the Falklands, all the *macho* mouthings of the Galtieri *junta* ended in abject surrender, with the Argie troops turning tail and fleeing the action. The excuse that the Brits had secret technology equipping them for night-fighting rates a loud raspberry: perhaps the Argies need to eat a lot more carrots. The Air Force did well in sinking several Brit ships, but even it lacked the fortitude for an assault on the beloved British troopship, the QEII. Meantime the triumphant Brit war machine re-planted the sacred Union Jack on Falkland soil — with the only cost hundreds dead on both sides and no less than one billion dollars to be extracted from the long-suffering British taxpayer. Strutting and bloated with victory, the Brits now insist on keeping Argies out forever — though the admitted cost will be another billion to garrison troops permanently in that remote hole and to pour in money for sheep development.

The Brits reached the depths of shame after the fighting ended, when Mrs. Thatcher virtually threatened death for some 11,000 prisoners of war unless the Argies surrendered officially as well as *de facto*; how vile can one get? Meanwhile, the only face left for the Argies is at least to continue the war *de jure*; but clearly the increased power of the dovish Air Force means that the Argies have no intention to carry the war forward in a protracted struggle by air and sea against the British garrison in the Falklands. It seems that the Argies are all wind.

There are only two points of solace in the Falkland outcome for libertarians: (a) that we have another argument for the superior fighting qualities of volunteer mercenaries (the Brits) as against draftees (the Argies); and (b) the pro-British intervention by the United States has opened a serious rift between the Reagan Administration and its right-wing authoritarian allies in Latin America.

Meanwhile, across the globe, Israel, which likes to launch aggression when a distracting war is being fought elsewhere (*pace* 1956), sliced through Lebanon, unmercifully slaughtering Lebanese civilians as it went. For a few days, the flimsy excuse sufficed of ending shelling threats for a 25-mile zone north of the Israeli border (Never mind that the PLO guerrillas had observed a cease-fire in that zone for eleven months). That excuse kept the United States benignly favorable and the Arab governments out of the action, permitting Israel to shell and murder Lebanese cities far north of the zone — such as Sidon and of course Beirut. Suddenly, Israeli troops were on the edge of Beirut itself.

Trudy Rubin, in a revealing article (June 17) in the *Christian Science Monitor*, shows that Israel was able to conduct these operations without generating an outraged world opinion by simply exercising press censorship and keeping journalists out of the war zone — thereby avoiding the protests following its far more limited invasion of south Lebanon in 1978.

So far, estimates are that over 10,000 Lebanese civilians have been killed or injured in Beirut alone. In Sidon, the Israelis killed a thousand Lebanese and wounded 3,000. And in the Lebanese city of Tyre, conquering Israel ordered large numbers of civilians to gather on the beach before it began to shell the town; the civilians were left on the beach by Israel for two days without food, water, or shelter. Overall, in southern Lebanon, 600,000 Arabs have been made homeless by Israeli engines of destruction. But this news has only been allowed to trickle out after the deed has been done, allowing the U.S. to cheerfully accept the new *fait accompli* presented by Israel.

The Reagan Administration, in fact, shamefully looks forward to Israel's imposing a new "strong, central government" on war-torn Lebanon. (*There's a real libertarian goal!*) Clearly, the U.S. is prepared to help Israel accomplish that objective. This "restructuring," however, is in the absurd

(Continued on page 5)

## FLAT-RATE: THE LATEST CON

Suddenly, they're all going for it. Reaganites trying to find some gimmick, some distraction from the current economic mess now that New Federalism is dead in the water. Democratic Neo-Liberals trying to find something newer than 1930s left-liberalism. Conservatives sick of the progressive income tax. Tax-wielders trying to find and crush the sheltered, the exempt, those not paying taxes. "It," of course, is the flat-rate income tax.

Flat-ratism originated with the Friedmanites, who have always praised its "simplicity." Secretary of the Treasury Regan calls it "maybe the fairest tax of all." The sainted Bill Simon, for a while back there the ubiquitous belovedest man in the free-market movement, is for it. Even my friend Congressman Ron Paul (R., Tex.) has swallowed this one hook, line, and sinker. In a June 1 press release, Ron calls flat rate "An Idea Whose Time Has Come," and repeatedly praises not only its simplicity but its "perfect fairness," since no one is allowed to "get away without paying their fair share of taxes."

And finally, of course, there are the Craniacs, ever ready to tail after someone else's sellout bandwagon. None other than Jule Herbert, head of the Craniac National Taxpayers Legal Defense Fund, has added his mite, hailing flat-rate as a sensible transition step toward the ultimate libertarian goal of income tax abolition.

The problem with conservatives and minarchists is that they have *no* theory of taxation. They favor taxation for protection and other services. But how *much* taxation, and *who* shall pay? As Ayn Rand would have said, Blankout. They can only fall back on the pernicious nonsense of "fairness."

But beneath the moral cloak of "fairness" rests the ugly reality of institutionalized envy. For saying that Smith is "not paying his fair share" of the taxes paid by Jones is *really* saying that since Jones has suffered by God Smith should be forced to suffer equally. Behind the cloak of "fairness" is the real mean-spirited "ethic" of compulsory equality of suffering. It is as if a group of slaves had escaped from the South before the Civil War, and they were met with the following: "Yes, we too are opposed to slavery and we seek the day when all men are free. But in the meantime, it is very wicked of you to escape slavery while your brothers and sisters are still under the yoke. For you are thereby evading your fair share of slavery, and therefore we shall send you back to your masters, to remain there until all slaves can be freed equally."

And yet that is precisely what conservative and libertarian flat-raters are saying. For the key to flat-ratism is not the welcome reduction in the tax paid by the upper-income groups; it is the eager search and destroy mission to eradicate tax shelters, credits, and exemptions, so as to *force* these lucky or

ingenious people to pay.

And what now happens to the libertarian transition demand for tax credits of all sorts? For tax credits for tuition, charity, or whatever? All this will be pulverized in the name of "fairness." Even Ronald Reagan demurred that those suffering from catastrophic illness would be forced to lose their exemptions under flat-rate domination. And here lies an interesting point. For none of the flat-raters are consistent enough to carry their logic through. The poor, the lower-income groups — in most plans those below \$10,000 income — are not to pay any taxes at all. But why should the poor be exempt from the universal fairness of flatness while the catastrophically ill are not?

The slavery analogy is correct because there can be no such thing as "fairness in taxation." Taxation is nothing but organized theft, and the concept of a "fair tax" is therefore every bit as absurd as that of "fair theft." Conservatives often see that there is something iniquitous about taxation, but they misidentify the "progressive" part of the income tax as theft, mistakenly thinking that the progressive income tax is a system whereby the poor rob the rich. In truth, taxation is a system whereby the State robs everyone else, rich, middle, and poor. *Taxation* is robbery, not simply progressive taxation.

But that means that Herbert and other libertarians who think of flat rate as a sensible "transition" step toward tax abolition are dead wrong. Gradualism *toward* a goal is one thing; gradualism *away* from a goal is quite another. Flat-ratism would sock much higher taxes upon the exempt and the sheltered. The proper transition demand should be precisely the opposite: not to join the envious in blathering about forcing the sheltered to pay "fair shares," but to hail their ingenuity and to set about widening these exemptions to include all the rest of us. Widen and deepen the flight of fugitive slaves, *don't* drag them back.

Furthermore, the broad base of the middle class — the exploited and conned majority who pay virtually all the taxes now — will continue to pay most of the taxes and are likely to find their tax burden increase. For if the poor and the rich are to have their burden cut, who but the long-exploited middle class will be expected to take up the slack? Once again, the Sumnerian Forgotten Man, the member of the middle class, will be socked. Or at least he will unless he catches on to this new Con as fast as possible.

And, finally, we cannot move toward tax abolition by increasing the taxes of any person or group. Ever. That strategy is very much like the Marxists moving toward the goal of the "withering away of the State" by first maximizing State power. It is opportunist double-talk. □

# HOUSTON: THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

The LP NatCom meeting at Houston, March 27-28 was a quiet but deeply satisfying event, for it marked the distinct turning of the tide on the National committee. As we reported in our August-January issue, the Bethesda, Maryland meeting on November 7-8, 1981 was an exciting one in which a newly forged Grand Coalition of Mason and Clark forces beat back a determined attempt by the Crane Machine to seize power. Houston was deeply satisfying because it became clear there that the Crane Machine had reached its high-water mark at Bethesda, and was now in a distinct and subdued minority. (Our Military Maven who had predicted this great decline after Bethesda was proved, once again, right on the mark.)

One observer complained at Houston that the meeting lacked exciting battles and was therefore "boring." Not so. For the strategic and tactical offensive had now clearly passed from the Craniacs to the Grand Coalition, who now began to pepper the National Headquarters staff (a Craniac stronghold) with audit reports and demands for accounting. So while there were few vitally important votes at the meeting, there were resonances and behind-the-scenes events of considerable long-run importance, including the obvious passing of the initiative. The following were some of the important resonances to emerge from the Houston meeting:

## 1. Alicia Clark as an Effective Leader

Alicia Clark emerged at this meeting as an effective, tough, and savvy chairman. This emergence surprised the Crane and the Mason camps, both of whom had obviously underestimated Alicia all the way. The Craniacs evidently thought that they could steamroller Alicia, and it hasn't worked that way at all.

## 2. The Strengthening of the Grand Coalition

The Grand Coalition is now firmly in place and working effectively--another continuing shock to the Crane Machine. In effect, the old Mason and Clark camps are now merged into one force, one "Majority Caucus," as one wag put it. Paul Grant (Col., Mason) is our acknowledged leader, assisted by Emil Franzi (Ariz., Clark), Mike Emerling (Nev., Clark), and Bill Evers (Cal., Mason). This unity is forged on two positive ideological themes: Principle First, and grass-roots organization, taken from the two campaigns in 1981, and providing an effective base from which to confront the power-hungry opportunists of the Crane Machine.

We have also found--in a surprising and welcome serendipity--that the Grand Coalition members all like each other, that we are a congeries of diverse, interesting, and authentic personalities. This contrasts to the Crane Machiners who look and act in an uncannily similar and robotic manner. One astute observer at the Denver convention last year put it this way: "You can spot a Guida delegate at 100 yards. They all

look alike--all Preppies." The anti-"Preppie" note is an interesting cultural point that has gone unobserved in the movement; there is, outside of the Northeast quadrant of the country, a deep underlying hatred of "preppies," who are all identified, rightly or wrongly, with the Crane Machine. My own perspective is that the Craniacs, preppie or no, all try to look and talk like tough, cool young professionals, neo-Haldemans. Look at the Craniacs, and one gets the feeling that one is back in the Nixon White House, with all the tough, cool, obnoxious young folk--the Cheneys, the Deans, *et al.*, ruled by Haldeman/Crane himself.

If the Grand Coalition made any mistakes at Houston, it was in underestimating the extent and depth of our majority. Presumably that will be rectified at the next NatCom meeting at Billings, Montana on August 7-8.

## 3. The Audit Report

Dave Walter (Pa.)'s Audit Report was a thorough investigation of the National Headquarters, a Craniac stronghold, with some sensational implications. Most fascinating was the revelation that National Director Eric O'Keefe had made "at least a hundred" calls to the Cato Institute in San Francisco during 1981. Since Cato, Ed Crane's base, is supposed to be non-political, what would the director of a political party be doing making almost daily calls to Cato? Unfortunately, NatCom failed to question O'Keefe in depth on this one.

There is also the revelation in the Walter Report that national treasurer Vivian Baures is not getting proper records from Headquarters to prepare the books, and is "also having trouble, apparently, in getting the staff to understand the financial procedures she is trying to institute in order to bring, at long last, proper bookkeeping and controls to the Party." Walter, a CPA, adds sardonically that this lack seems to be due not only to the headquarter staff's unfamiliarity with accounting, but also "to the fact that accounting is boring, etc. when there are exciting political action tasks that can be done instead."

## 4. The Headquarters Staff

The most important measures passed by NatCom at Houston were to curb actual or potential abuses by headquarters staff. First, Evers' motion that no person who has been terminated from the national staff for non-performance of duties can return as an employee or volunteer without approval of the National Chair, passed by the overwhelming vote of 23-7 with one abstaining. Then, Emil Franzi (Az.) moved that the national headquarters may not be used for partisan activity within the LP by the staff or the National Director. I moved to strengthen the motion to prevent headquarters staff from being delegates to the national convention, and my motion passed by

the overwhelming vote of 20-10. After crushing an attempt by Jule Herbert (D.C.) to gut the resolution, NatCom passed the Franzi-Rothbard resolution by a smashing vote of 22-6-1. History should record the bad guy voters on this important motion. Two out of three bad-guy votes: Herbert, Lindsay (Ark.), Palm (Mont.), A. Rich (N.Y.), Taylor (Minn.). *Three* out of three wrong votes: Baures (Ore.), Burch (Va.), Hocker (D.C.), and Johnson (Ill.).

### 5. Behind-the-Scenes Memos

Behind the scenes at Houston there circulated two stunningly revealing memos which embarrassed and helped subdue the Craniacs and strengthened the resolve of the Grand Coalition. One was a memo by Crane himself to the various Crane Machine bigwigs, setting the line about what should be done about Ed Clark's proposal to hold a public opinion poll about the LP, and stressing the importance of keeping the *interpretation* of poll results in Craniac hands. In this Feb. 16 memo, Crane instructed his Machine to stop opposing the poll itself, but rather to make sure to control its interpretation. The shocker is that the memo was sent, not only to top Craniacs Tom Palmer, David Boaz, Leslie Key, Chris Hocker, Kent Guida, and the Riches, but *also* to LP National Director Eric O'Keefe, who, as an employee of the entire Natcom, is supposed to be strictly neutral among the factions. This memo raises profound questions as to *whom* O'Keefe is reporting to.

The other fascinating memo circulating at Houston was anonymous, dated Feb. 16, and sent to other top Crane Machiners. Our sister magazine *Libertarian Vanguard* has now revealed that the author of this snide and arrogant memo was none other than Chris Hocker, publisher of Crane-run *Inquiry* magazine. The June issue of *Libertarian Vanguard* publishes the entire memo (this bi-monthly is available for \$10 a year at 1800 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94102).

One important aspect of the Hocker memo is that he refers frankly and openly to the "Crane Machine" and assumes that his readers are all members thereof. This should put to rest once and for all the various naifs and Pollyannas in the Libertarian Party who have claimed that there *is no* Crane machine and that it is all a figment of some of our imaginations. So let us all from now on stipulate: there *is* a Crane Machine.

It is clear both from the Hocker memo and from other evidence that, having lost control of NatCom, and being strong in only a handful of state parties, the only hope for Craniac control of the LP is to dominate—once again—the Presidential campaign in 1983-84. The Crane machine managed to control, with Crane himself as campaign manager, the MacBride campaign in 1976 and the Clark campaign in 1980, and domination of presidential campaigns has always been his major interest.

Since Crane's strength has always been Kocktopusian money and the employment of full-time cadre, his emphasis within the LP has and continues to be on TV spots for the Presidential campaign rather than the building of grass-roots cadre and organization. As opportunists ever ready to jettison principle, the Crane Machine yearns for a "name" presidential candidate which it thinks will help the campaign amass votes and monetary contributions.

The focus of the Feb. 16 Hocker memo is to warn about an expected anti-Crane Machine strategy in 1983-84 which would concentrate on local races, local-oriented publicity and party-building, and not on TV spots for the presidential candidate. All this sounds pretty good to me, but the prospect drives Hocker to frenzy, or as frenzied as this neo-Haldeman can ever get.

Hocker worries that Ed Clark and Alicia will be the leaders of this line, which, according to Hocker, would weave together "every version of Wrongthink we've had to contend with for the past year: emphasis on local, bottom-up organizing, "terminal Crane-haters," and opponents of Craniac centralized elitism. As Hocker puts it: the argument he fears "holds the subconscious message that all us rank-and-file soldiers don't have to just shut up and let the big guys run the show anymore." An interesting revelation of course of what Craniacs have in mind for every party member except themselves: to "shut-up," and, of course, to contribute money and gather signatures. Hocker also attacks Clark's "we need to turn out more people for campaign events refrain." At first, the reader might be puzzled: what's *wrong* with Ed Clark's wanting more people to turn up for campaign events? Until we realize, of course, that the Craniacs don't want *people*, but TV spots and money. They want to do it all with mirrors.

Hocker's major worry about the influence of the Clarks is, as he puts it, that "they've amply demonstrated that they hold no loyalty whatsoever to the Crane Machine, and will be happy to push it to the background." Tsk, tsk!

Another notable feature of the Hocker memo is his repeated use of an obscenity to characterize his opposition: "the Rothbard/Colorado" faction as well as the state of Texas. One would think that this Stanford graduate could find some invective that is a bit more precise and on a bit higher level. It is one of the sad consequences of the Kochtopus for the libertarian movement that it has elevated a raft of know-nothings like Hocker to continuing power and influence in the movement. Absent the Kochtopus's artificial inflation of the labor market, and Chris Hocker would be back selling busses in the Bay Area, a job in which he would, one hopes, no longer stand as a permanent living proof of the Peter Principle.

### 6. Leslie Key's Missing Agenda Items

More amusing than earth-shaking were two items which Leslie Key, the Madame DeFarge of the movement, had originally placed on the agenda, but which cooler and wiser Crane Machine heads had apparently convinced her to withdraw. One was an item entitled "NatCom behavior toward National Headquarters staff," presumably some sort of resolution proclaiming that we should not (no longer?) be beastly to Eric O'Keefe and the rest of the staff. This would have given an opportunity for various NatCom members who have felt aggrieved at *their* treatment by the staff to amend the resolution ordering *them* to be nice, etc. *ad absurdum*.

But the really bizarre agenda item originally introduced by La Key was "Request for retraction by Craig Franklin of his statement on the Maryland LP elections"—in which the Craniacs used proxy votes to take over the party. Now *there* would have been a fun item indeed, especially coming from

someone always ready to instruct the rest of us in proper strategy and tactics. I was tempted to introduce an amendment, saying that this superb resolution lacks one critical item: an enforcement procedure. And that therefore an Enforcement Committee should be set up, perhaps to be called the Holy Office of the Libertarian Inquisition, to catechize the errant heretic Franklin, to stretch him on the rack to force him to confess and recant his crimes, and then to finish him off with an *auto da fe*, in which, *inter alia*, he would be castrated with Madame's notorious knitting needles. One is almost tempted to call Leslie the Madame Nhu of the movement, except that she would have to be considerably shorter and more Oriental to qualify.

### 7. More on the Alaska Party

The Houston meeting also provided an opportunity for further revelations of the social philosophy and world outlook of the Alaska LP. Steve DeLisio, Alaska NatCom rep., and myself addressd the Texas LP banquet Saturday night. On being asked what advice I would give the elected Texas Libertarian school board officials, I replied that they might begin to widen the libertarian consciouness of the Texas electorate by attacking the *bona fides* of the public school system itself, and not only those of that particular board. This advice seemed to fall like a lead balloon on the heads of the banqueters, to be topped off by DeLisio grabbing the mike and accusing me of advocating "mooning." It is an interesting revelation that the Alaska LPers seem to liken an honest

assertion of libertarian principle to the commission of an obscene act.

### 8. The Voting Alignment

Without going into more details of the voting, it was clear that there was considerable movement away from the Craniacs and toward good-guydom. Tom Bogel of Kentucky was a truly impressive newcomer to NatCom. Clark Hodge of Florida moved dramatically from a largely Cranian stance to a fine voting record. Sheldon Richman, Vice-Chair, had a similarly fine record moving from a middle-of-the-road position, as did Jim Lewis of Connecticut, and especially Secretary Frances Eddy (Md.). In a significant change, DeLisio of Alaska moved from a Cranian to an independent, middle-of-the road stance. Top voting records (in addition of course to myself) were turned in by: David Brazier (Wash.), Mike Emerling (Ariz.), M.L. Hanson (Col.), and Dale Pratt (Haw.); followed closely by Dave Bergland (Cal.), Tom Bogel (Ky.), Lynn Crussel (Okla.), Frances Eddy (Md.), Bill Evers (Cal.), Emil Franzi (Ariz.), and Matt Monroe (Tex.).

There was a lot of jocularly about Craniacs and fellow-travellers changing their votes "to look good in the Forum" -- if true, a delightful example of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle at work on NatCom. The booby-prize, won last time by Jim Johnston (Ill.), was shared at Houston by three Cranian stalwarts: the irrepressible Johnston, whose stentorian voice was often heard booming out "Nays" even when fellow Craniacs were willing to go along with a vote; Chris Hocker; and Mike Burch -- the latter two Cranian employees. □

## DOUBLE VICTORY (Continued from page 1)

direction of re-imposing rule over Lebanon by its Christian minority. Christians are now only 30% of the Lebanese population, which means an attempt to keep the overwhelming Muslim majority in permanent subjection.

Israel has once again pursued the logic of empire. A territory is first conquered, then more has to be conquered to defend the frontier areas from being shelled, then a narrow frontier zone has to be conquered, then a wider zone, and on and on, until . . . Until what? The logic of empire is endless; it can never end until the entire world has been forced into subjection.

But suppose that Israel conquers Beirut. Then what? What will it do with hundreds of thousands of sullen and hostile subject Arabs? Unless they are genocidally slaughtered, they too will become nuclei for continuing guerrilla struggle. And then what? On to Damascus?

The logic of empire promises only permanent war, permanent tyranny, and permanent injustice, and, in the end, failure even on its own terms. But war — especially winning war — is the eternal unifier, and so this venture by Israel's supreme war-hawk Arik Sharon has simply silenced the previously vocal opposition within Israel and strengthened the forces for permanent aggression.

In the meanwhile, with the exception of the PLO itself, Arab *macho* seems to have matched Argie *macho*. The Syrians,

for all their tough talk, didn't lay a glove on the Israelis and caved in quickly, and the other Arab states did precisely nothing. If nothing else, the invasion of 1982 should finally teach the PLO the lesson which they should have learned after the Jordanian massacre ("Black September") of Palestinians in 1970 and the Syrian invasion of Lebanon to crush the PLO-Muslim forces in 1976. Only treachery to the Palestinians can come from the Arab states. The "rejection front" was right: Palestinian achievements will be built on quicksand until a long march is made through the political institutions of the front-line Arab states.

Until that day, we will continue to receive such horrifying reports as the one on June 10 by ABC correspondent Hilary Brown from the devastated Lebanese city of Sidon: that Israel had "destroyed the infrastructure of all civilian life in cities where the PLO was based." □

Joseph R. Peden, Associate Editor  
Daniel M. Rosenthal, Publisher  
Dyanne M. Petersen, Associate Publisher  
Carmen Accashian, Circulation Manager

# ARE WE BEING BEASTLY TO THE GIPPER? — PART V

## 7. Macro-Reaganomics: the Latest

Since we have begun this series, the Reagan record has become so putrid that even the right-wing of our movement has fallen into a conspicuous silence about their erstwhile Hero. Our assaults on the Reagan performance have lately been pushing on an open door.

Inflation has dramatically “abated,” but interest rates remain very high, clearly because the public and the market understandably distrust the enormous and unprecedented deficits and the fact that the Fed has been quietly pouring in more money since last October at the whopping annual rate of 10 per cent. All this means an imminent reflation, high interest rates, and a big increase in both once a boom reappears.

For the last several months, the Reagan Administration has been desperately attempting to deflect the attention of the public from its rotten record. In addition to scapegoating the Democrats and the Carter Administration, the Reaganites have thrown up a series of razzle-dazzle gimmicks to try to gull the voters.

First, trotted out in last-minute desperation at the 1982 State-of-the-Union message, was the New Federalism (remember that one?). Even the original version was so vague and so pie-in-the-sky (taking a decade to go into effect), that it was difficult to take it seriously or to figure out whether federal spending or each state’s spending, would go up or down as a result. But, in offering to assume all state Medicaid costs for the federal government in exchange for shifting welfare and food stamp costs to the states, it was at once clear that Reagan was offering to shoulder the fastest-growing expenditure of the three (Medicaid) by the federal government, so that the feds would probably wind up spending more money than ever before. In addition, Robert Carleson, White House aid in charge of welfare, was reportedly unhappy because the proposed swap would be setting the stage for national health insurance from the next administration.

Now, the Reagan Administration has caved in even more, since it is now offering to keep food stamps for the feds, and only shift welfare to the states. More and more, the New Federalism is looking like the same old galloping statism under the cloak of Reaganite rhetoric.

When the New Federalism failed to fly, the next gimmick adopted by Reagan was the balanced budget amendment, which has been kicking around for a long while, and has now been introduced in the Congress. The President must get high marks for unmitigated gall; here he is, presiding over by far the biggest budget and the biggest deficit in American history, and still attempting to carry favor with opponents of Big Government by self-righteously urging a constitutional amendment for a balanced budget! How can Reagan keep getting away with his favorite ploy of being Head of State and yet *still* sounding like a private citizen reading oppositional

anecdotes attacking Big Government from his eternal 3x5 cards?

Furthermore, the main balanced budget amendment before Congress is so namby-pamby and so attenuated that it would probably be better if it were defeated right now. First, Congress is not required to balance the actual budget, but only its estimates of future budgets, estimates which are notoriously vague and chronically inaccurate. Second, there is no enforcement procedure to bring Congress to heel. Deficits are right now against the law, though not yet unconstitutional, and yet no one pays any attention to the continuing violation, let alone proceed to incarcerate some erring Congressmen. Third, it is absurdly easy for Congress to override this solemn amendment, ranging from a mere majority to a three-fifths vote. Even easier than overriding the constantly abused statutory limit on taxes would tie tax revenues to a percentage of the “national income.” It is truly absurd to enshrine a slippery concept such as “national income” in to the basic law of the land. Who knows what “national income” is? This is not a precise or scientific concept, but whatever government statisticians say it is. For example, every time the government hires a bureaucrat, the salary is counted as a *per se* addition to the “national income.” The saints preserve us from Friedmanites (for such they are) adding their mumbo-jumbo to an already much-abused Constitution! □

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## LETTER FORUM

### Solution to the Falklands

Dear Editor:

One of your proposed solutions to the current dispute in the Falklands (“Oh, Oh, Oh, What A Lovely War” — May 1982), namely to move the Islanders to East Anglia, has one further attraction.

Not only could the Islanders “enjoy” the bad weather, the strong winds, the marshes, the food and the pubs of East Anglia but also the seaweed which, as in the Falklands, grows in abundance offshore.

However it is a much higher quality seaweed than the Falklands variety.

Whereas the latter is fed to the sheep, the East Anglian variety is a local delicacy which, when pickled, is called samphire or St. Peter’s herb and is eaten with a cold meat salad.

Yours for the duration,

John Blundell  
Menlo Park, California

## SMEAR: THE STORY OF UPDATE — PART I

by Derrick "Ed" Welles

In March 1981, a new newsletter first appeared in the homes of libertarians. In its inaugural issue, this newsletter proclaimed its *raison d'être*: "It's often difficult to separate facts from rumors and personal opinions when covering the libertarian movement, but we believe that it's in the best interest of the movement, as well as our own, to try to make these distinctions. Therefore, we intend our news items to be factual, while opinion and unsubstantiated reports, valuable and interesting as they may be, will be clearly labeled as such."

This newsletter is *Update*, a publication already lovingly referred to in previous issues of *Lib. Forum*. For the past year and a half, it has performed in the opposite manner to what it had promised its readers. It has fused rumors, personal opinions, and facts, and has incorporated unsubstantiated reports and editorial bias into articles that pose as news items. This practice has certainly been valuable to *Update's* editors, and indeed it has served their interests as they see them. Decoding the truth from *Update's* coverage has proven to be an interesting project.

*Update* is the unofficial organ of the Crane Machine. It is unofficially so, because nobody in *Update* has come out and admitted that their purpose is to offer readers a distorted view of the movement through Craniac lenses; instead, they pose as impartial reporters of facts. The fact, however, is that *Update* is published by the Libertarian Review Foundation, heir of the late *Libertarian Review* and publishers of the ex-Cato magazine, *Inquiry*. Its three editors (until June 1982) have been Chris Hocker, Madame Defarge Leslie Key, and Kent Guida. Ed Crane himself often writes in *Update* (the only publication, besides *Cato's Letter*, where his written work appears). In nearly every issue, libertarians who have criticized, opposed, or resisted Craniac domination of themselves or the movement are made to look uniformly like fools or incompetents, and their achievements are belittled, misrepresented, or ignored and hidden from the reader.

As a libertarian news publication with pretensions of impartial journalism, *Update* is an unqualified disaster. This does not stop it from being a success in terms of what its publishers may wish to accomplish. Since its first issue, *Update* has served the dual functions of inflating the performance and

image of those who submit to Craniac ways, and of discrediting those who refuse to submit, regardless of the actual accomplishments of each.

There is a new word coined for this occasion, for *Update's* peculiar style of journalism. It is "Updating," by which we shall mean the practice of distorting the reader's perception by either 1) omitting relevant facts; 2) creating nonexistent "facts"; 3) incorporating editorial bias into a news item; or 4) giving favorable coverage to one side of a controversy in an ostensibly impartial news report.

We should note that *Update's* biased reporting is mixed with other, generally factual and newsy articles, mostly on scholarly institutions and projects that deal with libertarian theory or which are not currently threatening or inconvenient to Craniac designs. Thus, Murray Rothbard may be praised for his theoretical contributions — not even *Update* can deny him credit for these — but is portrayed negatively wherever possible when it comes to his activist work and strategic outlook (which in many cases, as *Forum* readers well know, is very different from that of Craniacs).

This generally accurate reporting of non-controversial movement activities, of course, only makes it more difficult for the reader without an independent (i.e., non-Craniac) source of information to discern what is truth and what is smear when it comes to *Update's* coverage of the Machine's enemies. *Update* will brook no obstacles — and spare no trick of biased journalism — to advance the unfettered control of movement activism by the Crane Machine. To be a resister of Craniac views is, in *Update's* eyes, to be a nincompoop, a ranting factionalist, or (can you believe this) a sellout of libertarian principle.

We shall see why, and how, all of these statements are true about *Update* in the analysis that follows. Although thus far we have made no pretense of approaching the matter with a false air of impartial reporting, a reading of the following will be seen to be more logical and factual than what we have become used to on the pages of *Update*. We invite the reader to analyze this, and to check our statements about *Update* for himself.

## 1. In the Beginning

From the start *Update* was easily perceived — by trained eyes — as the organ of the Crane faction. In its very first issue, quips and snide remarks were directed at those not in association with the Crane Machine: After criticizing a *Reason* magazine article by Rees proposing the sale of passports, *Update* cracked: "In the same issue, ironically, Murray N. Rothbard makes the 'case for libertarian pessimism'; having one's own article appear in a libertarian magazine alongside Rees's would indeed tend to make one a trifle pessimistic."

It's interesting that *Update* would fault Rothbard for having his work published in such unworthy company...but, after thirteen issues, it still has never written anything about the decidedly unlibertarian comments that have aired on "Byline," Crane's Cato Institute's radio-commentary show. What's more, Murray Rothbard doesn't decide what goes into *Reason*, and in all likelihood did not even *know* the rest of the contents of the *Reason* issue prior to its publication. But Cato presumably *does* control "Byline"! This is the first instance in a long series of *Update*'s practice of pointing to (real or alleged) faults or problems in their "enemies," while ignoring similar faults and problems in their allies. If *Update* postures as keeper of libertarian principle (as we shall see over and over), then why doesn't it, in its intrepid analysis of purity in the actions and pronouncements of others, apply the same surgical knife to its own buddies?

That first issue carried summaries of the then-candidates for LP National Chair (Dallas Cooley, Kent Guida, John Mason). In its first act of "Updating," *Update* offered positive and negative comments about each candidate (it did not say *who* made these comments). For Cooley and Mason, the negative comments concerned points of substance that, if true, could affect the attractiveness of the candidate. Of Cooley, who was at the time LP National Treasurer, *Update* said, "It's hard to tell where he stands on anything," and "He hasn't watched the LNC finances very closely." Of Mason, the negative remarks were "He hasn't really done anything on the National Committee," and that he was "too tied in with the Rothbard faction." Guida (who most assuredly was and is tied in with the Craniac faction) escaped with the silly and innocuous "He's too short" and "Don't know anything about him."

Guida also received *Update*'s most positive comments: "He knows a lot about libertarian theory" (presenting him as strong in libertarian background), and "He did a great job with ballot drives and organizational work" (a quality activist, too!); while Cooley's pro side was limited to the vacuous "being very generous to the party" and "looking like a chairman," and Mason "has been a hard worker" and "has a good sense of humor." Guida got the substantial praise and the innocuous criticism; his competitors, just the opposite. Hmmm. *Update* did not endorse any candidate officially — its reporting practices took care of that.

## 2. Unfulfilled Promises I

In the second of many attacks on Rothbard, *Update* began "a contest" in June 1981, "Name That Author." This was to be, supposedly, "the first in its soon-to-be famous 'Occasional Contests' series." The quotation that followed was a ringing call for burying intramovement hatreds and working together for Liberty. The author turned out to be Murray Rothbard; the effect was to embarrass Rothbard for his well-known critique of the Crane Machine and the 1980 Clark for President (CFP)

campaign, of which Hocker (first *Update* editor) *et al.* were in control. It is ironic, given *Update*'s thinly-disguised partisanship, that it would publish an ecumenical passage. But then, *Update* poses as an impartial rag dedicated to the benefit of the movement as a whole.

And the "soon-to-be famous 'Occasional Contests' series"? As of this writing, that one, in June 1981, has been the only one *Update* has conducted. One is hard-pressed to avoid thinking it was devised merely to take a cheap shot at Rothbard and to ridicule the forces for principled campaigning.

## 3. SLS Whitewash

*Update*'s August 1981 article on the SLS Convention claimed there was "unity" in SLS and made a point of asserting the Radical Caucus' lack of influence at the Convention. (The Radical Caucus have been acerbic critics of the pre-1982, opportunist SLS National Office faction). Half the article discussed resolutions and strategy decisions made at the Convention, giving the impression that the affair was an activist-oriented huddle dedicated to discovering how best to further the cause of Liberty in the upcoming year.

In fact only one, Sunday morning session out of the three-day affair was concerned with resolutions. The major, and quite heated, debate dealt with the internal structure of SLS in the face of drastic cuts in Koch funding. While it mentioned the Radical Caucus twice (both times in glee over the "virtual shut-out" of the Radical Caucus), the report made no mention of a third force present at the Convention which did have an effect upon the course of events. This "Non Caucus," which proposed to decentralize SLS and reduce the powers of the Craniac-dominated SLS National Office, had *more* support than the RC, but received no mention by *Update*. Nor did *Update* report on the hectic night before the debate on an SLS constitution, which Milton Mueller and friends spent bargaining with this "Non Caucus" in an attempt to head off the new opposition to their control. But it would have looked bad for *Update*'s friends who arranged the closed-door meeting, to seem like power-broking politicians. Instead, SLS' Convention was "smooth," whereas in truth it was stormy and revealed deep-seated and unresolved differences in organizational philosophy between significant sectors of the movement.

## 4. Updating the November LNC Meeting

The same *Update* claimed, in another article, that RC leader Bill Evers, a member of a NatComm subcommittee appointed to look into the issue of the CFP campaign's FCC complaint against NBC, had issued a report critical of CFP's actions, "with neither the knowledge or consent of the other subcommittee member, Andrea Millen Rich." This was false, since Evers had already read all the details of his report to Andrea Rich. Then, in its November 1981 issue, *Update* reported on that month's NatComm (LNC) meeting. In that article's section on the Libertarian Congressional Committee (LCC), *Update* said "A move by Murray Rothbard to replace Ross Levatier with Jorge Amador of Pa. was defeated."

What is interesting about *Update*'s reporting on LCC, in sharp contrast to its earlier report on Evers, is that Howie Rich — LCC Chair and Andrea Rich's husband — gave a report at the LNC meeting that purported to be the "LCC report." This report, as Amador has indicated, was given without knowledge or consent of other LCC members, including Amador. *Update*

(Continued on page 5)

# CRANE'S GRAND DESIGN FOR UPDATE

Editor's Note: To accompany our critique of *Update*, we publish the following secret September 1981 plan written by Ed Crane for the future of *Update*. In a paragraph of the memo on classified ad revenue — one that we have omitted for space reasons — Crane anticipated that by September 1982 *Update's* circulation would reach 5,000. Want to bet? An interesting thought presents itself as one reads this memo. The famous and fascinating July 26, 1982 *Fortune* article on the feud in the Koch family suggests that Charles Koch is leading David Koch astray. This memo suggests rather that it is Ed Crane who is leading David Koch astray.

September 16, 1981

## Memorandum

TO: Chris Hocker, Leslie Key, David Koch,  
and other Interested Parties

FROM: Ed Crane

SUBJECT: *Update*

What with all the changes going on these days I thought it would be appropriate to put down in writing some thoughts concerning the future of *Update*. To begin with, Dr. Hocker's new position as publisher of *Inquiry* probably makes it inappropriate for him to continue to be responsible for *Update*. This is true both because of the more than full-time job involved in getting *Inquiry* on its feet and headed in the right direction and because the magazine should not be directly connected to the libertarian movement (this despite the fact that it needs to become more explicitly libertarian in its editorial policy). Which means we're stuck with the lovely and vivacious Leslie Key who resides in Madison, Canada. I would recommend that she begin her responsibilities as editor of *Update* with the November issue. We could pay her, say, \$500 a month for assuming this responsibility. David Koch has indicated he will kick in \$10,000 to *Update* next year. If Leslie is very nice to him we might be able to talk him into \$5,000 more (right, David?). There should be a production manager in Washington, D.C. who will function as Leslie's assistant editor as well as being in charge of getting the newsletter and direct mail efforts physically printed and mailed. That person could be an employee of the Libertarian Review Foundation who has other responsibilities and works on *Update* one-third to one-half of the time. I'm open to suggestions as to who that person should be. Let us, then, get on with the analysis of what we want to do with *Update*...

*Columns* - I'd like to retain Birmingham to do one page worth of his Opening Shots (although we should probably change the title and put the column somewhere toward the back of the newsletter). Because of the nature of the newsletter he might mix real world commentary in with comments about movement activities. The thought of Birmingham on Rothbard is exhilarating [sic] to contemplate. He must, of course, be watched for his heresies and therefore should be requested to submit about 30% more items than we can run. There should be a Washington Update column which analyzes what's going on in Congress and the White House from an explicitly libertarian perspective. Perhaps Sheldon could write this. We should bring

back Grinder's old *Crosscurrents* column which discusses intellectual trends of relevance to the movement. Whether Walter or Tyler Cowen and his crew should write it I do not know.

*Book Reviews* - Libertarians are notorious book readers and we could add to the salability of *Update* if we had a page devoted to short, pithy reviews of current books. Rigenbach might be the book review editor if he could be directed away from obscure 19th Century fiction writers . . . .

*The News* - This has to be the main focus of the newsletter. We need hardhitting news stories about the movement (broadly interpreted to include such groups as anti-war, pro-gold, NORML, etc.). These articles should have as many direct quotes from the personalities involved as possible. The person asking the question should be intelligent and know from what perspective we want information (that means you, Leslie). For instance, someone should have interviewed me about my reaction to the national convention. A lead story could focus on the fact that there are only three Alicia Clark supporters on a 35-person national committee. This, it seems to me, is of extreme relevance to the future of the party. Articles, editorials, and columns should not appear to be pure puff pieces for the Machine. We should have some criticism of our own people and activities where it is appropriate. We must never take on the tone that *frontlines* has — it really discredits what they're trying to accomplish. On the other hand, we do have to keep the newsletter focused on our objectives and it needs to be interesting in order to get readers so we shouldn't avoid controversy and we should seek out the sexier elements of stories. There needs to be many more news stories than we are currently putting into *Update*.

*Editorials* - There should be one well thought out editorial in each issue. Anyone from Boaz to Hocker to Crane to Herbert to all of the geniuses that comprise our merry band of plotters could write it. Which brings up a relevant point. We should have a conference call with Leslie each month to go over what should be in the upcoming issue. The people in Washington can get together on an informal basis to come up with ideas, as well. All of us should be willing to write articles from time to time so the entire burden doesn't fall on Leslie and the production manager.

*Calendar of Upcoming Events* - I'd like to see an entire page devoted to upcoming libertarian events, again widely defined. . . . Remember that this is an opportunity to show up Bill Burt and his three functions in the country for the whole month trick. . . .

*Political Analysis* - It would be a good idea to have an article from Rigenbach or Childs or Hocker or Sheldon on some current political issues from time to time if not in each issue. We need to have LR type articles (only shorter) which explain the libertarian position on current major issues.

All in all I think if we follow this approach we will have an excellent newsletter which will generate a large amount of interest. . . . Comments but no criticisms are welcome. □

# THE POST OFFICE AS CENSOR

by Dyanne M. Petersen

You probably never read the booklet *Stale Food vs. Fresh Food* — and you probably never will. That's because the Postal Service, in its supreme wisdom, has banned the booklet from being distributed through the U.S. mails. And when you hear the whole story you'll want to check your calendar to make sure the year isn't 1984!

In February 1981, postal inspectors busted a Mississippi man for distributing a 42-page booklet he wrote, published, and advertised which explained his theory of how fresh foods, when properly prepared, could help to keep one's arteries clean. "\$4.40 a copy plus 60 cents for postage. Makes a fine gift. Order extra copies for your friends," the ad read. Sounds pretty harmless so far, right?

Certainly not! At least according to postal authorities. Mr. Ford, our fresh food advocate, was charged with "engaging in the conduct of a scheme or device to obtain money or property through the mail by means of materially false representations in violation of 39 U.S.C. 30005." The case went to trial before one Edwin Bernstein, a Federal Administrative Law Judge, who found Mr. Ford guilty as charged. The verdict was appealed and upheld. Not on the grounds that the ad misrepresented the information provided in the booklet, but because "the representations of the booklet were contrary to the weight of informed medical and scientific opinion." As a result, Mr. Ford was forced to take his booklet — his ideas — off the market.

Maureen Salaman, President of the National Health Federation, is justifiably concerned over the Ford decision. "Those of us who are concerned with developing new, innovative and poison-free approaches to health care do so knowing that the present-day 'weight of scientific and medical opinion' see things differently," writes Ms. Salaman. "The 'weight of informed medical and scientific opinion' once held that the earth was flat, that the sun revolved around the earth, that 'bleeding' a sick person was a cure for illness.... Where new ideas have been suppressed, the growth of human knowledge has stagnated. Where free inquiry has been encouraged, progress has been made in years rather than centuries."

It's a frightening proposition that the postal service, under present legislation, can arbitrarily suppress ideas with which it does not fully agree. Their censorship, if carried to a consistent conclusion, could therefore apply to more than medical publications that dare to contradict informed opinion. Consider all the publications that resist accepted or "informed" economic, philosophical, political, and psychological opinion! You can kiss *The Libertarian Forum* goodbye. And save some kisses for anything written by people like Mises, Rand, Hayek, Nock, Chodorov, Szasz, Barnes, *ad infinitum*.

Keep the precedent established in the Ford case in your mind while you read what is now pending in Congress.

H.R. 3973, introduced in the House by Rep. Claude

("Red") Pepper (D., Fla.), and S. 1407, introduced by David Pryor (D. Ark.) in the Senate, were proposed to help stop "mail fraud." Under this guise, the bills have attracted support by 300 cosponsors in the House and 16 in the Senate. President Reagan's Office of Management and Budget has duly given these bills its support.

The bills will give new, expanded powers to the U.S. Postal Service to regulate what is being sent through the mail, allowing it to serve as prosecutor, judge, and jury in determining the guilt of the accused party. The bills would require the accused to open his business records to postal inspection or face a maximum \$10,000 per day penalty. If one is simply an employee or agent of the accused, he or she can be held in violation as well. (Employees of *Laissez Faire Books*, watch out!) Moreover, the bills could also forbid the shipment or transportation of the banned publication by a private vehicle or any other means of transport, as well as through the mails.

According to *Publisher's Weekly*, "an average of at least one book a year has been successfully banned by the U.S. Postal Service during the past 20 years." Publishers, needless to say, want to end this practice. The Association of American Publishers retained Ian D. Volner to testify before a House Post Office subcommittee and ask that proposed legislation to greatly expand "police powers of the Postal Service be amended to bar 'an unfortunate tradition of suppression' of books it believes to contain 'false ideas.'"

Volner charged that since 1959 "the Postal Service has attacked at least 17 books and publications outright, and has proceeded against many others." He added that there may be numerous other cases because "the sale of many other books via the mails has been interrupted by proceedings that ended in settlement or capitulation by the publishers — thus leaving little written record of the nature of the book or of the complaint against it."

Ms. Salaman believes that "this bill stands a very good chance of becoming law this year...in the name of protecting the public from false representation." She feels that the fight can be won "but it will take a maximum effort to succeed." The National Health Federation, after winning "this round in the ongoing battle for good health and freedom," will go on the offensive. They propose to "get a bill through Congress abolishing the government monopoly on postal service, so that never again will would-be Thought Police be able to come so close to eliminating freedom of choice and freedom of thought in the land of the free." Hard core!

If H.R. 3973 and S. 1407 are passed, forget about constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, ideas, and expression. The post office will let us know what we can read and which ideas are acceptable for dissemination and consumption. Orwell was right. He was just a little optimistic about the year. The Thought Police may be at our mail boxes two years early! □

## THE ASSAULT ON ABORTION FREEDOM

Debating vital issues is fine and proper; but there must come a time when debate gives way to action, else there is no point to a debate to begin with. Over the years, the *Lib. Forum* has probably given more space to the pros and cons of the abortion question than has any other libertarian periodical. With all due respect to our colleagues who believe that abortion is murder and therefore unjustifiable and criminal, the time for action on the abortion issue has now arrived. We can wait no longer to attempt to convert every libertarian on this question. For the rights, the lives, the liberties, the happiness of countless women in America are now under severe assault. The right to abortion, finally recognized by the Supreme Court in 1973, is in grave danger.

After holding off his Moral Majority supporters for a year, President Reagan has now given the green light to federal attempts to stamp out abortion by law. The two major attempts are the Hatch Amendment to allow any state to outlaw abortion, and the Helms bill to declare the fetus as human with full human rights from the moment of conception. The Hatch effort, being a constitutional amendment, is not an imminent threat, since it would have to go through the drawn-out ratification process by three-quarters of the states. The Helms bill is more radical and sweeping, and can pass by a mere majority of Congress. It must be stopped.

One point that our anti-abortionists have never considered should be emphasized here, a point which the Helms bill would throw into sharp relief. The fundamental axiom of the anti-abortionists is that abortion is murder. But murder is not the only crime against human beings. If the fetus is to have full human rights, then it must be protected against more crimes than murder. There is, for example, assault. Surely, when a pregnant woman drinks alcohol, or smokes cigarettes, this ingestion causes an assault against, an "insult to," the fetus. But, in that case, these are tort actions which must be declared illegal, and stoppable by injunction. And not just cigarettes and alcohol. If a pregnant woman eats an unbalanced diet, the fetus suffers. If a pregnant woman is overly emotional, this injures the fetus. But then all these actions become torts and crimes, and must be proceeded against by full majesty of the law.

Okay, pro-lifers, are you willing to accept the ineluctable consequences; that pregnant women are to be prevented by armed force from drinking, smoking, eating unbalanced meals, and becoming upset? And how many Gestapo members are you going to enlist in snooping on pregnant women, and how in blazes are you going to enforce the protection of these fetal "rights"? How are you going to accomplish all this except by putting every pregnant woman in a cage and making sure that all the proper substances and none of the improper substances are going to be injected by the fetus?

For that is the logic of the anti-abortionists: not just trying and convicting all pregnant women and their doctors who engage in abortions, but installing a totalitarian despotism over every pregnant woman. To go a step further: won't there have to be government spies in every bedroom to spot pregnancies as soon as they occur, so that the pregnant-women-in-a-cage doctrine can be put into effect the moment conception takes place? □

### SMEAR *(Continued from page 2)*

did *not* say this about its friend Howie Rich, although it did not

hesitate to make a similar claim about Bill Evers, a Craniac critic.

Nor did *Update* report that Amador had been an LCC member, and had been critical of Howie Rich's failure to initiate action in seven months as LCC Chair — or to communicate with LCC members. By not reporting these facts, *Update* protected Howie Rich's reputation as a take-charge activist, and conveyed the impression that Amador was merely a last-minute, unqualified nominee by the sectarian Rothbard. Rothbard was actually only trying to reinstate Amador to a position he had held since LCC's inception, and from which he'd been kicked out by the Crane Machine. How interesting, in light of *Update*'s explicit dictum that "we present *all the facts in a given situation* so that our readers may make up their own minds" (emphasis added)! Apparently, Amador's having been an original LCC member and a critic of Howie Rich's failure did not count as relevant facts. Not only did *Update* not mention Rich's inaction with LCC, it went the other way to quote him as saying "We are a work-oriented committee" — an amazing statement for a person who, in seven months as Chair, had held a grand total of *one* meeting. (Rich was busy managing Kent Guida's campaign, a matter of much greater importance than Libertarian campaigning against statists.)

In the aforementioned story on Evers and the FCC, *Update* quoted Craniac Jule Herbert as saying that Evers' inclusion of 18 "libertarian scholars" in a letter on the CFP complaint, was a "phony argument from authority and it doesn't address the issue." On the other hand, *Update* had no qualms in listing among Kent Guida's supporters for LP National Chair (Mar.-Apr. '81): "Howie Rich, Clark National Ballot Drive Co-ordinator and Steering Committee member; Andrea Rich, National Committee member and former National Vice Chair; Cissy Webb, former Illinois party chair." Quite an impressive-looking assortment of titles and offices supporting their candidate, isn't it? So much for "arguments from authority." Among John Mason's supporters were listed "members of the 'Coalition for a Party of Principle', including David Nolan, Murray Rothbard, and *Reason* editor Robert Poole." Why didn't *Update* report Nolan's membership in the Libertarian National Committee, as it faithfully reported the most high-sounding titles for Guida's supporters — *including* membership in the Libertarian National Committee? Updating, my friend, that's all. *Update* wouldn't want to overextend itself blowing up the credentials of their competitor's supporters.

While we're on the subject, Craniac logician Herbert might be surprised to learn that, in refuting Evers' alleged "phony argument from authority," he himself made a phony *ad hominem* argument. He tried to discredit Evers' letter by saying that "two of these scholars have been telling people they voted for Reagan." How does *that* address the issue of whether libertarian principle was violated, oh Jule?

Speaking of David Nolan, he was the victim of another case where *Update* went out of its way to take a cheap shot at a Craniac critic. In the September-October '81 issue, an article entitled "National Committee Gears Up for '82" said that 15 candidates for the LP Judicial Committee were not elected, "including David Nolan." The reader will be left to ponder why Nolan was singled out from among the 15. Surely he wasn't the only noteworthy unsuccessful candidate, for that committee or others...

The same article referred to the possibility that the new

LNC would be factional, due to the fact that most of the members had supported one or another of the National Chair candidates. *Update* had a peculiar way of listing the factional makeup of the LNC: "just 5...supported Clark's race... 10 supported Mason's candidacy, and the remainder either supported Guida (who is himself a member of the LNC) or did not make their positions on the Chair's race public." Why did *Update* refuse to report the number of Guida (Craniac) supporters on NatComm — so as not to reveal the true strength of the low-tax liberal, opportunist camp?

Returning to *Update*'s treatment of the November NatComm meeting, *Update* laid the blame for the factionalism that did develop, on Craniac opponents who held a caucus Saturday night, November 7. In reality a number of votes earlier that day had already revealed a deep split between the Guida and Clark-Mason camps. *Update* claimed this caucus was "closed," quoted a couple of caucus attendees as saying so, and listed several people who attended — all of whom have various degrees of independence from (or opposition to) Craniac domination. It did not say that Guida supporter Dick Randolph attended the meeting with a comprehensive list of proposals for the next day's agenda — a list which could only have been drawn up with extensive consultation with the Craniac faction; nor did *Update* report that this "closed" meeting was attended by several people who are not even members of NatComm. In its zeal to lay the blame for factionalism on its opponents, Craniac organ *Update* seems to have little problem with omitting facts and even altering them to suit its purposes.

Anti-Craniac forces were smeared another way in the same infamous article. It proudly announces that "*Update*'s research indicates that, besides Murray Rothbard,...the only NatComm member who actually works for the government is Emil Franzl, who is employed by the Pima County (Arizona) government." (Franzl was a leading Alicia Clark — i.e., non-Guida — supporter in the Chair race.) This "research" turned out to be wrong on two counts. First, Rothbard's university is a private institution, and he is thus not a government employee. *Update* ran a retraction of this assertion, and printed two letters pointing to the error. The first letter printed was by Kent Guida, and was a cool, collected refutation of *Update*'s assertion. The "second" was Rothbard's letter, which in his usual hard-hitting style, stated that *Update* was "flatly, perhaps even maliciously wrong." One cannot escape wondering whether Guida's calm letter was written to order for the purpose of contrasting it with Rothbard's, and so that *Update* could issue its retraction in answer to friend Guida and not Rothbard.

Not only that: in his correction letter, Guida managed to take an irrelevant and false swipe at Rothbard as holding that *all* universities in the United States are in effect public anyway. This is in stark contrast to Rothbard's oft-repeated view that any university gaining more than 50% of its income from private sources may be held to be privately owned, and *vice versa*. Again, the impact was to take the sting out of the "retraction," and as far as possible to continue to put the blame on Rothbard for *Update*'s false statements.

Second, there was the failure to mention, as David Bergland put it in *Frontlines*, Dick Randolph's "rather substantial relationship with the government of Alaska." Randolph is close to the Crane camp, of course, so *his* governmental connections went unreported in the smear of anti-Craniacs. Or are we supposed to accept the line that Dick, as an elected representative of the people of Fairbanks, really works for "the people" and not the government??

## 5. Updating SLS

Elsewhere in that issue, *Update* reported that "15 new SLS chapters" had been started since Kathleen Jacob became SLS National Director in August 1981. The news item was titled "SLS Picks Up Support." In spite of *Update*'s zeal to keep readers informed of what's going on in the movement, *Update* never told its readers of the numbers of SLS chapters when these were dwindling. Specifically, *Update* did *not* say that the 15 new chapters placed the total of SLS chapters in the mid-50's, whereas *sixty-nine* chapters had been reported to be in active existence at the SLS Student Board meeting immediately prior to the SLS Convention that elected Jacob. Again, *Update* reports favorable news about its pet groups, and ignores unfavorable facts about them. But pity the poor, beleaguered reporters at *Update*! They don't *really* build bias into their articles, do they? Maybe they're just incompetent journalists, and it's simply a big coincidence that they never manage to find the unfavorable facts about their friends, but do find negative things about their enemies — and, of course, dutifully report these in the "best interest of the movement."

As a case in point of the above statement, on the same page where the article on SLS appeared there was an item reporting the decline in membership and registration of the California LP and Libertarian Council. *Update* could have handled this case the same way as it treated SLS, by reporting how many new LP registrations and Council members had joined, but instead it chose to report their *overall* decline. By contrast, *Update* reported the new SLS chapters, without stating the *overall* decline. Reason? For a possible clue to this unequal treatment, we quote *Update*: "Mike Hall is the chair of the California Libertarian Council, while Bill Evers chairs the LP of California..."

The January 1982 *Update*'s report on the Center for Libertarian Studies' Ludwig von Mises Centennial Dinner served as a forum for a Craniac, and featured more Updating. After noting that President Reagan had sent a telegram to CLS praising Mises, *Update* had Andrea Millen Rich sound off on the "vast differences" between Mises and conservatives, and complain about conservatives claiming Mises "as one of theirs." Perhaps Rich is not aware that Mises, far from being a consistent libertarian, considered Communism the greatest evil to threaten the West and, in *Human Action*, even supported the military draft to defend against the Commies. *Update* gave one of its own a soapbox, and she fell off it.

The article then went on to discuss CLS' financial problems. Anti-Craniac Rothbard is associated with CLS, so *Update* was quick to point out CLS' troubles. Coverage of CLS' problems continued with a front-page item in the February *Update*. (To its credit, *Update* did report CLS' funding growth and future plans in its September-October '81 issue.) But *Update*'s dedicated investigative reporters seemingly were ignorant of the similar—or even deeper—financial woes of SLS, which is located in their backyard in Washington, DC. In contrast to the two-article, multiple-quotation coverage given to CLS's money troubles, *Update* has kept mum about SLS's travails following the loss of 90% of their Koch funding and failure to replace it with new contributors. While SLS's troubles began in September 1981 (and loss of Koch funding was known since July or August, at the latest), *Update* did not report on this until June 1982, when there was but a brief reference to SLS's "serious and ongoing financial problems"—and *then* only presented it in a less detractive light by linking it to the more positive-looking expectation of achieving non-profit, tax-deductible status. □

## Will the *REAL* Tom Palmer Please Stand Up?

by Derrick "Ed" Welles

Taxation is one of the most important features of Statism that libertarians can assail. Not just because extorting taxes from people is one of the multifarious ways in which the State commits wide-scale aggression, or even because it's one of the most obvious and burdensome forms of oppression, but also because the continuation of many of government's other aggressive activities depend on the steady influx of funds to finance them. Thus it is fitting for, and indeed behooves, libertarians to assail the concept of taxation and to struggle against taxes.

Much to our surprise and delight, the *New York Times* ran a piece on Tax Day, April 15, attacking taxation. It was written by a libertarian — by that LP veteran and Koch-era SLS officer, Tom Palmer. Painfully aware of his previous association with the low-tax liberal forces who managed the Clark campaign, SLS, Cato and many other libertarian institutions through 1981, we were doubly pleased to read these words from Tom Palmer's pen:

While the Internal Revenue Service boasts of a 'voluntary compliance' system of tax collection, the fact is that taxation is carried out at the point of a gun. If you choose not to pay — whatever reason — armed men will seize you and forcibly take you to jail. If you resist, violence will be used against you. This is not 'voluntary compliance.' It is theft.

Bravo Tom!

Only a few weeks later, we received our copy of *Update*, the Craniac organ. Amid the routine (and silly) denunciations of everyone known to have resisted their control, and the gushy praise for anyone who does submit to their benevolent rule, was quoted another Tom Palmer statement:

...(T)here have been other negative reactions to Project Liberty's strategy (*of Libertarians' advocating repeal of the Income Tax Amendment — Ed.*). Tom Palmer...told *Update* that most voters 'perceive drives to amend the constitution as "kooky," unless they have a tremendous amount of support, as in the case of the Equal Rights Amendment or the Balanced Budget Amendment.' He said this particular drive, which was started by the Liberty Amendment Committee over fifty years ago, has 'definite right-wing connotations in the eyes of the media.'

Whew, Tom, how can we keep up with you? Just this April past you were describing taxation as theft. Now you criticize trying to abolish the income tax as having "right-wing connotations." Are we supposed to think that it's bad to address issues and call for action on them, just because they have "right-wing connotations"? Then perhaps we oughtn't talk about property rights or the free market because these, too, are

tainted with "right-wing connotations." Let's let the CIA, Selective Service, and EPA continue their fine work financed by taxation we're afraid to attack. Which is the real Tom Palmer: the public Tom Palmer who stands steadfast for libertarian principle, or the private (intra-movement) Tom Palmer who counsels his fellow libertarians to avoid "right-wing connotations"?

But maybe we're being a bit unfair to Tom. *Update* preceded his remarks by saying "there have been other negative reactions" to the income-tax repeal campaign promoted by Project Liberty (which was founded by Craniac critic David Nolan — perhaps reason enough for *Update* to reject the anti-tax strategy), whereupon Tom was quoted, presumably to illustrate one of these "negative reactions." So we read his quote accordingly. Upon closer reading, however, the statement that an issue has "right-wing connotations" doesn't necessarily imply disapproval. It's simply a sentence expressing Tom Palmer's view on what the media thinks of the issue. It needn't mean that he disapproves of taking up a "right-wing" issue. If so, our apologies go to Tom, and all our venom goes instead to *Update* for printing Tom's remarks in a misleading manner — or, at least, for once more making impressive-looking claims unfavorable to Craniac opponents ("there have been other negative reactions to Project Liberty") without a shred of substantiation. □

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*That politician tops his part,  
Who readily can lie with art:  
The man's proficient in his trade;  
His pow'r is strong, his fortune's made.*

—John Gay

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*The field of politics always presents the same struggle.  
There are the Right and the Left, and in the middle is the  
Swamp. The Swamp is made up of the know-nothings, of  
them who are without ideas, of them who are always with  
the majority.*

—August Bebel

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# DON'T CRY FOR IRAQ

Watch out: if Iran continues to do well in its war against Iraq, the Kept Press will complete a process already begun — the magical transformation of the Iraqi regime from Soviet puppet to free-world hero. Only a year or two ago, Iraq was supposed to be a vicious tool of the Soviet Union; now already it is becoming a free-world bulwark against Khomeini Shiite expansionism.

Before we all get swept away by the new line, what are the facts? In the first place, let's not forget that it was the Iraq regime that launched the war in September 1980. After winning spectacular victories, the Iraq army was ground to a halt. Finally, during 1982, Iran began to drive Iraq out of its territory, at the same time rejecting typical demands by the United States for a cease-fire. ("Typical" in the sense that cease-fire calls are generally a pacifist-seeming mask for leaving existing conquests intact.) In June, the expulsion process was completed, and on July 14, Iran began its retaliatory invasion of Iraq. So, on the level of who started the war, the culpability is clearly Iraq's, and Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein can hardly be taken seriously now in griping about Irani expansionism. In short, Iran did not launch the war.

What of Iraq's original demands? Were they justifiable? They were border demands, breaking a 1975 agreement between the two countries on long-standing territorial disputes. Hussein's case was mixed; it is true that the agreement was forced upon him by the Shah of Iran's regime; and it is also true that three islands at the mouth of the Persian gulf are ethnically Arab and not Persian. On the other hand, the major territorial claim — of Iraq sovereignty over the Shatt-al-Arab waterway — is an arrogant attempt to "own" the entire river, whereas Iran

chose the sensible course of splitting sovereignty down the middle of the river: in effect, joint sovereignty over the river. On the whole, then, it would seem that Iraq's case scarcely justified launching the war.

Don't cry for Iraq in another sense. The Iraq regime is a despicable dictatorship under the totalitarian despotism of Saddam Hussein, whose picture graces every home and office in Iraq. Hussein rules through the socialist Ba'ath Party, which has cells and cadres in every government department, school, and neighborhood. Speech and press are curbed by the fact that no Iraqi is allowed to own a typewriter without license from the government. When Saddam Hussein launched the invasion of Iran, his controlled media hailed the conflict as "Saddam's Qadesiyya," the notable seventh century battle in which the Arabs drove the Persians out of Mesopotamia. This time, however, Saddam drove out of Mesopotamia and into Iran.

But even more important: the Khomeini regime carries with it the inspiration of Shiite fundamentalism, attempting to uproot Hussein, who is not only a secular socialist, but also the ruler of a Sunni Muslim minority over a Shiite majority in Iraq. The key, as so often in world history, is religion, and the Saddam dictatorship is minority rule of Sunni over Shiite. Hence, the Iranians might possibly be able to inspire the Shiite masses, not only in Iraq, but also on the east coast of Saudi Arabia, to rise up and try to control their own destinies. Which might mean that the feudal-slave owning oil barons of the Middle East might be toppled from their thrones: and where would U.S. oil imperialism be then? Hence the U.S. drift toward Iraq which might be coming in the next few months. □

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## BLOCKBUSTER AT BILLINGS

On Sunday, August 8, in Billings, Montana, only a few miles from where the imbecile General Custer got mowed down at the Little Big Horn, the National Committee of the Libertarian Party held one of the most dramatic and significant meetings in its history. Eric O'Keefe, ex-radical turned Craniac National Director, was ousted from his long-held post by National Chair Alicia Clark. Alicia's right to fire O'Keefe was upheld by the NatCom by a vote of 17-11, after which it was approved by 20-7 Alicia's naming of former Texas LP Chair Honey Lanham as interim Director for a six-month period.

### 1. The Chairman's Right to Fire vs. Bureaucratic Usurpation

LP Bylaws and long-standing custom have granted the National Chair the absolute right to fire the National Director, who is a full-time employee of the NatCom. Furthermore, the Chairman has the sole right to name a new Director, subject to the approval or rejection of NatCom. The reason for this elementary managerial practice is obvious: the Chair works in close day-to-day contact with the Director, and the two must be able to work well together. Therefore, even if the Chair's firing of the Director was simply personal chemistry, it should have been upheld without question or complaint.

On Sunday morning, before the meeting, Alicia Clark asked O'Keefe for his resignation. Any gentleman, concerned about alleviating trouble for the Party, would have resigned without question. But not only did O'Keefe refuse to resign, he stubbornly refused to accept the Chair's right to fire him. In the tense opening hours of the Sunday meeting, O'Keefe persisted in claiming that Alicia had no right to fire him, and maintaining that he was and would continue to be the National Director, and would resume his duties in Washington promptly. Things were getting hairy. Would O'Keefe have to be ejected from headquarters for trespass?

Suffused with bureaucratic megalomania, furthermore, O'Keefe made stump speeches, virtually adopting an "I am the Party" attitude, and maintaining his own indispensability to Party success. By taking this absurd and arrogant line, O'Keefe unwittingly helped demonstrate to one and all the necessity for his ouster. What we were all seeing in action was the behavior of a runaway, power-hungry National Director, whose dismissal clearly came none too soon

Taking up O'Keefe's preposterous assertion of his immunity from discharge by the Chair was the stunned, shocked, and apoplectic Crane Machine, led by "Mr. *Robert's Rules*" himself, Jim Johnston. In a claim even more idiotic than usual, Johnson asserted that the Chair did not even have a legal right to rule on his point of order. (It is said that every year the Illinois LP auctions off, at high rates, Jimmie's dog-eared copy of his previous year's *Robert's Rules*). Johnston even had the discourtesy to block unanimous consent to allow the NatCom to hear the arguments of the Chair's parliamentarian, I. Dean Ahmad. Alicia of course ruled against Johnston's point, and the motion went to the full NatCom. It needed a two-thirds majority to overrule the Chair, but the Chair won out on her right to fire O'Keefe by the comfortable majority of 17 to 11.

### 2. The Craniacs Go Wild

The chair submitted the name of Honey Lanham as Interim Director. The Craniacs then began to pepper Alicia with questions about Honey Lanham's background, including many insulting ones. It was particularly fascinating to see the self-styled Best and Brightest, the supposedly tough cool young political professionals and would-be Haldemans, lose their cool and give way to insult, rancor, and ranting hysteria. Thus, when told that Honey Lanham had been an able Texas chair and asked what Honey's occupation is, Madame DeFarge Leslie Key burst out, with sneering contempt in her voice: "She sells cosmetics." Never was elitism more odiously displayed at an LP meeting. When Andrea Rich badgered Alicia with the question: "How does Honey Lanham make her money?", a NatCom member, a person conceded by everyone to be one of the finest and kindest gentlemen in the Libertarian Party, was moved to burst out, in a rare display of anger, "That's none of your business, Mrs. Rich!"

When one NatCom member asked about Lanham's managerial experience, former chairman Dave Bergland incisively pointed out that the three previous directors, including O'Keefe, had had virtually no managerial experience before being hired.

The Lanham appointment was finally confirmed by a vote of 20 to 7, with one abstention (Craniac DeLisio, the only one left to really believe the Johnston nonsense and to go even further to claim that the firing was *still* illegal, even though now confirmed

by the NatCom). The seven opponents were the hard-core Craniacs: Herbert, Hocker, Johnston, Key, Palm, Andrea Rich and Howie Rich. The Craniacs had lost the votes of three members who had earlier voted against the ruling of the chair: Richman, Hodge (Fla.), and Hemming (Minn.).

Meanwhile, O'Keefe's threat of insisting that he was still the National Director was hanging in the air. After the NatCom had decisively upheld Alicia Clark's actions, Emil Franzi (Az.) asked O'Keefe the crucial zinger: "Well, Eric, do you still think that you're the National Director?" For the first time, O'Keefe's arrogance faltered "Well, I'm not sure." The threat was over, and a bit later, O'Keefe declared that he was advised by "my parliamentarian" that he was no longer National Director. It was a minor but interesting note to discover that Eric had brought his own "parliamentarian" in tow. Who it was never got brought out, but one likes to think that it was the irrepressible Jimmy Johnston, "Mr. Roberts" himself, silenced at long last.

During the course of the proceedings and particularly after the Lanham vote, the Craniacs kept delaying matters with ranting "points of personal privilege," which turned into lengthy harangues. Although they had not criticized the Monroe, Hanson, and Franzi committee reports of the day before, the Craniacs let loose against them in many revealing broadsides. Thus, Madame Defarge hurled irrelevant and inchoate insults left and right, denouncing Matt Monroe, head of the Finance Committee, claiming that he had not raised any money; Franzi, head of the Membership Committee, for not adding members; and even M.L. Hanson, head of the Minority Outreach Committee, for sending out questionnaires later than Defarge would have liked. The point, however, as brought out the day before, was that Monroe's fund-raising efforts were stymied by O'Keefe and national headquarters, and Franzi's were handcuffed by an egregious computer problem which headquarters had done nothing about. (As Franzi imitatively put it, "we can't add members if there is no way of knowing who the members are.")

The attack on Monroe was particularly asinine, since Monroe is widely respected throughout the Party for his famous and successful Texas Pledge program for Party fundraising. For a pipsqueak like Key to try to heap mud on Monroe was not only deplorable; it could only be counterproductive for whatever credibility she might have had left in the Party.

But the most revealing ranting of the day was emitted by Howie Rich, possibly the top Craniac straw boss on NatCom. In her explanation of why she fired O'Keefe, Alicia had mentioned that Eric had repeatedly failed to carry out NatCom and her own directives to: expand much-needed internal education, help build state parties, and assist in fund-raising. All these three vital areas of activity were grievously and constantly neglected by O'Keefe, despite Alicia Clark's repeated urgings. What he had done instead was to devote virtually all Headquarters' resources to campaigning, particularly to assisting the Craniac ventures of Howie Rich's Campaign of '82 and especially the Randolph race for governor of Alaska. In the course of his philippic, Howie Rich thundered that all these other matters were "peripheral," that only campaigns really counted. Evidently, ideas, principles, state parties and even financial stability could go hang. There spoke the naked, sinister voice of the Crane Machine.

After the vote and the ineffectual ranting were over, the

Craniacs all walked out of the meeting, never (with the exception of Hocker and Palm) to return. This childish action capped one of the most inglorious days in Craniac history. I can see Crane's reaction now: "Why am I keeping these turkeys on the payroll?"

### 3. The Shockeroo

The shock and stupefaction of the Craniacs on August 8 showed what fools these Best and Brightest really are. The ouster had been building up for months, as Alicia tried repeatedly and in vain to get O'Keefe to expend resources her (and NatCom's) way. Instead, O'Keefe had his own agenda, the Craniac agenda for the Party. And yet, despite their knowledge that Alicia could fire Eric at any time, the Crane Machine walked into Billings heedless and unconcerned, so heedless indeed, that no less than four Craniac members failed to show up at what looked to be just another boring meeting (Burch, Randolph, Lindsay, Guida.) It was General Custer once again, marching with heedless arrogance onto the Little Big Horn.

Obviously, the Craniacs were stupidly overconfident because they grossly underestimated the competence, strength, and determination of Alicia Clark. All of us in the Mason and Guida camps greatly underestimated Alicia last year. The difference is that we, in the Mason camp, learned differently very quickly, while the Craniacs still haven't learned, and probably never will. As one perceptive wag put it, "The Craniacs are learning-disabled. They suffer from a closed information loop." And they still are, as revealed by a top Craniac coming up to Bill Evers (Ca.) after the Lanham vote, and saying bitterly, "You, Bill, are solely responsible for this." Why are they incapable of understanding that Alicia makes her own decisions?

The most ironic note of all is that, on Friday August 6, after the Craniacs had departed for Billings, the Headquarters staff was sitting around Washington, D.C. talking about the upcoming meeting. What was likely to happen? Well, they concluded, four Crane Machine people are not going to show up at Billings. What might the opposition do if they have the votes? Fire Eric. So the staff was neither shocked nor surprised, while the top Haldemanian politicians blundered their way into disaster. Why, indeed are they on the payroll, Eddie?

This of course was not the main reason that O'Keefe was ousted, as we will detail below. But the top Craniacs should have been at least as alert as their subordinate staff.

### 4. Why She Did It

To those who had eyes to see, the gathering storm should have been evident at the superficially boring proceedings on the previous day, Saturday August 7. For the buildup of anti-O'Keefe evidence became overwhelming. It was these damaging revelations that sparked the final decision of Alicia on Saturday night to ask for O'Keefe's resignation for the following morning.

Perhaps the most damaging disclosure was the Finance Committee report by the highly respected Matt Monroe, a report which the bored Craniacs hardly attempted to challenge.

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## THE DEATH OF REAGANOMICS

Reaganomics is stone cold dead. President Reagan has managed to precipitate the worst recession/depression since World War II, and one which shows no signs of disappearing. Interest rates remain super high, to such an extent that any possible recovery from the depression will be fitful and weak. Big Spender Reagan is presiding over the biggest budget and by far the biggest deficit in American history. The estimate for the looming deficit keeps leaping upward; only a few weeks ago it was \$99 billion; now it is \$140 billion.

In an idiotic attempt to cure the depression, High Tax Reagan has replaced his piddling "tax cut" that was really an increase in 1981-82, with the most massive tax *increase* in American history. What school of economic thought counsels tax increases in depression? Answer: this has been the unique contribution of Reaganomics. Let us note with horror what the Reagan-inspired Senate tax package does:

It raises taxes on the backs of the sick, drastically cutting income-deductible medical expenses by raising the threshold from 3% to 7% of gross income.

It imposes withholding taxes on dividends and interest, which will cripple small investors, greatly reduce thrift and investment, and put the boots to the ailing savings and loan industry.

It sharply raises taxes on business by gutting the depreciation exemptions made only last year, and by eliminating one-half the deductions for business expenses for meals when not traveling: thus also clobbering the restaurant industry.

It heavily taxes high-income retirement plans, only a year after investors were suckered into these plans by government and Establishment propoganda.

It greatly raises taxes on the backs of the unlucky, by restricting tax deductions for uninsured casualty losses to over 10% of one's income.

It taxes pensions and utility dividends.

It drastically curtails the "safe-harbor leasing" provision of last year's tax reform which enabled firms making losses to sell their tax credits to firms making profits. Thus, businesses will be further clobbered.

It further penalizes smokers by doubling the federal tax on cigarettes, thus adding increased taxation to the hazards of social obloquy and lung cancer already suffered by smokers.

In the midst of a drastic recession and looming bankruptcy for many airlines, it drastically increases federal taxes on passenger tickets, air freight, and aviation and jet fuel. That's really smart, Ronnie!

It injures everyone who uses a phone by tripling the federal tax on phone service.

In case one wants to get away from the disaster of Reaganomics by going fishing, it levies a stiff excise tax on small recreational boats, including rowboats, designed for fishing.

And so High Tax Reagan has struck a body blow at: the sick, the unlucky, telephone users, smokers, pensioners, recreational fishermen, airline users, and interest and dividend receivers. That means all of us. For this monstrosity alone, Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party deserve a smashing defeat at the polls in 1982 and 1984, for that is the only way in which the average citizen can express his indignation at what is going on.

Big budget; enormous deficits; the biggest tax increase in our history; but that is not all. For inflation, which had abated for the last several months in the wake of the grinding depression, has now spurted upwards again. The Administration's kept economists have tried their best to pooh-pooh this, but the fact remains that in the last two months, May and June, the Consumer Price Index increase has skyrocketed back up to an annual rate of 12%—just about precisely the rate when the Reaganites took over in Washington.

If this reinflation persists, everything will click into place, for interest rates will then start rising inexorably once more, and the great bear market in gold and silver should start turning around in force. And that will be the finish, the Bye Bye Lulu for Reaganomics, for the Republican Party, and for Ronnie himself. No group will have deserved it more.

Continuing with this scenario, the most likely conclusion will be the triumphal march of Teddy Kennedy into Camelot Reborn in November 1984. If it looks like a Teddy victory, then the summer of 1984 should see a massive anticipatory inflation. Will Reagan drive the last nail into his own coffin by imposing price-wage controls, "temporarily" of course? It will be fascinating to see.

Meanwhile, the departure of free-market economists from the Reagan Administration has now become a veritable mass exodus. It began with the highly principled Martin Anderson. Since then, the honor roll of those who (at least presumptively) deserted the fleshpots of Power on behalf of some sort of principle include: John McLaughry (White House), Paul Craig Roberts (Asst. Sec. Treasury), Norman Ture (Undersec. Treasury), Jerry Jordan (Council of Economic Advisors), Murray Weidenbaum (Council of Economic Advisors), and, the most libertarian of them all, Steve Hanke (staff of Council of Economic Advisors). Although a lawyer not an economist, we can add to the list of presumptively principled defectors Doug Bandow (White House), now publisher of *Inquiry* magazine.

This exodus is too massive and too concentrated to be fobbed off with the usual political bilge of "personal reasons." But in that case what are we to say of moral status of alleged libertarians or free-market people who are still in place, say Bill Niskanen (Council of Economic Advisors) or Dana Rohra-

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# SMEAR: THE STORY OF UPDATE— PART II

by Derrick "Ed" Welles

## 6. Unfulfilled Promises-II

*Update* for January '82 "examined" *Reason* magazine, published by CPP member Bob Poole. It was the latest in a series of attacks on Poole and *Reason*, criticizing *Reason* for certain "anti-libertarian heresies" and 'a pragmatic, as opposed to principled,' approach to issues. In yet another instance of posing members of their faction as impartial observers... *Update* cited Ed Crane—that pillar of principled libertarian activism—as saying, "'We all owe *Reason* a debt of gratitude...(W)hile I don't think *Reason* can really be called a libertarian magazine, it serves a useful purpose. It's a good magazine for conservatives because it makes them more aware of the free market, and that's valuable. Instead of complaining that *Reason* isn't libertarian anymore, we should just accept that, and judge it on its own terms.'" Crane, while supposedly coming "to *Reason*'s defense," continues the smear on that magazine by "accepting" that *Reason* "isn't libertarian anymore." How odd that Crane and *Update*'s mentors at the Libertarian Review Foundation, who masterminded and managed the 1980 Clark low-tax liberal sellout, should now (now that they're on the way out, and that principled forces are reasserting themselves) pose as bulwarks of principle, and criticize *others* for lacking principles!

This article pretended to begin a "two-part examination" of *Reason* and *Inquiry*, and concluded by promising that in a "future issue, *Update* will examine the new, combined *Inquiry* and *Libertarian Review* and its contribution to the libertarian movement." This was in January 1982. As of June, no "second part" had been published. One suspects that, just as the "Name That Author" contest was the only one in a supposed "series," and served as a potshot at Rothbard, this purported survey of movement magazines was intended to be a potshot at *Reason*, competitor of *Update*'s sister publication *Inquiry*. *Update* faulted *Reason* for its conservative orientation, but one wonders whether *Update* would be equally eager to treat *Inquiry* as harshly. (Certainly *Update* did not do that with pre-merger *Inquiry*'s own heresies, closet libertarianism, and liberal orientation.) Since no article on the new or the old *Inquiry* has come out, one thinks not.

## 7. A Phantom Author and a Blind Review

*Update* continued its unblemished record of illogic and distortion in its February '82 issue. Two articles in question were each guilty on one of these counts.

An editorial, "Clark TV Spots Off Target," was critical of the CFP's television commercials. [Surprise! The people who ran CFP will now critique the people in charge of CFP.] The editorial said "we can sympathize with the reasoning of those

running the Clark media effort" [we can sympathize with ourselves], but the ads "assumed a broad public acceptance" of Clark's legitimacy as a candidate. Later it stated: "The temptation to which the Clark staff [i.e., we] succumbed... was the hope that the network news would start reporting on his daily speeches and news releases."

*Update* does not disclose the identity of the editorial writer. Knowing who edits and publishes *Update*, we could figure that someone associated with the CFP/Crane camp wrote it. But *Update* does not publicly acknowledge that its publishers ran CFP; thus we note their inability to admit openly any errors in the way they ran Clark's campaign. More ludicrous is their self-congratulation for "surprisingly professional" TV ads that "were ideologically sound."

The second February article in question is Leslie Key's hatchet job on the Society for Individual Liberty's "Principles of Liberty" (POL) study course. Although an extensive analysis of the many flaws in Key's review is up to SIL and out of place here, certain aspects of the review do fit the Updating tradition of biased reporting and illogic.

SIL's course is not the only one being promoted by libertarian organizations for study by libertarian groups. SIL has had a lengthy and in-depth study course out for a year. Yet only SIL's program gets "reviewed" and given prominent mention by *Update*. SIL's co-director, Dave Walter, sits on the LNC and was John Mason's campaign manager for the East. Could this, plus a possible forthcoming Cato home study program, have anything to do with *Update*'s attack on POL?

Regardless of the truth of these speculations, *journalistic* and *logical* mistakes render Key's "review" invalid. Key assails POL for not giving individuals a "thorough understanding of libertarian principles and the ability to apply these principles to issues." She offers several quotations that are supposed to give us the idea that certain SIL issue papers are unlibertarian or irrelevant to libertarianism... but she fails to name their titles or otherwise cite the sources of these quotes, making it difficult for anyone attempting to establish the truth of her claims, to examine them for himself. ("We present all the facts in a given situation so that our readers may make up their own minds," said *Update* just a month earlier.)

One quote by Key that was found (in William Burt's "Transportation and Regulation": "Transportation is highly vulnerable to envy," upon scrutiny of what follows is seen as quite sensible. Transportation is in fact viewed by many as a "basic" and very important industry, one upon which a host of other industries and market activities depend, and which therefore some people might wish to control for their own

alleged benefit, and might resent seeing others in control. Taken out of context, as Leslie Key did, the statement looks strange; in context, though, it is perfectly comprehensible.

In another place, Key positively misrepresents the views expressed in an issue paper: "Yet another paper openly advocates development of such 'defensive technologies' as 'assassination of enemy leaders and sabotage' as the proper 'libertarian' course for the U.S. government to pursue. Giving our government license to act as a saboteur and murderer shows no understanding of the nature of the state..."

In fact it is Key who shows no understanding of what she reads. The paper in question is Jarret Wollstein's "U.S. Foreign Policy: The Libertarian Alternative." While Key is eager to censure Wollstein for advocating the government's use of sabotage and assassination, the paper does *not* say that these policies should be adopted by the U.S. (or any) government. (In another paper—"Military Defense Without a State"—Wollstein even discusses sabotage and assassination specifically as voluntary alternatives to government defense.) Key simply reads this into the essay and then lambasts the paper for the flaw that she made up.

Other "quotations" that, according to Key, "confuse" libertarian political philosophy with unrelated moral, psychological, and philosophical doctrine" seem—even if true—reasonable enough to libertarian eyes. Key appears to think that the statement "sexism is morally wrong and irrational" is objectionable in a libertarian study course. Why?

Are libertarians to content themselves with living in a "free" society full of sexists? How can a free society even come about if large groups of people think that others are subhuman? How can such people be expected to respect the rights of others they consider inferior?

Furthermore, on the one hand Key criticizes SIL's foreign-policy papers for taking a "thoroughly pragmatic" point of view. On the other hand, she criticizes other SIL papers for "irrelevant Randian dogma." Now, if one can't be pragmatic or dogmatic with respect to issues, what is there left? But perhaps Key chastizes SIL for promoting *Randian* dogma or *irrelevant* dogma, not dogma as such. This opens the door for saying that it's OK to promote Leslie's own "relevant" dogma instead? Or maybe one should be dogmatic (not pragmatic) on foreign policy, and pragmatic (not dogmatic) on domestic and social issues. How are any of these better than what Key criticizes about SIL? O Leslie, tell us the solution to this quandry, for You are the Key to the Truth!

In March, as the April 15 tax deadline approached, *Update* asserted that "until 1982 (when the LP National Headquarters joined in the promotion of Tax Protest Day), no coordinated effort has been made to organize libertarians across the country for this purpose." This was a direct slap in the face of SIL, which has indeed been promoting and staging April 15 tax protests across the country for ten years. But maybe that doesn't count in the Updated Version of History, since the Craniacs don't control SIL and do control LP National.

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## BILLINGS (Continued from page 2)

Monroe reported that under O'Keefe tutelage, the heavy NatCom debt, instead of being paid off, had *increased* since the beginning of the present NatCom term in September 1981. Even more irresponsible in view of the LP's shaky financial shape was the change in the nature of the debt. For some of the long-term debt had been paid off, but only by seriously increasing the short-term debt to various vendors in Washington, D.C. Monroe wrote ominously that "this debt should be rolled back as much as possible if we are to function among vendors in Washington, D.C." He continued by warning: "Our effectiveness in the future will depend, not only on the amount of money and candidates we can raise but also on our credibility with local merchants who provide us with their merchandise and allow us to use credit. At this time there are few of those, if any, left in the Washington, D.C. area who are willing to extend us credit."

And yet, despite the seriousness of the financial situation, Monroe reported that, "My impression is that the financial and fund raising activities are low priority items at this time in the minds of the people who manage the National office." In trying to launch a monthly pledge program for the national party, Monroe found in despair that "I have requested help from Eric O'Keefe and have not received it." As a result, Monroe reported that he would instead have to do all the work in Houston with local Houston volunteers, since O'Keefe and headquarters would not cooperate. Monroe also noted that he had requested assistance from the previous Finance Chair [Leslie Graves Key], but had received no "promises or advice in matters of fund raising."

The most poignant and damaging theme to O'Keefe in the Monroe report was: "My belief is that the National Office should have people who are able to and capable of working with volunteers."

The clear implication, of course, is that O'Keefe and his crew were not capable of doing so. Working with volunteers, including—as Monroe made clear in his oral statement—Monroe himself, is of course the warp and woof of political activity. But the paid bureaucratic staff, in typical arrogance aping their mentor Crane, were not equipped to do so. But if the pros are not capable of working with volunteers, they might as well shut up shop. Or be fired.

The Monroe revelation stunned Alicia, as did Bill Evers' motion requesting that the headquarters staff devote ten hours a week to developing internal education in the Party. What dismayed Alicia Clark is that a NatCom member should have to plead that ten hours a week be devoted to a task which headquarters should be doing far more of, automatically and voluntarily. Another nail had been hammered into the O'Keefe coffin.

If O'Keefe & Co. were incapable of working with volunteers, they were apparently even less able to work with many state parties. Bitter letters were read into the record on Saturday by the state central committee of the Louisiana LP and by the chairman of the New Mexico LP denouncing O'Keefe, headquarters and its practices. The Louisiana Party wrote of national's "arm-twisting recruitment [of candidates] process,"

and declared that "at this point we don't know if we are victims of an overzealous staff, poor management, an amateur con game, or a combination of all three." Christa Bolden, New Mexico LP chair, wrote bitterly of "the ineptitude, incompetence and lack of trustworthiness demonstrated by the individuals purportedly in charge of National Headquarters." O'Keefe's failure to pay petitioners in New Mexico as promised, led to Ms. Bolden's conclusion: "It is up to the people running the National Party to support state organizations where possible, and part of this support may require a realistic evaluation of what can be done. It is counterproductive to make promises which can't be fulfilled. I don't think Jimmy Carter understood that concept, and the only solution was to replace him." Precisely.

Another dramatic Saturday moment revealing the temperament and character of Eric O'Keefe came when Bill Evers questioned him on his headquarters report, and asked him how many and which people might have tried to persuade him to adopt the strategy outlined in the infamous secret Hocker memorandum which had been published in the June 1982 issue of the *Libertarian Vanguard* (a frankly Crane Machine memo attacking the Clarks, obscenely denouncing the Machine's enemies, and calling for a name Presidential candidate the Machine can control). O'Keefe lost his cool, evaded answering the question, and bellowed that he would not answer an "unsigned article published in a disreputable rag." Evers mildly commented that Hocker, sitting in the room, would not deny writing the memo (Hocker smilingly said nothing.) Evers could have added that not many years ago, turncoat O'Keefe had sat on the editorial board of this selfsame "disreputable rag." Oh, where are the snows of yesteryear?

Another important Saturday moment was the Region V report of Emil Franzi. In a slap at the Rich-Crane-O'Keefe emphasis on numbers of candidates, regardless of quality, Franzi wrote: "The Arizona Party has asked me to comment on the constant push by certain NatCom members for more and more candidates. After having been burned in the past by turkeys and embarrassments, Arizona has decided that the idea is to have as many *good* candidates as possible, not just a lot of names of warm bodies on a ballot. This fixation with 'body-counts' is as fallacious as Westmoreland's. The thought that somewhere there is a magic number of votes for LP stiff that will somehow cause Dan Rather to suddenly pay attention to us is as realistic as 'the light at the end of the tunnel.' It's time the LP really *thought out* what it wants candidates *for*, instead of having them for the sake of it."

But the most damaging revelation from the point of view of libertarian principle was the June 15 memo from O'Keefe to Howie Rich on "Campaign Issue Selection," setting forth O'Keefe's strategy for the campaign. In the first place, this odiously sellout memo was sent to Rich over the head of Sheldon Richman, chairman of the outreach committee and supposedly Rich's boss, to the justifiable complaint of Richman. In addition, O'Keefe's Craniac strategy is horrendous, and represents another giant step downward in the degeneration of Craneism into blatant and total opportunism. Proposals by LP candidates, declared O'Keefe, must be confined to "proposals which voters can believe *could* be implemented in the *near term*." Like the Clark campaign's proposals, they should be essentially first year proposals... Congressional candidates have only two short year terms, so voters shouldn't be expected to support a candidate who wants to start work on a proposal that would

take five years to pass. Of course the proposals should be radical, but they should be proposals which could at least conceivably be passed next year."

O'Keefe's strategic concept is breathtaking in its iniquity. One year proposals, indeed! Take this advice, and our candidates, far from calling for dismantling the State, would have to confine themselves to something like attacking Reagan for his \$100 billion tax increase. So why not become Jack Kemp Republicans already, and be done with it? Do we really need sellout artists wrapping themselves in the noble name Libertarian peddling Republicrat hogwash? As one prominent LP leader wrote, in justifiable outrage at this infamous memo, it "was the usual collection of gradualist Craniac bilge we have come to expect from Eric and his cohorts."

There were other revealing passages in O'Keefe's memo to Rich. One: "No particular civil liberties issue seems nationally prominent right now." So much for civil liberties. Oh really, Eric? And what about the massive assault on abortion rights looming in Congress? And what of federal drug enforcement? And grandson of S.I.? And the unleashing of the FBI and CIA, etc. And the Post Office Bill? But I suppose none of that could be handled realistically, pragmatically, in one year's time.

Not content with these ideological crimes, O'Keefe capped it all by denouncing Project Liberty, a superb program launched this year by Dave Nolan, LP founder. Project Liberty is dedicated to raising the banner of abolition of the income tax and repeal of the Sixteenth Amendment to that end. Project Liberty is trying to get LP candidates to pledge themselves to making abolition of the income tax a major campaign issue. Madame Defarge had already denounced Project Liberty viciously in the Craniac smear sheet *UpChuck* [Update]. Here, O'Keefe, while grudgingly admitting that taxation is a key issue to most voters, added that "we need a workable first-year proposal for next year's budget." Well, sure Eric, I guess chances are not very realistic for abolishing the income tax in 1983, so we have to drop that one.

O'Keefe, in his repellent memo, urges that all LP candidates attack the Republicans and Democrats and explain why we need a Libertarian Party. Well, I'll bite, why *do* we need a Libertarian Party if we all must confine ourselves to "realistic" proposals that have a good chance of passing next year—a task for which the Republicrats are far better equipped than we? Eric then takes up a couple of common LP answers which he brusquely dismisses as "inadequate" because "very few people can identify with them." One was that "I realized that the Libertarian Party was the only party which recognized my right to lead my life as I see fit..." Another brusquely dismissed notion was that the LP "stands for complete individual liberty on all issues..." So what is O'Keefe's substitute for these excellent compact statements? "I can't tell the difference between Republicans and Democrats... We need some fresh ideas and a real change." Go ahead say it, Eric: we need a *new beginning*. And we got one, but with Ronnie Reagan.

For this monstrosity alone, Eric O'Keefe should have been sacked, and sacked hard, and Rich and his cohorts along with him.

Alicia Clark came into the chairmanship race determined to bring unity to the Libertarian Party, and to rise above seemingly

petty and useless factional disputes. When she came into office, she was open to all NatCom members and factions, and distributed committee posts and functions with an even hand. But she found that O'Keefe & Co. would not cooperate. It was their way or nothing. She saw O'Keefe and the Headquarters Staff keep to their own agenda, and so, after a long train of abuses, she finally acted, and acted with decision and dispatch. Just as we learned about Alicia, Alicia seems to have learned about the nature of the Crane Machine.

As one top Clark adviser of 1981 put it recently, with his usual wit and flair: "A year ago I believed in unity and balance in the Party, and an end to all the petty bickering and faction fighting. I'm a slow learner but I've learned, and now I make Rothbard look like a moderate on the Crane Question."

## 5. What Next?

So what's next? Well of one thing we can be certain: *every* NatCom member, including the blind, the lame, and the halt, is going to show up at the next meeting on December 3-5, at Orlando, Florida. No one is going to miss the action.

I would remind our readers that so far our Military Maven has been stunningly prophetic, and hasn't missed a shot. As early as our May 1982 issue, we reported that the Military Maven told us after the Houston NatCom meeting in late March: "Murray, it's France in 1940 and *they're* the French. They're punchy, they don't know what's going to hit them next." Indeed.

The Maven's comment after Billings harked back to the Okinawa analogy which he had coined after the November 1981 NatCom meeting at Bethesda. Then he had forecast that "they've peaked and are going into a decline. It's Okinawa in World War II and *they're* the Japs. They have all the bunkers, but we've secured the landing strip and we've planted the flag. We can expect a lot of banzai charges, but I hope they have plenty of saki and rice stored up, because they ain't getting any more supplies. All the freighters off shore are ours." The Military Maven's comment after Billings: "We launched a flame thrower into their bunker." Or, to use an alternate military model: "Tora! Tora! Tora!" In fact, O'Keefe and his headquarters crew—the major Craniac *foco* in the LP—have now been cleaned out.

We can expect some *banzai* charges from the full Cranian membership on NatCom from now on, but the scene of the action is bound to shift in the coming year. For bereft of national office and national headquarters, dominant in only a handful of state parties, the Crane Machine has only one shot left: as forecast by the secret Hocker memo—they must attempt to storm the Presidential convention in New York and nominate a "name" candidate whom Crane and his Machine can control. That is their only hope, and their plan must be stopped. The Crane Machine must not pass at New York. If we defeat whatever patsy the Machine puts up, we may confidently expect that Crane and his minions will wither away, and allow the Party to grow and flourish once again as the true Party of Principle.

## 6. Late Flash!

On Wednesday, August 11, three days after Billings, Alicia Clark and Honey Lanham held an unprecedented press conference call with representatives from three libertarian

publications: *frontlines*, *Update*, and the *Lib. Forum*. During the Q. and A., several interesting items emerged:

(1) When asked whether she intends to run for re-election as National Chair, Alicia Clark replied: "I wish I could say that I won't run again, but I can't." This of course opens the door for Alicia to run again, and to complete the work she has launched.

(2) Alicia reported that in the few short days since Billings, a considerable amount of money has poured into National Headquarters as a vote of confidence in the new regime.

(3) Honey Lanham stated that the office staff had resigned (Craniacs all), that replacements had been hired, and that the principled and intelligent Kathleen Jacob, head of SLS who had been working part-time at the Headquarters, will now edit (or at least "work on") *LP News*. This shows that Ms. Lanham can install a new regime with efficiency and dispatch, and also shows that she can tell quality and competence when she sees it.

(4) Ms. Lanham stated that she will definitely apply for the post of permanent National Director when the interim term runs out in six months. □

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## REGANOMICS

(Continued from page 3)

bacher (ex-LeFevrian troubador in the White House)? And what, even further, are we to say of the moral status of alleged libertarians who in a sense have leaped in to fill the gap, and to provide the decaying hulk of the Reagan Administration with at least some sort of libertarian or free-market cover: Pete Ferrara (White House), Lance Lamberton (White House), and David Henderson (staff of Council of Economic Advisors)?

The cases of Lamberton and Henderson are particularly fascinating (fascinating, that is, in the sense of watching the progress of malignant cells). At the very beginning of the Reagan Administration, your editor, in the *Lib. Forum* and elsewhere, began a crusade to alert the public and the libertarian movement about the anti-libertarian, anti-free market nature of the Reagan policies. Two of the most ardent libertarian defenders of Reagan from these and similar criticisms by Sheldon Richman and others were none other than Comrades Lamberton and Henderson, then private, if not exactly cushily employed, citizens. Both of them are now ensconced in the White House itself. Could this rise to fame and fortune have been a reward for work well done? It would be charming to think so. □

Joseph R. Peden, Associate Editor  
 Daniel M. Rosenthal, Publisher  
 Dyanne M. Petersen, Associate Publisher  
 Carmen Accashian, Circulation Manager

**SMEAR** (Continued from page 5)

**8. Updating Galore**

Later in that issue, *Update* ridiculed an LP State Chairs meeting by beginning its report stating that the meeting had been attended by only four of the 50 chairs. Since the State Chairs Caucus represents an alternative to the LNC, where Craniac forces are strong, it's not surprising that *Update* gave such prominence to the number in attendance. Given *Update's* bias, one hardly wonders whether *Update* would report similar adverse facts about pet Craniac organs.

*Update* also quoted Buck Crouch, meeting organizer, as saying that the Caucus is important because "national people wish to control what happens in the states." *Update* then made a point to remark that Crouch "declined to give any examples of this to *Update*," as if to imply either that Crouch had no case or didn't know what he was talking about—either way discrediting a potential competitor to Craniac-controlled LP National. If *Update* really were interested in reporting all relevant information in order to allow readers to reach their own decisions, they could have cited numerous examples of "national people" controlling "what happens in the states," including Hocker's August LNC move to authorize the LP National Director to spend up to \$10,000 a month on his favorite state LP ballot drives; or Key's November proposals to establish LP national goals (which necessarily have to be implemented by state LPs). Impartial reporting leading to truthful conclusions is not, however, *Update's* strong suit.

The April issue moaned and griped about "proceduralism" and "bureaucracy" building in the LP, as a result of events at the March NatCom meeting. Of course, according to *Update*, the "most positive and progress-oriented reports" were by Craniacs Howie Rich and Eric O'Keefe.

*Update* didn't seem concerned about "proceduralism" during any previous NatCom meetings, which they controlled. The March meeting was the first in which the Crane faction lost substantial numbers of votes, and their grip on NatCom and the

national LP structure began to loosen. Then, and only then, did *Update* begin to notice signs of "proceduralism" creeping up on the LP. *Update* had been silent when LNC member Jim Johnston (who voted 100% Craniac) held up the November meeting with his interpretations of Robert's *Rules of Order*: and when procedural technicalities prevented Bill Evers for hours from questioning Howie Rich on his lack of performance with the LCC.

Furthermore, the acme of proceduralism came at the Denver 1981 meeting of the old NatCom, at which the Crane Machine used an enormous amount of parliamentary proceduralism to try to block Bill Evers from introducing his resolution condemning the attempt by Crane and Herbert during the Clark Campaign to use the FCC to hijack TV time from the networks. And the leader of this Craniac obstructionism was Leslie Key herself!

*Update* referred negatively to "other LNC members" who "attempted, with some degree of success, to create more procedural requirements for other people to follow." *Update's* writers have no compunction in the June issue, though, in taking up the same "proceduralism" they criticize in others. They assail Advertising/Publications Review Committee members David Bergland and Bob Poole, charging that Bergland and Poole were not following an LNC resolution mandating review of materials authorized for use in LP educational programs (i.e., SIL's Principles of Liberty). This they did after chastizing other NatCom members for also complaining that established rules had not been followed! Apparently, in *Update's* eyes the issue is not whether one is a "proceduralist" and tries to make or enforce "requirements for other people to follow": the issue is whether the requirements followed are what *Update's* writers want, who is making the requirements and who is to follow them. It's not *what* is being said or done, but *who* is saying or doing it that matters to *Update*. If it's Them who are enforcing the requirements, then these are onerous and bad; if it's Us who are enforcing the requirements upon Them, then these are OK and They are being remiss in their duties if They don't follow the rules.

**Look for Part III in the next issue of *Lib. Forum*.**

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# THE Libertarian Forum

Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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## THE MASSACRE

All other news, all other concerns, fade into insignificance beside the enormous horror of the massacre in Beirut. All humanity is outraged at the wanton slaughter of hundreds of men (mainly elderly), women, and children in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. The days of the massacre—September 16 to 18—shall truly live in infamy.

There is one ray of hope in this bloodbath: the world-wide outrage demonstrates that mankind's sensibilities have *not*, as some have feared, been blunted by the butcheries of the twentieth century or by watching repeated carnage on television. Mankind is still capable of reacting to evident atrocities that are wreaked upon other human beings: be they thousands of miles away or members of a different or even alien religion, culture, or ethnic group. When hundreds of manifest innocents are brutally and systematically slaughtered, all of us who are still fully human cry out in profound protest.

The outrage and protest must be compounded of several elements. First, of course, we must mourn for the poor down-trodden people of Lebanon, especially the Palestinians, who were driven out in 1948 to a reluctant exile from their homes and land. We must mourn for the slaughtered and their remaining families. And for the hundreds of thousands in Lebanon and in Beirut who have been killed, wounded, bombed out, and rendered homeless wanderers by the aggression of the State of Israel.

But mourning and compassion are not enough. As in any mass murder, the responsibility and the guilt for the crime must be pinpointed. For the sake of justice and to try to make sure that such a holocaust—for holocaust it has been—may never happen again.

Who, then, is guilty? On the most immediate and direct level, of course, the uniformed thugs and murderers who committed the slaughter. They consist of two groups of Christian Lebanese, working their will on innocent Muslims: the Christian Lebanese Forces of Major Saad Haddad, and the Christian Phalange, headed by the Gemayel family, now installed in the presidency of Lebanon.

But equally responsible, equally guilty, are the aiders and abettors, the string-pullers, the masters of West Beirut where the slaughter took place: the State of Israel. When the PLO was evacuated from West Beirut, to the fanfare of an international accord and international armed force supervision, the State of Israel saw its way clear to the conquest of Muslim West Beirut.

Its protectors gone, the international forces cleared out, the poor huddled people of West Beirut had to put up with the conquest of the Israeli aggressors, who marched in on September 16. It was the deliberate decision of the Israeli government to usher the Phalange and the Lebanese forces into camps, to have them, in Israel's words, "purify" the camps and rid them of PLO members who might be lurking therein—masquerading, no doubt as babies and children. Israeli tanks guarded the perimeter of Sabra and Shatila to permit the Christians unlimited control of the camps, and Israeli army observation posts on rooftops supervised the scene less than 100 yards from the slaughter.

On Friday, on the scene, Reuters correspondent Paul Eedle spoke to an Israeli colonel who explained about the operation: it was designed to "purify" the area without the direct participation of the Israeli army. This policy is of course all too reminiscent of the Nazi policy on the Eastern front, when the German soldiers stood by and benignly allowed the Ukrainian and other non-German SS to massacre Jews and other natives of Russia.

Also on Friday, it is particularly edifying to know that the Phalangists came to Israeli positions on the perimeter of the camps to relax, eat and drink, read and listen to music, and in general "rest up" before returning to butcher the few people still remaining. A Phalangist officer, a gold crucifix dangling from his neck, later told a reporter that there was still shooting going on in the camps, "otherwise what would I be doing here?"

Writing from the scene of the crime in evident horror, *New York Times* reporter, Thomas L. Friedman (Sept. 20) wrote that from the Israeli observation posts "it would not have been difficult to ascertain the slaughter not only by sight but from the sounds of gunfire and the screams coming from the camp. In addition to providing some provisions for the Christian militiamen, the Israelis had tanks stationed on the hilltop, apparently to provide cover for them if the militiamen encountered fiercer resistance than had been anticipated."

We know now that by Thursday night the Israeli army and government knew about the massacre, and that yet they did *absolutely nothing* for 36 hours, until Saturday morning, when, the bloodbath completed, they gently waded the Christian murderers out of the camps. All was secured.

As a grisly finale to Israel's blood crime, even after the world outrage, the Israeli army turned over a huge number of captured

weapons to the Lebanese Forces—the Haddad army which Israel has trained and armed for seven years, which has held and occupied the southern Lebanese border for many months on behalf of Israel, and who, as the *New York Times* put it, are “virtually integrated into the Israeli army and operate entirely under its command.”

One of the most heartening aspects of the response to the massacre has been the firestorm of protest within Israel itself, even from the ordinarily pro-Begin press. Thus, Eitan Haber, military correspondent of the ordinarily pro-Begin *Yediot Ahronot*, wrote in shock:

“Government ministers and senior commanders already knew during the hours of Thursday night and Friday morning that a terrible massacre was taking place in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila, and despite the fact that they knew this for sure, they did not lift a finger and did nothing to prevent the massacre until Saturday morning. For 36 additional hours, the Phalangists continued to run rampant in the refugee camps and to kill anyone who fell in their path.”

An editor of the Beginite daily paper, *Maariv*, appearing on ABC-TV *Nightline*, was evidently shaken and pinned full responsibility for the holocaust on the Begin government, and clearly called for its resignation.

Unfortunately, the response of American Jews was not nearly as outraged as that from Israel itself. It is well known that the lockstep and knee-jerk support by American Jews for any and all acts of the State of Israel is scarcely replicated within Israel itself. But even here the ranks were broken or at the very least confused. Even William Safire, always ardent in support of Israel, attacked its “blunder”—a strong word coming from Safire. Only the “professional Jews,” head of the leading Jewish organizations in America, continued to alibi and excuse. For a few days, they fell back on the view that “we can’t judge until we know the facts,” but even this lame alibi fell apart when Begin arrogantly refused any impartial judicial inquiry and pushed his view through the Knesset. Among the American Jewish leaders only Rabbi Balfour Brickner and the highly intelligent Professor Arthur Hertzberg—who have always been unafraid to speak their mind—lashed into the responsibility of the state of Israel.

An illuminating scene occurred on ABC’s *Nightline*, when Rabbi Schindler and Howard Squadron, two top “professional” American Jews, were asked their views of the Israeli action. It was squirmsville. One particularly sharp question was asked by *Nightline*: How is it that American Jewish protest has been so muted compared to that within Israel itself? Rabbi Schindler’s response was one for the books. In essence he said: “Within Israel there are political parties which can be critical of the government’s action. But our role as American Jews is to support the State of Israel *regardless of its specific actions*.” A chilling admission indeed!

And so American Jewish leaders consider it their role to support the State of Israel come hell or high water. How many deaths would it take? How many murders? How much slaughter of the innocent? Are there *any conceivable acts* that would turn off the American Jewish leadership, that would cause these people to stop their eternal apologetics for the State of Israel? Any acts *at all*?

After this statement of his role, the rather startled *Nightline* interviewer asked Rabbi Schindler, “but what about support for *right and wrong*? Doesn’t that count?” Having marched to the

edge of the abyss and perhaps revealed too much, Rabbi Schindler rallied, and muttered something about “of course, we’re interested in right and wrong; but we can only judge after we know the facts.” Since Begin had just vetoed a fact-finding board of inquiry, this line fell pretty flat.

In American politics, the magic attraction of the State of Israel has at last lost some of its power. Even Scoop Jackson, even Senator Alan Cranston (D., Calif.) have become critical of Israel. The leading all-out supporter of Israel in the Reagan Cabinet—Al Haig—has been booted out, perhaps partially on that issue. But these are only small, fitful steps toward de-Israelizing American foreign policy.

One bizarre aspect of this affair has been the American perception—at least until the massacre—of the Gemayel family and its Phalange. It has now been revealed that the Israeli intelligence services—notoriously savvy people—had warned Begin and Defense Minister Sharon in advance that the Phalangists were likely to commit a massacre if the camps were turned over to them. To say that these warnings were “ignored” by Begin, Sharon & Co. is putting matters very, very kindly.

Well, what are the Gemayels and the Phalange like? Perhaps it is best to contrast reality with the Alice-in-Wonderland comments of the Reagan Administration upon the assassination of Phalangist leader and near-president of Lebanon Bashir Gemayel on September 15. “A tragedy for Lebanese democracy,” opined the Reagan Administration, while Ronnie himself spoke of Bashir as a brilliant, rising young democratic politician. The U.S. and Israel both spoke of their hope that Bashir could impose a “strong, centralized government” to unify anarchic Lebanon.

Since the Massacre, we should now have a better idea of the sort of “unity” that the Gemayels propose to bring to Lebanon: the “unity” of the charnel house and the cemetery. Perhaps the name of the political and military organization known as the Phalange should give a clue. For Bashir’s father, Pierre, founded the Phalange after an enthusiastic visit to Hitler’s Germany. The Phalange (named after Franco’s Falange) are fascists, pure and simple, in goals and in method.

But let us concentrate on the rising young politician and see if we should shed any tears for Bashir. Bashir is distinguished from other leading Lebanese politicians in that he is himself a mass murderer. I mean personally. The Gemayels had two sets of powerful rivals among the fascistic Maronite Christian community. “Pro-Western” and “Pro-Israeli” a little less fanatically than the Phalange, these were the followers of elderly ex-Presidents Camille Chamoun and Suleiman Franjeh.

Here is the way that young democrat, Begin and Reagan’s Man in Beirut, dealt with dissent within the Maronite community. Five years ago, the then 29-year-old Bashir Gemayel led a commando raid on Franjeh’s mountain stronghold in northern Lebanon. Bashir made Franjeh’s oldest son Tony watch while he and his gang tortured and killed Tony’s wife and two-year-old daughter. Bashir then murdered Tony and 29 followers, calling the massacre a “social revolt against feudalism.” Two years later, Bashir took care of the Chamouns. In May, 1980, Bashir and his men, in a lightning strike, massacred 450 of Chamoun’s followers at a beach resort near the city of Junei. Over 250 were murdered on the beach or while swimming. The wife and daughter of Camille Chamoun’s son Dany were both raped. Less than a month later, Bashir and his men invaded Chamoun’s headquarters in east Beirut, and savagely

(Continued on page 4)

# DEBATE ON ERA

(In our June-July 1981 issue, we published an excellent critique of the ERA by anarchist scholar Wendy McElroy. ERA was a cause that unaccountably captured a large majority of libertarians, and so Wendy's strictures were especially welcome.

In response, Joan Kennedy Taylor, once of *Libertarian Review* and now of the Manhattan Institute, sent us a critique of the McElroy article, and Wendy has offered a reply. The original article was a year ago, but the issue is timeless, and so we are happy to present the exchange now. — Ed.)

## McELROY ON ERA

by Joan Kennedy Taylor

I would like to call attention to some factual misstatements in Wendy McElroy's article "Against the ERA" in your June-July 1981 issue.

She states, "It was the opinion of the originators and chief proponents of the ERA (the National Woman's Party) that the ERA would extend protective legislation to both sexes." Some of them may have hoped for that eventuality, but it *could not* have been their opinion. The 1920's was the period in which the Supreme Court was consistently holding that any regulation of the working conditions of *men* was a deprivation of their liberty of contract without due process of law, in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Such legislation for *women*, however, had been held to be permissible, because the state has an interest in protecting "the future of the race," because women are inherently . . . . . weaker, and because women are not legally "persons" within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. The ERA was introduced in 1923 to invalidate these rulings. By mentioning that there was a conflict over protective labor legislation among feminists and then making the above statement about the National Woman's Party, Ms. McElroy clearly implies that it was the National Woman's Party that was the group in favor of such legislation. This is not the case — the argument was between the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, which was introducing such laws, and the National Woman's Party, which supported ERA even though it would invalidate them.

McElroy's discussion of the concept of state action is similarly misleading. The concept was introduced in the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, as follows: "Until some State law has been passed, or some State action through its officers or agent has been taken, adverse to the rights of citizens sought to be protected by the 14th Amendment, no legislation of the United States under said Amendment, nor any proceeding under such legislation can be called into activity...the legislation which Congress is authorized to adopt in this behalf is not general legislation upon the rights of the citizen, but corrective legislation, that is, such as may be necessary and proper for counteracting such laws as the State may adopt or enforce, and which, by the Amendment, they are prohibited from committing or taking." McElroy is correct in implying that "state action" has been loosely interpreted to include some private-sector activities.

However, the first example she gives, the HEW rules interpreting Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, has nothing to do with state action

under the Fourteenth Amendment (which would similarly apply to the ERA). The Civil Rights Act doesn't get its constitutional sanction from the Fourteenth Amendment, but from the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce — it *deals* with the private sector.

Earlier, McElroy cites the *Yale Law Journal* article of 1971 — an article cited as definitive by both proponents and opponents of the ERA during the Congressional debates on the subject — as an authority on the impact of the ERA on the draft, but she neglects to mention that the same article says, "...under present court decisions on state action private educational institutions would remain within the private sector, not subject to the constitutional requirements of the Equal Rights Amendment."

McElroy also implies that "some form of license" would trigger the invocation of state action, but a case in the mid-1970's, *Moose Lodge v. Irvis*, specifically rejected the concept that state action is involved in the granting of a liquor license to a private club.

She has a long description of a case which she misidentifies as *Marsh v. Alabama* (1946), a case that held that a company town is a town and must allow freedom of speech to religious groups on its streets. That case was a precedent to the case she describes, which is *Food Employees v. Logan Valley Plaza* (1968). However, *Logan Valley* was the high water mark for this particular expansion to the concept of state action, and (partly because of a ringing dissent in *Logan Valley* by Justice Hugo Black which championed private property) the Court refused to apply *Logan Valley* to two similar cases in 1972, holding instead that property rights must not be violated. So the libertarian arguments that Ms. McElroy refers to ultimately prevailed, contrary to the implication of her article.

My own research into state action cases is sketchy as to what has happened after 1977 — it is entirely possible that there are recent cases which would indicate that the concept is being expanded again, but Wendy McElroy has not supported her contention by the evidence she cites.

Finally, I would like to make two points about her concluding argument, that "If one-half of the energy and money that has been thrown into the ERA had been used to repeal specific laws that oppress women on a state-by-state, perhaps city-by-city level, freedom would have been substantially increased." First of all, such an effort *has* been made under the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which has brought suit on a selective basis to invalidate individual laws, and this effort has in my opinion *lessened* freedom, because the basis for the suits was the power of congress to regulate commerce and demand that no sexism be involved in the production of any good or service that might in the usual course of events ultimately cross state lines.

And secondly, women have been trying to repeal discriminatory laws on a law-by-law basis since the 1840's when the first Married Woman's Property Act was passed in New York State, allowing a woman to keep the title to real estate which she owned before her marriage. What women have consistently found is that, while they are working to dismantle the state apparatus in one area, additional laws were being passed in another — as they were working on the legal disabilities

of married women, protective labor legislation began being passed for the first time, for instance. After all these years of working to repeal discriminatory laws, thousands of them are still in place. It is not surprising that women wish to invalidate them all at once.

## REPLY TO MS. TAYLOR

by Wendy McElroy

If someone were accused of stealing a 1978 Buick and a voice in his defense declared, "That's quite wrong; it was a 1978 Ford!", observers might well be at a loss for words. Joan Kennedy Taylor's critique of my article opposing the E.R.A. (L.F. June-July 1981) leaves me in a similar state. In that article I raised important moral objections to the E.R.A. To indulge in the nasty habit of quoting oneself, I wrote: "Equality under government laws means equality under laws that are overwhelmingly unjust in content and indefensible as to means of enforcement." Moreover, I questioned the wisdom of libertarians appealing to government for the achievement of social goals. In concluding this section, I stated, "without resolving these moral objections, a discussion of strategy is superfluous." It was explicitly for the "sake of argument" that I continued to discuss the strategic aspects of the E.R.A.

Ms. Taylor's critique is remarkable in that it does not address these objections even in passing. It concentrates entirely upon my discussion of strategy, and comments, "I would like to call attention to some factual misstatements." Although my response to Ms. Taylor's critique will be to emphasize, again, the fundamental moral principles, I would like to discuss Ms. Taylor's comments.

The easiest criticism to dispense with is one in which Ms. Taylor is correct. Through an error in transcribing notes, I did misidentify *Marsh v. Alabama* though my description of the case was accurate. Ms. Kennedy does not contest my presentation, but points out two subsequent court cases which did not violate rights in a similar manner. Thus, it is demonstrated that when government is given the power to violate rights sometimes it does and sometimes it doesn't. What importance does this have for libertarian theory? Surely this underlines rather than denies the folly of appealing to government and to the state court system. If I were to engage Ms. Taylor in a debate on her own terms of quoting court cases and legal precedents, what would it prove? Courts across the country interpret the constitution and laws in a diametrically opposed manner. What the Supreme court gives, it can also take away. The libertarian stand on E.R.A. must be based on principle, not on the shifting sands of a government agency. (For additional reading see J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen*, and Crystal Eastman, *On Women*.)

The longest paragraph in Ms. Taylor's critique deals with an historical aside which I interjected in parentheses. I observed that the National Woman's Party (N.W.P.), the originators of the E.R.A., initially believed it would extend protective labor laws. Ms. Taylor emphatically states, "it *could not* have been their opinion." Although this historical dispute is superfluous, it has arisen and should be answered. The N.W.P.'s position on protective labor legislation underwent a pronounced shift from 1921 to 1923. Originally, it maintained that the E.R.A. would not endanger such legislation or that it would extend protection to men. When this notion was severely attacked by "social feminists" and legal experts, the N.W.P. backpedaled to label protective labor laws as a form of reverse discrimination. The

original stance of the N.W.P. is exemplified by the response Alice Paul, head of the Party, made to Mary Anderson's conclusion that the E.R.A. would do away with special legislation. Paul responded, "It won't do anything of the kind," and refused to speak to Anderson for several years. Whatever position the N.W.P. assumed after the dust had settled, they initially envisioned the E.R.A. as compatible with and/or extending protective labor laws.

If Ms. Taylor wishes to address the core of my objection to the E.R.A., it will be necessary for her to answer the following questions:

1. Is it proper for libertarians to turn to government for the solution of social ills?
2. Is the equality called for the equal protection individual rights and not the socio-economic equality endemic in contemporary feminism?
3. Will government use additional power to protect the individual or to extend its own authority?
4. Will all the laws which will be extended protect rather than violate rights?

This last question cannot be overemphasized. If some averaging mechanism could prove that the E.R.A. violated some rights but was generally beneficial, libertarians would have no alternative but to condemn it. The cornerstone of libertarianism is the non-aggression principle. As a libertarian, it is not within your range of discretion to violate rights of some people in some instances. Logic denies you this option. You cannot on the one hand say it is wrong to violate rights and, on the other hand, say it is beneficial to violate rights.

Ms. Taylor has entirely missed the point of my article. And of the E.R.A.

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## MASSACRE (Continued from page 2)

killed over 500 of Chamoun's followers as well as bystanders. Many of the victims were castrated by Bashir's thugs, and one captured Chamounite was blown apart with a stick of dynamite shoved down his throat.

Who assassinated Bashir? It could almost have been anyone in Lebanon.

The fascist savagery and the willingness to be a catspaw of Israel may be partly explained by demographic factors. Lebanese political rule is set by quota system, in which dominance—including the Presidency—is assured the Maronite Christian community. Unfortunately, the census on which the quotas are based is that of the early 1930's, when the Christians were a majority in Lebanon. The early 1930's census still rules, even though it is now conceded by everyone that Muslims are about 55% of the Lebanese population, to the Christian 45%. This means that freezing Maronite Christian rule over a majority of Muslims—the Begin-and-Reagan solution to the Lebanese problem—in addition to being profoundly immoral, in the long run will not work. The Muslims are out-producing the Christians in future population, no matter how many Muslim babies the Phalangists are proposing to kill.

Unfortunately, no matter the anguish and the outcry within Israel, there is little hope that the Israeli opposition will be able to do much to correct the fundamental problem. For while individual voices are raised on the massacre, *politically* there is almost no opposition to the fundamental Zionist axiom within

*(Continued on page 6)*

# SMEAR: THE STORY OF UPDATE—PART III

by Derrick "Ed" Welles

The June issue is particularly replete with misinformation and ranting. The attack on SIL's study course continues at full blast, SLS gets more kid-glove treatment, Project Liberty absorbs a double blow with a "news" article and another "review" by *Update's* expert reviewer Leslie Key, and more Updating. Let's begin with the latter case.

On page 2, Tom Palmer is quoted criticizing David Nolan's Project Liberty because its call for libertarians to get involved in the drive to repeal the Sixteenth Amendment "has right-wing connotations in the eyes of the media." All tax-limitation, tax-abolition drives have "right-wing connotations" in the eyes of the media. Why then didn't *Update* reject the LP's Tax Protest Day? It was directed from LP National by Craniac groupie Bruce Majors. As with the vaunted "proceduralism" problem, a strategy or principle is to be adopted or rejected not on its own merits, but depending on who's in charge.

And, if right-wing connotations are to be avoided, why then does *Update* tell us, on page 10, that Craniac hireling Milton Mueller had a Cato study published "that explains the application of property rights in the telecommunication field"? Well well, here would seem to be a prime target for Palmer and *Update's* anti-"right-wing connotations" counsel! Why doesn't *Update* warn that *this* stuff about property rights is a right-wing concern? Because Mueller is a faithful Crane servant?

Key's review of Joe Cobb's booklet for Project Liberty, "The Income Tax Must Go!", suffers from more of her distortion and misunderstanding (if not deliberate misrepresentation). She attacks the work for appealing, not to the general public, but to those who are already convinced about abolishing the income tax: "it is impossible to believe that anyone who doesn't already support income tax repeal will be convinced by this book." In so saying, she misses the point of the book. Nobody ever said that it was intended for a mass audience. It was sent to libertarian activists, not to the public at large, and is being promoted in libertarian publications, not in general-interest periodicals. Its purpose is to *galvanize* libertarians into implementing a strategy of advocating income-tax repeal, and thus draw new recruits, contributions and votes from among disillusioned taxpayers and from dissatisfied tax protesters who haven't had anti-tax candidates to vote for and contribute to.

Another interesting comment by Key is her insinuation that Cobb's book has "obvious" overtones of anti-ethnicity (because "waves of immigrants" were "envious of rich industrialists"). Remarkable that Leslie Key would count alleged "anti-ethnicity" in Joe Cobb's disfavor, yet thought nothing of denigrating an SIL issue paper's statement that "sexism is morally wrong and irrational." Is sexism OK, Leslie, but racism bad? What substantial difference is there between the attitude of a sexist toward the opposite sex, and that of a racist toward another race? Again, the only criterion seems to be that whatever non-Craniacs say is to be criticized because they said it, not because of lack of validity in their positions. Key criticizes the (alleged) views of non-Craniacs, even if she has to take self-contradictory positions in order to do so.

The Project Liberty article (page 2) is another instance of weighted coverage to place non-Craniac projects in a disparaging light. It states that "about 25 candidates have responded favorably to the suggestion that they make [income-tax repeal] the major focus of their campaign. [Nolan] had originally hoped that 150-200 candidates would. The Libertarian Party plans to run at least 1,000 candidates in 1982."

Note how *Update* gives a figure for how many candidates Nolan seeks to recruit for his strategy, and contrasts it to the actual number achieved *by that time* (without pointing this out); then *Update* gives a figure for how many candidates the LP seeks to run in 1982, and does *not* report how many have *actually* announced their candidacies. Moreover, the LP "plans" to run 1000 candidates, while Nolan only "hoped" that 150-200 candidates would run on antitax planks. Another slick use of vocabulary to slant perceptions in favor of *Update's* faction and against others. (Note: in fact, we have learned that nearly 100 Libertarian candidates have already endorsed Income-Tax Repeal, in a paid advertisement to appear in *The Duck Book* and *The Liberty Amendment News*.)

Elsewhere, the article tries to give the impression that the income-tax repeal strategy is right-wing (as already discussed) and that it doesn't have much support—both, supposedly, reasons for rejecting the strategy. Nowhere does *Update* report the very relevant fact that their darling Dick Randolph is a Project Liberty endorser, and that he has introduced the Liberty Amendment into the Alaska legislature. Why not criticize *him*? Ah, but Dick, whose campaign for Alaska governor is managed by Kent Guida, is one of their boys. The news doesn't fit so it's dropped. (The failure to provide this relevant information contrasts with the quickness with which *Update* offered background information to dispute Nolan's assertion that Income-Tax repeal is a popular issue, in noting that only two state legislatures have passed the Liberty Amendment in the past 17 years.) Once again, relevant information is given in *Update* only when it advances the views and fortunes of Craniac sympathizers or discredits their opponents.

On the same page begins the article on the A/PRC and SIL's course, Principles of Liberty. Again conveniently handling words to inflate *Update's* claims, the article starts by saying there were strong protests "from several quarters" against Bergland and Poole's position on reviewing POL. One would think that *Update* would dredge up and quote as many critics as it could on this one, as it does with anything it wishes to criticize. However, the *only* person from these "several quarters" who is cited in opposition to Bergland and Poole, is Chris Hocker. *No one else* was named. How much opposition is there, really, to Bergland and Poole's position? *Update* makes a misleading statement to make its friends' case stronger than it really is, and its enemys' weaker than it actually is.

We have already contrasted *Update's* detailed coverage of Rothbard's CLS's financial woes, with its nearly nonexistent and very cursory treatment of SLS's even more serious troubles. At the end of the A/PRC article, SLS's own study course is

finally—and very briefly—described. It is referred to as a “new publication” that “has not yet been widely distributed.” The first statement is flatly wrong; the second, while literally true, is one more instance of distortion through omission of information. In reality, SLS’s study program has been around for a year, having made its debut at the 1981 SLS Convention. It is in no sense a “new” publication. It has not been widely distributed (*Update*’s euphemism for poor sales), not because it is “new,” but because it is much more expensive than the SIL course (\$14, compared to POL’s \$5), it calls for 14 meetings (POL suggests 6 to 8 meetings), and it requires an amount of reading that makes it comparable to a full semester’s college course. All in all it demands a much greater degree of time, expense and commitment than the SIL kit, a degree which few if any students or others have to allocate to a study course. In addition, it has not been promoted at all, except in SLS’s own publications. This is why it has not “been widely distributed.” Quick to point out shortcomings in the activities of anti-Craniacs, *Update* makes no similar analysis of the failures of its kindred institutions.

“We will seek out and print the truth in a straightforward fashion,” proudly declared *Update* in January 1982. In fact, however, the truth has been run straight out of *Update* since the beginning. When it comes to reporting the news on and about Craniac allies and critics, reality and logic take a back seat to distortion, innuendo, logic, omission of inconvenient facts, and creation of convenient facts.” These are all built into what is supposed to pass for objective reporting, in a fashion started by historiographers and statist sycophants bent more on presenting a favorable view of our pet ideas and factions than in reporting facts and presenting all sides of controversies. From a journalistic standpoint, *Update* is a disaster. In terms of benefiting the libertarian movement, *Update* inhibits the search for effective strategy and sound principle by biasing unsuspecting readers’ perceptions of personalities and ideas through selective, partial reporting—to the benefit of the beleaguered, yet still powerful, action that brought us low-tax liberalism and opportunism rampant. As one victim of the Crane Machine has put it, “I’d rather read *Pravda* than *Update*. At least *Pravda* makes less pretense to objectivity.” □

## MASSACRE (Continued from page 4)

Israel. The chief opposition Labor Party, the Founding Fathers and Mothers of Israel, paved the way for Begin in their commitment to the Zionist ideal and to the consequent expulsion of 1 million Palestinian Arabs from their homes and their lands. Only a few minor parties in Israel, such as those of Uri Davis and Shulamith Aloni, can be considered to have broken with the Zionist paradigm, and these are only on the fringe of Israeli politics.

The fundamental problem, the Zionist paradigm, is simply this: The establishment of the State of Israel was accomplished by the expropriation of the Palestinians from the overwhelming bulk of the land of the “original” 1948 Israel. Over a million Palestinian Arabs fled outside the borders of Israel, and the remaining Arabs have been systematically treated as second-class citizens, kept down by the fact that only Jews are allowed to own land within Israel that once falls into Jewish hands. (And more is doing so all the time.) In 1967, Israel aggressed against and conquered the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights of Syria, which it is in the process of annexing. Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories are, again, treated as second-class citizens, and Zionist settlements are planted amongst them.

Israel and its American apologists are wont to blame everything on the dread bogeyman, the PLO, and to excuse all Israeli crimes as necessary to defend the security of the Israeli state from PLO “terrorism.” And yet it is conveniently forgotten that there was no PLO at all until after the shame of the 1967 war, when the Palestinians realized that they had to stop relying on the faithless Arab states and could only try themselves to win back their homes and their possessions. Since there was no “PLO terror” until 1968, how come that Israel aggressed against and terrorized the Palestinian Arabs for two decades previously?

The answer lies in the Zionist paradigm. Zionism was a nineteenth-century creation of European (*not* Middle Eastern) Jews, and was sold to Great Britain as a conscious colonial settlerstate, a junior partner to British imperialism in the Middle East. After World War I, when the British and French dismembered the Ottoman Empire, they betrayed their promises to give the Arabs their independence, and they established mandates or puppet states across the Middle East. We are still living with the legacy of that final outcropping of British imperialism.

How did the early Zionists sell their scheme to Western public opinion? The favorite Zionist slogan of the day rings peculiarly hollow now: “A land without people [Palestine] for a people without land [the Jews].” A land without people; there *are* no Palestinian Arabs, the Zionists assured everyone, and so a million and a half people, many of them productive farmers, citrus growers, businessmen,—people “who made the desert bloom” first—were at a stroke *written out of existence*. And before the PLO launched its fight-back, Israeli leaders stoutly continued to deny reality, Golda Meir repeatedly maintaining that “there are no Palestinians.” Say it often enough and maybe they go away. Maybe.

Libertarians are opposed to every State. But the State of Israel is uniquely pernicious, because its entire existence rests and continues to rest on a massive expropriation of property and expulsion from the land. Libertarians in the United States often complain about the radical libertarian adherence to “land reform,” i.e. the giving back of stolen land to the victims. In the case of expropriations centuries ago, who gets what is often fuzzy, and conservative libertarians can raise an important point. But in the case of Palestine, the victims and their children—the true owners of the land—are right there, beyond the borders, in refugee camps, in hovels, dreaming about a return to their own. There is nothing fuzzy here. Justice will only be served, and true peace in the devastated area will only come, when a miracle happens and Israel allows the Palestinians to stream back in and repossess their rightful property. Until then, so long as the Palestinians continue to live and no matter how far back they are pushed, they will always be there, and they will continue to press for their dream of justice. No matter how many square miles and how many cities Israel conquers (shall it be Damascus next?), the Palestinians will be there, in addition to all the other Arab refugees newly created by the Israeli policy of blood and iron. But allowing justice, allowing the return of the expropriated, would mean that Israel would have to give up its exclusivist Zionist ideal. For recognizing Palestinians as human beings with full human rights is the negation of Zionism; it is the recognition that the land was never “empty.”

A just Israeli state (insofar as *any* state can be just), then, would necessarily be a de-Zionized state, and this no Israeli political party in the foreseeable future would have the slightest desire to do. And so the slaughter and the horror will go on.

## Special Double Issue!

# THE ELECTION

### 1. Reaganism Repudiated

Come, leave us face it: the election was a resounding repudiation of Reaganomics and the Reagan Administration. The Establishment media, ever looking for impulses toward "compromise" and "consensus" within our current statist framework, are interpreting the election as a call for moderation. And the Republicans are finding "victory" because their losses were not even greater.

But consider: the Democrats swept a net total of seven governorships, with one more almost eked out in Illinois; and a substantial shift in the House of 26 seats. The governor-conquests will put the Democratic state machines in a favorable position for the 1984 presidential race; and the House victories, coming on top of a comfortable existing margin for the Democrats, should enable them to break the Reagan-boll weevil coalition in the House. It is true that there were no net Senate changes, but consider again that far more Democrat than Republican seats were up this year, and that many of the Republican victories were by wafer-thin margins (Danforth in Missouri, Stafford in Vermont, Chafee in Rhode Island, and Tribble in Virginia). A shift of only 1.1% of the voters in these four states would have given us a tied Senate.

The fact that the Democrats have nothing new or startling to offer to get us out of our economic mess is irrelevant. The important point is that the voter has no power to insure that anything good will ever come from a new ruler; the only power he has is to punish, to repudiate, to "throw the rascals out," in the grand old phrase. And that is what the voters are now proposing to do. So Carter messes up, and they throw him out, and the same will be done by the aroused electorate to the Great Prevaricator in 1984. Or, it will be done if Reality is going to triumph in any sense over Personality. In reality, Ronnie has led us into a quagmire of seemingly permanent stagnation and of depression (yes, "depression," as Nobel Laureate economist George Stigler delightfully and cantankerously told the world from the White House the week before the election) unprecedented since the 1930s. Coming into office on the promise of getting government off our backs, balancing the budget, and slashing the swollen budget and crippling taxation, Ronnie has instead brought us catastrophic deficits, far higher taxes, and the biggest budgets in American history. If reality impinges at all upon the American electorate, Ronnie will receive a landslide repudiation; the only thing to stop it will be the personal admiration which the *booboisie* unaccountably still have for the dimwit actor in the White House.

### 2. The Right-wing Repudiated

Suffering particularly in this election were a raft of right-wing Republicans, who went down to often unexpected and ignominious defeat. Particularly heartening was the surprising loss by fascistic Texas governor William Clements, who lost to conservative Democrat Attorney-General Mark White by 8%, despite pouring in \$14 million into the campaign (much of it his own), in contrast to White's \$5 million. Lewis A. ("Skip") Bafalis, a veteran right-wing agitator, lost to Governor Robert Graham of Florida by a whopping 65 to 35 per cent. Ex-astronaut Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico was thrown out of the Senate by eight percentage points by Attorney-General Jeff Bingaman. Representative Jim Collins, an ultra-conservative from Texas, was creamed by centrist Senator Lloyd Bentsen, by 59 to 41 per cent. Two leading Moral Majoritarians and NCPAC endorsees, were also clobbered for the Senate: Robin Beard was annihilated (by 62 to 38 per cent) in his bid to oust Jim Sasser of Tennessee; and Cleve Benedict was eradicated (69 to 31 per cent) in his attempt to throw out the veteran Democrat incumbent Robert Byrd in West Virginia.

Two of the repudiated right-wingers proclaimed themselves as "free market" men. Their defeat is particularly welcome, since the last thing we need these days is to elect people who will help provide a phony "free-market" cover for the disastrous statism of the Reagan Administration. One of these losers is Richard Headlee, who lost the Michigan Gubernatorial race to left-liberal James Blanchard by a hefty 7%; the other is Larry Williams, who was generally expected to unseat the dumb and lacklustre left-liberal John Melcher of Montana, but lost by a substantial margin of 12 per cent. The Montana race was distinguished by a particularly charming TV commercial, in which old "Doc" Melcher, a veterinarian in civilian life, hugged some cows, who in turn mooed in *basso* voices about how "I hear certain Eastern city slickers have come into Montana to smear good old Doc Melcher." This influential commercial resonated with culture conflict: in particular, the resentment of many Montanans against Williams, with his buttoned-down, blow-dried, Eastern preppie image.

### 3. Cuomo vs. Lehrman

But by far the most important and visible repudiation of a right-winger was the defeat of Lew Lehrman for governor of New York. Because liberal Democrat Mario Cuomo won by 3%, the Lehrmanite press is claiming some kind of "moral" victory since the polls had forecast a wider margin. But polls are only polls, and the fact is that the 3% margin is no slouch, especially

considering the \$14.5 million (\$8.5 million from Lehrman personally) which Lehrman spent against Cuomo's \$5 million. Since the election, Lehrman has already arrogantly proclaimed himself a kind of governor-in-exile, with a permanent staff to monitor Cuomo and to run again in 1986.

Despite his support for the gold standard, there is no reason for libertarians or free-marketters to shed any tears for Lew Lehrman. The gold standard, after all, is not a gubernatorial issue. But more than that: Lehrman in no sense ran a free-market or libertarian campaign. He had just two issues. One was crime, which he demagogically promised to stamp out by "taking the handcuffs off the police." Lehrman's omnipresent anti-crime commercials were unusually repellent: "There are savages out there, they're raping nuns and killing rabbis [thus working the two dominant religious groups]. Vote for Lehrman!" Will any candidate *in favor of* raping nuns and killing rabbis please stand up?

Lehrman's second big issue was his much vaunted "40% income tax cut." But the issue was a phony. In the first place, the cut was to stretch out over a period of ten years, making for a piddling 4% decrease per annum. Secondly, the cut was a phantom, because New York State is constitutionally mandated to have a balanced budget, and the budget is already in \$1 billion deficit. And Lehrman failed to talk about any *spending* cuts. In short, with the budget remaining at its current swollen level, and taxes to be cut, the budget could only be balanced if the Laffer Curve would work, and state revenues rose enough to balance the budget. Lehrman pledged that if this Laffer Effect did not work in any given year, then that year's tax cut would be scrapped. And since the Laffer Curve has already been thoroughly discredited on the national scene, the Lehrman tax cut plan is precisely a phony.

Apart from these two major thrusts, Lehrman abandoned any free-market proclivities he may have had right down the line. The lure of power. He waffled on rent control; he called for keeping out rapacious Japanese and West German imports to save jobs in New York. It is only unfortunate that the Lehrman defeat was not resounding enough to send him back for good to where he richly deserves to be: the private sector.

Mario Cuomo, in contrast, proved to be a delightful candidate, a quintessential New Yorker: warm, fast, bright, and very funny. Even the fanatically pro-Lehrman *New York Post* admitted that Cuomo crushed Lehrman in their first and major TV debate—a victory so blatant that the Cuomo forces actually worried about a sympathy backlash for Lehrman. In contrast, Lehrman came across as cold, *serioso*, monomaniacal.

Some examples of the Cuomo wit:

On the debate, Lehrman, asked why he carries a gun, started to ramble on embarrassingly about how "you can't take the country out of the boy," and how as a young lad growing up in rural Pennsylvania, he had to carry a gun in order to shoot gophers, because gophers made holes that horses fell in and broke their legs. (A dumb statement on its face, since it played into Cuomo's charges of carpetbagging—Lehrman having moved from Pennsylvania only a few years ago). To which Cuomo shot back: "In my 54 years in Queens [a borough of New York City], I never saw a horse fall into a gopher hole." *Zing!*

As Cuomo talked on in the debate, Lehrman ostentatiously looked at his watch and flashed it in front of Cuomo's face. Cuomo: "That's an expensive watch, Lew." *Zing!* Lehrman: "You've just spoken for ten minutes and I only spoke for one."

Cuomo: "It only *seemed* like ten minutes, Lew." *Zap!*

Another time Lehrman complained about Cuomo's talking.

and Cuomo shot back: "This is my only chance to get my views across, Lew. I haven't got nine million dollars." *Zing!*

At another point, Lehrman talked about one of his favorite themes—advocacy of the death penalty—and cited the Bible for support. At which Cuomo magnificently shot back: "The Old Testament also calls for the death penalty for adultery and sabbath-breaking." *Zap!*

And when Lehrman argued that businesses are fleeing New York because of its taxes and regulations, Cuomo riposted: "Rite-Aid [Lehrman's drug chain] came to New York, and did very well, Lew." *Zing!*

And finally, when, after the debate, Lehrman whined that Cuomo is a "fast-talking lawyer," Cuomo shot back: "From now on I'll speak v-e-r-y s-l-o-w-l-y so he can understand everything I say." *Zing!*

The keen political columnist Ken Auletta ("Lehrman's Sunday-school Politics," N.Y. *Daily News*, Oct. 24) caught the essence of Lehrman's style. It was clear, Auletta noted, that Lehrman doesn't *enjoy* politics. He pointed out that if a politico enjoys politics, he doesn't simply sit at the dais of a big \$1000-a-plate fund-raising luncheon (such as Lehrman had at the Waldorf.) He jumps off the dais and, in show biz parlance, "works the room," chatting with and back-slapping everyone there. Instead, Lehrman talked to no one, not even his neighbors on the dais. He "ground his teeth, buried his head scribbling speech notes..." As one worried Republican supporter said of Lehrman, "I would be hitting those tables." Vice-President Bush, in his speech at the Lehrman luncheon, paid him an ambivalent compliment: "I've never seen such energy as this guy has. You know, I got an ulcer just sitting here next to him eating my dessert and waiting for him to churn on out of the place." Not good.

A particularly chilling aspect of Lehrman was noted by Geoffrey Stokes in the *Village Voice* ("If Lehrman Is So Smart, Why Is He So Dumb?," November 2). When Lehrman was asked how he, as governor, proposed to get his tax plan through a Democratic Assembly and an unsympathetic Republican Senate, he replied: "That is my *responsibility*. I shall be the chief executive, and I shall have been elected to *be* the chief executive." I see. But what office did Lehrman think he was running for, governor or *Fuhrer*? There is a strong whiff of would-be dictator about Lew Lehrman, which makes us even happier that he is still a private citizen.

Finally, no one can understand the Cuomo victory without grasping the ethnic politics that dominates New York. The fact that Lehrman made no inroads into the big Jewish Democratic vote even though Jewish himself was no surprise; Jews only vote for Jewish Republicans who are authentically left-liberal, such as ex-Senator Javits. Cuomo was elected by a massive defection of Italian Republican voters from New York City and the suburbs, who at long last voted for one of their own for governor. Italians, the largest single voting in New York, register about 60% Republican and 40% Democratic, and their defection was enough to carry Cuomo. (Why the Italian Republicans of Buffalo, Syracuse, and Rochester did *not* defect remains a mystery.) It has been the particular cross of Italians in New York that their conferees who have made it politically have either been Episcopalian(!) like LaGuardia or Corsi, or from northern Italy (Marchi). To your true Italian-American, who is Catholic and whose family hales from southern Italy, these were scarcely authentic soulmates. Cuomo, at last, is one of their own. (As was the Nassau Republican Al D'Amato, who won the New York Senate seat

(Continued on page 6)

# The LP and The Elections

How did the Libertarian Party fare in the elections? To be blunt: not very well. The time has come for plain speaking: the Great Craniac Swindle, the hype, the con, of Quick Victory, the quick fix, the Instant Third Major Party, is dead, finished, *kaput*. Throughout the country, and with a few local exceptions, we have plateaued out, and in most cases declined, to about 1 to 2 per cent of the vote. We must face reality: For the foreseeable future, we are *not* going to be the Third Major Party. Some of us should write 100 times on the blackboard: *We are a minor party*. We may be a large minor party with potential for eventual mass membership, but right now we are pretty damn small compared to the majors.

Mostly, it's the same dismal story across the country. Dick Jacobs, who has a great deal of name recognition in Michigan as a veteran of anti-tax initiatives, and who ran a very active campaign, lost existing ballot status by obtaining only 0.5% in the race for Governor. (He needed 0.66% for the LP to remain on the ballot.) The Oregon LP also lost ballot status. David Hutzelman, who had piled up a large vote in the last election for the state-wide race for Texas Railroad Commissioner, got only 0.56% for Governor. Jim Lewis, who ran an active campaign and got on major-party TV debates, got only 0.8% for Senator of Connecticut. Bea Armstrong got only 0.8% for Governor of Illinois. In Colorado, Paul Grant, who ran a very active campaign and was on TV debates, got only 2% of the vote.

The California races were quite instructive. The California LP narrowly managed to retain ballot status when two of their minor state-wide candidates got a little over 2% of the total (2% by one candidate was needed.) But Ed Clark's campaign for Governor is now only a long-faded memory; in 1978, Clark got a remarkable 5.5% of the vote. When will we see its like again?

Nevertheless, the story of the major state-wide California races this year (Senator and Governor) is enlightening. Compare: Joe Fuhrig, who ran for Senator in an uncompromisingly radical campaign, managed by one of the leaders of the Radical Caucus, Eric Garris; and Dan Dougherty, who ran a non-radical campaign for Governor, managed by a top Craniac operative, Tom Palmer. Typically, Fuhrig collected and spent only \$25,000, while Dougherty managed to amass almost twice as much, \$45,000. Both the Senate and Governor races among the Democrats and Republicans were tight, and both were perceived to be so. (If anything, the Senate race was *supposed* to be closer, which should have given Dougherty a comparative edge.) And yet, the result was that Fuhrig amassed 106,000 votes, the largest LP vote in absolute numbers for a major statewide race in the country, while Dougherty gained only 79,000 votes. Fuhrig's percentage of the total vote was 1.4%, as against Dougherty's 1.0%. But, more significantly, what was the crucial dollar/vote ratio, that critical figure which gauges the monetary effectiveness (or "productivity," if you will) of each campaign? Fuhrig's campaign cost only 24 cents a vote, whereas Dougherty's cost almost two and a half times as much, at 57 cents a vote.

Two of the relatively bright spots in this somber picture were Montana and Arizona. In Montana, the intelligent and

affable Larry Dodge received 4% of the vote for U.S. Senate, while in Arizona the charismatic, former five-term Republican Congressman Sam Steiger got 5.0% in his race for Governor, narrowly winning ballot status for the LP. Steiger's race was certainly a bright spot in the nation, but when we consider that he had great built-in name recognition, that he was acknowledged by the press to have won his TV debate with his Democrat and Republican rivals, and that he was endorsed for the first time in his career by the newspaper in his home city of Prescott, Steiger's performance scarcely bodes Quick Victory in Arizona. The really bright spot of the Steiger race is that he accomplished his total of 36.5 thousand votes by spending only about \$3000, for a marvelously effective performance at 8 cents a vote.

Another highlight was Florida, where Radical Caucus leader Dianne Pilcher, spending only \$2000, or \$1.30 a vote, garnered an excellent 9.5% of the vote for State Rep in a three-way race.

For a grisly and sickening contrast, let us now turn to the two top Craniac campaigns in the nation. The most important, of course, was Dick Randolph's race for Governor of Alaska. In early summer, Randolph, for some curious reason, turned his entire campaign over to the Crane Machine, lock, stock, and barrel—and to Eastern preppie carpetbaggers at that. After offering the job to several others and having it turned down, the Crane Machine sent Kent Guida—fresh from his only political experience as third-place loser in a three-person race for national chair in 1981—to Alaska as campaign manager (!!) for Randolph. Other Craniacs poured up there, including Anita Anderson and Paul Beckner, and Ed Crane himself and the Riches were much in evidence. Crane and his hireling Chris Hocker were made co-finance directors of the Randolph campaign in the lower 48. And when Craniac Eric O'Keefe was kicked out of his job as National Director of the LP in August, he was immediately trundled up to Alaska to help run the show.

For a year, the Craniacs had been trumpeting Randolph as a "winnable" candidate, and O'Keefe managed to direct a great deal of headquarters resources into the fight. Randolph put out a campaign book, *Freedom for Alaskans*, which was witheringly reviewed by a former VP candidate and National Chairman Dave Bergland in the October *frontlines* as gravely downplaying libertarian principle.

In short, a typical Craniac campaign: lots of hype, lots of splash, lots of money, opportunistically burying principle, and run by the much vaunted tough young neo-Haldeman "professionals" of the Crane Machine itself.

And what was the result? Absolute unmitigated disaster. Remember that Ed Clark got 12% of the Alaskan vote for President in 1980, and that a popular minor party candidate should do much better for Governor or Senator than some out-of-stater running for the top political job of President. Remember also that Dick Randolph was a two-term State Representative as a Libertarian, and had been a Republican State Rep in the past; he had name recognition throughout the state. And how much did Randolph get, after all the "professionalism," and tons of money? Only 15 per cent! Unbelievable.

Furthermore, the amount of money collected and spent by the Randolph campaign was enormous. At this writing, we don't know the precise figures, but various reports from Crane Machine sources range from the enormous \$550,000 to a staggering \$1 million. This means, that to gain his 25,000 votes, Randolph spent somewhere between a whopping \$22 and \$40 per vote. (Contrast this to Steiger's 8 cents a vote in a similar absolute vote range!) This is surely one of the highest dollar/vote ratios in American political history. It is true that Jay Rockefeller spent in this range in his race for governor of West Virginia, and that Tom Hayden spent something like it this year for State Rep in California. But the difference is that *they won*, whereas all Randolph got was a measly 15 per cent.

Or look at it this way. Since Clark got 12% in Alaska with very little expenditure of money (Clark spent over \$3 million for the *whole nation*), this means that we can say it took Randolph from \$550,000 to \$1 million to get a lousy extra 3% of the Alaskan vote. Since the total Alaskan vote this year was approximately 175,000, we can make the rough calculation that the *marginal* dollar/vote ratio of the Randolph campaign was an incredible \$105 to \$190 per vote.

But this does not complete the Alaskan disaster. By the *hubris* of giving up his State Rep post to run for governor, Randolph lost the Alaska LP his own seat, while Ken Fanning lost his as well, and neither of the other two LPers who were supposed to win did anything at all. So that the only thing that Randolph and the Crane Machine and its bombastic hype accomplished was to spend from half-a-million to a million dollars and to lose us the Alaskan seats we already had. After spending lots of money and hope and energy in Alaska, we are back to square zero.

In sum, the Crane and the Randolph myths have both been shattered beyond repair by this campaign. Randolph, our "big-time" candidate, blew it unbelievably, while the Craniacs and Randolph managed to pour perhaps a million dollars down a tundra rathole. As a perceptive LP politico said as early as a year ago: "who have these so-called 'professionals' [the Craniacs] ever *elected*?" Who indeed?

The Crane Machine are not only lowdown opportunists and betrayers of libertarian principle, they are incredibly inept and bumbling opportunists to boot. They sell their souls only to win a mess of nothing. But, if you look at their record, they *have been* successful so far in two and only two important ways: (a) in continuing to con the Koch brothers and other contributors into pouring millions into their shabby operations; and (b) in continuing to con activists into doing the foot-soldier work of getting signatures, stuffing envelopes, etc.

But the Craniac Con is a cruel one, because hundreds of activists have become disillusioned when the hype has turned to ashes, when the "many million" votes become 900,000, or the "winnable" race becomes a piddling 15 per cent. There is no better way to waste and burn out activists than deliberately hyping their expectations, and having them work and contribute feverishly to campaigns, only to have their hopes cruelly dashed on Election Day. As for the Koch brothers and the other deluded contributors, surely some day they will wake up and stop pouring out their substance for the sake of Crane and his repellent Machine.

Even before the November disaster, long-time LP activist, Barbara B. Kamm, formerly head of the Clark campaign in California, set forth a position which should be heartily seconded by every libertarian. In a letter to *frontlines* (October), Ms. Kamm wrote: "I will not contribute a cent of

my hard-earned money or a minute of my precious time to any campaign that is managed by the 'Crane Machine'..." *Brava!*

A grim footnote to the Crane/Randolph Alaska disaster was the equivalent Craniac catastrophe in New York. In a race where Eric O'Keefe claimed the chances to be "excellent" for FLP gubernatorial candidate John Northrup to get the 50,000 votes needed for ballot status, Northrup got a miserable 18,000 votes for 0.36% of the total. But, in contrast to Alaska, this calamity was scarcely a surprise, since it simply continues the grisly and unbroken record of disasters committed by the tiny, inept, and Craniac-ridden New York Party. The New York Party is run like a feudal fiefdom by Craniacs Gary Greenberg and Howie and Andrea Rich, and Northrup's campaign manager was the well-known Craniac operative, Bruce Majors.

But, once again, in a manner echoing the much more grandiose Alaska caper, the New York Party managed to raise the hefty sum of approximately \$100,000 for the doomed Northrup, weighing in with a big dollar/vote ratio of about \$5.50 a vote. Yet the Northrup defeat should easily have been foreseen by anyone familiar with the New York Party or the state's political situation.

So, what are the lessons of the 1982 election for the Libertarian Party? Where do we go from here? What lessons, that is, aside from the obvious one of never, ever again contributing to or devoting time and energy to, a Crane Machine candidate for any political office?

The first lesson, as I have indicated, is to face reality, and accept the fact that we are a minor party, and will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. The quick fix is over. But that means we must *act like* the minor party-with-an-ideological message that we really are, while preparing for future greater effectiveness and higher vote totals. We must give up all dreams of victory in two years, or thinking that everyone will rush to vote for us once they hear a brief TV spot for some candidate. We must give up any thought of selling out for nonexistent votes. For, even though statism has failed dismally, the public sees this as a failure of a particular political party, and we can therefore expect them to grope from one major party to another and back again for many years to come.

So do we have a continuing role to play? Yes indeed, but not the one pushed by the Crane Machine. Our current role as a political party is to use the electoral process to (a) educate the public in libertarian principles and how they apply to political issues; and (b) use campaigns — *and* all our other activities — to recruit "cadre", that is, to add to our membership dedicated and consistent libertarians. *Education and recruitment* are our twin tasks, and the two reinforce each other. For we cannot educate anyone in libertarian principle by softening our message, selling out, and sounding like everyone else. We can only educate in libertarianism by being pure and radical and consistent libertarians and always doing so. And we want most importantly to recruit not people who vaguely want a 4 per cent tax reduction or looser rent control, but *cadre* — people who are knowledgeable and consistent libertarians all the way, and are not afraid to say so. True education and genuine recruitment go hand in hand.

And we must all realize that we are in this thing for good, and for ever. We are libertarians not because we expect a Quick Victory (although of course we would love to have one!) but because we are in a life-long commitment to the cause of liberty. We must buckle down and realize that the struggle against the State is going to be a long and protracted one. To use an apt military analogy, we libertarians are a

# THE WAR IN THE BRITISH MOVEMENT

The English libertarian movement has been around, and growing, for many years. It is far smaller than the U.S. counterpart, but intelligent and lively. For a while it ran some independent races for Parliament, but gave that up as premature. Its social and intellectual center is the Alternative Bookshop in London, probably the world's finest libertarian bookstore, run by dynamic young Chris Tame. For years, Tame and Mark Brady have been close friends, an intelligent duo who virtually founded the modern libertarian movement in Great Britain. All of us have usually coupled "Tame-and-Brady" or "Brady-and-Tame" in conversation, like Damon-and-Pythias; they have been models of both erudite scholars and committed activists, anarcho-capitalists who have been able to work with a wide spectrum of libertarians in Great Britain.

Several years ago, Brady and Tame founded the Libertarian Alliance as the umbrella organization for libertarian activists. About a dozen good friends formed themselves into the Executive Board, and they and twenty-odd others have formed the body of British activism. Since they were close friends, agreeing largely on ends and means, they did not feel it important to form anything but a loose organization. After all, why be formal among friends and allies? And so the Alliance was formed with virtually no by-laws or any legal way of resolving disputes among the Board, or indeed of choosing Board members. Why do so if no real disputes will arise?

Unfortunately, the Libertarian Alliance failed to perceive the cruel world out there, or even *in here*, and a realistic assessment of the nature of Man would have led them to stop, arrange for some formal mechanisms, and been safe instead of sorry. Not that that would have resolved all problems by any means, but it surely would have helped.

For the Libertarian Alliance has lamentably fallen on evil days, and has plunged into a wracking Civil War that has so far proven unresolved and unresolvable. The Tame-Brady team has split apart. Beginning with an important ideological point, the internecine warfare within the Alliance has escalated into power struggles and personal faction-fighting, replete with all the paraphernalia that we have come to know all too well: lengthy phone calls, constant meetings, and a besetting preoccupation with the technical minutiae of the dispute.

We American well-wishers can do little to aid the wracking travail of our English compatriots. Deploring "petty factionalism," or asking shrewish questions like: "Why aren't you spending your time fighting the *State*?" are both insensitive and pointless. In a sense, they are like a healthy outsider

"guerrilla band"; we are a minority, trying to win the hearts and minds of the public. We are, as "guerrillas," engaged in a protracted struggle; tactically, we must therefore concentrate on small advances and pursuing those short-term goals that are realistic and realizable with our highly limited resources. The Crane Machine, on the contrary, has been trying to beat the massive "conventional armies" of the two statist major parties by aping them in every way. By flash and hype and mirrors, the Machine has been trying for Quick Victory over the majors at their own game. The Crane Machine has been trying to pretend to us and to everyone else that we are already a "real," "major" party. Hence, the enormous waste of resources poured into "glamor" campaigns for president or governor, along with the grievous neglect of principle and of grass-roots party building.

impatiently asking someone: "Why do you keep bellyaching about your toothache?" Such questions hardly ease the pain. Both sides in the fray, as well as those in-between, understand their situation full well; they don't need to be hectored. Offers to mediate are pointless also; each side is firm-in-the-faith, and they don't need officious suggestions by relatively ignorant bystanders uninvolved in the fray.

So what is the fight all about? Briefly, it began because of two fundamental strategic errors by what is now the Tame group apparently felt that not enough people in the West understand the evil nature of the Soviet regime. If this were 1945, they would have a point; but for forty years now, we have heard *ad nauseam* about the horrors of the Soviet Union. The second, allied strategic error, was in concluding that the Libertarian Alliance, with its thirty or so members, could play a major role in overthrowing the Soviet government. It seems to us that our little movement has enough problems with our own governments of the U.S. or Great Britain without taking on the task of overthrowing the government of the Soviets.

But these errors led the Tame group, first, to set up a front organization called The Anti-Soviet Society, and, second, to engage in fraternal symbiosis with a long-standing Russian fascist outfit known as NTS. By no stretch of the imagination is NTS libertarian or even classical liberal; they are fascists and Great Russian chauvinists. But to the Tame group, the lure of smuggling libertarian pamphlets into the Soviet Union, of working with a "real" underground outfit, seemed irresistible. The Anti-Soviet Society apparently soon became an NTS front, instead of a libertarian one.

When alerted to the nature of NTS by the English media, seconded by its own critics, by *Libertarian Vanguard*, and by LA Executive Board members Mark Brady and David Ramsay Steele, now both graduate students in the United States, the Tame group seems to have largely agreed that they erred in playing footsie with this shabby Russian outfit. But the warfare within LA then began to escalate over to what extent the Tame group should admit their errors, over whether the thorough and hard-hitting critique of the NTS Connection by Brady and Steele should be published in LA's magazine *Free Life*, and by many ancillary disputes. The war was on.

All we can do in the American movement is to sympathize with the grief of our English comrades, hope that the English movement eventually resolves its conflict, and note for our own purposes (*pace* Sam Konkin) that you don't have to be involved in a political party to have a barrel-full of turmoil.

The 1983 Presidential convention in New York is Armageddon time. It will be the great turning-point, the watershed event which will determine the fate of the Libertarian Party for years and perhaps for ever. If we follow the Pied Piper and pick a Craniac candidate, we will be choosing hype and dishonesty and burnout and sellout, and possibly permanent death and destruction for the Libertarian Party. But if, on the contrary, we repudiate the corrupt and degraded Crane Machine, if we face reality and are honest with ourselves and with the public, if we emphasize long-term commitment, radical principle, and grassroots recruitment, we can save the Party and build soundly and solidly toward a glorious future of mass support and effectiveness in making libertarian ideals a reality. It is ours to choose. □

# NEW GRASS-ROOTS HARD-MONEY GROUP!

There are many investment newsletters which analyze the market from an Austrian hard-money, free-market perspective. They will cost you anywhere from \$100 to \$200 a year, and some of them are worth it. But there has been no educational, activist organization devoted to an "outreach" effort to educate the public on money, inflation, and business cycles.

Now at last such an organization has been formed: the Alliance for Monetary Education, Inc. The Alliance plans to educate the public on monetary matters from a hard-core Austrian, hard-money, free-market libertarian perspective. Founder and President of the Alliance is Dr. Murray Sabrin, the country's leading "Austrian" economic-geographer, who wrote an important Ph.D. dissertation on the geographical spread of inflation in the United States. Vice-President of the Alliance, and head of its public policy division is Dr. Joseph T. Salerno, professor of economics at Rutgers University, and one of the outstanding young Austrian and monetary economists in the country. Salerno's doctoral dissertation was a notable contribution to the history of international monetary thought.

The Alliance for Monetary Education is a non-political, non-profit, tax-exempt organization, founded last year in Lenox, Massachusetts and now located in Leonia, New Jersey.

The Alliance's major objective is to place advertisements on money, inflation, and economic activity in our most widely read and influential newspapers and magazines. It intends to inform millions of Americans about "inflationism," as Ludwig von Mises described the monetary policy of this century's guiding monetary policies.

The Alliance seeks tens of thousands of contributors who are eager to educate themselves and others on money and on the way in which government manipulation has caused our chronic problem of inflation. It seeks the support of libertarians, free-market advocates, hard-money people, or indeed anyone who would like to help themselves and others understand our grave economic mess.

The Alliance's first newspaper ad is ready to go but advertising money is needed. For the absurdly low tax-deductible sum of \$18 a year you can help pay for the ad. What is more, you will also receive "The Monetary Outlook," the Alliance's quarterly newsletter, as well as "Special Bulletins" which will be issued at least four times a year analyzing the latest monetary developments.

Hurry! Send your contribution of \$18 or more to the Alliance for Monetary Education, P.O. Box 476, Leonia, NJ 07605.

## ELECTION *(Continued from page 2)*

in 1980. But D'Amato is a nitwit, which took some of the edge off ethnic pride.)

### 4. Ethnic Lives!

Which brings me to the ethnic factor, still very much a key in this election. In my experience, orthodox liberals, Randians, and Californians have never understood ethnic. They are all baffled and slightly embarrassed by it, as if the fascinating and multi-varied ethnic mosaic which constitutes America *shouldn't* exist, and everyone should be an abstract "rational" machine (Randian) or an abstract spouter of liberal clichés. Californians *have* managed to homogenize ethnics, and except for blacks and Asians, everyone else seems to have blended neatly into a standardized California culture. I remember attending a St. Patrick's Day celebration in Palo Alto several years ago, and it was pathetic. After a feeble try at "Irish Eyes Are Smiling," the band played rock for the rest of the night.

At any rate, in the Northeast, ethnic is often the key to politics. Thus, only ethnic explains why Pat Moynihan crushed his Republican opponent for the New York Senate by 2:1 this year, and why he will *keep* being re-elected by such whopping majorities for the rest of his life. It is not just that he is personally popular and charismatic, although of course that helps. The point is that *once* he gets past the Democratic primary, a centrist Irish Democrat will crush his Republican opponent in a state-wide election. His first primary is the toughest; once he is elected, winning the primary again should

become easy. The reason is that Democratic primaries are dominated by left-liberal Jewish voters, who tend to elect left-wing Jews who are in turn slaughtered in the general election by Republicans + Irish and Italian swing voters. In 1976, Pat Moynihan squeaked past left-wing Jew Bella Abzug by a tiny majority, and then sailed into office. For, after the primary victory, a centrist Irishman can keep the Jewish Democratic votes, and then add the Irish and Italian swing voters for a big majority. And so on into the future.

In the New Jersey Senate race, only ethnic can really explain the surprise victory of the left-liberal Jewish millionaire industrialist Frank Lautenberg over the widely known and widely beloved left-liberal WASP Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick. It is true that Lautenberg spent several million of his own money to achieve name recognition, but money—as Lehrman and Clements found—was no guarantee of victory in this election. No, the real point is that no Catholic ethnic—of which there are very many in northern New Jersey—can relate in any way whatsoever to an elegant, elderly upper-class WASP lady with an ultra-Groton accent who smokes a pipe. No way. Never. Millicent Fenwick got the WASP votes in her horsey, upper class district of South Jersey; she got, as "Lacey Davenport," the votes of the hip younger generation who read "Doonsbury," and she got the votes and/or the cheers of the quiche-and-white wine-set everywhere. But that was not enough to win. Not in a million years could she get the votes of your average Irish, Italian, or Polish Catholic ethnic. The key to this race was not ideology but culture. The "cross of culture," as historian Paul Kleppner put it, still lives.

### 5. The Nuclear Freeze and Other Initiatives

There were several positive indications for libertarians (with a small "l") in this election. Most important was the nuclear freeze initiative, which won across the country, in nine states plus the District of Columbia, and in numerous cities and counties. All in all, the nuclear freeze won in areas covering one-third the population of the country, and the victories ranged from California and Oregon to Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Only in Arizona was the nuclear freeze defeated. And the California victory came despite the Reagan Administration's vigorous campaign against it, and despite the Republican victory in that state. And so the voters of America sent a firm message to Washington that they don't want nuclear war, and that they want to begin rolling back the monstrous arms race.

Other victories for liberty were the defeat of two despotic initiatives in California. One was a gun-control measure, the latest in a long series of left-liberal maneuvers to deprive every citizen of his right of self-defense: whether against "private" criminals or against the State apparatus. The other losing initiative is not, I know, as important in the cosmic scheme of things, but it is a cause personally close to my heart: stopping the tyrannical bottle-deposit laws. I hold non-refundable bottles to be, like Kleenex, one of the great advances of Western civilization, and I will be hanged if I will let them take it away. I am *not* going to *shlep* bottles back to the supermarket, and I don't see why I should pay a tax for not doing so. If environmentalists don't like cans or bottles littering the woods, let *them* organize squads of devotees to go around picking them up. At least it will keep them out of mischief. Besides, to outlaw bottles or cans because some people might litter them in the woods is equivalent to prohibiting the distribution of political leaflets because someone might litter them in the street, or outlawing knives because someone might be stabbed. And what is more, from my own urban point of view, it is far worse to have dirty bottles and cans sitting around the supermarket attracting roaches than it is to have them scattered around distant and deserted woods.

At any rate, the California masses stopped bottle-law tyranny in its tracks, and let us hope they will set an example for other states.

### 6. Losing Republican Governors in the Midwest

Another positive item for the free-market was the way in which the voters punished outgoing Republican governors in four big states of the Midwest. In each case—Minnesota, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan—the state had had very popular, largely moderate, Republican governors. In each case, they had been elected on a cut-taxes, balance-the-budget program. And in each case, they had betrayed their pledges, raised taxes, and incurred big deficits. So much did they sense their disgrace that each of the governors—Quie in Minnesota, Dreyfus in Wisconsin, Rhodes in Ohio, and Milliken in Michigan—decided to quit before they were defeated. The result was that their hapless successors were left holding the bag, and all the Republican candidates went down to defeat. In Minnesota, ex-Governor Rudy Perpich was fondly remembered as someone who had left his post with a surplus, whereas the state now has a \$1 billion deficit.

### 7. Don't Trust Polls a Lot

The public opinion polls have proved highly unreliable this year. The day before the election, Mario Cuomo was named as 10 points ahead in the *Daily News* poll, and other respected polls

had his lead at 11 per cent. Hence, his actual 3 per cent victory was made to look like a "moral" triumph for Lehrman. *The New York Times* had an article after the election on how the polls differed from the actual results across the country (e.g. Bradley was supposed to be leading in California, Thompson was supposed to be way ahead in Illinois, etc.) But so much are we trapped in the "scientific" mystique of the polls that the *Times* blamed the problem on an alleged enormous volatility of the electorate, which apparently fluctuates wildly from day to day. (Whatever happened to the theory that everyone makes up their mind a month before an election?) Apparently, it never occurred to the *Times* that perhaps the explanation is that the polls *themselves* are wildly inaccurate, rather than that the public is always changing its mind.

### 8. The Low Turnout

Despite many hot races, once again the turnout rate of voters was low, at 40% of eligible voters. Why? Are they all closet Smith/Konkinites, not-voting with their feet in protest against the electoral process? Who knows? Certainly, it doesn't show a great deal of devotion to the political system. □

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# HURRY! READ THE BANNED ISSUE!

The Laissez-Faire Bookstore has always tried to serve impartially all sectors of the libertarian movement, and it has carried the *Libertarian Forum* since its inception. For several years, the Bookstore computerized our mailing list and shipped out each issue to our subscribers. Now, Andrea Millen Rich, the new proprietor of the Laissez-Faire Bookstore and a top operative of the Crane Machine, has banned the *Lib. Forum* from its sacred portals. Mrs. Rich's reason: because the lead article in the September issue ("Blockbuster at Billings"), which told the story of the firing of Eric O'Keefe as National Director of LP, consisted of "vile and demented lies."

Those of you who would like to be able to make up your own mind are invited to check for yourself by purchasing the issue from us for \$1.50 while they remain in stock, or by subscribing to the *Lib. Forum*, stating that you wish to begin your subscription with this "banned" September issue. Don't let them suppress the truth! (And if you want to check some more, you can purchase a copy of the tape of the NatCom meeting from National LP Headquarters.)

And renew your subscription when the time comes. How many more banned issues do you want to miss?

# THE NEW LIBERTARIAN VANGUARD

The newly revamped bi-monthly, *Libertarian Vanguard*, is a joy and a delight, and is absolutely indispensable for anyone interested in keeping up with the real events of the Libertarian Party and movement. Under the new editorship of Scott Olmsted, *Vanguard* is now a sober, professional-looking, 16-page newsletter. While still analyzing events foreign and domestic, *Vanguard* has shifted its focus toward news and critiques of the movement, a shift made necessary by the continuing crisis in the Party. That crisis is expected to reach a climax at the Presidential nominating convention in New York next August. (The organ of the LP Radical Caucus, *Lib. Vanguard* can be obtained for a measly \$12 for six issues, 1800 Market St., San Francisco, CA 94102).

The current issue of *Lib. Vanguard* (October 1982) is a cornucopia of goodies, a veritable blockbuster. There is a thoroughly researched article by Justin Raimondo, "Ron Paul for President?", which exposes the manifold anti-libertarian aspects of Congressman Ron Paul's voting record in the current Congress. The point of the article is that while Congressman Paul's voting record may be fine as a *Republican*, Libertarian candidates, particularly new converts aspiring to run for President, must be held to a far higher standard. And the odious Crane machine has been making loud noises about Mr. Paul for the LP Presidential nomination. While everyone has free will and can change his mind, Mr. Paul as a candidate for the LP nomination would have to face up to and repudiate his long list of anti-libertarian votes and stands before anyone except the goose-stepping devotees of the Crane Machine could even consider him for such a high post. Also available from the Radical Caucus is an even longer list of Mr. Paul's anti-libertarian votes before the current Congress. (Send \$3.00 to LPRC, 3790 El Camino Real, Box 172, Palo Alto, CA 94306, specifying that you want the packet of "Ron Paul Congressional Votes.")

Also in *Lib. Vanguard* is an article by Dan Fiduccia attacking Ed Crane's repeated use of threats of libel suits against books and newspapers, which, as Fiduccia notes, "seems even more curious in light of Crane's published views on libel suits," i.e. his article in *Inquiry* correctly denouncing them as contributing to "the perilous state of the press in America." Fiduccia also links such threats with Crane's attempted use of the FCC to force the NBC-TV network to sell prime time to the 1980 Clark campaign. Fiduccia's article quotes a number of prominent libertarian theorists and spokesman, all denouncing libel laws and threats to invoke them. The neatest attack on Crane's FCC access suit against NBC is that of former *Inquiry* editor Glenn Garvin. Noting the lamebrain Jule Herbert/Ed Crane excuse for the suit, that radio-TV channels are limited by government control, Garvin commented: "innumerable things are limited by government regulation of the auto industry. Does this mean someone has a right to use Crane's Mercedes?"

One of the most important and certainly the most

fascinating contribution of *Lib. Vanguard* has been to uncover what it has dubbed "Herbertgate," the financial "imbroglio" (to put it very charitably) at the National Taxpayers Legal Fund Military Procurement Project (PMP). The firing of PMP head Dina Rasor has been covered extensively in the press, but only its ideological aspects, which *Vanguard* (in its August 1982 issue) has essentially shown to be phony. The press had not picked up on the financial mess, which has now been exposed both in *Vanguard* and in the current, October issue of *frontlines* (In its story, "Vanguard Accuses Herbert." The monthly *frontlines* is available for \$18 a year from the Reason Foundation, 1018 Garden St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101).

One of the most esthetically pleasing aspects of the *Vanguard* expose comes in the current issue. In its August issue, the Editor had replied to Herbert's denial of a financial imbroglio with a raft of specifics. This editorial reply moved Craniac Frank Horn to write a letter to *Vanguard* (October) saying angrily, "Regarding Jule Herbert's home plumbing bills being paid out of the NTLF Procurement Project account, you had better accompany such serious charges with more specific and solid evidence, e.g. photographs of checks.... etc." In the course of a classic reply, which should go down in the annals of our Movement, *Vanguard's* Editor not only supplies a lot more specifics, but also the *photographs* of three checks made out by Herbert on the NTLF Procurement Project account: one to Fry Plumbing, for a home plumbing bill, one to Holland's, a liquor store for a party, and one for \$3200 to Herbert himself. Also itemized are 16 sets of checks totalling over \$27,000 which are either personal to Herbert or made out to employees of the disastrous 1981 NTLF tuition-tax credit campaign in the District of Columbia. Furthermore, for \$5.00, anyone can send away to LPRC, 3790 El Camino Real, Box 172, Palo Alto, CA 94306, ask for the "Procurement Project Packet," and receive: (a) photographs of 67 such checks; (b) a copy of Howie Rich's new financial "controls" over NTLF (Rich is a top Craniac operative who was made an NTLF Board member in June 1982, and given power to control NTLF finances to avoid a similar imbroglio in the future); and (c) a copy of dissident NTLF Board member Anne Zill's memo on Procurement Project finances, in which she talks of the appearance of "personal inurement amounting to thousands of dollars," and wonders whether the Project account had become "a secret slush fund" for outside political activities or for "the personal enrichment of its president (Jule Herbert)."

OK, we're all convinced about the facts on what might be called the lower rungs of Herbertgate. Now, how about escalating the inquiry and looking to higher levels of possible responsibility? Because the \$27,000 Question (or as some would put, the \$52,000 Question) now becomes: *What* did Crane know, and *when* did he know it? □

# THE REAL WORLD

by The Old Curmudgeon

(An occasional column dedicated to the proposition that not only the libertarian movement is slightly wack-a-ding-hoy.)

## The Joy of Pain?

Jeremy Bentham is not one of my favorite philosophers, but even he does not deserve the pummelling the poor guy has been getting these days. In his nineteenth century naivete, Bentham held that man at all times tries to attain pleasure and avoid pain. But pain these days is In. The Joy of Sex, in all of its positions and varieties seems to be Out these days, and the Joy of Pain is In.

I was reminded of this stark fact the other day when my optic nerves were twice assaulted by the latest example of the Pain fad: the Workout. First, there was the latest *Village Voice*, much of which seems to have been designed over the years as commando raids upon my blood pressure. The article exalted the latest example of Jane Fonda's robotic trendy crusades: the Workout, which apparently combines vague leftism with "burn it out," "burn it through" pain. That night, who should come bounding onto the tube but Kim Novak *redivivus*, leading a bunch of followers through a fast round of what used to be called calisthenics.

So now your average upper-middle class booby, as long as he/she has money to burn (and the supply seems to be inexhaustible, even in a recession), can spend several days a week enjoying wracking physical pain in the Workout, and then spend the rest of his evenings enjoying emotional pain through group *Workshops* at the command of his favorite shrink/guru. And finally, considering the flowering of S-M these days, if he or she has any energy or dough left, they can hop into the sack and enjoy some whipping or other forms of torture. Hell, in my day, I used to think that the Flagellant and Hair-shirt movements of old were a bit looney. It turns out that they were just ahead of their time.

Before the Workout, the big example of what Mencken called the "striated muscle fetish" — and it's still going strong! — was Running, a frenzy that began as mere "jogging." There were books on the Joy of Running, the Mystique of Running, the Philosophy of Running, and even (the saints preserve us!) on the Theology of Running. Even in New York, ordinarily a sophisticated and skeptical city, two million boobs recently turned out to watch tens of thousands of far more advanced boobs chugging through the marathon.

My own exposure to running was short but far from sweet. When I went to Columbia during World War II, physical fitness was all the rage, in order to toughen us all up for the War Effort. Phys. Ed. was — and for all I know still is — compulsory, and one of the legends permeating the Columbia of my day was what had happened some years before to the now distinguished philosopher, Mortimer Adler. Young Adler had sailed through Columbia's undergraduate program with flying colors, but had been prevented from graduating because

he couldn't pass the idiotic compulsory swimming test. In those days, the Great Guru of Columbia was Professor John Dewey, and the compulsory phys. ed. - swimming program was one of the more repellent products of Prof. Dr. Dewey's looney theories of "progressive" education, in which the Whole Man and not just the mind would be uplifted. Mortimer Adler, the story went, left Columbia without a degree (he was apparently too ethical to suborn a friendly physician and get himself exempted), possessed of an eternal and undying hatred for Professor Dr. Dewey and all of his works.

At any rate, I was pressed into compulsory running, and I still remember the non-joy of chugging along half a lap behind my confreres, to the bewilderment of our beloved coach. Then — thank the Lord! — winter came, and running moved to our indoor track. It so happened that that oddly constructed track was about one-third visible, the other two-thirds winding around various exercise and other rooms. It so happened that our locker room bisected the hidden section of the track, and so us more enterprising types soon found out the way to Beat the System. We would hang out in the locker room for about ten minutes, kibitzing and arguing philosophy, and then someone would say, "well time to put in an appearance," and then we would race out onto the visible portion of the track, and the assorted coaches would be impressed by our vim and vigor after so many laps around the track. Then we would collapse into the locker room for another extended rest. Once in a while, one of the less dumb coaching aides would say, in puzzlement, "Hey, I haven't seen you guys in quite a while." The coaches would scratch their heads, but they never caught on.

I had never had occasion to run before entering Columbia. (In the spirit of the true New Yorker, my attitude was, "why run if you can always hop a cab?") From my short-lived experience of compulsory running, I conceived a hatred for this form of leisure activity that has remained undimmed in its fervor to the present day.

Now let me make my attitude perfectly clear. I am not opposed to running, or other forms of athletics, for those *few* who are best at it. Athletics takes its honorable place alongside other occupations in the Great Division of Labor. If Renaldo Nehemiah wants to try to break 12.9 seconds for the 110-meter hurdles, God bless him, and I will be there, beer can in hand in front of the tube, to cheer him on. Athletics, in my view, is for the pros or the Olympic amateurs, or for football players who weep at getting a mere 100 thou a year. Like coal mining or lion taming or brain surgery, it is not an occupation for everyone. I have, all my life, been a sports fan, with emphasis on *fan* rather than participant. But the problem is that no one has ever written a book virtually ordering you and me and the guy next door to rush out there and *become* a coal miner or brain surgeon or lion tamer on our off hours. No one has ever written a book on the joys, the philosophy, or the religion, of garbage hauling.

One crucial difference between professional athletes and all our joy-of-workshop-workout folks is the old economic conundrum: *who* pays *whom*? Professional athletes (and top amateurs, too, of course) *get paid*; the current crop of pain-fetishists *do the paying*. Many murky social problems get rapidly cleared up if we heed the immortal words of "Deep Throat" of Watergate fame: "Keep your eye on the money." It is the flow of money that tells you *who* is fleecing *whom*.

A common argument for putting oneself through all the pain is "eventually, you'll like it." I do not call that a

compelling reason. Mankind has shown a remarkable capacity to adapt to almost any hardship, including the concentration camp. But that does not mean that the concentration camp is something one seeks out, or rushes to embrace. No, sorry, people, thanks but no thanks, or, in the words of Samuel Goldwyn, "kindly include me out." Call me a crusty old reactionary if you will, but I remain as I always have, solidly anti-pain. Nowadays, poor old Bentham needs all the friends he can get. □

## ARTS AND MOVIES

by Mr. First Nighter

### *The Golden Age of Comedy*

*My Favorite Year*, dir. by Richard Benjamin. With Peter O'Toole and Joseph Bologna.

For half a century, the major comic talents in American culture have been Jews, mainly from New York: the Marx Brothers, the great wit and linguistic *virtuoso* S.J. Perelman, Milton Berle, Danny Kaye, Henny Youngman, Rodney Dangerfield. The last great generation of New York Jewish humorists were all schooled as writers of *the* mighty TV revue of the 1950's: Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows*. Their very names tell us that here is the last great comic force in our culture: Mel Brooks, Woody Allen, Carl Reiner, Neil Simon, Larry Gelbart (author of most of the MASH series on TV). For two decades we have mainly relied on these men for all that is hilariously funny on stage, film, or TV.

All these humorists emerged from the great *shpritz* tradition of New York Jewish humor. Young, would-be comics would hone their budding talents by standing on favorite street corners in Brooklyn or Manhattan and *shpritz* (go on a roll, from Yiddish for "effervesce," as in "wine *shpritzer*" for soda pop). Fast, funny, articulate, improvising on a dime, weaving in their own experience and observations with cultural references, low, middle or high. But above all timing was everything, and when that was missing the entire package was hopeless.

The life of the comic performers can be both highly gratifying and frenetic. Gratifying because the existence and intensity of the laughs are an *instant* direct measure of success; frenetic because of the misery when the laughs aren't there.

In recent years, great comedy has almost vanished from our culture. MASH, so funny and heartwarming for years in the Gelbart episodes, has gotten increasingly tedious as Alan Alda's solemn left-liberal sentimentality has pushed out all the humor and hi-jinks. It deserves its death at the end of the current season. (In a recent episode, Alda goes on at great embarrassing length in eulogizing a nurse recently killed: "She covered up her deep feelings by her shyness, just as I have for years covered up *my* deep and wonderful feelings by my humor and pranks... ." Yecchh!) Neil Simon seems to have gone as far as he can go in his comparisons of New York and L.A. upper-middle class Jewish life. And the last films of the great Woody Allen and Mel Brooks have been absolute and unmitigated floperooos. Allen's "Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy" is one of the worst movies ever made, a brief (but seems very long) exercise in unrelieved tedium. Allen's *serioso* and pretentious flirtations with the Bergmans and the Fellinis have finished him, at least for the time

being. As for Brooks, his last "History of the World, Part I," was almost as bad, an unrelieved and almost totally unfunny exercise in schatology. Brooks has always been schatologically oriented, but this time the balance and timing are gone.

The younger generation of comics seem to be hopeless, too. It is either low-key and druggy, like George Carlin, with "jokes" largely devoted to in-marijuana or cocaine references. Or it is simply witless low-slapstick like "Animal House" or sourly ideological, *a la* Lily Tomlin. And all current TV comedy seems to be self-referential, about *TV* rather than about oneself or the world. (*A la Saturday Night Live*, and all its imitators). For those of us who don't regard TV itself as the be-all and end-all, this will hardly do.

And so *My Favorite Year* comes like a delightful bolt-from-the-blue. Undoubtedly the best movie of the year, it is fast, hilarious, tightly paced, evocative of the Golden Age of Comedy. It is the saga of a drunken Errol Flynn-type actor (played marvelously in high-farce style by Peter O'Toole) being prepped to do a stint on Stan "King" Kaiser's hit TV show, *Comedy Cavalcade*. Beginning with the voice-over, "1954 was my favorite year," it captures the spirit and comedy of the times, as well as the frenetic, drunken, wild *ambiance* of the *Your Show of Shows* program and of the live-TV of that era.

*My Favorite Year*, in all of its aspects, also captures the spirit of the movies of that and earlier decades. It is not only funny and richly textured, it is also fast and tightly paced. There is not a single wasted moment, not a lost millimeter of film. It is the antithesis of the modern "art film," in which one is treated to boring and lengthy closeups of the facial pores of some hang-doggy actor about whom one couldn't care less.

The acting is excellent, with the exception of the lead Mark Linn-Baker, who plays the young Mel Brooks-type protagonist in an excessively *schmoochy* manner. And his voice sounds like a carbon-copy of director Richard Benjamin's—Benjamin's one lapse in an otherwise sterling piece of work.

But there is one question that must be asked of my favorite movie-of-the-year. Will it ever again be possible to make an Old Culture movie, a funny or otherwise movie-type movie, about the *current* world? Must every good picture be set nostalgically at some time in the past? Will we ever be able to turn the current culture around? But in the meanwhile, there is hope, for the producer listed for *My Favorite Year* is none other than Mel Brooks Productions. Perhaps this means that Baby will be Coming Home.

# FALKLAND FOLLOWUP

We have not for some time turned our attention to the poor kelpers, the 1,800 unfortunate inhabitants of the Falkland Islands. Their "liberation" by the massed might of the British government has been costly for everyone concerned, including the kelpers themselves. The deluded British taxpayers were the major losers in this caper, having had to shell out \$1 billion for the war, plus many more billions to come in the glorious post-war world. The Brits could have paid each of the kelpers a small fraction of that loot to simply emigrate to their beloved Britain. Furthermore, the kelpers find quartered among them, apparently forever, a permanent occupying garrison of no less than 4,000 British troops. To gauge the disruptive effect of this occupation, it's as if the United States were suddenly to be permanently occupied by 450 million foreign soldiers!

Now Lord Shackleton has come up with a report for the Thatcher government that should shiver every rational person's timbers. The British government is to pour in about \$60 million for "development" and "job creation" for the Falklands. But consider that unemployment is zero on the island, and that this enormous sum, according to Shackleton, "might" create another 200 jobs (for whom?) This amounts to over \$300,000 per job, which, as John Blundell writes, will be "possibly the most expensive jobs in the world."

Indeed. Why not just give, say, \$50,000 in cash to each kelper? Every kelper would be happy, and the poor bombarded British taxpayer would save about \$50 million. But of course, the British bureaucracy would then not get their beloved boodle. Blundell reports that the proposed Falkland Islands Development Agency is slated to have a Chief Executive and a Development Officer making \$100,000 and \$50,000 plus expenses annually. At an average income of \$4,000, we can be sure that the kelpers will be duly

appreciative.

In the meanwhile, the poor kelpers might be getting "developed," but they are not going to be very mobile. With Argie mines planted all over the island, the kelpers can't walk out of town for their favorite strolls, for kelping, or for forage. All a seemingly permanent legacy of their "liberation."

Again, it looks like the only gainers from the Falklands fray were the Thatcher regime and the British State apparatus. As per usual.

But there were other gainers as well. We have previously mentioned the sinister role in Falklands life of the privileged monopoly Falkland Islands Company, granted by the government 75% of the land, a monopoly of the wool exports, and owner of the sole shipping line. But who owns this Company? In 1973, the owners, the Slater-Walker consortium, were in financial trouble and put its subsidiary Company up for sale. A generous Argentine bid to buy the Falklands Company was vetoed by the British government, which decreed that no Argentinians may be permitted to buy land in the Falklands. That took care of *that*. But there was still the problem of bailing out Slater-Walker, which was accomplished by Charrington Industrial Holdings, English conglomerate and current owner of the Falkland Islands Company.

But the interesting point for conspiracy buffs is that Charrington's purchase was made possible by a syndicate of bankers and underwriters, who accepted as part of their payment substantial holdings of Falkland Company stock. And prominent among these financiers was none other than our old friend, the Chase Manhattan Bank, flagship of the Rockefeller world empire. Oho! The plot thickens!

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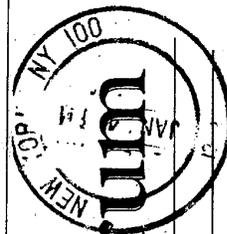
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THE  
**Libertarian Forum**

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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# The Economy: the Year Ahead

This is the season of the year when a host of high-priced economists unlimber their high-speed computers and uncork their precise predictions for the economy for the year ahead: the exact level of the GNP, the inflation rate, unemployment, and so on. In this lucrative forecasting industry, all the forecasts are more or less the same, and they will usually be proven way off the mark. The reason they all sound the same and are so off base is simple: all they are really doing, when you cut through the cloud of obscurantist jargon, is extrapolating this year's trend: i.e., they take a ruler and continue the trend of the last six months or so onto the coming year. Of course, they don't *say* they're doing that; for, after all, who in their right mind would pay \$100,000 or \$1 million for some bozo to take a ruler and extrapolate trend? You don't need a Ph.D to do *that*.

Actually, the situation is worse than that. For numerous studies have shown that forecasts based on econometric mumbo-jumbo have done *less well* than simple extrapolation of trend! As any given year wears on, and the forecasts of the previous December look more and more haywire, the "scientific" econometric equations are then "adjusted" so as to conform to the current situation, and then *that* is extrapolated for the remaining few months. In that way, economists think they will look a bit better.

Any *schmo* with a ruler can extrapolate trend, but the real trick in forecasting is to predict *changes* in trend, and that can be done neither with rulers nor with equations and computers. *That's* where all the errors come in.

So why are all the forecasts alike? Because there is security riding in packs. If all economists are wrong together, well that's the luck of the draw, and no one economist will be blamed by his clients. But if an economist is very different from his colleagues, *and* he's proved wrong, then he will lose clients in droves.

## Where We Are At

Having said all this, I will now enter the lists and at least give a sense of where the economy is and what I think lies ahead.

First, we must face up to the fact that we are in a *depression*. (Some readers should write this slowly 100 times on the blackboard so this will sink in.) Reaganite whitewash propaganda to the contrary, a 10.8% unemployment rate (and no sign of going down) is a depression by any standards. So is a bankruptcy rate higher than at any time since the 1930's. The usual reply that unemployment is not as bad as the 20-25% rate during the 1930's is beside the point. *That* was not just a depression, but the biggest one in American and world

history. By general depression standards, we are in one, and it's a lulu.

Second, don't be fooled by the constant, unremitting stream of Reaganite propaganda that "recovery has begun" because some minor index somewhere has turned up. ("Hey, look here, bubble gum production has just increased by 0.2% last month. The depression is over!") Last summer, Reagan at one press conference, almost said IT. Referring to the economy, he almost said: "Prosperity is just around the corner" (he was talking about "turning the corner" soon when he stopped), the infamous and disastrous Herbert Hoover phrase during the depths of the Great Depression.

Third, conservative protests that the unemployment rate is not precise and too high (as well as left/liberal protests that it is imprecise and too low) miss the point, and probably deliberately. Of course, the figures are not precise. By using interview techniques, they overweight the number of people looking for work, making the figures too high, but also by omitting discouraged workers and those unemployed very recently, they make the figures too low. But the point is that over the decades the trend of the same imprecise figures will give us a pretty good idea of what is happening in the economy. If the comparable unemployment rate was 3% in the 1950's and nearly 11% now, something is very wrong, and no mistake.

Fourth, the undeservedly revered National Bureau of Economic Research, the self-appointed experts on dating business cycles, have decreed that the current recession began in the summer of 1981, following a boom beginning in the previous year. But the pretentiously "scientific" National Bureau is hobbled by its own faulty methodology. Its methods, for example, prevent it from distinguishing minor from major booms or busts. It looks more and more that we have been in a depression, not just since the summer of 1981, but since the recession of 1979. The "boom" of 1980-81 now looks like simply an aborted fitful uptick within a depression that has been chronic since 1979. The economy has stagnated since 1979; production and standard of living have been depressed and declining.

Fifth, does this mean that Reagan is off the hook, and that he has only been struggling against disastrous policies inherited from his predecessor? No, for Reaganite policies swiftly put an end to the fitful recovery and plunged us into a far deeper depression that we had from 1979-80.

What *were* these calamitous Reaganite policies? The important thing to realize is that Reagan is *not*, repeat not, a free-market, hard-money hero manfully seeing us through the painful but necessary consequences of his "drastic budget-

cutting", "drastic-tax slashing", hard-money policies of 1981-82. There were *no* such policies. That was all hot air and mendacity. On the contrary, Reagan *raised* the budget sharply, *increased* not lowered (much less "drastically" lowered) taxes, and launched the by now familiar disastrously accelerating deficits.

Thus: in fiscal 1980, the last full fiscal year of the Carter administration, and by far the biggest spending year in Jimmie's reign, total federal spending was \$580 billion. (Carter's average spending for his three full fiscal years was \$508 billion.) Despite all the boasting (by Reaganites) and wailing (by liberals) about the "disastrous" Reagan budget cuts, Reagan's budget totalled \$661 billion in fiscal 1981 (a year he shared with Carter), and rose to an estimated \$725 billion in Reagan's first full fiscal year, 1982. Next year it will be *much* higher.

All right, but what about the famous ill-advised "drastic" supply-side income tax cuts put through by Reagan in 1981? Let's look at the record. In fiscal 1980, Carter collected \$520 billion in taxes from the hapless American public. (Carter's average taxes for his three full fiscal years were \$463 billion.) Ronnie Reagan, after a year of "drastic tax slashing", raised tax revenues to \$603 billion in fiscal 1981, and then to an estimated \$627 billion in fiscal 1982. The much vaunted income tax cut was so small that it was more than outweighed by the programmed Social Security tax increase (which Reagan did nothing to cut) and by "bracket creep", the sinister process by which inflation wafts us into a higher tax bracket, so that even though we are no better off, we have to pay higher tax rates even when rates have *officially* remained the same or even been reduced!

As for deficits, free-spending Carter incurred the second biggest deficit in American history in his last fiscal year, 1980, at \$60 billion, topped only by good grey Jerry Ford's \$66 billion in *his* last year, fiscal 1976, (The previous high had been \$57 billion in 1943, the depths of World War II). In fiscal 1982, his first full year, "tight-fisted Scrooge" Ronald Reagan came through with by far the biggest deficit in American history, an estimated \$99 billion, and for the present and for next year, estimates (which almost always *undervalue* the deficit) are now predicting a \$200 billion annual deficit, and rising.

So: on the budget, taxes, and deficits, Reaganomics has *not* been a reversal or even a deceleration of previous New Deal-Fair Deal-Great Society trends. On the contrary, Reaganomics was and continues to be an *acceleration* of statist Great Society economic policies.

Sixth, but what about Reagan's proudest achievement, the "abatement" of inflation in his two years in office? It is true that inflation has come down, from approximately 13 to 5 per cent, but it is no trick to bring down inflation when we are suffering the greatest depression in half a century. Quite the contrary, the 5 per cent is a cause for alarm, not congratulation. In the middle of a depression, prices should be going *down* sharply, and not rising at a substantial 5 per cent. In fact, the worrisome chronic nature of our inflation problem can be seen in the fact that only eleven and a half years ago, Richard Nixon panicked and imposed price-wage control because inflation was then hitting us at the then alarmingly high rate of 5.5%. It is the measure of the way inflation has permeated our lives that we think of 5 per cent not as alarmingly high, but as a sign that inflation has ended,

and that we can now, in the current phrase, "declare victory" over inflation and proceed to tackle unemployment.

Seventh, since July 1982, the Reagan Administration and the Federal Reserve have thrown in the towel on any feeble attempt to stop inflating and inflation. Since that time, the rate of Fed counterfeiting ("increase of the money supply") has accelerated to the massive figure of over 15 per cent per year. The Fed has indeed "declared victory" over inflation and gone all-out to try to inflate the money supply as its seemingly only way out to get us out of the depression.

### What Went Wrong?

What went wrong? How did the high hopes get dashed so quickly? The Reagan Administration had a plan, which they figured to be a cunning one. It would employ the trappings of old-fashioned free-market rhetoric ("drastic" budget cuts and tax cuts, balanced budget, hard money) and supply-side jargon, while doing precisely the opposite, and in the meanwhile behind this smoke-screen, Friedmanite monetarism was supposed to perform its magic. The Friedmanites had gotten control of the Treasury Department and most of the economic advisers, and were able to bludgeon the Fed into going along with them. The Friedmanites had a plan: the Fed would slowly, ever so slowly, lower the rate of counterfeiting year after year, and thereby bring down the rate of inflation without getting the economy (as had always been true in the past) into a recession. Gradualism would be the key. Furthermore, the Friedmanites claimed that the "real" rate of interest (the nominal interest rate minus inflation rate) was always, as if by divine commandment, at 3%. Therefore, as inflation would be brought down by the Fed's gradual reduction of money growth, real interest rates—and therefore money rates—would fall, stimulating the economy and insuring us against any major recession.

The rate of money growth *did* fall significantly as the Fed put monetarism into effect. But, lo and behold!, the supposedly inflexible 3 per cent rule for real interest rates was broken, and interest rates stayed way up while inflation fell sharply. Hence, *real* rates rose to unprecedentedly high levels. By the late summer of 1981, it was clear that a recession was upon us, and interest rates stayed almost at boom levels while inflation abated rapidly. And, while interest rates have fallen a bit since then, they have fallen far less than a depression would usually warrant, and the continuing very high real interest rates have put a lid on any significant recovery.

Gradualism, however, was the Friedmanites' undoing. Not only did the reduction in money growth precipitate a recession, but gradualism made sure that the recession would be slow, dragged out, grinding. For recessions are not irrational acts of God nor random events. They perform a vital function: washing out the unsound malinvestments of the preceding inflationary boom, and redirecting land, labor, and capital to their most efficient uses in the service of consumers. The longer and the more intense the distorting inflationary boom, the greater the work that the cleansing, corrective recession will have to do. This is the insight of the "Austrian" theory of business cycles. But this means that the best that can be done about a recession is for the government to keep hands off—to allow the recession to do its crucial work as quickly as possible. If the government intervenes to allay, check, or stop the workings of the recession, it will only transform a short, sharp recession into a chronic, stagnating depression. The choice is either: transitory acute infection, or

a chronic, grinding debilitating disease.

But why has the 1979 depression been so much worse than its predecessors? Because, after several decades of inflation, the public has stopped being suckers; the public has learned to expect, or anticipate, inflation, and has therefore taken steps accordingly: spending money faster, or adding expected inflation to the interest rate. Suppose that the "natural" or "real" rate of interest is 5 per cent, for example, and that everyone then comes to expect a 12 per cent inflation rate in the coming year. Any creditor who continues to charge 5 per cent interest will now be losing 7 per cent of his money per year, for the dollars he gets paid are worth 12 per cent less than the dollars he loaned out. The debtor is in a reverse situation; inflation permits him to expropriate the creditor. Over the years, as both sets of people catch on to the permanent inflation policy, both creditors and debtors agree to attach an expected-inflation premium to the interest rate. Hence, decades of inflation will raise nominal interest rates greatly.

And real rates too. For the Friedmanites' great error was in assuming that the *current* rate of inflation (whether 12 percent or 5 per cent) is identical with what people on the market *expect* inflation rates to be. But that is not necessarily true, especially after decades of inflation. For the market, the public, now do not trust the Fed or the administration—*any* administration—not to resume inflating after the inevitable recession strikes.

Most people assume that current and expected future deficits have raised interest rates *directly*: by the government entering the bond market as borrower and thereby bidding up interest rates and yields. But while important, the far more critical impact of the Reaganite deficits was in signaling the market that the Fed would soon resume its inflationary role in order to finance them. The resulting anticipated inflation was then quickly reflected back in interest rates.

The market was right not to trust the Reagan Administration and the Fed, for despite their endless promises and rhetoric, the Fed, as we have seen, has inflated to a fare-thee-well since July, and "victory" over inflation has now been declared. For the depression and the high real interest rates have discredited Friedmanite monetarism, and so the Administration has now turned to the good old gang that brought us the calamitous Nixon and Ford administrations: the conservative Keynesians. For that is precisely what the Shultzes, Burnses, Greenspans, Steins, Feldsteins, are. And Keynesianism—though now totally confused—means we are back to inflationary monetary policy, coupled with higher taxes and deficits.

Poor old Keynes must be spinning in his grave. If Keynesianism means anything, it means: don't increase taxes during a depression. Indeed, it is hard to think of *any* school of economic thought which calls for walloping tax increases in a depression: one would expect common sense to tell you that saving, investment, and productive activity would be crippled. But this is what 1980's Keynesianism decrees, and that is what Ronald Reagan has become, thereby following the footsteps of the illustrious Herbert Hoover, who aggravated the Great Depression by doing the very same thing. It is ironic that the Democratic Party, which ran for half a century on a platform attacking Herbert Hoover, should now in effect have embraced him as their very own. And so has Reagan, who has been pouring on the tax

increases in the latter half of 1982, and will continue to do so—all the while declaiming his hatred of taxes and unbalanced budgets.

### The Coming Year

So what will happen this year? Will there be a recovery? In a sense, it doesn't matter, for it is almost impossible to see any recovery as being anything other than weak and fitful. Why? Because the current tremendous expansion of the monetary supply is bound to accelerate inflation sometime early this year, and because the *anticipation* of inflation from the money supply and from monetized deficits will drive inflation up still further. And it will also raise interest rates even earlier, in anticipation of renewed inflation, and aided by the pressure that huge deficits will put on the bond market. And rising interest rates from already high current levels will put a damper on any recovery that might occur.

Expectations of inflation and rising levels of interest rates have therefore put the kibash on all nostrums of government intervention in the economy. If the Reagan Administration had continued to follow the Friedmanite path, we would have faced continuing stagnation and depression; if it had followed the supply-siders (who never really had a chance), even greater deficits, inflation, and depression would have ensued. Now, following Keynesian doctrines, trying to inflate our way into lower interest rates and out of depression, we will *still* only experience higher interest rates and more depression.

So—our Fearless Forecast is that 1983 will be another year of a quagmire of inflationary depression. We will have more of the same but worse. Unemployment will continue at disastrous peak levels since World War II; stagnation of productive activity will continue. Either we will have zero recovery or a brief fitful one. *If* (A) we have zero recovery, unemployment will be higher even than now, production will be in the doldrums, bankruptcies will continue at a high rate, *and* interest rates and inflation will be substantially higher than now, in response to late 1982 levels of monetary expansion and staggering deficits. The Fed has had its brief happy bout of slightly lowering *short-term* interest rates through massive monetary inflation. The Piper will now be paid, beginning first in long-term interest rates (bond prices) which are most sensitive to inflationary expectations. Long-term rates will rise, followed later and reluctantly by short-term.

That's if there is zero recovery. If, on the other hand, (B), there is a brief but aborted recovery, the pattern will be slightly different. Recovery will embolden the market, and that, combined with the other inflationary factors of a huge expansion of money and enormous deficits, will cause a much larger and faster rise in prices than under Scenario A. Interest rates, too, will rise higher and earlier than under Scenario A. And while unemployment might fall a wee bit, and production rise by marginal amounts, this weak recovery will soon be aborted by the much higher interest rates, sending the economy spiralling downward and getting worse.

Either way, then, we estimate that the economy will continue to be in a double bind, so that anything the government will do will quickly rebound to aggravate all the least loved facets of the current economy: high unemployment, stagnation, high interest rates, inflation.

The interesting question to speculate on is: what will the Reagan Administration *do* when, panicking in early 1984, with the presidential elections coming up, they see that

conservative Keynesianism too will be a flop, and they will have failed across the board with no options open (that they will bother to consider). Will they drift down the road to inevitable oblivion, like the late unlamented Jimmy? Or will they seek bold and desperate measures, such as: credit controls; price and wage controls (perhaps thinly disguised as "incomes policy"), massive socialistic public works projects (which Reagan is already starting, on the highways)? Or, just maybe, a lovely little war somewhere, to bring on the juices of patriotism and all-out government intervention? Who knows? But don't bet your life against any or all of these measures by our beloved "free-market" Administration.

#### What Should Be Done?

What then, should or could be done to get the economy out of this locked-in double bind of inflationary depression? Must everything be hopeless? No—the correct prescription for our ills comes from the analysis of the Austrian School. In the area of money, we must, as the current dean of the Austrians, F. A. Hayek, says: "slam on the brakes." We must abandon the decay of gradualism for the short swift surgical procedure of radicalism. We cannot avoid recession; but if we stopped monetary inflation, and we made the stopping credible, *then* inflationary expectations, embedded—for good reason—in the hearts and minds of the public, would be reversed, and the Final Recession would be short and lightened greatly by the outpouring of savings and investment as inflation is seen to be over and real interest rates fall. But for the public or the market to trust that the brake-slammings will last beyond a couple of months, there must be radical institutional change to induce that credibility.

What sort of radical change? In the Fed and in the monetary standard. The dollar must be denationalized, taken out of the hands of the Fed and the Treasury. The only way to do that is to redefine the dollar as a weight of gold (i.e.

"return to the gold standard"), and then redeem the hoard of gold that the federal government stole from us in 1933 and has never returned. The Fed should then be abolished, with banks set free, but held to the strictest market standards of outlawry of fraud, and forced to close their doors at the slightest refusal to redeem their deposits on demand (or whenever they fall due).

Pending the gold standard and abolition of the Fed, the very least to be done would be passing a law freezing the Fed permanently. That is, prohibiting the Fed from buying any assets ever again (or making any further loans, or lowering reserve requirements). If the Fed cannot politically be abolished outright, then it should be frozen into innocuous desuetude.

In addition to freezing the Fed and/or returning to a real (not a phony) gold standard, fiscal policy can help this monetary program by drastically cutting taxes (that's real cuts, not "cuts in the rate of increase", cuts in percentage of GNP, or the rest of the namby-pamby evasions), and drastically cutting government spending even further. Where O where can the budget ever be cut? Anywhere and everywhere, with meat axes, hacksaws, anything to hand. For openers, pick the precise budget of some previous President—anyone, including Carter, but the earlier the better, back to Jefferson, say, and just copy each figure in the budget line by line. You wouldn't need thousands of White House staff members to accomplish this feat either; just two guys and a pencil. How many people realize that if we merely cut the budget back to the last, free-spending full Carter figures, we would have a handsome budgetary *surplus*? Of course, if I had my druthers, and could push a magic button, the federal budget would be cut back to a nice fat zero. So don't start wailing about "where can we cut the budget?" All we need is the will. ‡

## Leave the Street Vendors Be!

by Jon D. Wiseman\*

If a growing number of urban chambers of commerce and boards of trade are to have their way, the poor and unemployed will face the closure of what is perhaps the last legal exit from their destitute condition. What these locally organized business interests wish to do is to make it all but impossible for the down-and-out to become business folks themselves — their proposals range from outlawing street vending in certain areas to putting it out of reach in all areas through exorbitant licensing fees for all but rather well-to-do folks. Their petition is understandable, but it mustn't be supported. Capitalists are all too renowned for extolling the virtues of free competition while conspiring to avoid its harsh discipline. As that apostle of capitalism, Adam Smith, put it: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices."

If one were a conspiracy theorist of sorts, this latest proposed move against the dispossessed might be seen as simply one more element in a concerted right-wing push to put the working class back in its traditional place — a complement to cutting off welfare, reducing unemployment benefits, eliminating or at least reducing minimum wages,

\*Jon Wiseman is Associate Professor of Economics, The American University.

weakening workplace health and safety rules, and of course, most importantly, creating massive unemployment. The conspiracy's goal would be to render workers docile, willing to do dirty, boring, perhaps dangerous, repetitive, non-creative work for poverty-level wages. Profits could then soar, the rich get richer, and once again good cheap maid service could be had. However, it's not a conspiracy. It's only an orgy of trickle-down economics in the void left by the bankruptcy of so-called liberal economics.

It would appear that in their naivete, the President and his supply-side advisers (Stockman surely excepted) don't view Reaganomics as a program for pacifying the working class and enriching the rich. Instead, they feel that it will unlock American initiative, creativity, and self-reliance. They wish to re-open America to their heroes, the self-made captains of industry. Although this is pretty much Hollywood reality, there's always been just enough "real-world" reality in it to make it credible to large numbers of Americans. What these organized business interests conspire to do is eliminate from their competitive spheres that last remnant of "real-world" reality — to leave the poor with no legal means of escape from wage-dependency and poverty. Of course that would appear to suit the interests of many already established businesses in a dual sense: The poor would effectively be blocked from becoming competitors; and, with all outlets for their self-

(Continued on page 8)

## Movement Memories

(With this issue, we inaugurate an occasional feature on the Old Days of the Movement Revisited. In those early days, the Movement was undoubtedly smaller, probably wackier, and undoubtedly more lovable than the sobersides Behemoth we know so well today. The focus was on ideology and not image, and, at least in our corner of the movement, there was a lot of merriment along the way. There were deviations and heresies aplenty, but the one deviation that no one ever seriously entertained was opportunism. The very idea that our teeny movement could even consider selling out for Quick Victory would have been treated as a hilariously ironic takeoff on ideological sellouts of the past. Live and learn.—Ed. Note)

### 1947: I Enter The Movement

Recently, a friend found a copy of the following letter, in the files of my late friend, Dr. F. A. (Baldy) Harper. It was a nostalgic moment, because this fateful letter constituted my entry into the libertarian movement, although of course I could not realize this fully at the time. With the sending of this letter, at the age of 21, my life was irretrievably changed.

As a budding free-market economist surrounded completely by various species of socialists and communists, I was then in my first year at Columbia Graduate School, working for a Master's degree in economics. I had never known that any free-market people existed until, in late 1946, I came across a pamphlet attacking rent control and published by a new organization entitled the Foundation for Economic Education, which had been launched several months before. After obtaining other literature from FEE, I sat down with great enthusiasm to write people whom I had never met and knew little about, and send them suggestions on how to organize an intellectual movement for liberty. On receiving this letter, Baldy and the other FEE staff invited me up there, and I entered a new world, a world of libertarians.

Rereading the letter, it still seems pretty good, and some of the suggestions worthwhile even now. But I publish it for those interested in the long-gone, early days of the modern movement.

\* \* \* \*

March 5, 1947  
370 Central Park West  
New York 25, N. Y.

Mr. W. M. Curtiss  
Executive Secretary  
The Foundation for Economic Education, Inc.  
Irvington-on-Hudson  
New York

Dear Sir,

I am deeply honored to be considered an Affiliate of The Foundation. I have delayed writing to you for so long because I wished to read thoroughly all the material that you so generously sent and I have devoted considerable thought to suggestions as to the program of The Foundation. Unfortunately, my status as a graduate economics student requires me to limit the extent of my financial contribution to the minimum (one dollar.) However, I shall make every effort to cooperate with The Foundation through ideas, suggestions,

and every other way that I possibly can, even though my time is severely limited at present while studying for the Ph. D. degree at Columbia.

I have been profoundly stirred by the program of The Foundation, because it fills a gap which I believe is desperately important to close—the lack of an organization of liberal economists who combine a firm faith in the principles of liberalism with an expert knowledge of economics. Liberal organizations have invariably confined their statements to affirmations of general principles, which, though admirable, ignore the numerous subtle arguments of the statist. This is a fatal error, since the result is to leave the intellectuals prey to leftist arguments. “Never underestimate your opponent” is very important when applied to the intellectual process of the leftists. At the present time the overwhelming mass of the molders of public opinion in the United States—the intellectuals—are engaged in disseminating statist propaganda. This is particularly true, I am sorry to say, among economists, most of whom seem to be expending their valuable brain power devising schemes of government intervention. Most of the discussions in the economic journals center on the relative merits of this or that scheme for new government interference.

The Foundation has the noble and gigantic task of leading us on the road back to liberalism in economics. It is a struggle that will have to be fought on many fronts: among the mass of the people, the politicians, the lay intellectuals, and the professional economists. I am particularly pleased that you welcome the support of all who are interested in aiding this effort—this is unique and is indispensable to the acquisition of a “mass Base” for economic liberalism (to borrow a handy Marxian term.)

Accepting your invitation, the remainder of this letter will be taken up with suggestions and comments for The Foundation program. I hope you will forgive the undue length of this letter; I realize I am taxing your patience. The fault is due entirely to my unbounded enthusiasm for your organization and to a deep conviction that the Foundation must grow and expand and become an influential force if the American ideal of liberty is to be saved.

The Foundation can advance the cause of liberalism in many ways. One of the most effective is through the distribution of pamphlets such as you have sent me. These pamphlets are on such a uniform level of excellence that my only suggestion concerning them is “keep up the good work.”\*

Working with students should be an important part of The Foundation program. I believe that this program should be divided into two phases: lecture institute, and seminars. The lecture courses should be designed for students and for intelligent laymen, covering a number of broad fields of political economy, and designed to develop a general liberal

\* After careful study of the pamphlets, I could find only one minor point of disagreement—I think Mr. Read is over-austere as to the inevitability of inflation due to the present increased stock of money; to the extent that this stock is not spent, inflation can be avoided.

program in these fields. These courses should be open to all those interested in attending, and should also serve the purpose of answering anti-liberal arguments. The courses would be conducted by authorities in the various fields.

The seminars should consist primarily of graduate economics students. These groups should do more intensive work in the various specific fields, concentrating on problems where there are large differences among liberals, as well as research in the refutation of anti-liberal arguments. These seminars should be guided by one or more liberal authorities. At the end of a certain period of time, these seminars may issue joint reports on the results of their investigations. I think it important that membership in these research seminars be restricted to liberals only, since the problems that will arise due to differences among liberals will be serious enough, without having to spend time in the seminar trying to convince the members of the necessity of liberalism. This restriction should not apply to attendance of the lecture courses. The nature of the various problems is outlined below.

Many of the problems and areas of study will undoubtedly be of such wide and complex scope as to require publication in book form of researches conducted by the Foundation staff. Books would provide a necessary complement to the pamphlets, particularly when dealing with problems that cannot be adequately handled by articles of pamphlet size. In these cases, it would seem valuable to have close liaison between the Staff members and the members of the research seminars. Perhaps this could be accomplished by appointing the seminar members as assistant or junior Staff members.

I suggest New York City as the obvious center for the Foundation program and activities. It provides excellent facilities for research as well as a vast potential supply of new Affiliates.

I think that the study group program could be improved by providing more organized guidance from The Foundation. In addition to such informal study groups as now exist, there is a great need for study groups of a more formal nature. For example, the college campuses in New York City are permeated with numerous organization of all shades of left-wing opinion with no liberal groups at all in evidence. For example, on college campuses at present are the following groups, reading from left to right: Marxist Study Group, American Youth for Democracy, Young Citizens Political Action Committee, American Veterans Committee, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Student League for Industrial Democracy, and the Student Federalists. Now, I am not suggesting that Foundation study groups be conducted along lines of totalitarian discipline as are most of the above. However, The Foundation should endeavor to establish formal study groups on all the college campuses in New York City, providing guest speakers, topics of discussion, etc. Such groups are greatly needed on the college campuses to offset the steady barrage of leftist propaganda to which college students are subjected by organizations such as listed above.

The Foundation states as an aim the establishment of a "periodic journal devoted to economic and political discussions." I think that this activity is so important that three periodic publications will be necessary. One should be a monthly news bulletin. This would be brief, and would inform the Affiliates of The Foundation's activities, plans, and progress. This bulletin should also include a list of formal

study groups organized by The Foundation; these groups should be classified according to general occupation of its members (such as student, housewife, business man, etc.) and should contain the control location of each study group. This would serve to inform Affiliates who are desirous of joining study groups of the existence of groups of similar occupation and location as their own.

A second journal should be bi-monthly (or perhaps quarterly) and devoted to learned articles and discussions of economic liberalism and all its phases. The journal should be on a high level of discussion, similar to the Journal of Political Economy, and should contain book reviews of current books dealing with problems of political economy, as well as critiques of influential books that have been written in the recent past. This journal would be directed primarily toward professional economists, and would furnish a much-needed corrective to the articles and reviews in current economic journals, which only rarely are written from a liberal point of view.

In addition, there is an urgent need for a weekly magazine, directed toward the intelligent layman, that furnishes articles, comments, book reviews, etc. from a liberal viewpoint. Every crackpot left-wing group has its weekly ideological publication, and several have won widespread circulation among intellectuals (viz; New Republic, The Nation, New Leader, New Masses.) Yet there is no liberal weekly of a comparable nature.\* Of course, there are many magazines that have nationwide circulation which, every so often, publish a liberal article. But these articles are submerged in a plethora of trite love stories, and articles on deep-sea fishing, etc. There is urgent need for a liberal counterpart to the New Republic. If such a weekly could not gain a newstand and subscription circulation comparable to the New Republic, the cause of liberalism would indeed be in desperate straits. At least, the effort is well worth making. Perhaps The Foundation could sponsor such a magazine in cooperation with other liberal groups.

I am pleased to see that The Foundation is planning a nation-wide radio program. Radio, an extremely important medium for the influence of public opinion, was silently captured during the war by various leftists and fellow-travellers, in the guise of "commentators." The importance of these "commentators" in the plans of the Left is shown by its agitation when many of these unnecessary commentators were ousted after the end of the war. Even now, liberal points of view seldom get a hearing except in debates, which, when held before a studio audience, often result in liberals being drowned out by an audience "packed" with leftist supporters. All this makes it more urgent for The Foundation to institute such a program. The program should feature talks by a competent economic analyst, or a series of such authorities, presented in a popular fashion.

Before outlining the content of the major problems that The Foundation will have to deal with, I would like to suggest that The Foundation, at the proper time, embark on a large campaign of self-advertising. A full-page advertisement in the New York Times, for example, would be invaluable in informing the public about the existence and the purposes of your organization. I am sure that the number of Affiliates

\* Newsweek and U. S. News, though excellent, do not qualify, since they are mainly devoted to a presentation of the news.

would expand enormously if the public were informed in such a manner.

The contents of The Foundation program should, I believe, be devoted mainly to problems arising from differences of opinion among liberals, and to answers and critiques of statist arguments. The research seminars mentioned above could serve to iron out many of these differences, or, at least, to clarify the issues involved. The following are some of the problems which would greatly repay future study by The Foundation:

### (1) Monopoly

In my many arguments with leftist friends, their favorite point of attack is: "Yes, all you say is very true, assuming a perfectly competitive system. This may have been true in the nineteenth century, but now in the days of monopoly, oligopoly, monopolistic competition, big business and, under present conditions, the government must . . . etc., etc." I think that this problem deserves paramount consideration by The Foundation. If The Foundation can demonstrate the falsity of this line of argument, I believe that an inestimable service will have been done to the cause of liberalism. Corollary to this would be a discussion of: the anti-trust laws and how they should be applied, the problem of price flexibility and price rigidities, the Schumpeter thesis that many "monopolistic restrictions" and deviations from perfect competition are beneficial when looked at in the long run, the so-called "concentration of economic power" (I do not see how any person or group can have economic power except through the aid of the government), and the favorite case studies used by the left, Aluminum Company of America, U. S. Steel, the price of steel rails, the N. Y. milk shed, etc.

I think it particularly important to demonstrate the growth of monopoly due to the active aid of state and federal governments, a point which statist always conveniently overlook. There are many people, however, who seem to be sincere liberals, who side with the left in this discussion, and believe that vigorous anti-trust laws are necessary. For example, the late Professor Henry C. Simons apparently believed that a corporation constituted a monopoly element. It is necessary to thrash out this whole issue of monopoly. My own personal belief is that the cases of monopoly that are important in our economy are the government-sponsored ones. However, a thorough investigation by The Foundation is greatly needed.

### (2) Monetary and Fiscal Policy

Here is another extremely important subject which has probably caused the most dissension among liberals. It is mainly the problems of monetary demand or monetary purchasing power. In the long run, I think it is undoubtedly true that "supply creates its own demand." In the short run, however, and in the course of the cycle, many liberals feel that there are deficiencies and excesses of monetary demand. What should the government do about this, if anything? Should the government attempt to stabilize the price level, and, if so, at what level? What should be the role of the government in relation to the banking system? Where are the merits in the famous controversy between the Currency School and the Banking School? What are the advantages of the gold standard, or the commodity reserve standard? (The gold standard is essentially the fixing of the price of gold. But why

free prices in all commodities and not in gold? This brings us back to the problem of whether or not the price level should be stabilized.) In the field of fiscal policy, the crucial problem is whether the government should pursue a "cyclically balanced budget" policy or an annually balanced budget. On paper, the cyclical proposal seems plausible, except that it raises very dangerous political problems.

This whole problem of monetary demand has caused grave splits among economists who otherwise are united on adherence to the free price system. Thus liberals Graham and Simons lean heavily on the government in stabilizing total demand, although they advocate doing this in accordance with the Rule of Law. This issue is at the core of the interesting debate between the CED and the National Economic Council which you sent to me. Miss Lane and Mr. Hart made many good points in their review of "Jobs and Markets," but the entire problem calls for a thorough, detailed analysis. Simply denouncing the CED program as Nazi does not dispose of this troublesome issue. Personally, I feel that making government responsible for total demand might well prove fatal to the free enterprise system. However, an investigation by the Foundation is definitely necessary.

### (3) Business Cycles.

The problem of business cycles, their nature, causes, etc. should be considered, particularly the problem of the Great Depression. The unemployment and depression of 1929 and the 30's is continually being brought by the leftists as evidence of the "failure" of the free enterprise system.

These are a few of the topics of study for The Foundation. Other useful topics would be: government tax policy, social insurance, labor problems, international economic policy (the merits and demerits of the ITC, Bretton Woods, etc.) critiques of Keynes and Veblen\*, the fascinating Mises-Hayek-Lange dispute on the economics of socialism, and a discussion of the historical roots of liberalism.\*

Also important would be a discussion of proper techniques and methods to convey the message of liberalism to the American people. I think that much profit would be derived from studying the propaganda devices, slogans, etc. of the leftists who have excelled in spreading the collectivist cause.

In concluding this overlong letter, I would like to note that Professor Schumpeter has stated that capitalism, despite the overwhelming arguments in its favor, can not survive because not enough people have faith in the system. Then, I turned to read these words from Mr. Read's *Pattern for Revolt*: "We need patriots who will stand against wrong even though they cannot see the time when right will triumph." As long as Americans exist who can write these stirring words, as long as organizations such as The Foundation exist and thrive, the cause of freedom is not dead.

Very truly yours,

Murray N. Rothbard

\* A critique of Veblen is particularly important, it is astonishing how this clown has won the adoration of the intelligentsia.

\* Valuable would be a critique of Sombart and other historians who constantly talk of capitalism as an organism that is inevitably giving way to socialism—presumably the next stage in the "historical process." ‡

## Vendors *(Continued from page 4)*

reliance foreclosed, they would have no choice but to offer their labor services to local business at bargain-basement wages. These organized business interests are simply being too greedy!

However, there are a couple of other reasons — good ones — for keeping urban streets open and free to sidewalk vendors. First, every society produces a number of individuals who are uncomfortable in organizations, and above all, who don't wish to take orders. Fortunately, America has been blessed with a great number of such folks, which is understandable given the sorts of people who migrated here. The freedom and health of our society depends upon leaving channels within which these people might exercise their independence and express their creativity. Indeed, there are far too few such channels left. For far too many Americans — thanks, in part, to the kind of licensure and other governmental restrictions sought by these organized business interests — the only channels left for expressing creative individualism are found in street crime and hustling. At the time of our struggle for independence, approximately seven out of every ten didn't take orders. Today, over nine out of ten take orders — hardly an improvement in terms in independence and democratic self-determination.

Second, the prevalence of street vendors in a neighborhood enhances the quality of community life in a number of ways. The streets become colorful — even somewhat exotic. In fact, street vendors and open-air markets create the street life which makes so many foreign places charming and exciting escapes from our own busy-but-seldom-alive streets. A street

bazaar atmosphere encourages residents to venture forth more readily from their closed-in existence. Neighbors meet, linger, get to know one another. A community spirit emerges.

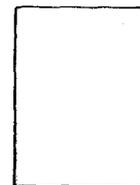
Finally, streets filled with lingering folks are simply safer streets. This point seems of paramount importance for most middle to large size urban centers. As is well known, street crime is in good part responsible for the outmigration of the middle class, scared-off shoppers, and the subsequent outmigration of business itself. In fact, those areas which have experienced an influx of so-called young professionals tend to possess a greater degree of street life. In this sense, these organized business interests are perhaps a bit myopic. Safer streets, people-filled streets — that's got to be better for local business in general. True, some shops may have reduced sales due to sidewalk-vendor competition. It is likely, however, that the strollers — enticed in part by the bazaar atmosphere — increase the total business of most shops in the affected locales.

But even if the unlikely were true: that established businesses are harmed in the aggregate by street vendors, it would still not justify government intervention. After all, if the street vendors are winning out then they must be providing the sovereign consumers with what they want. That's capitalism and the game is competition. Often chambers of commerce and boards of trade argue that the street vendors — located on public space — are getting a free ride. Poppycock! If shopkeepers think that street vendors have it so good, they're always free to close up shop and become street vendors themselves. Street vendors mustn't be scapegoated and destroyed for the depressed business conditions under Reaganomics. ‡

# THE Libertarian Forum

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

Box 341, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10010



THE  
**Libertarian Forum**

Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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# For President: Gene Burns

I bring tidings of great joy: We *have* a presidential candidate.

His name is Gene Burns, of Orlando, Florida.

At the last NatCom meeting at Orlando, on December 4-5, I first met Gene Burns by appearing on his radio talk show. I was impressed by the astuteness of his questions and his obvious sympathy with and knowledge of libertarianism. Then, at the banquet Saturday night, Gene delivered a magnificent, stem-winding speech that brought the entire audience to its feet.

Jocularly, without realizing how prophetic we were, some of us nudged each other and said, "Hey, what about *him* as a Presidential candidate?" And now, that dream has come true.

If you ask: "What about good old so-and-so for President?", chances are excellent that good old so-and-so has already firmly refused the chance. They are all too tired, or too impecunious, or too whatever to make the grueling sacrifice of months of one's life needed to make the race.

But Gene Burns is enthusiastic and rarin' to go. He has been a radio talk-show host for eleven years, and well known in the Orlando area. He is mature, knowledgeable, charismatic, and a super speaker. Chances are you will get to meet him at your state convention. He has already addressed the Georgia LP convention and received a standing ovation. He has a dedicated and politically savvy staff, a staff that includes some of the top leaders in the Florida LP. He is of course familiar with the media and how it works. The *Orlando Sentinel* has already published a long article on the Burns candidacy. *Qua* candidate, he will run a great race.

But how is he *ideologically*—always a critical bone of contention? Well, I can report that Gene Burns has been vetted and catechized at great length, by some of the toughest and most ideologically rigorous people in the Libertarian Party, and he has come through with flying colors. He agrees enthusiastically with the entire national platform. He is sound in all areas. He is, if reason and justice prevail, the LP's next Presidential candidate.

So far, Gene Burns has only one possible opponent, or

quasi-opponent. The joker is that that antagonist is not a person but a committee: The Committee to Draft Ron Paul, headed by Crane hireling Chris Hocker. The heinous and degraded Crane Machine is desperate, its back to the wall. Having lost control of the Libertarian Party *apparat*, its fortunes sliding into oblivion, trapped in the last Bunker, it has only once chance left: The capture of the Presidential nomination. And so the Draft Paul boomlet.

As long as there was no candidate in the race, drafting someone, however remote, had a certain plausibility. But now we *have* a live candidate. It will be difficult to sell the LP on drafting a non-existing candidate when there is a live one eager for the race.

Hocker has been trying desperately to line up some people for the draft committee beyond the small circle of Crane Machiners. But he has had difficulty in specifying the scenario he has in mind. For Congressman Paul (a) is a Republican Congressman, and (b) while more libertarian than any other Congressman, he has a voting record spotted with numerous anti-libertarian votes. To presume to run for the highest nomination in the Libertarian Party, he would, at the least, have to do two things: change his affiliation from Republican to Libertarian, and *pronto*; and explain in detail how or whether he has changed his mind on these votes and other key issues and become a genuine libertarian with a capital L.

So far, Congressman Paul has given no indication of any willingness to run. So what do Hocker/Crane have in mind? Is Paul going to change his affiliation and explain his votes before the Presidential convention? If not, does the Crane Machine have the unmitigated gall to believe that Libertarian Party delegates will buy a pig in a poke? When there are candidate debates at the Convention, or at preceding state conventions, is Gene Burns going to have to debate an empty chair?

Rumors have been circulating that are so monstrous that it is hard to credit them. They state that Crane/Paul are thinking of running Ron Paul for President on the Libertarian Party ticket, while *at the same time* running for reelection to

Continued on page 7

# The Crane Machine Revealed

Who *are* the Crane Machine, anyway? New readers have been asking us this question, and one reader wanted to know if a "Craniac" is some giant malign computer run by Crane out of Washington, D.C. No sir, our word for a Crane Machine member is "Craniac", or, if we are feeling charitable that morning, "Machiner."

Note: Being employed in a Crane-bossed institution does not necessarily make one a Machiner. A tipoff is whether or not said employee is active in the Libertarian Party, the institution closest to Boss Crane's heart. A Crane employee who *is* active in the LP should be considered a Machiner, unless demonstrated otherwise.

Also note: the affiliations listed in parentheses may not be up-to-date. It is the essence of faithful Crane Machiners (those who would, in the immortal words of Chuck Colson, "walk over their grandmothers" if Crane gave the order) that they are slotted back and forth as they are needed in various Crane institutions, and in and out of various LP campaigns. Often they are "warehoused" for periods of time in one of these institutions. In short, the Crane Machine operates like a mini-multinational corporation, moving people in, out, and around. Also: some of the lesser Machiners are listed as "present whereabouts unknown". I hasten to add that that means unknown *to me*, not that they have gone underground, although that would be a consummation devoutly to be wished. If we had the resources of *Time* magazine, we could track them down, and also print front and profile mug shots of all the Craniacs, but this article will have to do until a fuller profile comes along.

I *Edward H. Crane III* The Big Boss: *capo di tutti capi*. Main power base: Head of the Cato Institute, which moved from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. early in the Reagan Administration to be close to the Corridors of Power. Also, Boss of: Libertarian Review Foundation, and its publications *Inquiry* and *Update*; National Taxpayers Legal Fund; and the Crane Machine in the Libertarian Party. Formerly, boss of Students for a Libertarian Society, and formerly, National Chairman of the LP. Managed the LP presidential campaigns in 1976 and 1980.

\* \* \*

II *The Top Craniacs* (In no particular order of rank)

*Christopher ("Chris") Hocker* (Crane hireling; publisher of *Inquiry*, editor of *Update*. Recently brought in as editor of the latter to tone down the smearsheet. Former National Director of the LP, now NatCom member, head of Draft Ron Paul Committee.)

*Howard ("Howie") Rich* (New York businessman. Top Craniac politico. Ran the disastrous Guida campaign for national chair in 1981, the equally disastrous Randolph campaign in 1982, and the likewise disastrous Northrup for Governor campaign in New York in 1982. Craniac straw boss on LP NatCom.)

*Andrea Millen Rich* (Wife of Howie. Proprietor of Laissez-

faire Bookstore in New York, which has become a social center for New York Machiners. Banned the *Libertarian Forum* from the bookstore for being critical of the Crane Machine. NatCom member.)

*Jule ("The Tool") Herbert, Jr.* (Highly paid Crane hireling. Runs the National Taxpayers Legal Fund in Washington. Former Alabama lawyer. Runs the District of Columbia LP with an iron hand. NatCom member.)

*Leslie Graves* (alias Leslie Graves Key. Crane hireling. Former editor, now reporter, for *Update*. NatCom member. Boss of the Wisconsin LP, based in Madison, now rumored to be suffering a revolt from the long-downtrodden Milwaukee forces.)

*Gary Greenberg* (Legal Aid lawyer, boss of the New York LP, of which he apparently aspires to be lifetime chairman. Suffering a widespread revolt against his leadership, headed by 1982 U. S. Senate candidate Jim McKeown.)

*Tom Palmer* (though young, long-time Crane devotee. Former Crane strawboss on SLS, now working for Crane's sister—or rather cousinly—organization, Council for Competitive Economy, in Washington.)

*Jim Johnston* (economist for Standard Oil of Indiana. Craniac straw boss in the Illinois LP, NatCom member, and self-styled Parliamentarian.)

### III *Quasi-Independent*

*Dick Randolph* (A special category for the straw boss of the Alaska LP. Formerly State Rep, ran disastrous campaign for Governor in 1982. Turned his entire campaign over to the Crane Machine. One has the feeling, however, that Dick could someday leave the Machine. Is rumored to be suffering from revolt within Alaska LP.)

### IV *Lesser Craniacs*

*Kent Guida* (Crane hireling. Used to be, and perhaps still is, working for both *Update* and NTLF. Came in third in three-man race for national chair in 1981, ran the calamitous Randolph campaign under Rich's supervision. NatCom member. Former Maryland businessman.)

*Roy A. Childs, Jr.* (Crane hireling. Former editor of now defunct *Libertarian Review*. Crane-imposed keynoter at LP Presidential convention in 1979. Now "foreign policy analyst"—Has anyone ever seen any of his analyses?—at Cato.)

*Eric O'Keefe* (The Martyr. Former National Director of the LP; when ousted, went to Alaska to help Guida run the Randolph fiasco. Present whereabouts unknown.)

*David Boaz* (Crane hireling. Vice-President, Cato Institute. Research director, LP Presidential campaign, 1980.)

### V *Minor Craniacs*

*Janet Nelson* (Crane hireling at Cato. Ex-wife of Kent Guida.)

*Kristina Herbert* (Crane hireling at Cato. Ex-wife of Jule Herbert.)

*Deb Haws* (wife of Chris Hocker. Ex-O'Keefe aide at LP headquarters. Daughter of Minnesota LP bigwig Frank Haws. Present whereabouts unknown.)

*Anita Anderson* (Ex-Cato employee. Now rumored to be working at Laissez-Faire Bookstore.)

*Dr. Ross Levatter* (Young Ohio physician. Formerly Craniac straw boss in the Ohio LP. A national organizer in the 1980 presidential campaign. Writer and "philosopher.")

*Frank Horn* (Computer person, now in California. Crane hireling as reporter for *Update*. Former top lieutenant in the Graves (Key) machine in the Wisconsin LP.)

*Robert Capozzi* (Ex-editor, *Update*. Present whereabouts unknown.)

*David Lampo* (Crane hireling at Cato. Ex-SLS operative.)

*Paul Beckner* (Helped run Randolph campaign in Alaska. Present whereabouts unknown.)

*Celeste "Cissey" Webb* (formerly Illinois LP bigwig, now rumored to be Crane hireling in D.C.)

#### VI *Peripheral Craniacs, Some Now Inactive*

These are mainly Craniacs who are—generally for career reasons—at present inactive in the Machine, but might be brought back by the Boss at any time.

*Ray and Carol Cunningham* (formerly top Craniacs—in California, on NatCom, and in the presidential campaign of 1980. Both are Connecticut engineers.)

*Robert Costello* (formerly in California, now working for

free-market investment letter in Chicago.)

*Milton Mueller* (formerly head of SLS, when Crane-run, then presumably booted out for Left Deviation. But recently wrote a Cato leaflet. Present Machine status questionable.)

*Jeff Friedman* (formerly head of SLS, when Crane-run, then presumably booted out for Left Deviation. Student at Brown University. Present Machine status questionable.)

*Jeff Rigenbach* (Crane hireling. Head of Cato's *Bylines*, radio commentary series. Inactive in LP, but can be trundled in for writing jobs, e.g. his hatchet job against the Mason campaign and for Guida in *Libertarian Review*, 1981.)

*Bill Birmingham* (Crane hireling. Ex-staff of *Libertarian Review*, now used occasionally by *Update* for hatchet-job writing assignments.)

*David Henderson* (Friedmanite economist, ex-Crane hireling at Cato. Present employment, the White House. Therefore presumably inactive in the Machine, but recently wrote book review for *Reason* back at the old stand, attacking Austrian economics.)

#### VII *Possible Craniac Defector*

*Bruce Majors* (graduate student, D.C. Until just before press time, would have been listed as a leading youth member in Category IV. Reputed to have been straw boss at *Update*. Ran the disastrous Northrup campaign under Rich, 1982. Late information, however, spots Majors as possible defector from Machine. No present Machine employment.)

I apologize if I left anyone out. Will try better next time. New editions as needed.

‡

## Eubie Blake: RIP

by Mr. First Nighter

When I first saw this great man, this veritable phenomenon, play the piano he was 92 or 93 years old, making his mighty comeback. The wonder was not so much that one of the outstanding ragtime composers and pianists was still alive, and well, and kicking at 93. It was not just that he was spry, and alert, and sparkling, telling charming anecdotes and playing the piano and singing his songs. For O my countrymen, *what* playing!

I first saw Eubie on an all-ragtime program, the first half of which was played by young Joshua Rifkin, who has replayed much of the old ragtime repertoire. Rifkin was weak, drab, monotonic, although it was of course good to hear the old tunes again. Then, on the second half, out came Eubie. He went to the piano, and then . . . The power, the tone, the nuance! The power was unbelievable, and the grace and tone almost equally so.

Eubie was not only a ragtime composer and pianist. After the ragtime era ended, after World War I, Eubie moved on to

become a great popular song composer. His most famous songs are the charming *I'm Just Wild About Harry* (1921) and the magnificent *Memories of You* (1930), one of the greatest popular songs ever written. Get the record of Eubie playing his own *Memories of You* in his early 90's, and you'll see what I mean, both about the playing and the song.

In his late 90's, Eubie began to seem a bit frail. On February 7, 1983, Eubie Blake celebrated his 100th birthday, an event commemorated and well publicized in several events in New York City. Eubie was home ill, but he was able to watch some of the celebration on television and listen on radio. A few days later, this wonderful man was dead.

Eubie Blake is a testimony to what the human spirit can achieve. In a world filled with sin and sorrow and injustice, he makes one proud of the human race. God bless you, Eubie, and, to plagiarize Horatio, flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.

‡

## Economic Notes

### Flip-flop on Oil.

Hey—has anyone noticed the incredible flip-flop of the Establishment on the oil price question? For ten years we had been regaled, endlessly and *ad nauseam*, about the evil Arabs in OPEC, and how they caused a decade of terrible inflation, and how they have ruined the standard of living of everyone, and how maybe the good old USA should send troops in there and grab the oil before it's too late, and how oil is going to run out any day now. Now, at long last, oil prices have started to slip, and the evil OPEC is falling apart, and you might ask yourself the question: The Establishment is happy now, right?

Wrong. *Now* what we are hearing is how terrible it is that OPEC, a fountain of oil stability, is falling apart, and how prices are falling (horrors!), causing depression and chaos in the undeveloped world which of course the good old USA is supposed to bail out.

So, here's a question for all the mavens in the media: Tell us, what's the *good* oil price, the price at which you will stop bellyaching, and at which the USA is *not* supposed to step in, at great expense, to save the day in some way or other? We await an answer.

### Reaganomic Semantics.

The long-awaited Regan budget for fiscal 1984 is mainly remarkable for coining some more hoax words and phrases to cover up ugly reality. We had already suffered last year, from various euphemisms for tax increases, including "revenue enhancement", "closing loopholes," and "user fees" (for more than doubling federal gasoline taxes). The new budget now brings us the concept of "accelerated" taxes and spending—instead of increase, you see—and a spending "freeze" that is not a freeze, but merely an *average increase* of 5 percent. This is on top of 1981-82 tax and spending "cuts" which were really hefty increases.

Out of respect for the English language alone, we must all yearn for the good old days when a "cut" meant a reduction of a given number from the year before, and a "freeze" meant zero growth.

### Were We Being Beastly to the Gipper?

In the early days of the Age of Reagan, when some libertarians and free-marketeers were under the illusion that Ronnie was at least moving the economy in the right direction, our lambasting of the Reagan Administration was chided by some right-wingers in our movement for concentrating on absolute numbers rather than on the rate of growth of the budget or the percentage of the GNP. OK, let's look at the record. In the first three years of the Carter Administration, free-spending Jimmy increased federal spending at the rate of 11 per cent per annum. In the first three years of Reagan, our "free-market" President has increased spending at the rate of 13 per cent per annum. In 1980, at the end of Carter's reign, the federal budget was over 22 per cent of the GNP. The Republican platform of 1980 thundered that this was too high, pledged a substantial reduction in the percentage. The percentage is now, in 1983, at 26 per cent.

'Nuff said.

### The Greenspan Sellout.

The disgraceful performance of the Greenspan Commission on Social Security is well known. Instead of moving toward the abolition of the biggest and cruelest racket in the government—the Social Security System—even instead of cutting benefits, the Commission moved in the opposite direction: toward raising taxes and dragooning more people into the system. The only benefit cut was a one-shot six-month suspension of cost-of-living benefits; everything else was more intensive and extensive coercion, including forcing non-profit organizations into the SSS.

How could Greenspan do it, when he's supposed to be a Randian-libertarian, and wrote in the past calling for abolition of Social Security? Who knows? Except to point to Lord Acton's famous maxim that "power tends to corrupt"; in Alan's case, that tendency seems to have reached an aggravated rate.

But Greenspan's report should not be surprising. During his zenith of power in the Nixon-Ford Administration, Greenspan was an Establishment conservative-Keynesian, and he continues so to this day. In contrast to Reagan, who once in a while slips into a free-market rhetoric at total odds with his statist policies, even Greenspan's *rhetoric* has long ago ceased being in any sense libertarian. It is cautious, modulated, boring and statist—the very model of a modern Establishment economist.

### Scorecard on Reaganomics.

As the old adage says, "you can't tell the players without a scorecard", and lack of a scorecard, or knowledge of the players, has led most people to believe that "Reaganomics" is a homogeneous lump that has a position and sometimes changes. Actually, Reaganomics has been the resultant of the pushes and pulls, the shifting coalitions and conflicts, among four sets of economists (a) for want of a better word, "old-fashioned conservatives", or free-marketeers; (b) Friedmanite monetarists; (c) conservative Keynesians—the Shultzes, Burnses, Greenspans, Walkers—the folks that brought us the Nixon-Ford Administration; and (d) the Lafferite supply-siders, who are strong in the media, including Jude Wanniski, Irving Kristol, and the *Wall Street Journal*, and in politics have Rep. Jack Kemp as their point man. Up to the Republican convention, Reagan relied mainly on such unorthodox thinkers as Laffer, and Reagan's *rhetoric* throughout his campaign was a blend of old-fashioned free market and supply-side. (Briefly, supply-siders want a big tax cut in the upper-income brackets to stimulate saving, and no reduction in government spending).

But at the Republican convention, Laffer and company were ousted, and all of a sudden, the old conservative Keynesian crowd, who had to a man backed Ford in the internecine struggles of 1976, roared back in and took over Reaganomics in coalition with the Friedmanites. Reagan I—which we may call Reaganomics from early 1981 until the middle of 1982—consisted of continuing to bamboozle Americans with the rhetoric of free-market + supply-side, while actually pursuing the *policies* of the monetarists, in

tandem with the Keynesians.

As it became clear that monetarism had plunged the country into a depression marked by unusually high real interest rates, the Reagan Administration began a dramatic shift leftward, into Reagan II, a total takeover by the Keynesians. One by one, the few free-market or quasi-libertarian economists (Martin Anderson, Steve Hanke) were forced out of government, the supply-siders were booted out (Paul Craig Roberts, Norman Ture), and the monetarists

were kicked out or shunted aside (Jerry Jordan, and the quiescence of Beryl Sprinkel). The accession to power and influence of George Shultz (virtually No. 2 man in everything), and Martin Feldstein symbolizes the final Keynesian victory. That victory, and the crushing of the Friedmanites, has been evident since July 1982, when the Federal Reserve embarked on a massive course of monetary inflation—now proceeding at 15 per cent per annum in M-1 and 30 per cent in M-2.

‡

## The Logic of Anarchy

by Carl Watner

In 1793, William Godwin wrote that "To dragoon man into the adoption of what we think right, is an intolerable tyranny." Godwin asserted that the advocate of coercion is in a logically precarious position. Coercion does not convince, nor is it any kind of argument at all. The initiation of coercion is "a tacit confession of imbecility. If he who employs coercion against me could mould me to his purposes by argument, no doubt he would. He pretends to punish me, because his argument is strong; but he really punishes me because he is weak."

The presupposition that the one who initiates violence is in a morally and logically indefensible position is the epistemological bias against violence. As Godwin added, "Force is an expedient, the use of which is much to be deplored. It is contrary to the nature of the intellect, which cannot be improved by conviction and persuasion. It corrupts the man that employs it, and the man upon whom it is employed."

Historically, man's original condition was anarchic. Government arose through conquest; through the initiation of coercion against the unwilling. Anarchism is the doctrine that the State, as a social institution, should not exist; that mankind should be allowed to return to its natural state of no-government. Epistemologically, we must start out as anarchists, too. The advocate of the State must convince us that the positive belief in government is justified. The burden of proof is not on the anarchist to justify the absence of government. Logically, this burden of proof rests on the advocate of the State.

This point was made clear by those who argued against compulsory vaccination in late 19th Century England. They presented two independent arguments: (first), that the medical and scientific claims of the vaccinationists were wrong; and, (second), that the initiation of compulsion was wrong in and of itself. For them, the hallmark of civilization was the abandonment of legalized compulsion. As John Morley put it, "liberty, or the absence of coercion, or the leaving people to think, speak, and act as they please, is in itself a good thing. It is the object of a favourable presumption. The burden of proving it inexpedient always lies, and wholly lies, on those who wish to abridge it by coercion."

Without realizing it, the anti-vaccinationists hit upon the logic of anarchy. Whether their medical argument was correct or not was essentially beside the point. The epistemological bias against violence precludes the initiation of force. This

prevents the existence of the State (or legislation) which is by its very nature invasive. If those who advocate the State must rely on force in order to bring it about, then their arguments are already tainted. The anti-vaccinationists claimed that "vaccination is either good or bad. Its goodness removes the need for compulsion and its badness destroys the right to coerce those who oppose it." So for the State. It is as illogical as it is wicked. In the nature of the case, the more the government protects, the less need there is to make it compulsory. On the other hand, the less it protects, the more infamous is its compulsion. In their anxiety to coerce others, statistes demonstrate their own lack of faith in the prescription which they assert affords complete protection from anarchy.

‡

## Recommended Reading: Monopoly and Anti-trust

Hey, what's going on here? There has developed a drum-beating network of considerable scope for free-market books and writings; so why has almost nothing been said about the best book ever published on monopoly, competition, and anti-trust? This is Dominick T. Armentano, *Antitrust and Monopoly: Anatomy of a Policy Failure* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1982). Ten years before, Professor Armentano had published his excellent *The Myths of Antitrust*; now this earlier work has been thoroughly revised and updated. Not only that: Whereas in his earlier book, Armentano was a blend of Austrian and Schumpeterian, he is now solidly Austrian, which means that, in contrast to every other "free market" specialist on monopoly, Armentano is opposed to *all* government intervention in industry, including all anti-trust laws, which he realizes to be a monopoly-creating, rather than monopoly-fighting device. Armentano writes clearly, and his book is a judicious blend of theory and examination of the most important case law in the field. So why is the hard core, uncompromisingly free-market work of Armentano ignored, while mushy moderates carry the day? These days, that question has become purely rhetorical, but *you* can overcome this Blackout by rushing out and buying a copy today!

‡

## Margaret Mead: Justice at Last!

Once in a while, once in a very great while, justice really triumphs in this world. In the case of the incredibly pernicious Margaret Mead, it took justice six decades to arrive, but it has triumphed at long last.

Ideas have consequences in history, although they scarcely work in the direct Randian "From Kant-to-Hitler" manner. But Margaret Mead's writings, beginning with her whopping best-seller, *Coming of Age in Samoa* in 1928 and continuing through her New Guinea tribal investigations of the 1930's, moulded the hearts and character of literally generations of Americans. The Mead message is now, of course, all too familiar, but it struck Americans of the day with blockbuster force. The thesis was simple and captivating enough to permit the book's being a best seller: The lovable natives of Samoa (and the Arapesh of New Guinea) are, in contrast to our own uptight and repressed Western civilization, happy, happy, happy. And *why* are they so happy—in contrast to the miseries of the West? For two reasons: first, the Samoans and the Arapesh of both sexes are culturally encouraged—and from an early age—to screw like rabbits. Since there is no monogamy, there is no jealousy, no frustration, no repression, no bourgeois possessiveness or insecurity. And second, and as a corollary, there is no private property in these peaceful happy tribes. Since every thing is tribally owned, there is no economic repression, no jealousy, frustration, bourgeois possessiveness or insecurity.

On the other hand, and by stark contrast, the Mundagamor tribe in new Guinea, like you-know-who, has a culture marked by monogamy and private property. And, by gum, the Mundagamor are uptight, miserable, warlike, unhappy. So there!

The not-so-implicit message of Margaret Mead was crystal clear: If only we Americans can cast off the incubus of monogamy, chastity, and private property, and adopt communism and screw-like-rabbits, we too could be happy, happy, happy. And all this in the Name, not of value-judgments, heaven forbid, but of Science itself. Science tells us, after all, that communal property + free sex equals peace, contentment, and happiness, and private property + monogamy spells the reverse.

In short, Margaret Mead was the pre-World War II version of the venerable dean of the polymorphous perverse of the New Left era, Herbert Marcuse. But there was a key difference. Margaret Mead wrote in clear and graceful English, and therefore her message spread wide and sunk deep into our consciousness. Marcuse wrote in incomprehensible, jargon-filled, neo-Hegelian Germano-English, in a style, as Mencken once wrote of Veblen, "that affected the higher cerebral centers like a constant roll of subway expresses." He was therefore the fad of a day.

Margaret Mead, in short, was the living embodiment and carrier of the twin banes of the twentieth century, Marxo-Freudism or Freud-Marxism. From the point of view of orthodox Marxists and Freudians, of course, the two doctrines are at sword's point, but the great fashion of our century has been the odd mating of both of these assaults upon reason and individual dignity. Mead's writings were also one of the banes of my college years, since the Meadian

atmosphere was everywhere. The whole argument struck me as a geyser of pishposh, and besides I was ready to defend private property, romantic love, and Western civilization against the primitive communal life *even if* the latter was supposed to bring happiness. Since I did not know enough to refute the Argument From Samoa on its own terms, I dismissed not only La Mead but also anthropology *per se* as the devil's cauldron and proceeded to other disciplines.

But now, Hallelujah! and at long last, anthropology itself is, with great pain and turmoil, overthrowing the Meadian vision. A book forthcoming in April from Harvard University Press is a slashing refutation of the Mead/Samoa myth from top to bottom: Derek Freeman's *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*. It turns out that in the "science" of anthropology—unknown surely to any other alleged science, even social or behavioral—every anthropologist's field work in primitive tribes is taken as gospel by everyone else. Professor Freeman, an Australian anthropologist, has actually been to, and lived in Samoa for years, and he found precisely the opposite there (and strong evidence of the opposite during the 1920's as well). Instead of happy, happy, Samoa is marked by jealousy, tension, homicide, rape, competitiveness, and nobody screws like rabbits. (The news reports did not go into the private vs. communal property angle. As usual, sex sells more papers than economics. See the *New York Times*, January 31 and February 1.) It turns out that this widely beloved and influential "scientist" pretended to know all about Samoan life, even though (a) she didn't know the language, and (b) she lived with white expatriates rather than natives. Dr. Freeman speculates that what misled Mead is that adolescent girls had a lot of naughty fun telling Margaret what she wanted to hear: That they were all screwing like rabbits and Having a Wonderful Time.

The reactions among the profession as recorded in the *New York Times* were fascinating. Since the book was published by Harvard and not by some backwater Australian press, it could not be laughed off by status-conscious academics. There was the usual left-liberal hysteria and charges that Freeman was an evil crypto-Lorenzian and hereditarian. But there was less of this than I had expected. Most affecting was the remark of a native Samoan professor of anthropology who exulted that at long last his native culture was portrayed accurately, and liberated from the nonsensical Meadian myth.

In fact, the dominant academic reaction was to cut their losses. At her death five years ago, La Mead was virtually canonized by the profession. Now, it turns out that her methods have long been under severe questioning, that everyone had great doubts. And then the retreat to the final line of defense: Yes, we see now (as we have seen for a long while) that she was wrong, but she provided a great contribution to anthropology *for her time*. As Professor Richard Basham of the University of Sydney put it: "A lot of us had already discounted the scientific work of Dr. Mead. To the extent that we assign her books, it is to show how anthropology has developed."

No fellows, that copout is not good enough. For six decades, the gross distortions and ideological flim-flam of

Margaret Mead were inflicted upon American life. The damage that she did was incalculable, and you are not going to slide out of it with "correct for her time" bushwah. The Christian tradition is correct: Forgiveness can only come after genuine repentance. And the one thing that academics,

whatever their discipline, are never going to do is Repent.

But still justice has come at last. It is too bad that Margaret Mead is not alive to appreciate it.

‡

**Gene Burns** — Continued from page 1

Congress on the *Republican* ticket! (Texas uniquely has the "Lyndon Johnson law", so named because Lyndon was able to run for Vice-President *and* Senate in 1960, and he won both races.) Libertarians welcome ex-Democrats and ex-Republicans into the Party (indeed, we'd better, since who else is there?), but we most emphatically do *not* welcome Democrats or Republicans who retain their party labels and affiliations and yet have the *chutzpah* to try to run on the

Libertarian ticket.

So far the only thing the Crane Machine has come up with to attack Gene Burns is that he used to be a Democrat. Well, gee willikins! Whom do we want: Someone who used to be a Democrat and is now a 100 per cent Libertarian, or someone who used to be and *still is* a Republican?

I hereby offer unsolicited my favorite slogan (which I did *not* originate) for the Burns campaign: Gene Burns, the *libertarian* candidate.

‡

# Four Ways to Insure a *Very* Short Phone Conversation

I

Dr. Rothbard?

Yes.

Dr. *Murray* Rothbard?

Yes.

I'm a libertarian from \_\_\_\_\_. Do you have time for some constructive criticism?

II

Dr. Rothbard?

Yes.

There's an inner contradiction on page 856 of your *Man, Economy, and State*, and I quote . . .

III

Dr. Rothbard?

Yes.

Dr. *Murray* Rothbard?

Yes.

We're calling from this bar in \_\_\_\_\_. We saw your name on this neat poster. Are you really the "greatest living enemy of coercive government"? Hey, that's great, hey, where do you stand on rent control?

I'm against it.

You're against *rent control*? You must be some kind of nut. . .

IV

Murray Rothbard?

Yes.

Why did you write that pack of lies about me in your last issue?

‡

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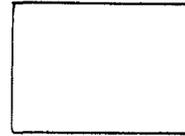
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(Both papers originally presented at the CLS/Liberty Fund sponsored conference on "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

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## The New Menace of Gandhism

Wisdom has taught us to be calm and meek,  
To take one blow, and turn the other cheek;  
It is not written what a man shall do,  
If the rude caitiff smite the other too!

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.*

Somewhere in Ayn Rand's *Fountainhead* there is a striking passage where one of the Bad Guys (and Rand's Bad Guys are always unmistakably bad) abandons the Communist Party and rushes off to India to plunge into Hindu/guru mysticism. Rand caught one of the striking intellectual movements of our age. Time and time again, left-collectivists, after toiling many years in the Marxian vineyard, get disillusioned, give up, and join some Maharishi cult or other, babbling about the ineffable Wisdom of the East. On the New Left, Rennie Davis was a striking example; before that, veteran Communist fellow traveler Louis Fischer suddenly rushed down to India to do a biography of Mahatma Gandhi.

In my own experience, I knew a bright young Trotskyite who, during the New Left epoch, suddenly discovered LSD, and started distributing LSD tracts instead of Trotskyite ones. Pretty soon, one mind-destroying experience begat another, and he was putting up Krishna/Vishnu Indian mystical posters and babbling accordingly.

One of the most thoughtful analysts of this phenomenon has been Arthur Koestler; even the titles of some of his works portray his insights: the *Lotus and the Robot*, the *Yogi and the Commissar*. The point is that the Yogi is but the flip side of the Commissar. After years of trying to transform the world by forcing others to do his bidding, the Commissar abandons the world and strives to obliterate his ego in some mystical Great All-is-One Nirvana.

### I The Menace of Gandhism

It is said that history comes the first time as tragedy, the second as farce. In my more pessimistic moments, I sometimes believe that the libertarian movement is destined to repeat-as-farce many of the calamities that have befallen the Marxian and other ideological movements. And so there is now a spectre haunting the libertarian movement: the spectre of Gandhian non-violence, of the old Hindu baloney sliced once again.

Part of this new fad undoubtedly stems from seeing the movie *Gandhi*, which has inspired a lot of this nonsense, and so the fad might well be over when the movie fades at last from the theater screens. But the non-violence fad cuts deeper than that. For one thing, it has been picking off some of the best and most radical Libertarian Party activists, ones which the Party can ill afford to lose if it is to retain its thrust and its principles.

There has long been an anti-party tendency in the libertarian movement, headed by Sam Konkin, a tendency holding all voting and political action to be immoral for libertarians. But, in confronting the challenge of activism by we pro-Party types: What is *your* strategy for rolling back the State, Konkin could only fall back on forming a cheering section for black marketeers. But most libertarians find this an unsatisfactory outlet for activism, first, because black markets, while helpful, do not strike at the core of State power, and second, because black markets will be formed by adept entrepreneurs and need no cheering squads to urge them on. The other major anti-party leader, George H. Smith, confronting the same challenge, has come up with another strategy that has already drawn many radical activists out of the LP: Bringing down the State by massive non-violent resistance, or civil disobedience. This is the nub of Smith's recently formed Voluntaryist movement, and the current *Gandhi* film has lent effective focus to Voluntaryist efforts.

At the heart of the Voluntaryist strategy is an unquestionably correct syllogism: *If* the mass of the people were, at one blow, to withhold their obedience from the State, refuse to pay taxes, stop circulating the State's paper money, or refuse to obey unjust laws, *then* the State would be brought down. The major problem, of course, is the likelihood of the *If*.

There are many successful examples of violent revolution against the State in modern history; there are only two examples of successful non-violent revolution: (Professor

Gene Sharp, the current apostle of non-violence, mainly cites marginal examples which have a similar standing to Konkin's black markets: they ease some of the pain of oppression without doing much to end it. E.g., Danish slowdowns in obeying Nazi orders during the German occupation in World War II). These two examples are instructive, especially in light of the fact that violent revolutions are attacked from all sides as leading to new forms of State oppression. For they are Gandhi's India, which led to Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship and the horrifying experiment in compulsory sterilization; and the Khomeini revolution in Iran, which brought down the Shah's regime by a series of non-violent actions culminating in a universal general strike. The non-violent Khomeini revolution, of course, has brought forth the monstrous tyranny of Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism.

The comparative record of non-violent revolutions is, then, worse than that of violent ones, for the violence of the American Revolution after all brought forth a pretty good result, while non-violence has accomplished nothing fruitful at all.

Which leads to a fundamental libertarian point: What's so great about non-violence anyway? Libertarians, after all, are not opposed to violence *per se*; they are opposed only to violent *aggression*, to the initiation of violence against another's person or property. With the exception of the LeFevrian aberration, all libertarians, including Konkin and the Smithian Voluntaryists, concede the right to use violence in defense against violent invasion of person and property. So what's so great about non-violence? Why wantonly abandon an important tool of self-defense?

The new craze of non-violence or Gandhism, is a menace to the libertarian movement for several crucial reasons. It is a dead-end for the libertarian movement. It serves the function of providing burnt-out LP activists with the illusion of an alternative form of productive libertarian activity. My observation is that many, if not most, Voluntaryists or their fellow-travelers do not arrive at this strategy from a studied conviction that political action is immoral. (Even if it were, non-violent resistance would *still* be an illusory, dead-end strategy). Instead, they begin with various forms of disillusion or exhaustion with LP activities. At this perhaps temporary moment of weakness, they seize on Voluntaryism for providing them with a cosmic rationale for dropping out of a commitment to the libertarian movement.

Why is non-violent resistance a dead end? First, because if we observe the two successful examples of mass resistance, they emerged from a monolithic religious tradition (Shi-ite Islam) or were steeped in the religious culture of the country (Yogi/guru India.) The United States has no monolithic religion or religious culture, and we have no real tradition of coordinated mass non-violence. If anything, Americans, more than most other Western countries, have often been ready to pick up the club or the gun at infractions on their liberty.

Secondly, since there is zero possibility of Smith and his confreres generating a mass movement for civil disobedience, this means that the Voluntaryist movement is destined to take one of two roads, each disastrous in different ways. For when a dozen or so libertarians sit around for a year or two *talking about* bringing down the State by non-violent resistance, what is likely to happen? Either *nothing*, in which case everyone gets bored with meta-discussions of revolution, and the movement

falls apart and disappears. Or the couple of dozen revolutionaries decide to put their talk into practice by confronting the State apparatus with their bodies, by throwing themselves into stalling the machinery of the State. And what will happen then is inevitable: They will get smashed. The police hate pacifists and non-resisters even worse than Commies, and they will be the first to have their bodies dragged through the muck. Since these are some of the finest young men and women I have ever known, the personal tragedy, let alone tragedy to the movement, will be incalculable. If the movement needs martyrs, I have scads of suitable candidates for martyrdom before George Smith, Wendy McElroy, Carl Watner and the others get ground under the heel.

Note that the inner contradiction, the inner tension, in a handful of people talking continually about non-violent revolution is almost the same as in any similar group sitting around talking about *violent* revolution (e.g. the Weathermen, *et al*, in the New Left period.) For then the tendency, after a while, is either for the members to dismiss the whole thing as fruitless palaver and re-enter the mainstream of life, or else to start bombing. Either way, the movement is finished.

For those who believe that libertarian political action is immoral, there are other forms of activism that do not involve what is tantamount to self-destruction: education, lobbying, even Common Cause-type membership organizations. But of course I do not believe for a minute that political action is immoral for a libertarian or an anarchist (see the article by Scott Olmsted and myself on "Is Voting Unlibertarian?" in the next issue of *Libertarian Vanguard*.)

It is true, moreover, that Smith and McElroy are squarely in the Benjamin Tucker tradition. Tucker and *Liberty* counselled against political action and called for mass non-violent disobedience. Their call, of course, got exactly nowhere. The difference between Tucker and his followers, and Smith and his, is that Tucker shrewdly never tried to put his strategy into practice, only paid lip-service to civil disobedience, and remained content to forge a scintillating intellectual movement of individualist anarchism. Would that Smith and the Voluntaryists did the same! Unfortunately, Smith seems to be taking the more reckless and futile course.

Smith, McElroy and the others deny vehemently either that they are mystics or that they are courting martyrdom. I remain unconvinced. In the same way that Smith is certain that there is an inner logic of libertarian political action that leads ineluctably to sellout, so I am convinced that the inner logic of the new Voluntaryist fascination with Gandhite non-violent resistance will lead ineluctably either to disintegration or to what the Black Panthers used to call "Custeristic" confrontations with the State apparatus.

Indeed, one of the keenest analysts of the libertarian scene attended Smith's Voluntaryist workshop at the recent February California LP convention, and reported that "George is psyching himself up for confrontation with the State." The "psyching up" is what Smith, Sharp and other preachers of non-violence refer to vaguely and disquietingly as "training." I personally find the very word "training" one of the most irritating in the English language, conjuring up as it does linked words such as "basic", "military", or EST. Top sergeants "train" the humanity out of their recruits, so as to form a disciplined team, ready to carry out instant orders

from above. Even apart from the military connotations, "training" implies distorting persons away from their natural inclinations and choices, and toward some form of imposed regimen. *Even if* the training is self-imposed, the word has the smell of suppression of the individual and his or her values and authentic personality.

In a session on non-violence held in New York recently, I challenged Professor Sharp in the Q. and A.: "You speak repeatedly of 'training.' What is this training? And more important, *who* is to train *whom*? Because I tell you one thing: I ain't going to be 'trained' by anybody." Sharp's answer was that I had obviously already "trained myself." Cute, but evasive.

## II The Mahatma Desanctified

The time has now come to rip off the veil of sanctity that has been carefully wrapped around Gandhi by his numerous disciples, that has been stirred anew by the hagiographical movie, and that has greatly inspired the new Voluntaryist upsurge. In considering various aspects of his thought and life, we must realize that, for Gandhi at least, they all formed part of a seamless web, an integrated whole.

(Note: this section is based on the superb revisionist article on Gandhi by Arthur Koestler, "Mahatma Gandhi: A Revaluation," in *Bricks to Babel* [London: Hutchinson, 1980], pp. 595-619.)

### 1. Economics

Let us not mince words: Mahatma Gandhi was an economic crazy. For Gandhi, not only modern technology but almost any technology was sinful and evil. Railroads were evil, the industrial revolution was evil, cotton textiles were evil, modern medicine was evil, education was evil.

On railroads, Gandhi literally took the line that if God meant us to move around he would have provided us with personal locomotives. Note the following from Bapu ("father", a widely used term of affection for Gandhi in India) himself:

Man is so made by nature as to require him to restrict his movements as far as his hands and feet will take him. If we did not rush about from place to place by means of railways and other maddening conveniences, much of the confusion that arises would be obviated . . . God set a limit to a man's locomotive ambition in the construction of his body. Man immediately proceeded to discover means of overriding the limit . . . According to this reasoning, it must be apparent to you that railways are a most dangerous institution. Man has gone further away from his maker.

(Quoted in Sir C. Sankavan Nair, *Gandhi and Anarchy*, Madras, 1922, pp. 4-5.)

It is characteristic of Bapu that he nevertheless spent most of his life "rushing from place to place" in railway carriages in organizing his movement; it is also characteristic of his phony egalitarianism that he insisted on traveling third class—but with a special coach all to himself.

For Bapu, modern medicine and hospitals were pure evil: "Hospitals are institutions for propagating

sin . . . Hospitals are the instruments that the devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation and real slavery." (Nair, pp. 6-7, 18). All his life, accordingly, the Mahatma experimented with nature-cures and remedies. And much of his life he was ill. But it was again typical of the quality of Gandhi's alleged devotion to the unity of theory and practice that each time he was seriously ill he began on nature cures, refusing Western medicine and surgery, but invariably ended submitting to drugs, injections, and Western-style surgical procedures.

Again and again, Gandhi, though himself highly educated, attacked education: not just public schools, or private schools, but education *per se*. A typical quote: "To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them." And: "A peasant earns his bread honestly. What do you propose to do by giving him a knowledge of letters? Will you add an inch to his happiness? Do you wish to make him discontented with his cottage or his lot?"

(Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Ahmedabad, 1946, pp. 63-66.)

But Gandhi's nuttiest and most intensely held economic fallacy was his bitter attack on machine-made textiles and his holding up of homespun clothing as having virtually sacral value. It must be emphasized that Gandhi's lifelong war against manufactured textiles was not just a tactic to boycott English products in his struggle against British imperialism. For Gandhi, the home spinning wheel, which he had designed as the centerpiece of the Indian flag, was a holy symbol of a hoped-for return by the Indian masses to the Simple Life, and of absolute rejection of the impious Industrial Revolution.

Thus: "The call of the spinning-wheel, Gandhi wrote in *Young India*, is the noblest of all. Because it is the call of love . . . The spinning-wheel is the reviving draught for the millions of our dying countrymen and countrywomen . . ." (In *The Gandhi Reader*, London, 1958, pp. 229-230.) The cult of the spinning-wheel spread through the Gandhi movement, and Gandhi's Congress Party resolved that all of its members should take up home spinning and pay their membership dues in self-spun yarn; Congress officeholders had to pay to the Congress 2000 yards of yarn per month. In its meetings, the top politicians of the Congress Party participated in the debates while operating their portable spinning-wheels. The plain white cap and white cloth became the uniform of the Congress movement, and Gandhi's hand-picked successor, Pandit Nehru, called this uniform "the livery of freedom". Gandhi, meanwhile, called the homespun cap and cloth "the sacrament of millions" and "a gateway to my spiritual salvation."

Gandhi led large-scale public bonfires of foreign (manufactured) cloth. His burning of English cloth might be considered a tactic in the revolution against Britain, but why then burn *all* foreign cloth, British or no? In a reply to his lifelong admirer, the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who had accused him of employing a "magical formula" in burning all foreign cloth, Gandhi essentially confirmed the charge: "I do indeed ask the poet to spin the wheel as a sacrament . . . It was our love of foreign cloth that ousted the wheel from its position of dignity. Therefore I consider it a sin to wear foreign cloth . . . On the knowledge of my sin bursting upon me, I must consign the foreign garments to the flames and

thus purify myself, and thenceforth rest content with the rough *khadi* made by my neighbors." (*The Gandhi Reader*, pp. 228-231).

The homespun *khadi* may have made a deep imprint on the Congress Party and other Gandhi cultists, but ironically it never did so for the mass of Indian peasantry and villagers for whom the *khadi* campaign was intended. The peasants after all, were not loonies, and it took them little time to realize that there were better things to do, and that foreign manufactured textiles were not only better in quality than homespun, but also that homespun cost fully three times as much! As Koestler sardonically writes: "The spinning-wheel found its place on the national flag, but not in the peasants' cottages."

Arthur Koestler begins his excellent article with a quote from a long-time friend of Gandhi's: "It takes a great deal of money to keep Bapu living in poverty." Mrs. Naidu, who made that statement, was more perceptive than she knew, for the "great deal of money" applies not only to fund-raising campaigns for *khadi*, but also to the Indian masses who had to suffer from demented attempts at economic self-sufficiency and reversing the Industrial Revolution.

## 2. Sex

From his late thirties, Mahatma Gandhi engaged in a lifelong crusade for chastity and against sex. For Gandhi, devotion to *brahmacharya* (sexual abstinence) was heavily influenced by the mystical Indian yogi tradition which can best be likened to the views of the nutty general in *Dr. Strangelove* (played by Sterling Hayden), who was chiefly concerned with "preserving his vital bodily fluids (*bindu*)." Whether married or not, people were supposed to engage in *brahmacharya* as "the conduct that leads to God", as the "*sine qua non* for those who aspire to a spiritual or higher life." From the age of 37, when he began the practice of abstinence, Gandhi repeatedly "tested" his devotion to *brahmacharya* by sleeping with a succession of women, beginning with his own wife and ending with the young granddaughter of a cousin.

It must be understood that, for Gandhi, sexual abstinence and non-violence (*satyagraha*) were mutually intertwined and interdependent. It was in 1906 that Gandhi embarked on his vow of chastity, and when he also launched his first campaign of non-violent resistance. *Brahmacharya* put Gandhi "in touch with the infinite," with the soul-force which also powered *satyagraha*. For Gandhi, furthermore, sex is violence, and so abstention from the two evils become closely linked.

One of the worst aspects of Gandhi's anti-sex crusade was the way he treated his own sons, conceived, of course, in his pre-chastity days of "sin" and lubricity. He apparently hated his sons for being the living embodiment of his own sin, and he tried his best to keep them from falling into the same sinful trap. He disowned his eldest son, Harilal, for daring to marry and thereby disobey his father's injunctions to chastity, and when his second son, Manilal, committed the mortal sin of losing his virginity to a woman, the Mahatma went on a public penitential fast. Gandhi decreed that Manilal might never marry, and managed to persuade the guilty female to shave her hair in penitence.

Scorning all education, Gandhi kept his sons from school,

intending to teach them himself. An admirable goal—except that, in his pursuit of the higher truth, he somehow never found the time.

Gandhi's lifelong struggle to "purify" his diet was linked with his campaign against sex. When taking the vow of chastity, he wrote: "Control of the palate is the first essential in the observance of the vow . . . The *brahmacharya's* food should be limited, simple, spiceless and if possible uncooked . . . Six years of experiment have shown me that the *brahmacharya's* ideal food is fresh fruit and nuts." (Gandhi, "How to Serve the Cow", Ahmedabad).

## 3. The Scam of Non-Violence

It should be clear that the life of Mahatma Gandhi was essentially a scam, from start to finish. Making a big show of his allegedly deeply-held principles, claiming to make his life and thought a seamless web, he always ended up betraying those principles. He rode on railways, he fell back repeatedly on Western medicine and surgery, and he continued to "test" his chastity with various females until the end of his life. The same is even true for his allegedly great contribution, the theory and practice of non-violence. Let us then examine two aspects of Gandhi and non-violence: first, how successful was Gandhi's campaign, and second, how consistently did he adhere to the principle?

### a. The Effectiveness of Gandhi's Non-Violence

Mahatma Gandhi launched his first nationwide civil disobedience campaign in 1919. But the campaign was an abject failure, for the non-violent action quickly degenerated into violent rioting all over India. Gandhi suspended the action, confessed to having made a "Himalayan blunder", and, characteristically, went on a penitential fast. He attributed the failure to launching the campaign before the Indian masses had been sufficiently "trained" in the philosophy and techniques of *satyagraha*.

A year later, apparently believing that sufficient training had now taken place, Gandhi launched another nationwide campaign of non-violent resistance. But it too led to widespread violent riots, culminating in the massacre of Chauri Chaura; Gandhi again suspended the action and went on a penitential fast.

Gandhi's most successful campaign of civil disobedience occurred in 1930-31, in his "march to the sea" against the salt laws. But even here, there was widespread rioting by the Indian masses. His later *satyagraha* campaigns—1932-34, 1940-41, and 1942-43—were highly publicized, but inconclusive. In general, we can say that Gandhi's non-violence did not "liberate India"; on the contrary, the British decision to pull out of India was triggered far more by their general withdrawal from Empire after World War II, attendant up on British economic exhaustion, than it was by Gandhi's campaigns of non-violent resistance. Indeed, many historians have pointed out that India would have won independence earlier without Gandhi's existence. (See, for example, John Grigg, "A Quest for Gandhi," London *Sunday Times*, Sept. 28, 1969).

What Gandhi *did* manage to achieve, in contrast, was (a) to make himself into a living and eternal legend, misleading

countless Western seekers after truth; (b) poisoning the wells of Indian culture by perpetuating its most misguided, foolish, and genuinely reactionary economic and social views; (c) seeing to it that the reins of the new independent India were seized by his own statist and dictatorial—and scarcely non-violent—Congress Party; and (d) achieving an independence that led to the decidedly non-non-violent slaughter of literally millions of Hindus and Muslims.

#### b. How Consistent was Gandhi?

In some ways, Gandhi was horrifyingly consistent on non-violence, especially if the non-violence was supposed to be practiced by *other* people in other countries. Thus, after the first nationwide pogrom against the Jews in Germany, in December 1938, Gandhi counselled the Jews to react in a non-violent manner: “if the Jews can summon to their aid soul-power that comes only from non-violence, Herr Hitler will bow before the courage which he will own is infinitely superior to that shown by his best stormtroopers.” And after the news of the Holocaust became known, Gandhi, in 1946, counselled retroactively.

The Jews should have offered themselves to the butcher's knife. They should have thrown themselves into the sea from cliffs . . . It would have roused the world and the people of Germany. (Geoffrey Ashe, *Gandhi: A Study in Revolution*, London, 1968, p. 341.)

Perhaps what the Jews lacked was little Bapu to give them their “training.”

After the fall of France, the Mahatma praised Petain for his courage to surrender, and on July 6, 1940, Bapu published an “Appeal to Every Briton” to follow Petain's lead:

I want you to fight Nazism without arms or with non-violent arms. I would like you to lay down the arms you have . . . You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions. Let them take possession of your beautiful island, with your many beautiful buildings. You will give all these, but neither your souls, nor your minds. If these gentlemen choose to occupy your homes, you will vacate them. If they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman, and child, to be slaughtered, but you will refuse to owe allegiance to them.

(T. A. Raman, *What Does Gandhi Want?* Oxford, 1943, p. 24.)

George, Wendy, Carl: In the grand old Randian phrase, check your premises! Is *this* really the credo that you would like Americans to adopt? I personally find it odious, repellent, and extraordinarily creepy, and I venture to predict that there are damned few libertarians, let alone the mass of Americans, who will go along with it. Arthur Koestler's reaction to this paragraph was scintillating: “It would have taken a great deal of corpses to keep Bapu in non-violence.”

Perhaps the height of Gandhian idiocy on non-violence came in his reaction, on the last day of his life, before he was assassinated, when a *Life* magazine reporter asked him: “How would you meet the atom bomb . . . with nonviolence?” Here's Bapu's answer to what is certainly a crucial question in our modern world:

I will come out in the open and let the pilot see I have not a trace of ill-will against him. The pilot will not see our faces from his great height, I know. But the longing

in our hearts—that he will not come to harm—would reach up to him and his eyes would be opened.

(*The Essential Gandhi*, London, 1963, p.334.)

I suppose that we should be thankful that we cannot now hear Bapu opine on how the longing in our hearts will reach out to button-pushers of missiles many thousands of miles away.

If the Mahatma was fiercely consistent on non-violence for other people, how was he on his own home ground? First, in 1918, he served as a recruiting sergeant for the British Army, stating that to achieve home-rule India “should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is, the ability to bear arms and to use them”, and therefore “it is our duty to enlist in the army.” Three years later, Gandhi stated that “Under Independence I too would not hesitate to advise those who would bear arms to do so and fight for the country.”

(*The Essential Gandhi*, p. 125; and Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, London, 1951, p. 371.)

Gandhi later excused these positions as early lapses: “I had not yet found my feet . . . I was not sufficiently sure of my ground.” (*The Essential Gandhi*, p. 125.) Okay, fair enough. At 52, Gandhi was not exactly a spring chicken, but nobody expects a man to arrive in the world a full-blown theoretician. Chalk that one up to a learning experience. But we surely cannot use such an alibi for the last years of Gandhi's life, when he had long since found his ground. In late 1947, after the partition of the newly independent states of India and Pakistan, the two new states went to war over largely Muslim Kashmir (a province which India unfortunately was able to conquer and keep.) Where did Bapu stand on the India-Pakistan war? The true Bapu now took his stand. He had been, he said in an important speech.

an opponent of all warfare. But if there was no other way of securing justice from Pakistan, if Pakistan persistently refused to see its proved error and continued to minimize it, the Indian Union would have to go to war against it. War was no joke. No one wanted war. That way lay destruction. But he could never advise anyone to put up with injustice.

(Nirmal Kumar Bose, *My Days with Gandhi*, Calcutta, 1953, p.251.)

In the crunch, then, when his theories came home to roost, the Mahatma caved in and sold out. Traveling through massacre-torn East Bengal, Gandhi admitted to his intimates that “for the time being!” he had “given up searching for a non-violent remedy applicable to the masses.” And a few days later: “Violence is horrible and retarding, but may be used in self-defense.” To Nirmal Bose, in commenting on Indian Deputy Premier Patel's decision to send troops into Kashmir, the Mahatma confessed that

he could no longer successfully apply the method of nonviolence which he used to wield with signal success. I have made the discovery that what I and the people with me termed non-violence was not the genuine article, but a weak copy known as passive resistance.

And to Professor Stuart Nelson, Gandhi admitted that “what he had mistaken for *satyagraha* was not more than passive resistance, which was a weapon of the weak . . . Gandhiji proceeded to say that it was indeed true that he had all along laboured under an illusion. But he was never sorry for it.”

(Bose, *My Days*, pp. 104, 107, 251, 270-71, 4n.)

I suppose that being a successful ideologue means never having to say I'm sorry, even if millions of followers had been tragically misled. Gandhi never lived long enough to adumbrate any new doctrines of "genuine" civil disobedience, but I suppose that we are just as well off.

\* \* \* \* \*

Thumb through your library and you will find a raft of hagiographical works on Gandhi, many sporting such titles as "The Mahatma: Seer and Prophet". Louis Fischer, in his biography, called Gandhi "a unique person, a great person, perhaps the greatest figure of the last nineteen hundred years." A more accurate assessment is that of Arthur Koestler:

He had been lavish with his advice to Britons,

Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Jews to lay down their arms and surrender to injustices infinitely more terrible than those committed by Pakistan. As on earlier critical occasions, when the lofty ideal clashed with hard reality, realism carried the day and the Yogi succumbed to the Commissar. He had believed in and practiced nature medicine, but when critically ill had always called in the practitioners of Western science which he held in such contempt. Nonviolence had worked like magic on the British, but did not work on Moslems. (Koestler, p. 615).

Enough! I had not thought that the libertarian movement, steeped as it is in the rationalist heritage of Rand and Mises, would ever fall prey to the wiles of this little Hindu charlatan. But once again, I seem to have underestimated the folly of which the libertarian movement is capable. ‡

## The Burns Campaign

The Gene Burns Presidential campaign is rolling along splendidly. He has already proved to be a super candidate. He is highly intelligent, articulate, and learns very rapidly, seeing quickly how issues fit into libertarian principles. Burns is a rousing speaker, getting standing ovations wherever he goes. As a media talk show and newsman for two decades, he is superb in Q. and A., and in media interviews.

Burns took the highly important California LP state convention by storm in Oakland on the weekend of February 18-21. He was on numerous interview shows, and spoke twice at the convention. He has also impressed libertarians in other states wherever he goes, and he intends to go to as many states as will have him before the convention.

Burns came to the Oakland convention with an impressive and savvy staff of five people. They were extremely well-organized, and highly knowledgeable about the Libertarian Party, its personnel and its particular concerns.

Gene Burns wowed the California convention in his speeches, interviews, and Q. and A. Not only is he hard core and principled on all issues, but unlike some LP candidates who deaden issues in their replies, he uses every answer to widen the consciousness of his audience and expand their knowledge of libertarian principles. And he does so without ands, ifs, or buts.

Examples from the Q. and A.

*Item:* Q. Where do you stand on the legalization of heroin?

A. I don't like the word "legalize" because it implies that the State should have something to do with drugs. It should have *nothing* whatsoever to do with drugs.

*Item:* On immigration restrictions, on which we have had candidate trouble in the past, Burns gave a rousing and clear-cut answer: In this land of the Statue of Liberty, there must be no restrictions whatever on immigration to our land.

*Item:* On a topic dear to all of our hearts, taxation, he was asked what he would do as President about income taxes? This to me was one of the great moments of the convention.

Instead of talking about a 30 per cent cut, and all the rest of the hokum, Burns said:

"First, I would call for repeal of the 16th amendment, and abolition of the income tax."

And second, until that occurred, Burns took up a pet scheme of my own which I had pressed, with no success, on the previous presidential campaign:

"As President, I would announce an automatic pardon for all past and future victimless Federal crimes. And among such victimless crimes, I would include income tax evasion."

And so Burns has said it, he has committed himself that, in the one-in-a million chance he would get to be President, he would immediately make federal income taxation voluntary, since he would announce an automatic use of the unappealable power of the Chief Executive to pardon "criminals."

Not only is this immediate grasp by Burns of the principled, hard-core position personally gratifying, it shows that he is gutsy and hard-core, and does not begin every reply with worrying about the most "respectable", most Tweedeldum position he might possibly take.

*Item:* Burns was asked if he would give the public and the media the sort of answers he was giving the LP at its convention. He immediately answered: "I've just spent several hours telling the media the exact same things." Which he had.

*Item:* Most LP members are gun-shy about deficit spending during campaigns. They are properly so, because of the years of experience we have had with Crane Machine-run campaigns that spend money like water and then induce the LP to pick up the tab. Gene Burns' reply to a question on campaign deficits was clear-cut and unmistakable: an absolute pledge to incur no deficits in his campaign. Period. There was thunderous applause on that one.

The other side of the coin to zero deficits is Burns' already evident ability to raise money. In the two weeks that he had been in the race, he had already raised close to \$20,000 for his

campaign, clearly from new sources of funding. His fund-raising ability is not the least of Burns' attractions as a Presidential candidate. Burns also pledged that he will run a balanced campaign, that is, he will concentrate on grass-roots party building fully as much as on media spots for his own race. Again, a most refreshing change from the past.

*Item:* Q. Do you have any intention to run for other offices in the future?

In reply, Burns made clear that he is totally committed to running for President, and that, if nominated, he will devote *full time* to the Presidential campaign from January 1, 1984

until Election Day. But, after that, since he does not intend to make a career in politics, he will remain active in the LP, but will not run for any political office ever again. His presidential race, he feels, will be his contribution to the spread of libertarian ideas and the buildup of the Party.

Gene Burns is a godsend to the Libertarian Party. He will make a superb Presidential candidate. All libertarians are hereby urged to join the Libertarian Party, and either become a delegate to the national convention in New York, or else elect delegates who will vote for Gene Burns for President.

Gene Burns, the *libertarian* candidate. ‡

## An Open Letter to the English Movement

To both factions in the English movement, and to those in between: *Please guys, de-escalate.*

The inter-necine warfare within the English movement has only been under way since last September, and yet already it has escalated to a horrifying extent, making the famous struggle over the Crane Machine in the U.S. seem like a game of patty cake. So far, the charges of one side against the other, or allegations of such charges, include:

blackmail, threats of libel suits, calling in the police, rifling through each other's papers, racism, fascism, anti-Semitism, Nazism, being in bed with British intelligence, being agents of the KGB, being in bed with international Trotskyism, threats of turning people in to

the income tax authorities, threats of turning people in to the immigration authorities, threats of assault, actual physical assault, and threats of murder.

In the immortal words of Monty Woolley in *The Man Who Came to Dinner*, "Are we to be spared nothing?" It seems that the only thing left is a general shootout in the streets of Covent Garden.

*Basta!* Enough! In the name of liberty and reason, please cool it! To each side I say, paraphrasing the immortal words of Cromwell in his letter to the Church of Scotland: I beseech you, in the bowels of Nock, think it possible you may be mistaken.

‡

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Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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(Both papers originally presented at the CLS/Liberty Fund sponsored conference on "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

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# THE Libertarian Forum

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

Box 341, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10010

## Movement Depression

We have to face it: The libertarian movement is in the most financially parlous shape of many years—and certainly since the “takeoff” phase of the modern movement in 1971-73. We have been in a grievous financial depression for the last year or so that matches and outstrips in intensity the parallel depression in the “real world” outside. Virtually every libertarian institution that I know of is sharply contracting, going under, or hanging on by its very toenails. Contributions are collapsing. The exponential growth that the movement enjoyed throughout the 1970s has been replaced by recession, flight, and near panic. People who have been gamely making it as professional libertarians have been forced to drop out and take “job-jobs”. In 1973-75, the evident collapse of statism and the reaction against it throughout the United States led me to coin the “case for optimism” for our movement. The channeling of the public reaction against Big Government into Reaganism and the Reagan triumph in 1980 led me to signal the end of the “case for optimism”, at least for the short-term, and events since then have unfortunately more than confirmed my diagnosis.

What has caused this plight? I think we are in a multi-causal depression cycle, something like the kooky business cycle theories that see a bunch of independently moving cycles coinciding at one time to send the economy into a tailspin—the “Kitchen”, the “Juglar”, the “Kondratieff”, etc. Except that in our case the coinciding causal factors are quite explainable and are not merely an effusion of numbers mysticism.

Consider the following causes:

1. *The Real World Depression.* In 1981-83 the real world economy suffered the most intense depression since the 1930s (A recovery has begun in the last couple of months, but our bet is that the recovery will be weak and fitful—and even at best, there will be a considerable time lag before prosperity can improve matters.) A real world depression can only cause a big drop in financial contributions to movement institutions.

2. *The Republican Menace.* Ever since the Eisenhower Era, every time the Republicans win, the effect has been tragic for free-market or libertarian institutions. For right-wing businessmen, whose perspective tends to be no longer than the end of their arm, then say: “Good old Ike (or Dick or Jerry or Ron) has been elected. We’ve won already! Why do we need any further education?” As a result, the election of a Republican President in itself means a financial setback for free-market or libertarian causes. With Reagan, who is supposed to be Mr. Free Market, the misapprehension, and therefore the financial setback, has been even worse. This is true except for those few favored organizations that have a direct pipeline to the Reagan White House (e.g. the Heritage Foundation.) Everyone else is hurting.

3. *The Gold Crash.* The crash in the price of gold since 1980 has done in most of the gold bugs, most of whom tend to be free-market, Austrian, or even libertarian. Many of them have gone under; the once flourishing gold-investment seminar movement has

collapsed, and many such seminars have folded or gone bankrupt. Many gold coin dealers have also collapsed, the less scrupulous ones taking their customers down with them. And all this means far fewer contributions to libertarian institutions.

4. *Reagan Tax Reforms.* Two of the very few Reagan tax reforms, though good morally and good for the economy as a whole, have had a disastrous effect on contributions to libertarian institutions. (Every silver lining has a cloud, it seems.) One such reform was a new law allowing tax-exempt charitable foundations to accumulate assets instead of being forced to spend all their annual income. *Why* a tax-exempt foundation should *want* to accumulate assets which have no owner and which cannot be used for owners’ purposes, God only knows, but such has been the case. One massive contributor to libertarian scholarship has taken advantage of this new bonanza to contract its annual contributions by something like 40%. Yes, Yes, I know, everyone has the natural and/or God-given right to commit senseless acts, but the result is triage for the movement.

The second good reform with baneful consequences for the movement was Reagan’s slashing the top income tax rate to 50%. This meant that what a friend of mine cynically calls the “zero-cost philanthropy point” has been pushed much further downward. A wealthy person or firm who used to contribute a certain amount at zero (or very low) cost, now finds, with a lower top bracket tax rate, that that point is much lower. Hence, a sharp falling off of movement contributions.

5. *A Private Business Cycle.* Adding to, and forming a synergistic effect with the above factors, a few Giant Donors have, coincidentally, acted as our own private “Federal Reserve Bank”, pouring millions into the movement adding to the general boom of 1977-80, and then sharply contracting ever since. This adds a “private business cycle” to the other four factors, since all the above booms and busts have coincided in time. We have, then, a five-fold depression for the libertarian movement.

The result of all this is that the libertarian movement has experienced all the syndromes of an “Austrian” business cycle in the real world. A massive and sudden infusion of funds in 1977-80 led to an artificial lengthening of the structure of production, an overinvestment in new and expanded institutions. Unknown nerds were plucked from obscurity, vaulted into positions of prominence and power, and given hundreds of thousands, even millions of dollars, to play with. After the *hubris* came the inevitable disillusion and drastic contraction, with the attendant painful liquidation of people and institutions that we see in every panic depression phase of the cycle. That liquidation is now taking place, unfortunately dragging many estimable people and organizations down with it.

There is something worse than poverty of material goods, and that is poverty of the soul. And so, the most repellent aspect of this financial crisis has been the attendant rapid flight from principle among libertarians. Among donors and donees alike, a mad

scramble has been taking place away from hard core libertarian principle, and toward the squishy center, toward the mainstream, toward respectability, toward what is perceived to be the sources of jobs and funds. Libertarians have become "responsible" welfare-staters, anti-imperialists have become third-campers and apologists for U.S. domination abroad, believers in moral principle have become "value-free" efficiency experts, hard-core Austrians have become eclectic and wimpy public-choicers, and, perhaps saddest of all, Misesians have become Popperite-Buchananite moderates and respectables. Everyone is trying to cozy up to the Reagan Administration and its corrupt hangers-on. The great Ludwig von Mises, neglected, scorned, and traduced in his lifetime, is now beginning to meet the same fate among his former followers, among whom the Word is going out: Play down Mises. He was too controversial, too hard-hitting. Not respectable enough. Businessmen, once convinced of the vital Hayekian insight of the overriding importance of ideas and scholarship in the long-run political struggle, have reverted to anti-intellectual type, and have increasingly abandoned scholarship.

All in all, a loathsome performance, worthy of a chapter out of Swift or a deep circle in Dante's Hell. But there are bright spots on the horizon, not to be lost sight of in the encircling gloom. A new turn of the business cycle or the gold market might well ease the financial burden. The hoped-for ouster of the Reagan Administration in 1984 would eliminate a great deal of the rampant opportunism in libertarian/free-market circles; honesty would be policed, so to speak, by a welcome drying up of temptation.

And there are, here and there, happy exceptions to the general blight, institutions that are flourishing and getting *more* principled, rather than less. A particularly shining area right now is the Libertarian Party, which has cast off the corrupt and opportunist dominance of the Crane Machine, and, under Chairman Alicia Clark's guidance, is rapidly paying off the mountainous debt and re-establishing devotion to principle in the Party. Gene Burns is a great Presidential candidate, and the latest news is that Paul Grant of Colorado, the only man to run a national LP convention (Denver, 1981) *at a profit*, a highly able young businessman with great organizational skills, has thrown his hat into the ring for national chair to succeed Alicia Clark. Grant, one of the leaders of the old Coalition for a Party of Principle, would make a splendid chairman. (For inquiries or contributions to the Burns campaign, write Gene Burns, P. O. Box 740, Orlando, Fla. 32802. For inquiries or contributions to the Grant campaign, write Paul Grant, 12477 W. Cedar Ave., Suite 106, Lakewood, Colorado

80228).

The other shining spot is a truly exciting piece of news on the scholarly front, which has suffered the most in the current financial and moral miasma of the movement. The estimable Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., a unique combination of scholar, writer, politico, and organizer, has recently founded the Ludwig von Mises Institute for Austrian Economics, Inc., with himself as executive director. Rockwell, who over the years has moved steadily and surely from conservative Republican to hard-core libertarian, began his career as a senior editor of Arlington House publishers; became director of public relations at Hillsdale College, where he set up the highly successful outreach and *Imprimis* program; was editor-in-chief of *Private Practice*, a free-market magazine for physicians; and then became chief of staff for several years to Congressman Ron Paul. He then became associate director of the Law and Economics Center at Emory University.

The purpose of the new Mises Institute is to advance the cause, without waffling or compromising, of Austrian Economics in general and of the hard-core Misesian branch of that economic school in particular.

A new scholarly journal will be published, with yours truly as editor; the Mises Institute has taken over the publication of the successful *Austrian Economics Newsletter*; and booklets, seminars, fellowships, and books are being planned for the future.

It is particularly heartwarming that, in the current intellectual bog, the banner of Ludwig von Mises is being held high once again. Rockwell points out that the Mises Institute is the first organization in the world explicitly dedicated to Mises and to Austrian economics. Chairing the advisory board of the new institute is Mrs. Margit von Mises; other members are Ron Paul, F. A. Hayek, Hans Sennholz, Henry Hazlitt, and the *Lib. Forum* editor. "Ludwig von Mises was the greatest champion of liberty in our time," says Rockwell. "For the sake of justice, as well as freedom, Mises and his work must have the influence they deserve."

And so, perhaps the old cliches are right, and it is always darkest before the dawn, and there *is* light at the end of the tunnel. With a spirit such as Lew Rockwell's at work, the miasma afflicting the scholarly wing of the libertarian movement will be lifted, and soon. (The Mises Institute is a tax-exempt educational foundation. Inquiries and contributions should be sent to the Ludwig von Mises Institute for Austrian Economics, 325 Pennsylvania Avenue, S. E., Washington, D. C. 20003.) ‡

## Free Franz

Emil Franz, LP NatCom rep from Arizona, Menckenesque wit, *raconteur*, and the keenest political mind in the Libertarian Party, has been indicted for perjury by a grand jury. In the course of working for long-time friend and associate Conrad Joyner in the Republican primary for Congress, Franz was accused of soliciting corporate contributions, which is (unfortunately) illegal under current law. It is a bizarre case. In the first place, the amount (\$4000) is so small that the Federal Election Commission, usually responsible for prosecuting such matters, has displayed no interest whatever in the proceedings. Franz is a minor figure in the case, but the County Attorney was under pressure for *some* indictment, after spending eight months in a fruitless grand jury investigation.

The charge is untrue and a frameup, but the powers that be apparently felt that Franz, the smallest character in the drama, would be a perfect fall guy. Also, Franz had long been an effective burr under the Establishment political saddle in Arizona. As Franz

put it: "These guys (the local power elite) don't care about your position on El Salvador. But they get really pissed when you start attacking local zoning or utility franchises or point out that there's not going to be any water in the Central Arizona Project", a massive boondoggle beloved by both major parties.

The charge has no weight and the State apparatus knows it, but the evident object is to bleed Franz (no millionaire he) to death financially. Legal defense is very costly, and court costs in this case are astronomical. Thus, to get the necessary facts of the charge against him, Franz is forced to spend his own money buying the entire eight months' worth of the grand jury transcript, at an enormous cost per page.

So what Franz needs is money for legal and court costs to fight the frameup. Please send whatever you can to the Franz Defense Fund, Box 2128, Tucson, AZ 85702.

Free Franz and All Political Prisoners! ‡

# Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

*The Verdict*. Dir. by Sidney Lumet, with Paul Newman.

The critic who doesn't see a film in a plush-lined preview studio is necessarily affected, though scarcely determined, by the critical reception of the movie. My expectations in going to see *The Verdict* were mixed. On the one hand, it sounded like a good old-fashioned movie-movie, a Horatio Alger story where the lone hero triumphs over the sleek and evil Establishment. On the other hand, its advertised gritty realism sounded like a possible slow and soggy downer.

I am happy to report that the old-fashioned movie-movie is triumphant. Paul Newman turns in one of the great acting performances of his career as a downtrodden, alcoholic lawyer, sacked and betrayed by the corporate law Establishment. His very stance and walk, a sagging of knees, vividly portrays his exhaustion and defeat. He has been reduced to haunting funeral parlors looking for a client, and is handed his last case, his last chance for any sort of comeback. Instead of taking the easy way out and settling for a hefty fee, Newman pulls himself together and tackles the combined wealth and public relations power of the Archdiocese and the corporate legal Establishment. He determines to win justice and expose the malpractice of powerful physicians operating in an Archdiocesan hospital.

There are some marvelous scenes. Particularly striking is the contrast of Newman working with his only helper, his old law professor and retired partner, Jack Warden; while the sleek and unctuous "The Prince of Darkness", Kincannon, marvelously played by James Mason, is surrounded by dozens of eager, smart young lawyers on his corporate law team. One of the great lines occurs when Mason finds that Newman's only witness is an elderly anesthesiologist from a fourth-rate hospital who turns out to be black.

Young Lawyer (virtually licking his chops): And, furthermore, he's black.

Mason (sternly): Here's how you deal with the fact that he is black. You don't mention it at all, ever. And, by the way (smilingly), make sure to put a black lawyer on our team in the courtroom.

In short, an old-fashioned movie-movie. Charlotte Rampling is suitably Ramplinesque as Newman's taciturn love interest with more than a hint of ruthlessness. Warden is great as the old prof. And no one should miss Newman's climactic speech to the jury in which he simply calls for the jurors to vote for the justice they know is in their heart. "Today," he instructs them, "you are the law", as he pleads with them to overrule, for once in their lives, the legal flimflam and technicalities which the Establishment habitually uses to betray the interests of truth and justice.

So what about the gritty realism? It's not too bad. It's true that everyone talks very slowly and portentously, and the photography all seems to have been shot in some dark tunnel: All this is veteran Sidney Lumet's way of pounding it into us that the picture is pregnant with Social Significance. But the picture is suspenseful and tightly-knit nonetheless, and the hokey aspects do not get in the way of the action.

All in all, since *My Favorite Year* was of course not nominated for the Academy Awards, *The Verdict* should have gotten this year's Oscar.

*Tootsie*. Dir. by Sydney Pollack, with Dustin Hoffman.

Talk about advance hype: The ubiquitous press interviews with Hoffman were almost enough to keep me out of the movie theater. For decades, just as Jane Fonda has been the living embodiment of political left-liberalism on the silver screen, so Dustin Hoffman has

been the talky exponent of cultural left-liberalism. Ever since *The Graduate*, Hoffman has been the living symbol of the replacement of handsome WASP leading men by homely (to put it kindly) ethnics. (That is, who look ethnic—there have always been ethnic leading men like Paul Newman and Kirk Douglas, but they looked like handsome WASPS. Hoffman was the first one who looked ethnic.) The homeliness has been worn by Hoffman and the others as a badge of honor, demonstrating as it allegedly does their superior sensitivity. The theory is that homeliness equals sensitivity, and that Jews, in particular, can feel and have emotions, in contrast to poor, uptight, repressed WASPS. Hence the myth of the sensitive Jew (who looks Jewish) as cultural liberator to the poor, repressed *goyim*. (Usually this myth comes to the screen as the Jewish psychoanalyst liberating WASPS; perhaps Hoffman is not yet old enough to play a shrink. But the time will come.)

With the triumph of the feminist movement, *macho* is Out and sensitivity is In, and Hoffman has been shrewd enough to ride the crest of the current cultural wave. But the press interviews surrounding *Tootsie* have been particularly repellent. Hoffman's Sensitivity goes all the way through to unconscious parody: playing a woman "changed his life"; he now knows how a woman feels; in fact he now feels as a woman does, etc., etc. *ad nauseam*. One wonders why any woman would sit still a moment for this baloney. (Years ago, during the height of the civil rights movement, a turkey appeared on the screen portraying the true life story of a white journalist who put on blackface and suffered as a black does for all of couple of months. The movie, whose name I have blissfully forgotten, got laughed off the screen. Maybe audiences were more prescient then, or maybe it was because Hoffman wasn't playing the lead.)

The most odious moment of the press interviews came when Hoffman virtually started sobbing at the terrible shock that hit him when he looked at his female *persona* in the mirror and came to the conclusion that he was not good-looking enough to take himself out on a date. Well, I have some news for you, Dusty baby. I have come to terms long ago with the soul-searing insight that I am not good-looking enough for me to take out on a date either. Somehow, I have managed to make this adjustment without a great deal of fuss and feathers, or of whining about this terrible truth to the press of America. As has, come to think of it, almost the entire male half of the world's human population.

Equally as repugnant was the way that the press made certain to telegraph to one and all that, despite his sensitivity and appearing in drag (or perhaps because of it?), Dustin Hoffman is the Casanova of the twentieth century. In order to cast aside any suspicion of Hoffman as effete, tales of his heterosexual prowess filled the newspapers and magazines. That way, Dusty can have it both ways.

All this I found a powerful argument for not seeing *Tootsie*. The critics also poured it on: They informed us that *Tootsie* was a truly hilarious movie, but that it operated on many deep levels, levels of sensitivity, feminist philosophy, etc. The hilarious sounded good, but I always distrust "deep levels" in comedies, since unless the author is a genius like Shaw or Wilde, the "multi-levels" usually turn out to be large dollops of left-liberal treacle.

After all the hoopla and hullabaloo, I found the movie itself neither hilarious nor obnoxious; in fact, it was difficult to know what the shouting was all about. Basically, *Tootsie* is a one-joke movie carried on too long, ringing the changes on the man-in-drag theme. It is a tepid and pleasant film, certainly not hilarious or even particularly funny, punctuated from time to time by brief feminist speeches by Hoffman. Aside from drawing dutiful applause from the audience, however, the speeches are not intrusive enough to

wreck the picture. But there are very few funny lines; in fact, the only really hilarious lines—by the most delightful character in the picture—are delivered by Sydney Pollack himself, who does a marvelous turn as Hoffman's agent. Pollack plays the Voice of Reality to all his oddball actor-clients. Thus, Bill Murray, Hoffman's actor-roommate, is trying to peddle an *avant-garde* play about lovers who return to the Love Canal. Pollack's marvelous response: "Who wants to see a play about the Love Canal? If you want to see toxic waste, go to Hoboken." (Non-New Yorkers will not, I'm afraid, appreciate this cultural reference.)

As to Hoffman's allegedly great feat in playing a female, I saw nothing to it; after all, in the picture he is *supposed* to be a great

actor, and playing a woman should be duck soup. Gorgeous Jessica Lange plays someone gorgeous, and the other actors are adequate enough. Except for Terri Garr, who is shrill and annoying as Hoffman's original love interest. (I couldn't figure out the problem until reading John Simon's perceptive critique. Simon pointed out that Garr can't act, and therefore simply played herself, which audiences can only find irritating.) Nevertheless, Mr. Sensitive Hoffman treats Garr with unfeeling cruelty, and poor Charles Durning is dealt with unmercifully as Jessica Lange's father who is dumb enough to have a thing for Ms. Hoffman. A double standard is here at work: for Hoffman's own lubricity toward Miss Lange is treated as part of the lovable aspect of Hoffman's all-encompassing sensitivity. ‡

## 1776: A Buffoonery

by Emil Franz

If those who ran the First American Revolution had been talked into using some of the current methodology of American politics, then the following discussion might have taken place . . .

It is June of 1776—We take you to the New York Executive office of the public relations firm of Shakeit, Fakeit, and Hoare, retained by the Continental Congress for the job of putting together American Independence.

**Shakeit:** Gentlemen, let's go over the Continental Congress Account. The issue is possible independence from Great Britain. Bob, what are the latest survey results?

**Fakeit:** Bad news. Only 22% for independence, 29% like George III, 49% undecided or don't care. Want the cross tabs on age, sex and geography?

**Shakeit:** Not now. And they're meeting in Philadelphia next month?

**Fakeit:** Right. And some of these clowns actually want an upfront Declaration! On 22%! How the hell do we pull that one off?

**Hoare:** It's worse than that. One of our agents at Monticello slipped me this out of Jefferson's desk. Listen. "When in the course of Human Events it becomes necessary . . .

**Fakeit:** That's his opening?

**Hoare:** Right.

**Fakeit:** You're kidding me. We can't move that high-flying crap. Get it down to re-write.

**Shakeit:** Hang on a minute. I'm not sure about this whole independence thing anyway. Where are the rest of them standing?

**Hoare:** Well, Franklin's leaning that way and he does have the host city . . .

**Fakeit:** I told those limies they should've bought him off with some printing contracts.

**Hoare:** Things are reasonably cool here in New York and in most of the South. It would seem the real movers are in Massachusetts and Virginia.

**Fakeit:** Yeah, that Sam Adams. Him and his Boston Massacre. That not only screwed up the image we were trying to build for these yo-yos, but he and his Sons of Liberty creamed that tea-house chain we had a piece of. That bastard cost us a lot of bucks!

**Shakeit:** Now gentlemen, may I remind you that Mr. Adams is very close to Mr. Hancock, and we have that shipyard proposal coming up.

**Fakeit:** I forgot. Hey, about his cousin Jim?

**Shakeit:** John.

**Fakeit:** Yeah, John, Remember when we wired the British to use

his law firm? He got a fat retainer out of that one. He owes us.

**Hoare:** Well, I'll see if we can call it in. But Virginia's even worse.

**Fakeit:** You mean that Henry Patrick guy?

**Hoare:** Patrick Henry.

**Fakeit:** That loud-mouthed jerk. Doesn't he realize every time he shoots off his yap he loses support? People don't buy his extremist bull-shit.

**Hoare:** If you think *he's* bad, you ought to see what this guy Paine puts out.

**Fakeit:** Christ, I have. Talk about *far out*. He ran some copy by a buddy of mine over in London a few years ago and he told me all about him. A real kook. Is that kook in on this scam too?

**Shakeit:** Gentlemen, where are we on this one? To summate, our client is planning an open break with the crown, they've got no leader with any charisma, the media is basically hostile, internally their hot-heads seem to be taking over, and they have only 22% in the latest poll.

**Fakeit:** The guy the British are using told me only 16%, but I figure he loaded it in favor of his client.

**Shakeit:** Either way, we need to make a decision. Bob?

**Fakeit:** I say screw'em, they've become too unmanagable. Besides, it looks like the Tories have it locked. It's time we hustled some Canadian accounts anyway.

**Shakit:** Bill?

**Hoare:** Well, it's still got possibilities. If we could maneuver somebody like Washington to front it and cover him with a group of moderates who'd make a deal with the British at the right time—you know, cut a few taxes here and there, move a few seats in parliament around. Mostly showcase stuff, but I'm afraid it's about all they're worth. What concerns me the most is that I checked with accounting just before I came in, and their last two retainer checks have been returned by the bank.

**Fakeit:** You mean these dodos are out of bread?

**Hoare:** Looks that way. Their French loan didn't come through.

**Fakeit:** Typical of those frogs. Big talk, no action.

**Shakeit:** Then I take it that the consensus of this meeting is that this account is a loser, right?

**Fakeit:** A real turkey.

**Hoare:** Afraid so. No futures.

**Shakeit:** All right. I'll notify accounting to send them our final bill, and I'll cancel our reservations in Philadelphia.

**Fakeit:** Boy, that's gotta be the smartest move this firm ever made. ‡

# The Pentagon's Budget Through Soviet Eyes

by Jon D. Wisman

Associate Professor of Economics  
The American University

Why do the Soviet people tolerate a totalitarian government? It's true that they lack the legacy of a democratic tradition. And it's also true that repression of dissent has been brutal and largely effective. But these reasons alone are not adequate, given the Soviet people's greatly improved standard of living, universal literacy, and the penetration of foreign information. The clincher is that the Soviet people live, and have lived since their Revolution in 1917, in fear of external aggression. And as history has endlessly demonstrated, the one effective argument for a suspension of civil liberties, or freedom more generally, has always been the threat—whether real or cunningly contrived—of foreign aggression.

What then is the rationality of the latest outbreak of U.S. hawkishness? On the one hand, there's the disturbing correlation of this rise of cold-war mongering with deepening economic crises in the past 10 years. It would seem to be the case that when a nation suffers internal divisiveness as a result of worsened economic conditions, there is a high likelihood that an external threat will be created or given added importance. Accordingly, this current heightened fear of Soviet aggression diverts attention from our government's inability to provide adequate employment, growth and price stability. And then there's the horrid memory that World War II capped the Great Depression!

But the rationality of the U. S. defense buildup should be examined from another perspective. There is its government. And that government is a far cry from the utopian vision of the early revolutionaries. What happened? No sooner had the Bolsheviks taken power than the French, British and U.S. set out to topple their government, principally by arming and financing counterrevolutionaries. The ensuing policies in the Soviet Union were called "War Communism" and they included a restriction of civil liberties and an increase in the concentration of political power at the top. Throughout the 1920's there was a perceived threat that the socialist experiment would be undone by hostile capitalist countries. So strongly did Stalin feel this that he announced in 1931: "We must make good this distance (to become a first-rate

economic and political power) in ten years. Either we do so, or we shall go under." Stalin's words were of course prophetic, for ten years later Hitler invaded the Soviet Union.

The Russian people had greatly suffered during World War I, but that would pale next to the horrid costs of World War II—20-25 million Soviet people died as a result of the war. The Soviet fear of external aggression had not been unjustified, and it was that fear which had successfully legitimized a suspension of civil liberties, rule by an elite clique, and a sacrifice of consumer welfare for defense.

Unfortunately, World War II ended in such a way that Soviet fears of external aggression would continue, with, of course, the concomitant legitimation of a totalitarian regime. The U. S. dropped nuclear bombs on the Japanese, even though it didn't appear to be necessary to U.S. victory. The Soviet leadership had it made: To justify their every action they had only to remind their people of that act as evidence of how ruthlessly inhumane the U.S. can be in pursuit of its interests.

In light of the above, President Reagan's record budget request for the Pentagon is catastrophic. Not only does a rapid buildup of the military worsen our current economic crisis and push us even closer to nuclear Armageddon, but it also serves to perpetuate the legitimacy of the undemocratic power structure in the Soviet Union. The twentieth century has schooled the Soviet peoples in fear and the reality of its objects. Given their unique history, there is every reason to expect that they will be willing to sacrifice practically everything for defense. The Reagan camp's contention, that the Soviet regime's power will be weakened as the Soviet peoples refuse yet more sacrifice for defense, has it all backwards. So long as the elite leaders can convince the Soviet peoples that the external threat is real, their power is secure. Thus, our only effective means for weakening totalitarian government in the Soviet Union is to demonstrate beyond all doubt our peaceful intentions. Voice of America propaganda won't do the job. Instead, the best first step would be a dramatic decrease in military spending. ‡

## Crane Machine Notes

### 1. In the Bunker?

It was the weekend of February 18-21 in Oakland, at the annual convention of the California LP. Things were going so well with the sparkling kickoff of the Burns-for-President campaign that some of the worrywarts of the Majority Caucus were getting concerned. "What's Crane's next move going to be?" they fretted. Finally, the Military Maven, who has had a phenomenal record of accuracy calling the shots in the LP, spoke up. "Hey, guys, this is like Eisenhower, Bradley, and Marshall sitting around in March, 1945 worrying about Hitler's next move. The answer, of course, is that he *had no* next move. He was in The Bunker."

Our attention riveted, the Military Maven went on. "The Crane Machine has no next move. They're in The Bunker. The lesser Craniacs can go to de-Cranification centers. As for the top ones, the only interesting question is, which one of them is going to shoot

their kids so they don't have to live in a non-Craniac world (Goebbels) and which one of them is going to skip to Paraguay with all the gold (Bormann)."

It looks very much as if the Military Maven was right once again. The Crane Machine is dwindling rapidly, collapsing, losing its cool, becoming a small, isolated bunch of soreheads.

Item: The Gene Burns campaign is doing beautifully, looking more impressive all the time, gathering adherents in state after state.

Item: The desperation Craniac try for drafting Ron Paul for President seems to have collapsed. No one except the Craniacs was willing to join it, and Paul himself has apparently nixed the idea for good.

Item: David Koch is, reportedly, definitely *not* going to run for Veep again. ‡

Item: Craniac Leslie Graves (Key), until now ruler of the Wisconsin LP, is in big trouble in her home state. Reports have it that the state LP is being audited, and that Treasurer Leslie Key somehow failed to keep records. The outraged Wisconsin party has asked Leslie to resign her post. Certainly, the Key Machine is in deep trouble in Wisconsin.

Item: It therefore looks as if the only real *focos* of Craniac strength left for the mighty PresCon in August are Alaska, New York, the Jule Herbert satrapy in the District of Columbia (where the Crane hirelings congregate), and the small Kochian fiefdom of Kansas. All else is crumbling.

Item: the Crane-dominated Judicial Committee has passed into the dustbin of history not with a bang but a whimper. Even the Machiners did not adopt the original Palmer thesis of total power to the JudComm. The Craniac majority of the JudComm has issued its report (as has the minority), and it did not even presume to order the reinstatement of the Martyr O'Keefe as National Director. It simply declared that NatCom's approval of Alicia Clark's ouster of O'Keefe at Billings in the summer of 1982 was invalid; but it did not even criticize the NatCom's reaffirmation of that firing passed at Orlando in December. And so, exit the JudComm. And, possibly, exit the Crane Machine?

## 2. Personnel Update

In our "Crane Machine Revealed" (February), a rundown of the personnel of that now well-known aggregation, we missed a couple and there have been a couple of changes.

Two we missed (sorry, fellas) in what could either be "Minor" or "Lesser" Craniac categories are:

*Mike Burch* (Crane hireling. Exec. director of Crane/Herbert-run National Taxpayers Legal Fund. Virginia NatCom Rep. Distinguished for his silence at NatCom meetings.)

*Mike Hepple* (Former Craniac straw boss of Illinois LP. Now head of D.C. Libertarian Party; Jule "the Tool" Herbert is his control. Works in "real world" job as fundraiser.)

Changes, or More Information, on already listed Machiners:

*Eric "The Martyr" O'Keefe* (Crane hireling. Has now surfaced as Vice-President of Crane/Herbert-run NTLF, which seems to be the current favorite warehousing tool for the Machine.)

*Robert Capozzi* (Crane hireling. Ex-editor of *Update*; cashiered when that Machine organ went respectable. Has now surfaced as employee of NTLF (see O'Keefe, above.))

*Deb Haws* (Crane hireling. Now working as managing editor of husband Chris Hocker-run *Update*.)

*Dr. Ross Levatter* (ex-young Ohio physician; now young Michigan physician. Watch for attempted influence or takeover of Michigan LP.)

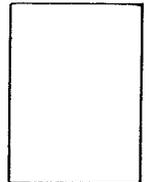
*Anita Anderson* (Ex-Cato employee. Now definitely known to be working at Rich-owned Laissez-Faire Bookstore, New York.)

*Celeste "Cissey" Webb* (former Craniac bigwig in Illinois LP. Now working in DC. *Not* Crane hireling, however; has "real world" art-frame business.) ‡

# THE Libertarian Forum

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

Box 341, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10010



# — Double Issue —

## THE Libertarian Forum

Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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## frontlines, RIP

*frontlines* is dead, "murdered" in part by the economic "movement depression" we discussed in our April issue. The loss of this thorough and courageous monthly newsletter leaves an irreparable gap in the libertarian movement. "How will we know what is *really* going on?" will be the cry of all movement activists, regardless what faction they may belong to. For *frontlines* was our *New York Times*: careful, diligent, objective, apart from all the factions. *frontlines* had the resources—the money, the time, the personnel—and the willingness, to do scintillating investigative reporting, as well as to check and double-check all the facts. Hence, the enormous moral authority that *frontlines* properly commanded in the movement, because we all knew that if something was in *frontlines*, it was important, and it was true. It brought us all the real movement news, and not just pap and press releases. It also enlivened and enriched the movement with articles and letters debating issues and strategy from various alternative perspectives. I did not always agree with *frontlines*, especially in its earliest days, but the measure of its importance and its excellence is that it is literally impossible to conceive of the movement without it.

We all owe a great debt of gratitude to the *frontlines* staff, performing these vital functions, and keeping up their standards even while trying to stay afloat: In particular to editor Bob Poole, and to indefatigable investigative reporter Patrick Cox.

Even though the loss of *frontlines* will be permanently mourned by the movement, we can at least be grateful for the fact that it lasted long enough to perform its most vital task: The unremitting exposure of the malignant Crane Machine which had dominated the Libertarian Party and much of the movement for so many years. Precisely because of its thoroughness and its well-deserved moral authority,

the exposures by *frontlines* were vital and indispensable to the great work of Bringing Down the Crane Machine, a task which I hope and trust will be completed at the Armageddon PresCon this Labor Day weekend. We can all be thankful that *frontlines* survived long enough to complete that task.

The death of *frontlines* should also be placed in a wider perspective. It is part and parcel of the unfortunate trend of the last few years, of ignoring movement concerns, movement news and issues, principles and applications, in order to whore after "outreach". And so we have had the death, in the last few years, of *Libertarian Review* and of *frontlines*, both movement publications, while the "sexier", bigger circulation, "outreach" magazines such as *Reason* and *Inquiry* keep rolling on. In the name of "let's stop talking to ourselves" we have gradually cut out all talking, discussing, etc. *within* the movement itself, and thereby we are more and more failing to nourish, educate, and reinforce the people who count the most: our own libertarians. Libertarians have been isolated enough by the culture and by world conditions over the years; it is a crying shame that libertarians themselves are abandoning our own people, our own movement, in a vain quest for an outreach that is pointless, vapid and self-defeating without the solid base of an "inreach", a nourishing of precious cadre. If the movement should ever collapse, it will come, not from oppression by the State, but by a moral and strategic failure from within the movement itself, by its leaders and moneybags.

In the meantime, except for the various LP newsletters, movement journalism is now down to a small number of monthly newsletters: the *Lib. Forum*, our sister publication *Libertarian Vanguard*, the increasingly aberrant *Voluntaryist*, and the Craniac smear-sheet *Update*. It is not, to say the least, a very healthy situation. ‡

## Leonard Read, RIP

Leonard E. Read died as I'm sure he always wanted, in harness, active to the very end of more than eight decades of a rich and active life. More than any other single person, Leonard was the founder of the modern libertarian movement. During World War II, this elegant, charismatic, eloquent man was executive director of the Los Angeles

Chamber of Commerce. He paid a visit one day to Bill Mullendore, crusty head of Commonwealth Edison of Southern California, to find out why Mullendore opposed the structure of economic controls that all "enlightened" businessmen were supporting. Mullendore changed Read's life, and converted him on the spot, to what he came to call

"the freedom philosophy". Toward the end of World War II, in an era when literally no one, anywhere, believed in the free market, let alone liberty, Read and Mullendore organized Pamphleteers, Inc. and began to change American culture by publishing unknown, totally neglected libertarian authors: Rose Wilder Lane's scintillating *Give Me Liberty*; Ayn Rand's *Anthem*, a marvelously individualist short story; and the most important works of the French *laissez-faire* economist Frederic Bastiat.

After the war, Read came to New York to work at the National Industrial Conference Board, but the idea of dedicating his life to liberty, to becoming, in effect, a professional libertarian, consumed him. And so, in 1946, in a beautiful setting at Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Read launched the Foundation for Economic Education, the oldest libertarian institution in the world.

We must realize that becoming a professional libertarian, founding a libertarian institute and think-tank, was far more foolhardy a project then than it is now. Intellectuals were all socialists, economists were Keynesians, businessmen were statist; there seemed to be no constituency for freedom. But Read was undaunted, and he gathered in Irvington the best libertarian and free-market scholars of the day.

Nowadays, quasi-free-market think tanks are all the rage, but God forbid they should ever discuss *ideas*, or moral principles, or even go beyond arguments for alleged economic efficiency or narrow reformist (allegedly "practical") projects on how to fix up the FTC or Social Security. Early on, and throughout the life of FEE, Leonard Read realized that while economics is important, the crucial questions were moral, and that liberty must be grounded firmly in natural rights and moral principles. Paradoxically, this made the FEE people better economists, because they stuck to *laissez-faire* principles without allowing themselves to get bogged down in reformist traps, traps which are the very opposite of "practical" because they accomplish nothing and only divert attention from fundamental principles.

As a result, Leonard Read was squarely an "abolitionist", a principled strategy made clear in his hard-hitting pamphlet, *I'd Push the Button*, a speech made before a business group in 1946. At that time, business favored gradual, phased relaxation of the crippling network of wage-price controls that we had inherited from World War II and that many Americans wanted to make permanent. Read startled the business leaders by calling for immediate and total abolition of price and wage controls. If I had a button on this podium that would permit me to do away with all controls at this moment, he proclaimed, I would push that button!

During the Korean War, Read courageously and openly opposed both conscription and the Korean War. His beautifully written pamphlets, *Conscience on the Battlefield* and *On That Day Began Lies*, in which he came close to Tolstoyan anarchism, are some of the best libertarian products of the 1950's.

At FEE, Leonard Read provided that critically indispensable feature of any movement: an Open Center, a place where people can go to find libertarian publications

and meet other libertarians. In those days of total libertarian isolation, of the absence of any real movement, the bringing together of libertarians was extraordinarily important. If in the 1960's It Usually Began with Ayn Rand, in the 1940's and 1950's It Usually Began with Leonard Read and FEE. Indeed, FEE, to this day, continues to serve as an Open Center and as a channel for conversion of new people, especially young people, to the libertarian philosophy.

In addition, more than anyone else Read coined the name "libertarian" for the current movement. Before that, we had no single name, awkwardly going back and forth between "individualists" and "true liberals". The problem with the latter phrase is that the quasi-socialists had already succeeded in appropriating the term "liberal", and calling ourselves "true" anything was confusing and hardly persuasive. And the term "individualist" tended to confuse political philosophy with possessing a spirit of individual autonomy. Read and a few others launched the term "libertarian" for the freedom philosophy, and it stuck—the only case I know of when we were able to appropriate a word from others. For before that, communist-anarchists had often referred to themselves as "libertarian." The first time when we were referred to publicly as "libertarians" was in an odious book, published in the 1950's, by a certain Ralph Lord Roy, entitled *Apostles of Discord*. There was a repellent literature in those days of works written by aggressive centrists and "moderates" who pilloried all "extremists" as *per se* evil. Roy, a Social Gospel Protestant, wrote this book to attack both Communist and ultra-rightist "extremists" in the Protestant church. That was par for the course in those days, but lo and behold! he included a chapter called "God and the 'Libertarians'", spotting quasi-anarchistic extremists then centered around a libertarian publication for Protestant ministers called *Faith and Freedom*. Libertarianism had arrived on the American ideological scene.

In later years, Leonard Read drew away from the libertarian movement which he had named and founded. He drew away sharply from anarcho-capitalism, and denounced it vigorously; he was also strongly opposed to any form of libertarian political action, or indeed to active proselytizing in general. (Even though in the early months of FEE, he had written a surging pamphlet, *Pattern for Revolt*, in which he presented the speeches he would have written if he had been a Presidential candidate.) Increasingly, Read took the view that any refutation of error was pointless, and that we should confine ourselves to quiet reiteration of fundamental truths. As a result, in a way somewhat similar to the case of Ayn Rand, the movement passed Leonard by. But Leonard Read stuck to his guns. He was, as always, his own man, and all libertarians owe him an enormous debt as our founder and the creator of our first and most enduring Open Center. In any case, I am sure that Leonard is now with the angels, indulging in his favorite aristocratic sports of croquet and curling (of which he was for many years a champion.) As a lad from the streets of New York, croquet and curling are about as familiar to me as lambing or Ming pottery; but one great thing about liberty is that it can encompass people from a huge variety of climes and cultures. Leonard Read was one of the Immortals, and he must never be forgotten.

‡

## The New Menace of Gandhism: A Comment

by Wendy McElroy

In *Libertarian Forum* (March, 1983), Murray Rothbard warns the movement of a new menace, a fad which is draining the best minds from the Libertarian Party—Gandhism. The specific inaccuracies of this article are the subject of a response by George Smith to be published in the next issue of *The Voluntaryist* (June). As a founder of the Voluntaryists and editor of its newsletter, I wish to address instead a prominent implication of Rothbard's critique; namely, that Voluntaryists are neo-Gandhians bent on martyrdom as a strategy. This is absurd. If anything in Voluntaryist literature called for pacifist martyrdom, if any of our activities remotely reflected this approach, you could be sure it would have been cited in evidence. Moreover, both George Smith and I have attempted repeatedly to inform critics, including Rothbard, that we advocate the moral right to use defensive force and that non-violent resistance is merely one of several strategies we are exploring.

Equally absurd is the idea that George Smith, Carl Watner or I have become disciples of Gandhi. We do not share his religious, economic, cultural or lifestyle views. But Gandhi as a political theorist, Gandhi as one of the foremost strategists of this century, makes for fascinating study. We do not worship anyone, but there are people from whom we can learn.

In expressing and expanding the theory of anti-political anarchism, the Voluntaryists are exploring various non-political strategies of fighting the State. One of these is non violent resistance as advocated by such Nineteenth Century libertarians as William Lloyd Garrison, Ezra Heywood, Henry David Thoreau and Benjamin Tucker; that is, a withdrawal of the cooperation and consent upon which so much of the State depends. Non violence involves saying "no" to the State. Not a passive, meek "no", but a determined and active refusal to participate in injustice by lending support to it. As a strategy, non violent resistance subsumes dozens of activities, including letters-to-the-editor, tax resistance, boycotts, bumperstickers, personal statements, picketing, petitioning and demonstrations. Thus far, the Voluntaryists' main expression of non violence has been a fund established to support the efforts of the libertarian, Paul Jacob, who was indicted for his refusal to register for the draft and who has been balancing precariously the need to live underground with his anti-draft agitation (eg. giving interviews to numerous periodicals). Rather than rushing to the martyrdom so vehemently predicted for us by those committed to the political means, our first priority is to set up a financial base for those libertarians who have currently, by *living* their principles, incurred the wrath of Leviathan. This is in contrast to the Libertarian Party which seems content virtually to ignore such law breakers as Paul Jacob, leaving them to dangle on whatever limb the State hangs them.

Although pacifists often champion non-violence, there is

no necessary connection between the two positions and, in investigating non violence as a strategy, the Voluntaryists in no way reject the moral right of self defense. Against the criminal in a dark alley or a rapist climbing through the window, defensive force is not only moral but, perhaps, the most effective method of achieving your goal—personal safety. Defensive force against the State is moral but may be the least effective method of achieving the goal of libertarianism—a peaceful society. This is not simply because force tends to breed force. Non violence is based on a particular analysis of the U.S. government as requiring legitimacy; the delineation of this analysis has been the first priority of *The Voluntaryist*. The strength of the U.S. government lies not only in its ability to use force, but in the legitimacy people grant to it. The taxman can steal with an impunity unknown to the common criminal because people accept the authority of the government to tax. To attack the State, it is first necessary to tear off this veil of legitimacy. This cannot be accomplished through political action which sanctions the system or through force which lends credence to the State's claim to guardianship of law and order. Terrorists and others who use force give the State the moral justification to enact more and stricter legislation. Non violent resistance is one promising alternative to force and politics as strategies. Whether or not it lives up to this promise is an empirical matter—that is, are there theoretical flaws? What is its history? Is it compatible with libertarianism/anarchism? What is the cost compared to the benefit?

If the Voluntaryists can be said to stress any strategy, it would be education, perhaps reflecting the background of its founders. George Smith is a philosopher; Carl Watner and I are historians. Having written and lectured on libertarianism for years, we consider education to be the necessary basis on which to build any other strategy. Within this context, the two most exciting strategies are non violence and the establishment of parallel institutions; that is, the withdrawal of consent from the State and the creation of private alternatives to government services (schools, court systems, police). These are by no means the only strategies we are or will be considering. Nor do we have any emotional or moral commitment to a particular strategy, with the possible exception of education. Any strategy consistent with libertarianism will be examined empirically. It is with this spirit that the Voluntaryists approach Gandhi and other strategists. And it is for this spirit, this willingness to consider the strategies of Gandhi and Thoreau (one of Gandhi's mentors), that we have been called all manner of exotic names from "mystic" to "martyr." Even George Smith, author of *Atheism, the Case Against God*, has not escaped accusations of spiritualism. Perhaps it is a tribute to the strength of our ideas that critics prefer to critique the people rather than the theory.

One of the challenges of non violence vis-a-vis

libertarianism will be fitting it into a specifically anarchist framework. The left has used non violence to good advantage (the anti-war, anti-nuclear movements), but their goal was to reform rather than to abolish the State. A critique of non violence pointing to holes in the theory or problems with its application would be welcome. A critique attacking the Voluntaryists for positions they do not hold and distorting the ones they do has no value. ‡

\* \* \*

#### The Editor Replies:

In her article, Wendy McElroy adopts what might be called the "official" line of the Voluntaryists: that they are not Gandhi cultists or proto-martyrs, but are simply and reasonably exploring the empirical benefits of a strategy of non-violent resistance in bringing down the State. Why am I not convinced? *Not* because I believe that she or other Voluntaryists are lying, but because I perceive an inner dynamic at work of which they are perhaps not aware: a dynamic that is pushing them rapidly in the direction of cultism. For example: After their sober investigation of

Gandhite strategy is over, do they propose to explore the empirical possibilities of *other* successful historical strategies for social change such as the American Revolution, Lenin, the Zionist movement, etc.? Somehow, I bet not. Moreover, if Ms. McElroy were right, and they are not cultists, then George Smith would have written a very different response to my "Menace of Gandhism" than he is in fact publishing in *Update*. He would have said, in effect: "Rothbard is right: Gandhi was a statist charlatan and a terrible man, but so what? We are only studying the possible empirical benefits of a strategy of non-violent resistance." It would have been great if Smith had written in that vein, but unfortunately he did not. He acted as if I had traduced his best friend, and he leaped in to defend the undefendable Mahatma virtually root and branch. So what does that tell us about the infection of Gandhite cultism among the Voluntaryists? Of course it is possible that an unrecognized schism is developing in Voluntaryist ranks, and that *Smith* has become a cultist while the others have not. But I will have to leave it to the Voluntaryists themselves to sort that one out.

And leave them I will: For I hope and expect that this issue of *The Lib. Forum* closes the books on my side of the Great Debate over Gandhism. The Voluntaryists may or may not choose to spend the rest of their lives poring over the life and works of this little Hindu charlatan; I for one do not. ‡

## Gandhism Once More

In a sense, the current Great Debate in the libertarian movement over Gandhism/Voluntaryism is one of the most bizarre ideological disputes ever recorded. For even though there are only four or five protagonists, they are waging the battle in no less than five different channels of opinion: the *Lib. Forum*, the *Lib. Vanguard*, the *Voluntaryist*, *Update*, and a *samizdat* Open Letter. Since there are probably only three or four *other* libertarians in the country who are on all the above mailing lists and who are fascinated enough to pore over all these articles, this means that point-by-point refutations become mere beatings of the air.

We will try, then, to be mercifully brief. George Smith, leader of the Voluntaryists, has curiously chosen to make his initial reply to our "The New Menace of Gandhism" (*Lib. Forum*, March, 1983), not in our publication but in the pages of the Craniac smearsheet *Update*. His draft, "Rothbard on Gandhi: A Reply", has fallen into our hands. Writing in scarcely controlled fury, Smith adopts the standard polemical trick of asserting (1) that there were errors in my article, and (2) that what was accurate was already known by everyone, so why write it? The answer, of course, is that the article did not pretend to be the definitive biography of the Mahatma, but was intended to bring basic and unpleasant facts about Gandhi to the attention of the libertarian movement.

Yet despite Smith's vague trumpeting about my alleged

errors, he says not a word about the most important points in my article: Gandhi's medical hypocrisy, his odious advice to the Jews of Europe to commit mass suicide and to the British to invite the Nazis to occupy their island, his advice to meet the atomic menace by sending love-vibrations to the pilots carrying the bomb, or his hatred of the "sin" of Western technology or industrialism. Indeed, the only point that Smith disputes is my contention that Gandhi opposed education per se, to which he retorts that the Mahatma was only against compulsory schooling. Here we have an abiding difference in interpretation.

For the rest, Smith triumphantly discovers "contradictions" that don't exist. Dredging up a forgotten tempest-in-a-teapot of four years ago, he wonders why I then attacked the high-tech "space cadets" in the Libertarian Party and am now attacking the "low tech" Gandhi. The two situations, however, are very different. It seemed to me that the "space cadets" were in favor of abandoning political action (within a political party!) in behalf of futuristic projections, and furthermore there were disquieting implications in their statements that high-tech should be coercive, and that those who wanted to bask in a low-tech community would have to be dragooned out of it. In any case, that dispute only lasted a couple of months, the space cadets abandoned some of these implications, and a happy compromise was reached by all. Gandhi, on the contrary, was not only low-tech, but *compulsorily* low-tech,

denouncing industry as sinful, and leading the burning of machine-made textiles.

In both cases, coercion was the major problem. As for my own personal values, yes, I plead guilty to Smith's charge of "embracing American middle-class culture", that is, I favor the advance of technology, industrialization, and higher standards of living. If this be "American middle-class values", then yes, I uphold them, and Smith and his cohorts can make the most of it. There is a mighty equivocation in Smith's charge that "Presumably Gandhi does not meet the Rothbardian imperative that the entire world should embrace American middle-class culture." "Should" yes, "must" no. In other words, I think that Third World countries *should* adopt the values of the free market, increased productivity, higher living standards, etc., but I am of course opposed to *forcing* them to do so. This is a strange slip for our bright young libertarian philosopher to make.

The other alleged contradiction is that I maintain that Gandhi did and yet did not advance the cause of Indian independence. What I actually wrote is that some historians maintain that his deeds *delayed* the advent of Indian independence (I don't take a stand on this one way or the other), but that even so, independence bore the stamp of Gandhism, a stamp which led, as I pointed out, to the slaughter of millions of Hindus and Muslims. In short, Gandhite independence may have been delayed, but it also bore his stigmata of mass murder—with Gandhi throwing over his alleged principles of non-violence to justify the slaughter of Muslims and the Hindu invasion of Muslim Kashmir.

There are other *curiosa* in Smith's article. Why, he wonders, did I bring in the allegedly irrelevant views of Gandhi on sex and food? I thought I made it clear in my article that I did so because Gandhi did not think them irrelevant; to the Mahatma, his entire social philosophy was an integrated and seamless web, and the article was about that philosophy and how it was expressed in action. Smith also charges that I left out various flaws of the Mahatma, e.g. that he favored prohibition of liquor. Indeed. As I said earlier, I did not claim that my article was an exhaustive discussion of Gandhi. For example, everyone is urged to read a devastating and scintillating critique of Gandhi, the man and the movie, by Richard Grenier, "The Gandhi Nobody Knows", in *Commentary* (March 1983), pp. 59-72. Grenier adds a great many more horror stories about the Mahatma, including his joining in the suppression of black Africans in South Africa, and his abiding obsession with excrement, in his life and his writings. Particularly hideous is the fact that while Gandhi himself, when ill, invariably abandoned his anti-Western-medicine principles, that he allowed his own wife to die of pneumonia rather than receive injections of "sinful" penicillin. Surely this one act alone should make the Mahatma unacceptable even as a quasi-guru.

A final oddity is Smith's wondering why I did not press on to echo Churchill's attack on Gandhi's clothing habits (Churchill denounced him as a "half-naked fakir.") Well, I'm sorry, George, I just don't give a damn *how* the man dressed.

One unfortunate point is all too clear from Smith's

enraged article. The Voluntarists *claim* that they are not Gandhite cultists, that they are simply studying the man and his life to extract tactical and strategic lessons for our time. Fair enough. Except then: *Why* does Smith have the *chutzpah* to write that the "fundamental Gandhi" "devoted his life to the cause of liberty"? And also: *Why* does Smith act as if an attack on the Mahatma is tantamount to a personal attack on himself? *Why* did my article touch a raw nerve? I am afraid that these are *not* the reactions of a sober analyst trying to extract lessons from all examples of successful social change. These are the reactions of a cultist who has found his guru. I hope that I am wrong, but it looks very much as if the nascent Voluntarist movement has rapidly degenerated into a Gandhite cult.

Another unpleasant aspect of the Smith article is that he chose to submit it to *Update*, and also that that Cranial smear-sheet chose to publish it. At first blush this alliance between the Voluntarists and the Crane Machine seems a strange one indeed. For what could George Smith, the White Knight of Purity, the man who holds all political action to be immoral, have in common with the Prince of Darkness, the master opportunist, Ed Crane? There is, of course, the fact that the Crane Machine would be happy to publish almost *any* attack on Yours Truly. But there is a far deeper bond between the two groups. For *both* groupings are bitterly hostile to the existence of a principled Libertarian Party. Smith, erroneously convinced that *any* Libertarian Party is immoral, has apparently gotten to the point where he would like to see the LP as *unprincipled* as possible, so as to make more converts to his own cause, and to see more good libertarians leave the LP. The Crane Machine, steeped in opportunism and sellout, are also bitter about the recent emergence of a principled Libertarian Party which they, in consequence, cannot control. Hence, the Unholy Alliance between both groups, both trying to wreck the growth of a principled Libertarian Party.

But that Unholy Alliance shall not succeed.

One turns with relief from Smith's intemperate assault to Carl Watner's unpublished "Open Letter to Murray Rothbard." Not only does Watner—the other major Voluntarist leader—eschew Gandhite cultism (either because he doesn't believe in it or because he is content to let Smith carry the ball), but his article is characteristically sober and courteous. Unfortunately, Watner's argumentation is scarcely compelling. He writes off the American Revolution as a failure, since oppression eventually resulted, and Benjamin Tucker's non-activism as a failure because the Tuckerite movement dissolved after a generation. Well, since the anarcho-capitalist Utopia has never been established, in a sense Watner could write off *all* of history, and all people and movements, as "failures" by definition—which is essentially what he does. And yet, of course, there are relative degrees of failure and success. The American Revolution, which was violent, despite Watner's protestations, was relatively successful—in fact the most successful example of libertarian social change in history. Benjamin Tucker might not have destroyed the State, but he fashioned a scintillating intellectual movement of libertarians that lasted a long time—far longer, I ween, than if they had adopted a Voluntarist stance and this handful of intellectuals had rushed to put their bodies on the line to try to destroy the State. Watner denounces Tucker's lack of

direct activism as "cowardice"—I would rather call it good sense instead of an inane rush to embrace martyrdom and self-destruction.

In contrast, Watner upholds the example of the English Levellers, who "all risked their lives for their ideas." No doubt. But Watner neglects to add that while the Levellers may have been heroes, they were scarcely *Voluntaryist* heroes. Instead, they (a) engaged in violent rather than non-violent revolution, and (b) they believed strongly in political action. Indeed, they constituted a political party advocating universal suffrage. And they unfortunately wound up being jailed by Cromwell.

The most revealing part of Carl Watner's article is when he explains in more detail than before the essence of the Voluntaryist strategy for non-violent revolution against the State. Non-violent resistance against the State serves, for the Voluntaryists, as the basic means by which the resisters dramatically "educate" the public on the evil and brutal nature of the State. Here is Watner: "If we can provoke the State into initiating unwarranted aggressions, then it proves itself not only the attacker but loses public support." The cat is now out of the bag: The Voluntaryists hope that by lying down in front of State tanks, or whatever, that they will then "provoke" the State into aggression, presumably preferring the State to be as brutal as possible. They hope that this will swing public support dramatically against the State. But there are two great problems here. First, that despite Voluntaryist protestations, they are clearly courting martyrdom, and as brutal and vicious a one as possible. Second, that this martyrdom won't work. I clearly remember the night when Mayor Daley's police ran riot at the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention. On nationwide TV, the cops ran amok, dragging innocent citizens out of

their cars and viciously beating them up. In my naivete, I believed that that would be it, and that the public, watching this evident brutality and aggression, would turn against the State and demand that the Vietnam War be brought to an immediate halt. But the public reaction was precisely the opposite. The mass of the public sided with the cops, and hailed their beating up of groups of people whom the public felt to be provocateurs and loonies, and who eminently deserved whatever they got.

The public reaction to the Chicago convention should be a lesson to all libertarians. The point is that seeing the cops beat up demonstrators won't educate *anyone* in the viciousness of the State unless they had *already* become libertarians. The mass of the public, not being libertarians, think of the police as good guys, as the protectors of the rights of the citizens. Hence, if they see the cops beating up annoying demonstrators, they will automatically side with the cops and vent their anger against the demonstrators, whom they accurately guess had been trying, in Watner's own words, to "provoke the State." In short, "education" by non-violent resistance will be counter-productive, unless the mass of the public is libertarian already, in which case there is no need for such resistance.

Finally, Watner upholds Voluntaryism as a kind of "free-market" competition among strategies, and wonders why I do not encourage his movement even if I cannot be "on the frontlines" with them. The answer is that competition in the free-market of ideas does *not* mean that everyone is supposed to be namby-pamby about strategies that they wholeheartedly believe to be disastrous and self-defeating. The competition in the marketplace of ideas must include candid and unsparring criticism of such strategies. Then, after reading and weighing such criticisms, the libertarian "consumer" can make up his or her own mind. ‡

## The Real Conventioneers' Guide to New City

by The Old Curmudgeon

This is the summer when the Libertarian Party will have its mighty Presidential nominating convention (PRESCON) in New York City, the Big Apple itself, for the first time since its first major Presidential convention in 1975. While there will be events before and after, the heart of the convention—the voting on platform, officers, nominees, etc.—will take place on September 1-4 at the Sheraton Center. It is an event not to be missed, for it will be Armageddon Time—the apocalyptic climax of the several years-long battle to overthrow the once-dominant, now cornered Crane Machine.

For those delegates, alternates, friendly observers, and sociologists of ideological *flora* and *fauna* flocking to the convention who have not been in New York City before, the following is a Conventioneers' Guide. I'm leaving out the pap—true as far as it will go—that you will undoubtedly find in the official PRESCON literature: where the restaurants, sights, shops etc. will be. The following guide is

the *real stuff* about the big, brawling city where I have been born, bred and lived all my life.

In the first place, it is *not* really true—contrary to Johnny Carson and other jibesters about New York—that you are likely to be mugged. Provided that you follow the elementary rules of survival listed below (what New Yorkers call "street smarts"), you will probably be safe enough. The real problem of New York is not mugging but *hassle*, for life in New York is simply one continuing and permanent hassle.

First, on *Mugging*. There really should be published a mosaic-type map of the safe and unsafe streets, and even the corners, in New York. But the following broad rule of thumb should keep you out of trouble: *Don't* go above (north of) 116th St. on Broadway, or 96th St. on the rest of the West Side, and don't go above 96th St. on the East Side. Given that injunction, the main thoroughfares should be

fine at any time of the day and night.

Warning: almost every out-of-town visitor gets caught on this one: Trying to go north, on Broadway, to Columbia University (116th St.), he or she takes not the Broadway subway, but the Lenox Ave., which forks northeast off the Broadway line at 96th St. If you find yourself at the Lenox Ave. station at 116th St., *don't*, whatever the circumstances or whatever the hour, get off the station and decide to walk west to Broadway through Morningside Park. Get the hell out of there and go back down the Lenox Ave. line to 96th St., and then take the Broadway line uptown. And never, *ever* stroll through Morningside Park.

Speaking of parks, Central Park is lovely, but should only be entered in the daytime, and even then the stroll should be confined below 100th St. Exercise great care at night; best not to go there at all, for it is then Mugger's Paradise where even (!) the cops dare not enter.

As to the "outer boroughs": the Bronx, Brooklyn, or Queens, there is no point listing the unsafe areas because there is *no reason to go there*. Ever. The Staten Island ferry is fine if you like that sort of thing, but there is simply no reason to hang around on Staten Island. All this is denounced by outer boroughniks as arrogant Manhattan chauvinism, but what the hell, it's *true*. Note that outer boroughniks implicitly acknowledge the superiority of Manhattan by habitually referring to Manhattan as "New York" or "The City", thereby granting that *they're* really not part of the city. One amusing evidence of this you will see when you land at Kennedy airport (in Queens, and therefore technically in New York City), where you will see buses labelled "To New York City." If you are a literalist, you will wonder what in hell that means, since you are at that point *in* New York City. Forget it: Queens ain't "the city".

Again, as to mugging: sticking to main thoroughfares is best. Also, for women: *don't* wear visible gold chains, they might well be ripped off your neck, and keep your purses closed and tight against your body. And for men and women: best not to wear and flash expensive gold watches, because they could be ripped off your arm. Also, for men, especially when riding on subways and buses, *don't* flash your wallet, and particularly don't let anyone know in which pocket you keep it. Actually, it's best to have loose cash in one pocket and your wallet in another, so you won't lose your credit cards in case of theft. And also it's best to have lots of other things in the same pocket you keep your wallet, so pickpockets won't be able to slip it out easily: i.e. stuff in handkerchiefs, pens, pencils, etc. Also, when riding in a bus, watch out for the coin-dropping trick, when, as you're getting off the bus in the back, a guy in front of you, in the process of getting out, drops a coin *in back of him*. For while you are concentrating with irritation on the guy's backing up, picking up his coin, and blocking your path to the exit, his confederate behind you could be slipping his evil hand into your pocket and extracting your wallet.

As for the famous New York City subways, you may, like many out-of-towners, be fascinated by the action. Actually, their only advantage is speed; they are dirty, decrepit, incredibly noisy, and filled with potential muggers and thieves (people who in New York are generally euphemistically referred to as "the community.") That potential, however, is not likely to be actualized so long as you avoid northern Manhattan and the outer boroughs, and stick to the *middle* cars, particularly avoiding rear cars at night. Aside from speed, buses are better, you can see the city, and you can get out easily in case the vehicle gets stuck.

But, as I said earlier, the *real* problem with New York is not mugging but continual hassle. How hassle? In the first place, "consumer sovereignty", that delight of the free market, does not exist in New York (you know, that's when store clerks are happy for your custom.) Forget it. The attitude of store clerks in New York is that you, the customer, are an imposition on their valuable leisure time. What's more, if you ask for a product and they don't have it (very likely) they claim that you're crazy because the product *doesn't exist*. If you're suggestible, they'll have you half believing it.

Note: this does not apply to a happy exception, a raft of Korean-owned fruit stores that have popped up all over Manhattan, which tend to stay open late (sometimes all night), sell great fruit, and are courteous and polite. They still have the work ethic.

Also, hassle exists everywhere in New York if you ever *stop* on the street. Don't stop and look around, or enjoy the sights. For if you do, you won't get mugged, but you *will* get hassled: by guys looking for a touch, by crazies, by religious fanatics, by people pressing leaflets on you, or whatever. To avoid street hassle, do the following: Always keep walking purposefully, avoiding more than fleeting eye contact with your fellow strollers. Look ahead. If you see a guy on the next block, standing (or weaving) in the middle of the sidewalk, talking briefly to first one person and then the next, *avoid* him. He's up to no good; he's a hassler. Walk to the right or left of him. Above all: *pay no attention* if anyone talks to you or accosts you on the street. *Don't* stop politely to find out what he wants as you would in your own home town. It doesn't matter *what* he wants; chances are 100:1 he's up to no good. If anyone talks to you on the street, pay no attention and *accelerate* your pace rather than slow down; he will then forget about you and hassle the next sucker behind you. If he's *really* in distress, he can accost a cop or go into the nearest store.

In general, the cardinal rule of New York street smarts is to Trust No One, or rather Trust No Strangers. If you find New Yorkers brusque and unfriendly on the street, remember that most of them are not *really* unfriendly if you catch them in a legitimate social situation. They are simply obeying the rules of street survival, rules they have learned in New York street life, often the Hard Way.

There is also the justly famed New York taxi driver. The classic cab driver is unfortunately a dying breed: tough, street-smart, wise-cracking, gabby, deeply contemptuous in a kind of village-libertarian manner of any and all politicians. They also tend to be deeply racist and make no bones about it. These classic cabbies tend to be elderly; the younger ones are very often just off the boat from some foreign clime and don't know where anything is, even Broadway. So it is best to carry a street map with you at all times, so you can instruct *them*. Once in a blue moon you will get a charming taxi driver who is a college student or out-of-work actor who will be an opera buff, and that will be a real treat.

Why, you may ask, do New Yorkers put up with this permanent hassle that marks their city? The answer, universal to New Yorkers of whatever class or stripe, is: "this is where the action is." The *action* is the key, for whatever kind of action one seeks is here, from the toniest theatre and opera down to the local street corner mugging. Whatever New York is, it is never boring. It is where things happen. Once I lived in California for two years. I loved it. The people were so friendly it took me six months to decompress, and to realize that when the bank clerk or the

supermarket checker said, "Have a nice day, sir", or "Good morning, sir", they weren't out to rip me off in some way, they had no ulterior motive, they were just being friendly. The people in California were all handsome and beautiful, and the ambiance was lovely, a great contrast to the grotesques that populate New York. The streets were clean, and there were no potholes, in contrast to the wreck of the

Big Apple. It was great, except for one thing. No matter how hard I worked, I felt that I was on permanent vacation, that I was in exile, 3000 miles away from where the action really was, from the great big throbbing pulsating densely packed "cross-section of democracy" that is New York City.

So come on, folks, live it up and come to the Big Apple. Be prepared, trust no one, and then enjoy, enjoy! ‡

## FDR: the True Legacy

by Jimmy Harris

Franklin D. Roosevelt's 100th birthday has come and gone. For several days the media was filled with testimonies to his wisdom and achievements, and paeons to his greatness and warmth as a leader. Aged New Dealers tearily recalled personal experiences, and former presidents of various political spectrums spoke admiringly of his influence in their careers.

Behind all this hoopla and sentiment, though, lies concealed the actual truth of Roosevelt and the New Deal. Roosevelt was, in reality, one of the worse presidents this country has ever endured—no mean achievement, considering the competition. In the three great areas of presidential concern—economics, civil liberties, and international affairs—his record is utterly disastrous. Furthermore, most of the serious problems that now threaten this country took strong root during Roosevelt's term. That he is remembered otherwise by the great majority is due to his personal charisma, the bias of many mainstream historians and newspeople, and perhaps the fact that we as a nation have yet to pay the full price for Roosevelt's action.

### Economics: A Platform of Lies

Roosevelt took office on January 15th, 1932, on a platform of lies. His predecessor Herbert Hoover's wrong-headed attempts to legislate the country out of the Great Depression had failed miserably—not surprisingly, since government intervention in the economy was largely responsible for the depression in the first place. An increasingly desperate public elected Roosevelt to office on campaign pledges to balance the budget, slash the size of government, adhere to a gold standard, and remove government interference from the marketplace—the only policies that would have effectively restored a sound economy. He did none of this, of course. Instead, within weeks he embarked upon a spree of government spending and meddling in the economy the likes of which had never been remotely approached in this nation's history.

Roosevelt was an economic illiterate who actually bragged that he had never read a book on economics. "We

must lay hold of the fact that economic laws are not made by nature," he once said. "They are made by men." (The Boston Transcript astutely observed that "Two more glaring misstatements of truth could hardly have been packed into so little space.") This attitude made his administration easy prey for any variety of economic snake oil; and it is hardly surprising that they shortly embraced the then-new vogue of Keynesian economics, which gave academic sanction to their wholesale inflation and economic tinkering.

Roosevelt created a dizzying procession of alphabetically named agencies empowered to "create jobs" by spending tax dollars, and he saddled the economy with a plethora of senseless and destructive regulations. Never before had the federal government dared to expand into so many areas of American life as it did under this new flood of legislation. The Roosevelt administration regarded its word as law, and considered constitutional restraints on the power of the executive branch as merely a nuisance. Typical of the administration's attitude was this quote from Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's right-hand man, speaking to the Advisory Committee of the National Youth Administration: "I want to assure you that we are not afraid of exploring anything within the law, and we have a lawyer who will declare anything you want to do legal."

This unparalleled meddling led inevitably to a grossly distorted economy far removed from the actual needs and demands of the marketplace. Ill-considered and destructive federal loans, subsidies, wage and price controls, public works programs, taxation, pro-union legislation and the like wreaked havoc upon society. Needy Americans watched in mystery and horror as dairymen dumped milk out into the streets and the federal government paid farmers millions of dollars to destroy livestock and plow under crops—actions somehow designed to produce prosperity by destroying goods. As much of the country's productive power was confiscated or restrained by the government, millions of jobs were destroyed and more and more businesses closed. The government's desperate, lurching actions often bordered on the comic—or rather the tragi-comic. The poorly named National Recovery Administration attempted to prohibit newspaper boys from selling papers, and declared that, somehow in the interest of the economy, no burlesque

production could feature more than four strips. In its infinite wisdom, the Supreme Court, in the case of *Wickard vs. Filburn*, upheld the government's contention that a man growing grain solely for his own use was unlawfully interfering with interstate commerce and therefore subject to penalties and regulation.

The millions who received relief assistance or make-work jobs (and one may judge the usefulness of many of these jobs by the fact that they are responsible for introducing the word "boondoggle" into the public vocabulary) were thankful for this concrete evidence of government concern. What they could not see, and failed to perceive, were the millions of needed and productive jobs that were destroyed by these same governments programs, the lower prices that failed to materialize of goods and services whose prices were artificially inflated by government policies, and the many businesses that failed or never came to existence because of government actions. This was the real, unseen cost of the various Roosevelt emergency programs, and it was a cost no society could bear and still prosper. Thus the relief roles continued to swell and the unemployment lines grew, despite one frantic Roosevelt effort after another.

Among the most shameful of the many shameful and foolish economic acts of the Roosevelt administration was its seizing of the nation's privately held gold and its subsequent repudiation of the gold redemption clause in all government and private debts. Not only was this dishonest (as Senator Gore of Oklahoma noted at the time, "Why, that's just plain stealing, isn't it, Mr. President?"), it also gave the Federal government almost complete control of the nation's money supply, setting the stage for the devaluation of the dollar and the massive inflationary policies the administration was to pursue.

All of this economic meddling and financial flim-flam may be justified in the minds of some by one of the most fallacious, yet often-heard, claims about Roosevelt: that "he got us out of the Depression." Actually, nothing could be further from the truth. Despite all the "pump-priming," the endless government programs, the currency manipulation, there were still twelve million unemployed at the end of 1937. Between 1937 and 1938, industrial production declined by over a third—the fastest decline in American history. The policies of the Roosevelt administration were a colossal, abject failure. What actually brought the American economy out of its doldrums was the huge boost given to manufacturing by the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, and the subsequent U. S. entry into World War II. This artificial growth in the economy was funded in large part by inflated dollars and huge federal deficits—debt that, in the main, has yet to be paid, and still burdens the U.S. economy.

Thus we have the true economic legacy of the Roosevelt administration: sanction for massive government interference in the economy, acceptance of foolish and destructive economic nostrums as standard policy, a private sector distorted for decades from the true needs of the marketplace, and a huge debt that still weighs heavily upon the backs of American taxpayers. And no discussion of Roosevelt's economic fiascos would be complete without at

least a brief mention of Social Insecurity, that great government ponzi scheme which Roosevelt signed into effect in 1935, and which has since mushroomed into a monstrous fraud that has drained capital for decades and become ever more oppressive. For this, too, we must thank FDR.

As terrible and foolish as the above-mentioned actions of the Roosevelt administration were—in this limited space I have only touched on a few highlights—we can only be thankful that not all of Roosevelt's proposed legislation passed. Among his failures were attempts to place a ceiling on salaries at \$25,000 and a bill to limit top income to \$12,000 and tax the upper brackets at 99%! It is frightening to even imagine what any of this would have done to the United States.

### International Affairs

"... I shall say it again, and again, and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Roosevelt made this pledge while campaigning for reelection in October, 1940. Needless to say, he was no more faithful to this promise than he was to his earlier economic platform. In fact, shortly after a campaign filled with statements similar to the above, he embarked upon a program of deliberate harassment of the German and Japanese governments. He engineered intentional military confrontations with the German navy in September and October of 1941, and then lied to the American public about the nature of these confrontations—at a time when the vast majority of Americans favored a policy of strict neutrality. Through a series of crippling trade restrictions, unreasonable diplomatic demands, threats, and hostile speeches, Roosevelt baited and goaded the Japanese government into a fiercely anti-United States position that led inexorably to war. And if some of the more radical revisionist historians' claims are true—and these claims are becoming increasingly well documented—Roosevelt not only deliberately led the United States into World War II, he actually had advance knowledge of the planned Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, yet refused to notify U. S. naval forces, realizing that the attack would inevitably cause the United States to enter the war. Whether one accepts such extreme claims or not, there can be no doubt that Roosevelt was fully aware that many of the aggressively anti-German and anti-Japanese acts he took in the months before Pearl Harbor carried a serious risk of provoking a declaration of war against the United States—a war that as much as 85% of Americans wished desperately to avoid.

Roosevelt must share, along with the other combatants in World War II, blame for extending the horrors of warfare to civilian populations. Roosevelt joined with Churchill in the sanction of deliberate indiscriminate bombing of enemy civilian areas (a tactic, incidentally, first adopted by the British, in 1940; not the Germans, as commonly supposed.) This practice led to hundreds of thousands of utterly innocent, helpless, and uninvolved women, children, and civilian men on both sides being slaughtered in gruesome manner. The casualties incurred in these raids are virtually

inconceivable. In Dresden, a single firebombing raid turned that city into a blazing hell where 100,000 to 150,000 civilians burned to death. In Tokyo, 185,000 were killed or injured as a result of one firebombing raid. The apotheosis of all this, of course, was Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As a result of the general acceptance of this tactic, mass slaughter of innocent non-combatants is now considered standard policy for future wars. To criticize these bombings is not, of course, to deny the terrible atrocities committed by the Axis forces; but brutality on one side, or by one's allies, do not give sanction to such acts by the other. There can be no excuse for the deliberate, planned murder of innocent non-combatant adults and children as a way of combatting the actions of an aggressive state, especially when one considers how little effective say such people have in the actions of their governments.

Roosevelt might well have been able to avoid much of the vast carnage and destruction of the war had he been willing to negotiate a truce with the Axis powers. It is quite possible that Germany and Japan would have been willing to accept peace terms as early as middle or late 1943. Had such efforts been pursued, millions of lives might have been saved and much of the waste and destruction of the war averted. However, Roosevelt never wavered from his insistence on unconditional surrender, thus removing any chance for such a settlement.

Roosevelt's fondness for the Russian dictator, Stalin, led to some of the very worst consequences of World War II. During the war, Roosevelt deliberately allowed Russian spies to steal American uranium samples and atomic bomb research documents, ordering that nothing be done to prevent this. There is no way of calculating how much this aided the Soviets in their own attempts to create a nuclear bomb, but its effect was surely enormous. And after the war, Roosevelt made a series of concessions to Stalin that resulted in Russia acquiring dominance over 16 European and Asian nations with a combined population of over 725 million people. Thus, millions in Soviet slavery, and the thousands who have died in these areas since World War II at the hands of the Soviets, can thank Roosevelt for much of their predicament. Roosevelt also approved Stalin's insistence that all persons displaced by the war be forced to return to their home countries—a policy that all too obviously meant death camps and firing squads for thousands. For this horror, too, Roosevelt must share blame.

These post-war concessions to Stalin were greatly responsible for the creation of the monstrous Soviet Union that we know today. The end result of Roosevelt's conduct of World War II, then was simply to replace the horror of Nazism with the horror of international state communism—at an unimaginable cost of life and property.

#### Civil Liberties

Finally, an examination of Roosevelt's actions in the area of civil liberties shows that in this, too, his record is dismal.

Roosevelt can take credit, at least, for ridding the country of the scourge of Prohibition. However, a few years later he introduced a new kind of prohibition: the use of marijuana was made illegal in 1937. The devastation that this nation has suffered as a result of this single act is incalculable. Roosevelt also greatly increased the power and jurisdiction of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, helping to create a national police force that routinely spied upon citizens engaged in peaceful, non-illegal activities.

As it inevitably does, the outbreak of war, and these accompanying increase in rabid nationalism, brought with it numerous violations of basic civil liberties—and as always, once the state assumes a power during wartime, it rarely retreats fully when peace resumes. Thus World War II was, as many have noted, a period of massive growth of state power in all areas of life.

One of the most outrageous and well documented domestic actions of the Roosevelt administration was the imprisonment of 112,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry in prison camps at the outbreak of U. S. entry into the war. This was truly a black page in the history of this country. Roosevelt can also take credit for instituting the first peacetime draft in this nation's history, and for supporting the 1940 Smith Act, which, among other things, specified fines and imprisonment for written or oral "treasonous" arguments and persuasions. The Smith Act was so broad in scope that, as The New York Times observed at its passing, "If strictly construed, several of the leading speakers at last week's Republican National Convention might be in danger."

Mention must also be made of Roosevelt's refusal, along with other Allied countries, to loosen immigration restrictions in order to allow refugee European Jews to enter this country. This left hundreds of thousands of Jews without refuge and doomed to fall into the hands of the Nazis.

#### Gone But Not Forgotten

These few examples of the ignorance and perfidy of the Roosevelt administration barely scratch the surface, but they give at least some idea of the true legacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And make no mistake about it, his influence is still very much with us today. Roosevelt bears much of the responsibility for the creation of today's political boundaries and centers of power; and his influence is apparent in the approach of this nation's leaders to foreign policy, economics, and social concerns—much to our misfortune.

Even more aggravating, the hand of his ghost is still reaching into our pockets. Not only are Americans still struggling under the burden of the enormous national debt he saddled us with, we are also being faced, now that his centennial is upon us, with pleas from politicians and assorted blind worshippers of Roosevelt for millions of tax dollars to be spent to create a memorial to the former president. A fine reply to this sort of nonsense was made by

*Inquiry* in their January 11 and 25, 1982, issues:

Our own suggestion (for FDR memorial) would be to bronze the \$1 trillion national debt. Surely it would never have been possible without FDR.

John Flynn, in the final pages of his brilliant, caustic book, *The Roosevelt Myth*, summarizes the truth about the Roosevelt administration in a few biting sentences:

"But go back through the years, read the speeches and platforms and judgements he made and consider them in the light of what he did. Look up the promises of thrift in public office, of balanced budgets and lower taxes, of disbanded bureaucrats, of honesty in government and of security for all. Read again the warnings he uttered to his own people against those wicked men who would seize upon a war in Europe to entangle them upon specious visions of false war abundance. Read the speeches he made never, never again to send our sons to fight in foreign wars. Look up the promises he made, not to our own people, but to the Chinese, to Poland, to Czechoslovakia, to the Baltic peoples in Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia, to the Jews out of one side of his mouth and to the Arabs out of the other side. He broke every promise. He betrayed all who trusted him . . .

The figure of Roosevelt exhibited before the eyes of our people is a fiction. There was no such being as that noble, selfless, hard-headed, wise and farseeing combination of philosopher, philanthropist and warrior which has been fabricated out of pure propaganda and which a small collection of dangerous cliques in this country are using to advance their own evil ends."

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- "Herbert Spencer's Theory of Civilization," by philosopher George H. Smith. On Spencer's view of causality as the essence of any science, with special emphasis on its role in his "scientific system of ethics."
- "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

(Both papers originally presented at the CLS/Liberty Fund sponsored conference on "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

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# THE Libertarian Forum

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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## Ronald Reagan, Warmonger

The world is in very dangerous waters. The "true" or rhetorical Ronald Reagan, the second Reagan of the conservative "Let Reagan be Reagan" slogan, has functioned *only* in the world of rhetoric since the beginning of his misbegotten Administration, or arguably since he embraced the Rockefeller Republicans at the convention of 1980. The rhetorical Reagan, he of the "Get Big Government off our Backs," free market, war-with-Russia stance, has been particularly eclipsed since the end of the first year of his Administration. In economics, quasi-libertarians, monetarists, and supply-siders have been elbowed aside since 1982, and replaced by the same kind of quasi-conservative Keynesians who brought us the Nixon and Ford Administrations. In foreign policy, however, while the war fanatics like Richard Allen and Richard Pipes were booted out after a year, there has recently been a recrudescence of war-hawk domination by a *troika* of old Reagan buddy Judge William P. Clark, national security adviser whose admitted total ignorance of foreign affairs seems especially to qualify him for a top foreign policy post; Cap Weinberger of Bechtel Corporation and the Defense Department; and neo-conservative hatchet-lady and political scientist Jeane Kirkpatrick, whose contribution to political theory was to distinguish between "good" authoritarian and "bad" totalitarian torture.

The war-hawk *troika* signalled its accession to power by booting out Thomas Enders (one of the people most responsible for the Vietnam War) and Deane Hinton from their key State Department posts in Central American policy, for the sin of being too dovish and soft-nosed. This was a shock to those knowledgeable in foreign affairs, since it was roughly equivalent to Hitler's firing Goebbels for being soft on the Jewish Question. Clearly, we were in for a lot of trouble. Since the rise of the *troika*, and the relative eclipse of the "dovish" George Shultz in foreign policy, the following events have occurred as the Reagan Administration heats up the Cold War and marches, step by step, toward World War III.

### I Reagan Breaks the Law

If there is one thing that conservatives are firm about, it is that one must never, ever break the law. No matter how unjust the law, they prate, one must never disobey it; one must only try one's best to get the law changed. *But as long as a law is on the books, it must be enforced.* And yet Ronnie Reagan has broken at least two laws openly, flagrantly, and defiantly. Even so, no one, least of all conservatives, has called for his impeachment.

What are these laws? One is the Boland Amendment, in which Congress made illegal any U.S. government attempt to give covert aid to Nicaraguan rebels in order to overthrow, or, as they say these days, "destabilize", the Nicaraguan government. Yet the CIA has been giving massive aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*, and has even established bases for the *contras* in neighboring Honduras, setting up the conditions for an escalating war between the two nations. This has been perhaps the most open "covert" operation in history. For many months, the U.S. government has been using the patently lame excuse that the "covert" aid was certainly not designed to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. No, it is only to put some pressure on Nicaragua to stop sending aid to the leftist guerrillas in El Salvador. While this aid might well be there, it has been so elusive that the best efforts of the U.S. and its satraps to prove Nicaraguan aid have so far been abject failures. Most guerrilla weapons, in the time-honored tradition, have come from the United States, either via capture of government arms or sale by corrupt government officials.

Recently, however, the Reagan Administration has felt so emboldened on the march toward war that it has allowed ultra-hawk Under Secretary of Defense Fred ("the Ick") Ikle to proclaim frankly and boldly that yes indeed the "covert" aid is designed to overthrow the Nicaraguan regime. So why isn't Reagan impeached and Ikle booted out?

The second flagrant defiance of the law was Reagan's refusal to obey the War Powers Act, by which Congress ordered the President to subject the maintenance of U.S. troops abroad to its wishes as soon as these troops become subject to actual hostilities. U.S. Marines have been killed in Beirut, and yet the President stubbornly refused to obey the War Powers Act, and only grudgingly agreed to a compromise when Congress knuckled under and ratified the Marines staying in Lebanon for at least another 18 months. Yet, amidst Congressional appeals and whines for Reagan to please, sir, obey the law, no one, of either party mentioned Impeachment. Since the brief and glorious flurry in 1974, has impeachment once again become Unthinkable?

### II Deeper Into Lebanon

U.S. policy in Lebanon is a classic case of sinking deeper and deeper into a quagmire, almost deliberately escalating step-by-step into another Vietnam. We begin, seemingly innocent enough, contributing 1,300 Marines to an international "peacekeeping" force. Amidst all the the right-

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wing jibes at the United Nations, we forget that the major problem with the UN is not its "anti-Americanism" but its being designed as an instrument for "collective security against aggression," i.e. bringing us a state of potentially permanent war in seeking the chimera of permanent peace. The trouble with the UN is that it gets us into situations like a seemingly harmless "peacekeeping" operation.

But how, after all, do soldiers "keep the peace" except through fighting and killing? And so here we are in the midst of a civil war that has raged among literally dozens of groups in Lebanon for decades. What in hell does the United States know or care about the ancient Druse people, for example, and how dare it set itself up as an arbiter of their fortunes? Originally, in Step 1 of the operation, U.S. Marines were only supposed to fire if fired upon. But then a U.S. naval force with 2,000 more men came, and began shelling Druse positions in the Shouf mountains above and south of Beirut. The excuse was that these positions were shelling Marine positions. But soon hostilities escalated further, and it turns out that the U.S. Navy began to shell the Druse not for endangering our Marines but for battling against the Christian Lebanese Army, to which the U.S. is increasingly committed to winning the civil war. I suppose that, in that logic, the Lebanese Christians become surrogate U.S. Marines, worthy of the same protection. And so it goes.

But not only is the United States presuming to intervene ever further in the Lebanese civil war, it is also coming down unerringly on the (long-run) losing side. For a steady fact amidst the confusion of forces is that "Lebanon" is not a true country but an abortion. It was carved out of Syria by French imperialism after World War I, to serve as a French client state. Furthermore, the religious proportional representation imposed since the 1930's used as a basis the census of 1932. In that year pro-French Maronite Christians along with their Christian allies, had a majority of the Lebanese population. But if current demographics, a half-century later, were ever used as a basis for quotas of power in the government, the Muslims would be dominant, since they now form about two-thirds of the population. The essence of the Lebanese struggle is an attempt by a minority of "pro-Western" Maronite Christians to dominate and bully a Muslim majority. In the long run, this system cannot work and will be overthrown, and it is in this cauldron that the United States has decided to make itself the major enemy of Islam in Lebanon. The Lebanese army, much vaunted in the U.S. media, is a Maronite Christian army, and the President of Lebanon, Amin Gemayel, is the leader of the very same Phalangist forces that massacred helpless Palestinian women and children at the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.

American officials are engaging in a great deal of hand-wringing about their terrible dilemma in Lebanon. If we stay, we might get embroiled deeper and deeper in another Vietnam; but if we leave, the Gemayel government will fall. Tough. It is not a proper function of the United States to prop up dictators all over the world. And to those who think we have "national security" interests in Lebanon (assuming that word can be defined intelligently) it would be nice to hear exactly what they may be.

As for the cease-fire, it is nice to have it, but there have been many cease-fires in Lebanon, and how long does

anyone think this one will last? Any more permanent solution is being held up by the insistence of Gemayel, a man whose power depends almost totally on U.S. military might, on conducting negotiations in his own presidential palace.

Americans must ask themselves and their government: Why die for Gemayel? Why die to impose Maronite Christian rule over Muslims? What kind of foreign policy is that? Is such a policy really necessary to protect Maine or Seattle from foreign aggression? If we don't fight the Druse in their ancestral home in the Shouf mountains, will we really have to fight them in the streets of Boston?

### III Deeper into Central America

The Central American morass is not as boldly in the headlines right now as Lebanon, but is fully as dangerous for escalating military conflict. The United States is backing an unpopular and despotic regime in El Salvador, and is building bases in Honduras in order to aid and abet the "contra" invasion of Nicaragua. All of these are inexorably losing propositions, and therefore to keep its wildly interventionist commitments, the U.S. must continue to escalate its forces and its war in Central America.

In El Salvador, the much touted "free elections" are now forgotten, as the guerrillas slowly but surely increase their power in one province after another. In this country ridden by dictatorship and by right-wing paramilitary squads murdering dissenters, government army officers refuse to go out on patrol in guerrilla country (in the words of the old joke, "you can get killed out there!") and stay confined to their base, punctuated occasionally by grand but pointless sweeps throughout the countryside. Weekends they take off to cavort amidst the fleshpots of the capital city. In Nicaragua, in contrast, the army is doing very well and the well-supplied *contras* are getting nowhere. For one reason, in contrast to the Salvadoran army, the Nicaraguan forces go out habitually in small patrols to encounter the enemy.

And the egregious Fred Ikle proudly proclaims that in Central America "we seek victory for the forces of democracy." These are the same "forces" that expelled the bureau chief of the Associated Press from El Salvador for telling the truth, and that are daily torturing and murdering dissenters from the right-wing dictatorial government.

### IV 007 Hysteria

Fueling all of these war escapades, softening any resistance to them in Congress and the country, adding to pressure for any and all military expenditures, is the hysteria whipped up by Reagan, the right-wing, and the Establishment media over the tragic shooting down of Korean Airliner 007 over Sakhalin Island. After milking the maximum amount of propaganda from the failure of the Russians to admit shooting down the plane, or to explain the incident, for eight days, it turned out that the U.S. authorities were also engaged in telling untruths on a massive scale. For one thing, the U.S. finally and grudgingly admitted that the Soviet jet interceptors had indeed fired several warning shots at 007 before shooting it down. This after many days of hopped-up denunciations that the Soviets had neglected to fire any warning shots. Also, it took several days for the U.S. to admit that a U.S. RC-135 spy plane flew near the 007 route and that for some time the paths of the

two actually coincided.

There are many unanswered questions and fuzzy areas about 007—enough, surely, to defuse the hysteria and try to get back—or forward—to a sane approach toward the airliner and toward the Soviets generally.

1. *What in hell was KAL 007 doing flying 300 miles off-course for several hours over Soviet airspace?* KAL 747's are equipped with three separate, cross-checking, internal navigation systems. The pilot and crew of 007 should have known instantly that they were off course. And why were there no radio communications from 007 until fifteen minutes before it was shot down? The idea of radio failure makes no sense. Not only because they *did* make contact at long last, but also because 747's are equipped with five separate radios, two of which can reach anywhere in the world. Furthermore, the route flown by 007 is well-travelled; there are planes up there all the time, including another 747 twenty minutes behind that was carrying Senator Jesse Helms. Why didn't 007 contact any of these other planes and check where they were?

Moreover, all Pacific pilots are well aware, and it is marked clearly on their navigational maps, that one does *not* fly over Soviet airspace without advance clearance, because the planes are likely to be shot down. Why then the insouciance of the 007 pilot? Especially since a civilian KAL airliner was shot down over the Soviet Arctic in 1978? There is one crucial difference, however, between the 1978 incident and that of 1983: the 1978 airliner was a 707, with little of the sophisticated navigational systems of the 747. Its pilot could well have gotten lost; the 007 pilot could not.

Another point: 007 was supposed to report every hour to air controllers on the ground. Why didn't any of the U.S. or Japanese air controllers, also well aware of the dangers of flying over Soviet territory—especially the sensitive military installations in the Kamchatka-Sakhalin area—why didn't they ever notify 007 that it was way off course and to get back pronto?

Specifically, we know that the RC-135, our spy plane, was flying on the course that day to monitor Soviet tests. But our most capable monitor for the Soviet tests is the U.S. Cobra Dane radar at Shemya, at the tip of the Aleutians and only 450 miles from Kamchatka. The Shemya radar would have seen quickly that 007 was off course, and would have tracked it from then on. Why, then, didn't an American official at Shemya immediately pick up a phone, call 007, or call the Japanese controllers at Narita? It is no wonder that the London *Sunday Times* concluded from its investigation of the 007 incident that "there is now a growing conviction in military, political and aviation circles that Captain Byung In was not in Soviet airspace by accident."

2. *Was the 007 incursion planned, and, if so, why?* If KAL pilot Chung Byung In was "witting", and the U.S. and Japanese air controllers were perhaps aiding and abetting, what was the point? The suggestion in the media that Chung Byung might have taken this dangerous route deliberately to save money on fuel seems idiotic; surely a hell of a risk to take for saving some gasoline. It is more plausible to look at Korean Air Lines, nearly all of whose pilots are former officers in the South Korean Air Force, and who retain high security clearance. Chung Byung himself was considered one of KAL's best pilots, as witness the fact that he was chosen

to be the pilot for several 747 flights of the South Korean president to the U.S. and to various countries in Southeast Asia during 1981 and 1982. The present form of Korean Air Lines originated in 1969; before then, the Korean government was running the company. In that year, the government decided to put KAL into the hands of a private transportation company, the Hanjin Group, headed by two brothers, Cho Chong ("Harry") Hoon and Cho Chong ("Charlie Cho") Kun. Most KAL business is manufacturing aircraft for the Korean Air Force, which of course cements the closeness of its ties with the Korean military.

Furthermore, Fred Kaplan reports in the *Boston Globe* that the two brothers have close ties with the Korean CIA. A former director of Korean affairs at the U.S. State Department told Kaplan that throughout the 1970's Charlie Cho ran money back and forth between the KCIA and Japanese bigwigs. Kaplan was also told that KAL used to run money and spies in and out of Korea and assisted the KCIA in its lucrative drug smuggling.

And where the KCIA is, can the US CIA be far behind?

The Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* claimed, on Sept. 16, that Chung Byung had boasted to intimates that he was carrying out special tasks for U.S. intelligence, that he had placed equipment on 747's to spy on Soviet installations, and that he intended to leave KAL soon because of the high risks entailed in flying for the CIA. This could well be hokum, but it is surely suggestive in light of the evidence.

If the 007 incursion was planned by the KCIA, with or without US connivance, why did they do it? There would appear to be three possible reasons, or some combination of the three: First, the 747 could have been functioning as a spy plane. A former U.S. Air Force intelligence officer remembers being told in 1967, according to Fred Kaplan, that KAL habitually attached side-view cameras to commercial airliners capable of long-distance photography. Newt Royce of the Hearst press reported on September 4 that U.S. intelligence officials admit that civilian airliners are routinely used for spying: Aeroflot for the Russians, and Finnair and others for the U.S. The common counter-argument that the U.S. needs no such photos because of its satellites, runs against the fact that satellites fly at regular times and so can be evaded if necessary, and that photos taken at 30,000 feet can often tell more than, or at least confirm, photos from satellites.

A second, more plausible, reason was to test the quality and speed of Soviet air defenses. What they found should have gladdened their hearts, since they discovered that the Russian military are a bunch of stumblebums. There is a peculiar tendency of right-wingers, from conservatives to conservative libertarians, to look upon the Soviet Union as a mighty, super-efficient, Satanic monolith, omniscient if not omnipotent, and always ready to strike. Yet what is the Soviet Union but a giant, rigidified bureaucracy, and what is bureaucracy but a bunch of confused, ineffective stumblebums? Free market advocates should after all, be particularly alive to this fact.

And so what we saw in the 007 incident was a Soviet air defense that didn't seem to know what was going on or what to do, that allowed a large, slow, passenger airliner to fly for two-and-a-half hours over sensitive Soviet airspace without

interception, that took all of thirty minutes to get the interceptor jets off the ground. Not only that: three days after 007, several test-fired Russian ICBMs blew up over the same area! With this record, it is very possible that it took Marshal Ogarkov all of eight days to find out what in hell happened over Pacific Siberia that night.

So crummy have Soviet air defenses shown themselves to be that various press reports have U.S. intelligence authorities believing that up till the very end the Soviets were convinced that they were tracking and shooting down not a civilian 747 but an RC-135 spy plane. For one thing, Soviet interceptors may have misidentified the plane because they were always at least 2,000 feet below 007 and therefore could not make out its distinctive silhouette. Furthermore, the Soviets could have been misled by their obsolete radar equipment, and by the fact that Soviet commanders don't trust their pilots with access to radio frequencies with which they could have contacted the Korean airliner. In fact, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff Charles A. Gabriel happily concluded from the 007 incident that the Soviet air defense performance "gives us a little more confidence" in the ability of the U.S. Air Force to penetrate Soviet air space "if necessary." (New York Times, Sept. 18.) Could finding this out have been the point of the whole exercise?

One thing that the U.S. authorities acknowledge they discovered is the tense, nervous state of the Soviet air defenders. The Americans confirmed the Soviet account of nine U.S. military spy plane incursions into Soviet airspace over the Kurile Islands this year. Take frayed nerves, the deep fear that the next U.S. military air incursion might be a nuclear attack, and the Soviet penchant to punish severely any commanders who allow intruding aircraft to escape, and the stage was set for the tragedy of 007.

A third possible reason for the incursion, less plausible than the others but which should not be dismissed out of hand, is that 007 was a right-wing US/South Korean intrigue designed to provoke the Soviets into doing precisely what they did—thus heating up the Cold War and ending any possibility of detente for a long time to come.

There are various other conspiracy theories about 007 that can be dismissed *tout court*. One is the Bircher theory that the Soviets shot down 007 because they knew that Rep. Larry McDonald (D., Ga.), head of the John Birch Society, was on the plane. It seems to me that in the improbable event that McDonald was No. 1 on a Soviet hit list, they could have assassinated him far more easily in Washington without causing an international airplane incident in which they lose an enormous number of propaganda points. (If I were in the Kremlin and had an Americanski hit list, McDonald would scarcely be high up on it.) Even less plausible is the kooky antipodal conspiracy theory, voiced by Larry Flynt of *Hustler* fame, that McDonald himself was in on the disaster, along with the CIA, in order to make himself an anti-Communist martyr and heat up the Cold War. Another kooky sub-variant is that 007 was a coordinated plot by the Reagan Administration and the Russians to get rid of McDonald, since the Administration is run by Trilateralists. A hilarious "sub-sub-variant," as noted by the Menckenesque Marxist journalist Alexander Cockburn, "is that the Russians' true target was Scoop Jackson, knowing full well that news of the incident would

give him a fatal heart attack." (*Village Voice*, September 20).

### 3. What are the Lessons of 007?

The alleged lesson pushed by the war hawks, the right-wing, and the Reagan Administration (at least in rhetoric), and following them the bulk of the media, is that the shooting down of 007 was mass murder or even a "massacre," that this "proves" that the Soviet system is evil, and that the Soviets are barbarians and mass murderers who should be treated as such. What being treated as such really means is never fully spelled out. Oddly enough, the policy conclusions never match up to the bitter and sweeping analyses. Thus, a group of orthodox, unreconstructed Randians, centered around Peter Schwartz and his magazine *The Intellectual Activist*, took the trouble and the enormous expense to take out a full page ad in the New York Sunday Times (Sept. 11). The thrust of the ad was that the Soviet Union should be treated as a "well-armed" neighborhood police force would deal with murderers in their midst. The Randians proceed to spell out what they claim to be the implications of their analogy: specifically the breaking of all diplomatic relations, since one does not engage in "detente" with local murderers. Other right-wingers, pursuing the same logic, have added a call for prohibition of all East-West trade. But these logicians are acting haltingly and bizarrely on the basis of their own logic. For of course this sort of thing—ostracism, refusal to trade or negotiate—is *not* what neighborhood police do to a murderer. What they do is to apprehend and execute him. Following Randian and other right-wing logic, then, what the United States is supposed to do, right now, is nuke the Soviet Union.

The interesting point is: *Why* don't the Randians and other right-wingers see that this is their real thrust? Is their grasp on the logic of their own position that weak? In short, are they that dumb?. Failing *that* conclusion, the Randians/conservatives can have only two things in mind: *either* (a) they favor the immediate nuking of the Soviet Union and haven't got the guts to say so, i.e. this is precisely the hidden agenda behind their beating of the war drums; (b) *something* is holding them back from going all the way in whooping it up for a nuclear holocaust. If so, it would behoove them to examine what that something is, and, if they focussed fully on that for a while, they might begin to reconsider their entire war-hawk perspective. Perhaps then the *Intellectual Activist*, which proudly proclaims its subtitle, "In Defense of Individual Rights," might begin to see that a nuclear holocaust would, to put it mildly, be a massive assault on the individual rights to life of countless millions of innocent Russians and Americans. Perhaps then they will also see that their own irresponsible rhetoric is tantamount to threatening and bringing closer a nuclear confrontation that would slaughter far more innocents than even Communist regimes have managed in ruling their own subjects. In the good old Randian phrase: Randians, "Check your premises!"

The *real* lessons of 007 are very different, and have gotten very little attention in the media. They can be summed up as follows:

a. *Americans are Very Selective in their Moral Indignation.*

In February 1973, the State of Israel shot down a Libyan commercial airliner over the Sinai Desert, killing 109

persons. Yet no President of the United States got on the air to denounce the "massacre," no media people claimed that this incident demonstrated the "evil nature" of the "barbaric" Israeli system, no one demanded that all trade and diplomatic relations with Israel be cut off, and no Randians took out full-page ads declaiming that Israel should be treated as local police treat mass murderers. Why not?

*b. No Superpower is to be Trusted with High-Tech Weapons of Mass Destruction.*

The major lesson of this incident is that both superpowers are paranoid and trigger-happy, and each has its finger close to the nuclear button expecting momentary assault from the other side. Both sides can unleash enormous destruction within moments. Instead of trying to keep the 007 tragedy from ballooning into a full-blown war crisis, the Reagan administration seized the opportunity to heat up the Cold War, kill all attempts at detente, and intensify arguments for any and all accumulations of nuclear weaponry. For a while, the atmosphere looked very close to the blundering into World War that marked the Guns of August, 1914. The major lesson of the 007 crisis is the desperate need for joint nuclear disarmament of the superpowers, for the permanent elimination of the nuclear button by which the super-States hold the entire human race at risk.

We might as well consider here the agitation for unilateral U.S. nuclear disarmament that has been pushed for the last couple of years by people within the left-wing of the Libertarian Party. (The argument over unilateral disarmament transcends Crane Machine-anti Crane Machine boundaries. It is, as it were, trans-Machine. Thus the main advocates have been Sheldon Richman and Leslie Graves Key of the left-wing of the Machine, and Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, in the anti-Machine camp. Hummel, in particular, has been an eloquent and knowledgeable spokesman for unilateral disarmament.) My own position is that while I would prefer unilateral disarmament to the monstrous *status quo*, these are not our only choices. For I vastly prefer *mutual* nuclear disarmament to unilateral; clearly the people of the world, their rights and liberties, would be far more secure under the former. The unilateralists like to think of their position as more *radical* than that of us mutualists; but isn't it more *radical* to have every superState disarm their weapons of mass destruction, than only one? In fact, the shoe should be on the other foot: why wouldn't *any* libertarian strongly prefer mutual to unilateral disarmament? Why are our unilateralists hanging back rather than going all the way?

I remember back in the 1950's and 1960's, when the anti-nuclear movement was gaining strength in the United States. The all-out pacifists took the peculiar position that they would rather see the U.S. government disarm unilaterally than negotiate an agreement with Russia for joint disarmament. The reason for this odd position was *not*, of course, that these pacifists were secret Commies, trying to open us up for a Soviet takeover. The reason was that their idea of politics was *making a moral statement* rather than accomplishing results. A government that disarms unilaterally can be said to be making a purer, more heroic, moral statement than one that persuades other governments to disarm together. By extension, the pacifists themselves

were making a purer, more heroic moral statement than those in the anti-nuke movement who advocated joint nuclear disarmament. I am afraid that something like this is driving our unilateralists, who, in their desire to make purer and more heroic moral statements than anyone else, are losing sight of the fact that mutual disarmament would be a far more libertarian event, a far greater cause for rejoicing by us and by the entire human race, than unilateral disarmament. So why not go for it?

### V Conclusion: Reagan: Rhetoric and Reality

Ronald Reagan was swept into office by the conservative movement, whose leader and spokesman he had become. He made a raft of campaign promises to that movement, each and every one of which he has broken egregiously. He raised income taxes rather than lowered them, he brought us \$200 billion deficits rather than balancing the budget, he entrenched fiat money rather than bringing back the gold standard, his budget is the highest absolutely and as percentage of GNP in American history, he has deregulated nothing, he has not abolished the Departments of Education and Energy, etc. The conservative movement has long been animated by three broad concerns: (a) Freeing the economy and Getting Big Government Off Our Back; (b) using government to enforce Judaeo-Christian morality (so-called "social" issues), and (c) engaging in nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Simply listing these concerns reveals that (b) and (c) the theocratic and the war-mongering, contradict the libertarian (a), to put it very mildly. The conservative movement is so constituted that in a tussle between these three, (b) and (c) always win out in their hearts and minds over the free market.

The quintessence of Ronald Reagan is that he is a master in supplying the conservative movement with the rhetoric they want to hear. In all politicians there is a gulf between rhetoric and reality, but in Ronald Reagan that gulf has become a veritable and mighty ocean. There seems to be no contact whatever between Ronnie the rhetorician and Ronnie the maker of policy. In that situation it is hard to know which one is "the real" Reagan. The conservatives, feeling betrayed but lacking any guts for a break with the Administration, persist in asserting (publicly, at any rate) that the rhetorical Reagan is the *real* one, and that if only his evil pragmatist advisers would "let him," this real Reagan would finally emerge. Hence, the famous right-wing slogan, "Let Reagan Be Reagan." But the problem with that slogan is the "let." What do you mean, "let"? Who picked these evil advisers, and who persists in maintaining them in power? None other than Reagan himself. So in what sense is this visible person *not* the "real" Reagan?

There are only two solutions to his dilemma, neither one a happy situation for conservatives. *Either* Reagan is a total cretin, a puppet who gets wheeled out for ceremonial speeches, and who *really believes* that he is putting conservative policies into effect. *Or* Reagan is a cynical master politician, keeping the conservatives happy by dishing out their rhetoric and his phony 3x5 card anecdotes, while keeping corporate centrists happy by pursuing the New Deal-Fair Deal-Great Society-Nixon-Ford policies that we have all come to know so well. Either way: Reagan the imbecile or Reagan the cynical manipulator, the

situation is hopeless for conservatives, who yet persist in wilfully not perceiving this stark reality.

Of the three conservative concerns mentioned above, Reagan has clearly and flatly sold out the free market, and also pretty much for the theocratic social issues. Unfortunately, the anti-Soviet part of the rhetoric is something that Reagan seems to believe in more firmly than the rest of the stuff, so that he has more difficulty abandoning his conservative mass base on this issue than on the others. "Unfortunately," because the more Reagan betrays conservatism on the war front (and on theocracy), the better. The drift toward war, and the ascendancy of the war-hawk *troika*, are ominous signposts for the future. The only silver lining in the cloud is that, despite the whipped-up hysteria, the Reagan Administration hasn't really *done*

anything to crack down directly on the Russians. (He couldn't retaliate by banning Aeroflot in U.S., since Carter had already locked *that* into place when the Russians marched into Afghanistan.) His not doing anything concrete has, of course, sent conservatives up the wall, for this is by far their most emotional and most deeply felt of the three broad issues. It is a helluva note when we have to rely, for saving us from nuclear annihilation, on the likes of the Rockefellers, the Trilateralists, the Shultzzes, the Kissingers, and all the rest. But that is unfortunately the way things are.

Hopefully, as rhetoric and reality clash and as we weave back and forth in the direction of the Final World War, Ronnie will be booted out in 1984, and we will all be able to leave the question of who or what is the "real" Reagan to shrinks and historians. Ronald Reagan will, then at long last, become supremely irrelevant for our time. ‡

## Letters on Gandhi

Dear Editor:

I should say I am aghast at Murray Rothbard's "The New Menace of Gandhism" (March) but I am not surprised. Aghast at the blatant intolerance, un-surprised by the Randian-Objectivist attitude toward anything spiritual.

The rising tide of Gandhism is, at any rate, not the worship of the man or even of his particular methods or beliefs, but of his attitudes. Gandhites (speaking for myself) will certainly modify the methods to benefit the times. Non-violent resistance, in this country, would certainly be a far cry from the massacres and slaughter of Gandhi's time. Also, libertarians are indeed not especially pacifist by being non-violent in intent. Certainly *I* do not turn the other cheek, *rarely*. And before Gandhi came into my reading, I was cheering Thoreau who advocated the same civil disobedience. Where do Randians get off setting the standards for a philosophy and movement, ages old, long before Ms. Rand came upon the scene?

Defending this libertarian's defection against Mr. Rothbard's observations, I would have to say that, firstly, I have always been a supporter of the American Revolution, violence and all. I do not, however, believe it is necessary *now*, but if so I have no doubts libertarians will fight one.

This "craze" does not serve a function for "burnt out" activists as speaking for myself I am working just as hard and harder than ever. My activity remains the same. I have simply decided I cannot support a libertarian political party or government by *voting*. I still participate in political activities but no "candidate-type" support and action. A "drop out" of anything I am not, Mr. Rothbard. Only that which has clay feet or I have outgrown. Politics is a child's-play-ego-trip. A mania for fame and power, what good have the ego trips of those who *are* in office, and have been for a while, done for libertarian freedom? Not one iota. Not one. They have compromised themselves right back to warmed-over republicansville from whence they came. I have yet to see a leopard successfully change his spots.

I do not think any of us are going to *throw* ourselves into the machinery of the state. We are not martyrs, but we *are* activists. I cannot speak for the others, but I do not "sit around" talking, since my non-political decision. I am still writing, and to editors, and legislators and in other areas. I am publishing. I am involved in Toastmasters, speaking libertarianese wherever I am. I have offered "education" with other writers' works and my own reasoning, to my share of potential believers. I do not consider myself burnt out or inactive. Crazy maybe. But not lazy.

I do not think reviling of Gandhi's motives or beliefs serves any purpose since they are not the core of the non-violent, non-acquiescing philosophy. Certainly I have not heard anyone of us call him a libertarian *or* a saint. Certainly he had his personal motives just as you, I, and others have theirs. Gandhi's fanaticism is acknowledged. It served its purpose, for its time and place. It is not necessarily ours. His sexual attitudes are also his personal business. I fail to see the pertinence except to sneer and revile. A man's belief is his fortress. Although perhaps not agreed with, the man is no less guilty of anything than those who mindlessly obeyed. A man sets himself up as a certain something, rounds up a following and pursues his dream. *Everyone* has that privilege and prerogative Mr. Rothbard, and may the most effective and "followed" movement win. What "type" of libertarians eventually start, or win, or lose, the "revolution" will determine the future direction of this nation.

I have chosen the way I feel is the most decent, ethical and honest. Shame on you Murray Rothbard, for showing your "fear" through such an intolerant article.

Yes, the best activists are deserting your L.P. and that is the fear. That there are no longer any *libertarians* in the political party. And there are not.

As for Mr. Gandhi "selling out," he had the prerogative of living and learning and changing his mind as do all the rest of us. Except *we* start where he left off.

Perhaps, Mr. Rothbard, you may consider that the

*libertarian* movement is not as steeped in the heritage (?) of Rand and Mises as you think, but instead, steeped in far deeper philosophies besides the objectivists and the economists. Any movement sans spiritually will die and the L.P. is already very ill. I would be afraid, too, Mr. Rothbard, for truth will out and will then set us all free. Whose? Only time will tell.

Respectfully,  
Lorraina M. Valencia.

Dear Editor:

I am writing in response to your article about Gandhi and Non-violent action in your recent issue of LF. I admit I didn't get a chance to read the article thoroughly and do not have it before me so my comments are really *very* general.

First I intuit that you are attacking non-violent action because it might drive people away from the party. In truth, the thing that drives most people away from the party/including myself, before I realized its general strategic impotence—was the infighting and the backbiting—of which your article might easily be considered an example.

Second, you may oppose non-violent action because of your fervent ideological and perhaps psychological attachment to the idea of our "right" to use violence to enforce our view of libertarian "justice"—both as a means of abolishing the state and as a way of maintaining order afterwards. Your ego bristles at the very suspicion that someone might disagree with your sacred "right" to use violence.

Mostly, I think you are afraid of what you may perceive as real *competition* to your brand of libertarianism. You are afraid that libertarians might accept Gandhi's essential message—that there are no absolute standards of truth and justice and therefore we should settle all our disputes, including those over property—non-violently. You quote Koestler to attack Gandhi. I don't have the quotes or even the original title of the work you quoted from, but I can quote you some certainly later Koestler which indirectly supports Gandhi's basic assumption—that absolute truth is probably unattainable. "In fact our physicists have been engaged, over the last fifty years, in ruthlessly discarding previously sacrosanct 'Laws of Nature' and replacing them with obscure mental constructs which cannot be represented in three-dimensional space, and whose quasi-mystical implications are hidden in technical jargon and mathematical formalism . . . (Physics and parapsychology) have in common an attitude defying commonsense and defying 'Laws of Nature' previously considered inviolable."

This from one of his last and most "synthetic works," Janus, (1978.) Also from Janus an understanding of the concept of our essential interconnectedness as human beings in this description of "Mach's Principle" which "states that the inertial properties of terrestrial matter are determined by the total mass of the universe around us." The metaphysical implications are fundamental—for it follows from it not only that the universe as a whole influences local, terrestrial events, but also that local events have an influence, however small, on the universe as a whole . . . which reminds one of

the ancient Chinese proverb: "If you cut a blade of grass, you shake the Universe." Such thinking is a basis for the opinion of *all* violence is wrong because it hurts us all . . . something Gandhi would certainly agree with.

As you know Tim Leary, Robert Anton Wilson and Karl Hess all have rejected absolutist truth though they may not have come out for total non-violence. LeFevre, rather than being an "aberration," in fact expresses the purest form of libertarianism: toleration and non-violence.

As you can see from the enclosed I myself am into realtivism and non-violence and am working hard on several articles and booklets to bring this message to the libertarian movement—but even more so to the rest of the world. The very *big* "New Age" movement which study the New Physics and the Non-violent action movement in the anti-nuclear and disarmament movements are ready for this new synthesis. Austrian economics will of course be incorporated into what I write because it is based on the realization that all values are relative. However, natural law and natural rights are out the window. There is no excuse for violence! And to avoid the violence of the bully—whose numbers would be negligible in a non-violence society—stay out of dark alleys and put good fences around your neighborhoods!

I realize you have invested your life and reputation into promoting natural rights and aren't liable to be swayed by a rambling letter from me. But if you really are into the search for "truth"—or at least *greater probability*, I'd advise you to read the books on list at end of enclosed article.

I believe the "revolution" will come from those of us who believe in the metaphysics of relativistic creative consciousness, the ethics of freewill and non-violence and the rituals—of sex and drugs and rock and roll????!! Why wait till your next life to get hip? Get hip now!

(Try reading Tim Leary's autobiography which is quite amusing . . . though I don't agree with all his views on physiology.)

Carol Moore  
c/o Libertarian Office  
1550 Westwod Blvd.  
Los Angeles, CA 90024.

The Editor Replies:

I know I promised my readers (May-June) to have done with the Gandhi Question, but these letters are too fascinating not to print. Both letters are interesting chiefly in revealing the inchoate and mystical mind-set of the modal Voluntaryist. The only other comment worth making on Ms. Valencia's letter is that it has been twenty-five years since I have been called a "Randian." While the charge is as absurd as the rest of her letter, it does have a kind of nostalgic charm.

Ms. Moore adds a special blather about the "new physics," which, since the popular misinterpretation of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle decades ago, is supposed to show us that there is no truth. We then find that since "there are no absolute standards of truth and justice," that absolute non-violence follows from this . . . this *what?*

Absolute truth?! Ms. Moore's assertion that there are no absolute truths is either *itself* an absolute truth, and therefore self-refuting, or else it is only her own admittedly "relative" truth, in which case we can and should toss it in into a relative ashcan.

Ms. Moore's blithe contention that since there "are no" absolute standards of truth and justice that non-violence therefore follows, is old-hat but absurd nonetheless. If there are no objective standards of justice to resolve disputes then the tendency will be—as throughout history—to settle disputes by sheer force, by the will to loot and power. And if Ms. Moore is serious about refusing to cut a blade of grass, then she is in for big trouble, since she will not be able to eat anything vegetable, let alone animal. With such advice, the human race would die out very quickly.

As for Arthur Koestler, who ever said that he was omniscient?

We might note also the unfortunate *penchant* of both letter-writers to engage in psycho-smears of their opposition. Not only is this invalid, but one is almost tempted to remind

them of the admonition about people in glass houses.

Ms. Moore writes later to announce to us that she is at work on a tract on the New Physics and non-violence, to be entitled *Anarchy is Peace*. In the immortal words of Sheridan Whiteside in *The Man Who Came To Dinner*: "Are we to be spared nothing?"

Meanwhile, back at Voluntaryist GHQ in Los Angeles, George Smith seems to have flipped out entirely. *Mirabile dictu*, The Craniac Update must have laid a restraining hand on the young ranter in his reply to our "New Menace of Gandhism." For the true Smith now emerges, unedited and unbuttoned, frothing at the mouth, in his own *Voluntaryist*: the entire issue being Part I of a full-scale hymn of hate launched in our direction, a hymn which I suppose will continue on and on into the twenty-first century—for who knows how many parts this "article" is going to contain? At any rate, as we promised our readers, he will have to continue flailing away in the snake pit all by his lonesome, since indeed we have had our final say on the Gandhism Question. ‡

## High Tech 'Crime': A Call for Papers

The other day an old friend of mine, a libertarian and a veteran New Yorker who like myself is determinedly low-tech, was lamenting the crime problem. "Somehow," he grinned, "the one thing I can't work up any worry about is 'computer crime.'" We laughed heartily. But later I began to ruminate on the new areas of alleged crime opened by our new "high tech" technologies. The press is full of mounting hysteria about the alleged need for new laws to cope with new high-tech crimes. Young lads in Milwaukee, inspired by the marvelous and exciting film *War Games*, use their home computers and modems to enter secret computer information networks. The New York Times headline (Sept. 18) proclaims: "Prosecutors Find Laws Inadequate to Fight New Computer Crimes". Meanwhile, senders of cable-TV programs fight to prosecute enterprising folk who build antennae on their roofs to catch signals without paying, or others who purchase satellite dishes to trap every possible TV frequency. And the Supreme Court is gravely hearing a case that might allow producers of video films to prohibit (or at best tax) people from using their own VCRs to tape TV programs or movie cassettes which they rent from entrepreneurs.

But wait a minute! Before we rush to pass new laws making criminals out of large groups of people, surely we should pause and think—and surely, too, our *a priori* presumption must be that whatever anyone is doing is legitimate, unless someone can prove otherwise. The burden of proof is on those who would make criminals out of previously peaceful and productive citizens. At first blush, it seems that, yes, we must pass new laws adapting the concept of crime to new technological realms. But then we must stop

and consider: Why can't the common law, which has always applied principles to new technological situations, be applied without creating new statute law—always a dubious instrument at best?

Take, for example, alleged "computer crimes." We learn that, for what all of us would recognize as theft, such as the computer bank theft committed years ago in a lovely British film by Peter Ustinov, there is really no need for new laws. Thus, the New York Times (Sept. 18): "Prosecutors distinguish between two types of computer criminals. On the one hand, they said, are those who use computers as a tool to defraud banks or other businesses, often using modern technology to cover their tracks. Prosecutors and private computer security consultants said such cases were still the most common *and the laws dealing with them were adequate.*" (Italics mine.) In short, the regular laws against fraud and theft are sufficient; for such deeds which everyone would recognize as criminal there is no need for new laws.

What worries prosecutors, then, where their hands are now tied, are situations where young computer mavens or "hackers", using their own computer, their own modem hooking them up legitimately to a telephone line, can extract information from other computers also hooked up to the same line. When, typically, a password is needed to hook into the other computer, the hacker can often discover the password by guesswork or by randomizing sequences of numbers.

Well, before we rush to laws, let us ponder the problem *Why* should it be illegal for a young hacker, using his own computer and modem, to hook into a modem of another

computer? It seems to me that libertarianism decrees that every person should have the right to do whatever he wants with his own property. Only the hacker's own property, and phone lines for which he has bought access, is involved in this "computer crime." So how can it be a crime at all?

But how then can copyright be justified at all? If I buy a book from a bookstore, by what right does the word "copyright" stamped on the book prohibit me from reprinting and reselling it? The answer there—and the reason why copyright *is* a common-law action—is that I contracted with the bookstore (who in turn contracted with the publisher and author), when I bought the book not to reprint and resell it. In short, my contract decreed that I do *not* own the book outright; I own every aspect of the book *except* the right to print and sell it, which the publisher or author reserves to himself. Therefore, violation of copyright should indeed be illegal.

But the problem has been raised: What of third parties? Can *they* be said to violate copyright? Someone else, Zeke, sees the book in my house, or I lend it to him. He then copies it and reprints and sells the book. Since he didn't sign any such contract, how can Zeke be violating copyright or doing anything illegal? My reply here is that whether Zeke signed any contract is immaterial. The important point is that my own title to the book was obtained with the right to copy reserved to the author/publisher; and that Zeke's title cannot be any wider than my own. The point here is akin to a tort problem. Suppose that I had stolen rather than purchased the book. And suppose, too, that Zeke had bought the book from me in good faith, thinking that I had purchased it legitimately. Doesn't he then *really* own the book, and can't we then say that when Zeke is apprehended with the stolen book, that the injured bookseller can't deprive him of it? Surely not, for a contract cannot convey a greater title than the one originally held. I stole the book, and therefore the book is stolen property, and Zeke must disgorge it if apprehended. He can then try to take damages out of *my* hide, for defrauding him. But the book properly belongs to the bookstore alone. Similarly, my title to any copyrighted book is not mine fully; I don't have the right to

copy, and therefore Zeke can't have the right to copy either.

So while I defend the common law of copyright, I contend that there is nothing analogous to a copyright contract in the case of "theft of information" from a computer and its modem. The young hacker has not contracted anything with the other computer-owner; his only contractual status is with the phone company, whom he pays for access to its lines. And I can't see that the hacker has committed any tort either. His "entry" into the other computer is only metaphoric. In actual fact, he was only able to get information through a phone line to which both owners have voluntarily hooked their computers.

I conclude, then, that there is here no computer crime at all. And that if the computer owner wants to safeguard his information from free-loaders, it is up to him to install security safeguards so as to make entry into his system impossible for those not paying a fee. The burden is on him to keep his own phone line free of unwanted persons. I conclude further that no new computer crime laws should be passed and that libertarians should oppose them as interfering with the property rights of hackers.

Why, in fact, do the owners keep their modems hooked into general telephone lines, despite the unchecked "theft of information"? Because of the great convenience in having a large number of computers hooked into each other to constitute a vast, nationwide data network. All right then; if the owners calculate their benefits and costs, and figure that the benefits to them of plugging into the information network outweigh the costs of hackers being able to use it for free, then so be it. If not, let the owners get out of the networks, or else tighten their security systems. Let them take their cue from the Defense Department, which has now decided to "build a fence" around their networks, especially their military computer networks, with "virtually uncrackable" coded messages and special passwords required for entry. (New York Times, Oct. 5).

Let us now turn from computer "crimes" to TV frequencies. The situation, I submit, is analogous. If a TV station, whether regular or cable, emits frequencies on a certain channel at a certain place, then it should have the

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private "ownership" of the right to transmit signals on such frequencies. Anyone else trying to broadcast on the same channel at the same place should be dubbed an aggressor against the property right of the pre-existing TV station. Indeed, that is precisely how the federal courts were beginning to apply the common law to the new technology of radio transmission (*Tribune Co. v. Oak Leaves Broadcasting Station*, Circuit Court, Cook County, Illinois, 1926), when the federal government, in panic that each radio station might obtain private property rights, rushed through laws to prevent it and to nationalize the airwaves (The Radio Act of 1927).

But even though every station should have the unimpeded right to *transmit* signals on any given channel or frequency, it should not be able to interfere with anyone's right to *receive* signals. The station does not and cannot own the signal itself, only the right to transmit the signals. Why should Tex, a man with his own satellite dish or antennae on his own property, not have the right to receive any signals he darn pleases with his own equipment? Cable-TV stations, of course, can and do scramble their signals so that TV set owners who don't pay cannot receive a clear signal. And that's fine. Let Home Box Office scramble its signals, then, and good luck to it. But I find it monstrous that Home Box Office can and does send out the gendarmes to harass people ingenious enough to build antennae on their roofs in Brooklyn and Queens and point them toward the World Trade Center, thus picking up HBO signals without payment. If HBO doesn't like it, let it set up a better scrambling system. If it can't do so or it finds that alternative too costly, then it should jolly well have to put up with ingenious freebies, with satellite dishes or pointed antennae.

Finally, there is the almost incredible harassment of VCR owners. If I buy a VCR and a blank tape, I should be able to tape a movie or other program off my own TV set. If the TV or movie people don't like it, they should jolly well have to lump it. It is grotesque that movie producers might get the Supreme Court to agree to outlaw use of the VCR. Worse yet is that the movie producers are harassing poor SONY,

who only manufactures and doesn't use VCRs. Obviously, SONY has the deep pockets to enjoin and sue, which most home owners do not. Obviously, too, the government would have a great deal of difficulty mobilizing an enormous Gestapo, armed to the teeth, to break in on and confiscate or destroy the VCRs in many million American homes. Defend your VCRs to the death, fellow Americans! In practice, then, the movie people are not going to outlaw VCRs. They will just force SONY and the other manufacturers to pay a tax to the movie people, a tax which will be passed on to every VCR buyer. But the unfortunate principle—and the higher cost—might well be enshrined in the books.

The problem in all these cases is *not* whether "property rights" should or should not be upheld. The problem in each of these cases is: *Who* should have the property right? The computer hacker to do what he wants with his own computer and his access to the telephone lines, or the other computer owner? The signal sender or the signal receiver in the latter's own equipment? The VCR owner or movie producers? In all of these cases I believe that the concept of copyright has been illegitimately extended to become invasive, and that the fact that the common law cannot combat these "crimes" is already an indication that they are not crimes at all.

But I am in an odd position here. Of all the people in the libertarian movement, I probably know the least about computer technology. There are few movement people lower tech than myself. And yet among all the computer mavens in the movement, I have seen no discussion of these thorny issues. But it is important to apply libertarian property rights theory, i.e. judgments in various areas on who is a criminal and who is a victim, to advancing technology. So on these matters I still have a *relatively* open mind. Before the Iron Door closes, I cheerfully invite libertarian theorists and high-tech mavens to submit papers, on any or all sides of this problem, for possible publication in the *Libertarian Forum*. Is there computer crime? Are VCR and satellite dish owners criminals? Please send in your discussions, and help advance libertarian theory. ‡

## Arts and Movies

by Mr. First Nighter

*Zelig*, dir. by and with Woody Allen.

In recent years, Woody has been a highly erratic filmmaker. After reaching a glorious peak with the hilarious and perceptive *Annie Hall* and especially *Manhattan*, Woody trended downward. *Sunrise Memories* I like more than most critics, but it was still far below *Annie Hall* and *Manhattan*. The last Allen opus, *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy*, an *homage* to Ingmar Bergman's only worthwhile movie, the charming and early *Smiles of a Summer Night*, was simply atrocious. Not only was it not funny, it had no redeeming features, and was a torture to sit through. Its brief span seemed like many hours, if not weeks.

*Zelig* has been hailed by almost all critics as his masterpiece, and they have waxed rhapsodic over its technical brilliance in integrating Allen into a host of old documentary film clips of the 1920s. Well, the hell with technical. From the point of view of the movie *consumer*, *Zelig* is a nothing, a zero, a brief piece of fluff with virtually no content. It is better than *Midsummer Night* because it is not a trial to sit through; it is simply blah, not funny at all, except for one or two quiet chuckles, and with nothing profound to say. And mine was not the only such reaction. I saw *Zelig* in the heart of Woody Allen Country, in what New Yorkers sardonically refer to as the Golden West Side.

There was not a laugh for the whole length (again, brief) of the picture.

In no sense is *Zelig* a masterpiece or breakthrough. It is simply Allen treading water until the next one.

*Never Say Never Again*, dir. by Irvin Kershner. With Sean Connery.

Yes, Sean Connery, a they say, is James Bond. And is it grand to have him back. Even though the last Bond film, *Octopussy*, with Roger Moore, the second best Bond, was one of the better Bond movies, Moore's perpetual elegant smirk can never substitute for Connery's rugged *persona*. It is a pleasure to see Connery again surrounded by gorgeous babes and high-tech gadgets supplied by British Intelligence. It is also a pleasure to see Old Culture seduction on the screen again, shorn of all *angst*, kvetching, and endless bleatings about sensitivity, commitment, "relationships," and "parenting." As Jan Hoffman writes in the *Village Voice* (November 1): "unlike the conscience-stricken New Men of the screen, he never even dangles the possibility of a 'relationship.' He continues to seduce and is seduced by his women with an oddly innocent shamelessness, as if feminism and post-1968 sexual dialogue had never happened." And even though obviously getting on in years, he still bless him eats red meat and drinks martinis.

But there is, however, a problem. This is a new set of Bond producers and directors, with the results that the usually witty dialogue is now virtually non-existent, the marvelous metallic musical theme is replaced by blah rock, and much of the acting is inferior to the old team. Alec McCowen hams it up too much as the gadget-man "Q"; Edward Fox is poor and hammy as "M" (how we miss the late Bernard Lee!); and the Ernest Blofeld, head of SMERSH, is far inferior to the original. When ordinarily fine actors like McCowen and Fox do badly, we can blame it on the director, and Kershner is obviously more at home in action shooting than he is at handling actors.

But of course Connery is back and we've got him, and that's worth a great deal. And there is *one* great piece of dialogue, worthy of the classis Bonds (the best being *Dr. No* and *From Russia with Love*.) The main villain, SMERSH's Number One, Largo, played very well by Klaus Maria Brandauer, after losing a sinister war game to Bond and seeing Bond grandly abandon the prize, says: "Do you lose as gracefully as you win?" To which, Bond replies, in his best style: "I don't know. I've never lost."

A word of warning: the title song, a piece of unmelodic trash, is *not* the great Harry Woods tune of 1936 with virtually the same title.

‡

## Cassandra Moore For Palo Alto City Council!

In this political off-year, Libertarians throughout the country have the chance to support an outstanding candidate for City Council of Palo Alto, California, and one with a good chance to win! Cassandra Moore is a 48-year-old businesswoman, head of her own real estate firm, and a Director-Elect of the Palo Alto Board of Realtors. She has a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. Her husband, Thomas Moore, is an outstanding transportation economist at the Hoover Institution, who took the courageous step of endorsing Clark for President and *not* Reagan for President in 1980.

The City Council race is non-partisan, but Cassandra and

her literature identify herself as a Libertarian, and she is one of nine candidates running for four at-large seats, and has an excellent chance to win. She has aggressively attacked the Palo Alto tyranny imposing no-growth on housing, preventing cable TV in the area, and the use of zoning laws to put neighborhood shops and restaurants out of business.

Cassandra Moore is a member of the People Against the Draft, the Nature Conservancy, Amnesty International, and the National Taxpayers Union, as well as the Libertarian Party. Send your dollars in support of this remarkable candidate! Contributions can be sent to Moore for City Council, 3766 La Donna Ave., Palo, Alto, CA 94306.

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AN INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEW

Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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(Both papers originally presented at the CLS/Liberty Fund sponsored conference on "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

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# THE Libertarian Forum

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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— Double Convention Issue —  
THE  
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Up From Chaos

# Total Victory: How Sweet It Is!

On Saturday, September 3, H-Hour of Armageddon Day in the four-year war against the Crane Machine finally arrived. Out of a chaotic, confused, wild, hectic, crazy, convention, in the closest, murkiest, most exciting all-out contest in Libertarian Party history, David P. Bergland of California won the nomination for President on the fourth ballot. Despite the narrowness of the race, it is the consensus of all the Political Mavens that the victory of the faction of principle over the "pragmatists", as the *Washington Post* aptly called the two sides, was smashing and complete. The Crane Machine is dead, finished, *kaput*. In the words of Emil Franzi The Magnificent, our Military Maven, and the chief architect of the glorious victory: "it is the most decisive and total victory since the British took out the French at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), and *that* lasted for 109 years." The Crane Machine (CM), routed, fled the field, and hopefully will never be heard from again.

(Yes it is indeed Franzi who has been our Military Maven, often cited in these pages. It was Franzi who gave me hope in the dark days after the Denver convention of 1981, and it was Franzi who called all the shots with stunning accuracy during the great NatCom struggles of 1981-83.)

## I The Lull Before the Hurricane

It wasn't *supposed* to be an exciting convention. Since January, radio talk show host Gene Burns of Orlando, Florida had been campaigning hard for the Presidential nomination. No one was in the field to oppose him. The desperate Crane Machine, trying hard for a "big name" candidate, sought for months to induce Republican Representative Ron Paul to run against Burns, but without success. After several similar failures, it looked very much as if the CM had decided to give up, surrender their power without a struggle, support the Burns campaign as best they could, and bide their time for another few years, hoping that the rest of the Party would fall on its face and come begging to them for aid. Similarly, Paul Grant of Colorado, head of the "Majority

Caucus" on NatCom and a leader of the Grand Coalition for the Party of Principle, was unopposed in his race for national chair. It all looked like a pleasant, serene, harmonious, and even boring convention—a consummation devoutly to be wished. As Franzi put it, "all we have to do now is cross the Rhine and take their bunker."

For the naturally wary, in fact, it all looked *too* good. In the speeches to state and local LPs I made this summer I urged everyone to attend the convention, and promised them that somewhere, somehow there would *be* a contest. Little did I know its extent. I was worried that not many of our impoverished Libertarians would foot the expense to travel to New York to attend a no-contest convention. Furthermore, there was evidence that the CM was deliberately trying to hold down the attendance by delegates. The Northeast, particularly New York, is the stronghold of the Crane Machine, and the convention was being held on CM turf, while virtually the entire West (except Alaska), the heartland of our Party, was pro-Coalition. The fewer Westerners that showed up, the more it would be possible for the CM to pull a fast one. Apart from that one small nagging worry, all seemed secure.

In fact, the attendance of delegates and others, despite a frenzied last-minute spurt, was way down from previous conventions. The last Presidential convention at L.A. in 1979 amassed an attendance of over 1400 people. In 1981 at Denver, there were 900 persons; at this year's PresCon in New York, total attendance was in the 700s. And while there were 719 authorized delegates this year, a maximum of only 540 appeared on the floor—and this included an unprecedented number of "ringers" for the Presidential vote (see below). The following day, after the Crane Machine had given up and the ringers gone home, total delegates on the floor fell to about 440.

## II What Happened to Burns?

The peaceful lull, and all hopes for a serene convention, ended abruptly on Thursday, August 25, when I and a few

others received a lengthy mailgram from Gene Burns announcing his withdrawal from the race, this announcement coming a mere four days before the convention. Burns made the mailgram public that afternoon, declaring that not enough funds had been raised for his race. Following a pattern that he had established in early and mid-June, Burns, when faced with a financial problem, dropped out of the race without consulting any of his LP friends and supporters, then promptly made himself *incommunicado* for many days, going fishing, and answering no calls.

From January until late May, it seemed to his LP supporters that the Burns campaign was in seagoing shape. Zipping around the country with several aides to virtually every state LP convention, tireless and indefatigable, the Burns campaign seemed problem-free. But the home staff in Orlando was not experienced in the LP, or apparently, in campaigning or simple accounting, since a piled-up debt shocked Burns and led him to withdraw from the race for the Presidency in early June. That time, however, he did not make a public announcement of withdrawal, and so his supporters were able to talk him back into the race by working out and presenting him with a campaign structure, a Master Plan, and arrangements for fund-raising. Everything seemed hunky-dory, certainly until the convention, after which a full structure and staff could be established. Some of us argued vociferously for an experienced LP campaign manager to go posthaste to Orlando and stay there until the convention. An Orlando manager could communicate constantly and directly with Burns, get the feel for problems as they develop, and make sure that he did not go off half-cocked again. We were overruled, however, partly because there was no obvious person ready to go to Orlando, and partly because we were assured that there was no problem, and that the campaign could be successfully decentralized with no man on the spot in Orlando. The fact that the more cautious of us were proved right when Gene pulled a Burns on August 25 gave us no comfort.

What was the problem with Burns? Deeper than the financial issue which was already in the process of being overcome when Gene pulled out, was the fact that we and Burns didn't really know each other very well. Burns, for example, had been under the delusion that we are much stronger than we really are, and he became deeply discouraged when he would attend a state convention, expecting to see 100 people and only 25 would show up. Clearly, the great lesson of the Burns episode was that from now on, we must no longer buy a pig in a poke; from now on, especially for the key, vital nomination for the Presidency, we must nominate someone who is tried and true, a proven quantity, a hard-core principled libertarian, someone whom we know in our heart and in our gut will neither drop out nor sell out. But now we only had two or three days to find that someone.

### III Into Chaos: The Unity Scam

We were in turmoil and chaos, and I would hate to see the phone bills for the top party and Coalition leaders for that three-day period. The great danger, as Bill Evers pointed out, was that a one-man-ruled "professional" machine such as the CM may not be able to do well in the *long-run*, when it will be outvoted by the Party majority. But in chaotic short-run crises, such as brought about by the disappearance of Burns, the Crane Machine could do very well. In brief, short-run

forays, the CM could pour in a lot of money, quickly mobilize its troops, communicate orders swiftly, maneuver, advance, or retreat, while the principled majority of the party, confused, rudderless, slow to react, might well be conquered at the convention. In short, the sudden withdrawal of Burns provided a golden moment for the CM to attempt a mighty comeback, to fish in troubled waters. And that is precisely what it did, coming within a hair's breadth of victory.

It became vitally important, then, for one of the Good Guys, for one of the leaders of the coalition for principle, to enter the race, and *pronto*. Fortunately, David P. Bergland, a California attorney, a hard-core and principled radical libertarian, needed no coaxing. He saw that the Libertarian Party needed a candidate, and a principled one, desperately, and so he threw his hat promptly and enthusiastically into the race. Specifically, Bergland became a candidate on Friday, August 26, the day after Burns's withdrawal, with the following *caveat* to his supporters: "If you can find someone better, do it, but do it *quickly*." By noon on Saturday, Bergland was permanently committed to the race. The former Burns supporters now became ardent Berglandians, and the old Gene Burns buttons were quickly recycled into buttons for Bergland. Bergland was a veteran campaigner, a known quantity, a man who had run successful campaigns for Vice President in 1976, and for U.S. Senate from California in 1980, where he amassed 200,000 votes, more than Ed Clark got from the same state that year for President. Great; we had Bergland in place; now, what would the Crane Machine do?

The situation was now hopelessly confused by a new and unexpected factor: it so happened that Roger MacBride, presidential candidate in 1976, who had displayed no interest whatever in the LP since his man Bill Hunscher was defeated by Ed Clark for the nomination in 1979, was holding a social gathering for friends of his in the LP the weekend before the convention at his summer home in Biddeford, Maine. In fact, MacBride and his Maine neighbor Hunscher were joint hosts at what I soon came to call Camp MacBride. The best evidence is that Roger had no devious political ends in mind when the social gathering was originally called. At any rate, the Burns withdrawal came only a day or two before the MacBride party, and Roger quickly seized the opportunity to come roaring back into the LP as unifier, harmonizer, and kingmaker of the Libertarian Party. Originally, and before the Bergland announcement, MacBride's unity pitch was probably sincere enough albeit misguided; his first thought was to invite leaders of a broad spectrum of the party, including Dick Randolph, Ed Crane, Ed Clark and myself to decide what to do and to pick a candidate.

In politics, whenever I hear the word "unity", to paraphrase the famous words of a German politico of the 1930's, "I reach for my revolver". For almost always, "unity" is a scam, a call to abandon principle and follow the leader into some form of tyranny or sellout. Indeed, one of the best statements uttered at this convention was that of Tonie Nathan (Ore.) when she announced her race for the Presidential nomination: "This used to be the party of principle. Now it is the party of 'unity' ". Or, to put it another way, genuine unity is only viable in a context of shared values and premises. Unity is only proper within a framework of Justice. Anything else is a hoax, a scam, and an implicit call for the betrayal of principle.

When MacBride called me, before the weekend, he made it clear that his first choice for the Presidency was Dick Randolph. I made equally clear my lack of enthusiasm for Randolph, a top Craniac politico, who had run a disastrous campaign for governor of Alaska in 1982. Approximately twenty-four hours later, after Dave Bergland had entered the race, MacBride gave Bergland his enthusiastic endorsement. Two days after that, MacBride had become chairman of the campaign Committee for Earl Ravenal for President. This is indeed a fast-moving world.

In between MacBride's endorsements for Bergland and for Ravenal, Bergland received a conference call from the guests assembled at Camp MacBride. Randolph, Chris Hocker (emissary from Crane, who could not attend), MacBride, and Hunscher asked Bergland pointed questions about his campaign. The key question of course was: What would be the role of Crane and Hocker, leaders of the Crane Machine, in a Bergland campaign? Bergland replied that since they controlled a lot of magazines, he would be happy for those magazines' enthusiastic support. He also declared, and repeated this intention in his Master Plan, released during the convention, that he would ask Crane to help in fund-raising, Howie Rich to work on Eastern ballot drives, and to ask various Machiners such as David Boaz, Sheldon Richman, Chris Hocker, and Tom Palmer to help in research and writing for the Bergland campaign. In sharp contrast, MacBride claimed that Bergland planned to deny Rich and Hocker any active role in his campaign.

The Biddeford group began to wax impatient. They were not interested in any of this. They were interested in only one thing: "What would be the managerial roles of Crane and Hocker in your campaign?" Bergland was firm. "Absolutely none", and proceeded to explain why. It was at that point, so the story goes, that MacBride decided to turn to another candidate, a "unity" candidate for the presidential race. But curiously enough, Earl Ravenal, the Crane Machine candidate for the nomination, made precisely that same pledge, publicly and privately, during the convention: That since Crane and Hocker, though good friends of his, are considered divisive, they have agreed to play no managerial role whatever in his campaign. Since the Bergland and Ravenal positions on Crane/Hocker were supposedly identical, MacBride's turn to Ravenal on the basis of superior "unity" looked slightly odd, to say the least.

Ironically, Earl's statement on Crane and Hocker proved to be counter-productive. Most of the delegates, in their lack of savvy, had had no idea that Ravenal was a close friend of theirs. The reaction of many of them to his statement was: "What? He's a good friend of *those* two? I'm voting for Bergland."

In fact, there was no excuse for Roger to continue the unity line after Bergland, a perfectly good candidate, had entered the race. It was one thing for MacBride to look around desperately for a nominee when we had no candidate. It was quite another to *continue* to look around after Bergland had announced. Such action was patently sowing *disunity* rather than unity.

Indeed, it is absurd to speak of the nominee of one of two factions as the "unity" candidate. When Alicia Clark made a late entry into the national chair race in 1981, she sincerely believed that she was the unity candidate, come to harmonize

and integrate the two previous warring factions (Crane Machine, and the Coalition for a Party of Principle.) Soon after her election, she came to learn that the two factions were not simply pointless personality squabbles but profoundly clashing groups warring over ideology and strategy: the principled versus the opportunistic "pragmatists." When she came to realize this profound fact, there occurred during the last two years, a virtual amalgam of the old Alicia Clark and Mason forces into one Grand Coalition for Principle. There were now two factions and two candidates, Bergland and Ravenal, so on what basis could a CM candidate call for "unity"? In a few days, to our horror, we were to find out.

When Roger MacBride and Bill Hunscher endorsed Earl Ravenal for President, I asked our Political Mavens (see below) what the value of such endorsements might be. The unanimous consensus was that MacBride's endorsement was worth about 5 votes. "Hell," said one, "half the delegates out there have never *heard* of Roger MacBride." As for Hunscher, his very presence angered many delegates profoundly. After being routed by Clark for the Presidential nomination in 1980. Hunscher fled the party and joined the Republican Party, virtually wrecking the New Hampshire LP in the process. Now here he was, four years later, having the arrant *chutzpah* to pop up again and counsel us on what candidate to select. Indeed, as Hunscher fled the field once again, after the Ravenal defeat, my old friend Judith Blumert (California) got in the best single zinger of the convention. "So long, Bill," she called out loudly, "see you in four years!"

Out of Camp MacBride, riding the unity theme, came the pretentious Biddeford Statement, which the reader should hold in mind until the end of this story. Unpleasantly reminiscent of standard ploys of Republicans and Democrats, the Biddeford Statement, signed by all the participants, pledged everyone's best effort to support whoever was nominated for President by the Libertarian Party.

#### IV Building Bergland Central

It was a long, bloody long convention, starting on Monday, August 29, and building to a stunning climax on the morning of Saturday, the 3rd. On Sunday the 4th the election of officers was to take place. The official business proceedings of the convention, the keynote, bylaw and platform debates were to begin on Thursday. The delegates therefore came in spurts, some on Monday, and a lot more on Thursday. On Friday came the "ringers", and others interested only in the Presidential vote.

On Sunday, August 28, the day before the opening of the convention, my old friend Burt S. Blumert (CA), for many years an unsung and neglected hero of the Libertarian Party and movement, decided that since the Bergland forces would benefit enormously from a central headquarters suite at the convention, that he would rent such a suite. Reserving a suite on Sunday, Burt went down the next day to the Sheraton Centre, headquarters of the convention, to case the various suites and select one. I tagged along as friend and kibitzer. After hassling at length with the labyrinthine Sheraton bureaucracy, Bery finally rented a large two-room suite for the week and also installed a rented photocopier. When the top Bergland people came into town that day and the next, they were dazzled to find a fully equipped suite already in place. Room 4501, what I came to call Bergland Central, then became for the rest

of the week the nerve center, the communications, network, message and planning center for the Bergland for President Committee. The suite was also used to give parties for the delegates almost every night, and to feature Bergland speeches to groups of delegates.

Bergland Central was particularly necessary at the New York PresCon because, as our unhappy Political Mavens pointed out, the Sheraton Centre was not really built as a convention hotel. It has no central place to communicate with delegates. Other large hotels typically have restaurants and bars which, along with the floor and corridors, serve as places to "work" and communicate with the delegates. But here there was virtually nothing; no real restaurant or bar, and only a small combination that was open only a few hours a day. Besides, there were so many restaurants and bars nearby that there could be no central gathering places for Libertarians.

Another word about the hotel. Overpriced, underqualified, it was one of the shlockiest hotels in LP convention history. Outside the hotel is the raunch and sleaze of Times Square. Hookers, dope addicts, and other street folk hang around the outside of the hotel at night, and the taxi drivers in front of the Sheraton are the scuzziest in New York, disreputable and scruffy oafs who would only take you to a few locations, and who fought among themselves for fare, sometimes almost running over the would-be passengers in the process. Furthermore, in an outrageous ripoff that scarcely made friends for the FLP in the other state parties, if Joe doakes called up the hotel and asked for the "Big Apple Weekend" rate at the Sheraton, he would be charged \$65 per night for single or double, whereas if he called and said "Hey, I'm with the LP convention!", he would be charged \$82 per night—a \$17 "surtax" for proclaiming oneself a Libertarian! (The Monday through Thursday, "Value Line Special" rate was \$76 a night, a \$6 Libertarian premium.) Usually, of course, conventioners reap a *discount* from regular rates, not a surtax.

In a day or two, Bergland Central was in full-scale, impressive, and seagoing operation. Room 4501 was occupied twenty-four hours a day, with someone always there to receive and send messages and to answer the phone, "Bergland for President." Head honcho and floor manager, Franzi the Magnificent, arrived on Tuesday, and was promptly installed in the suite as resident. Also sleeping in the suite were other top Berglandians, including John Mason, and our indispensable gofer, Mark Pickens, of the Radical Caucus and the San Francisco Party, who stayed in the suite virtually every minute of the week, and in the words of an admirer "thought, ate, slept, and lived Bergland." Emil Franzi dubbed Pickens admiringly, "the Rookie of the Year." Tom Shook (Arizona), a powerfully built ex-SDSer turned proud "redneck", was the official "smuggler" for the suite, bringing in cases of beer under the vigilant eyes of the hotel *polizei*.

Featured at the suite were the Political Mavens, the floor manager and his assistants who were the nerve center of the Bergland campaign. Floor manager was Franzi the Magnificent; top assistants were the savvy Steve Davis (Ga.), who ran the computerized count of delegates; Richard W. Suter (Ill.), a bubbling, witty and highly knowledgeable Maven; John Mason (Co.), the heroic standard-bearer of the Coalition for Principle forces in the 1981 struggle at Denver; and Bill Evers (Calif.), tireless scholar and organizer, and my veteran com-

rade in the four-year struggle against the Crane Machine. Other highly effective regional floor leaders for Bergland were young Christopher Winter (Hawaii), the Hawaii state chair; Jim Lewis (CT), who would later gain the Vice-Presidential nomination; Geoff Steinberg (PA); and Dave Saum (VA). Another key person in the Bergland suite was Davis's wife, Dr. Heide Hartmann, who ran the computer, which gave continuing printouts on which delegates were firmly for Bergland, leaning to Bergland, undecided, leaning to Ravenal, or firmly for Ravenal. Characteristically, when asked by Davis and Hartmann whether we should have a computerized "count" of the delegates, Franzi answered: "Sure. It will be very helpful." "And besides," he added, grinning happily, "The computer will scare the s- out of them."

It should be added that "counting" is a crucial function of floor managers. Counting of course does not simply mean adding up the numbers of delegates. It means that the floor manager and his assistants are constantly "working" the floor and the delegations, getting a feel for the "count" of who is for whom, who is undecided, etc. During the actual balloting, they move constantly around the floor, taking samples of delegates from various representative states, getting the feel of the ever-changing situation. In addition, the Mavens perceive the impact of different moves by themselves and by the opposition, decide what countermoves will be made, etc. Especially in a close race, the floor managers must take their readings and make their moves rapidly and be ever ready to meet new situations and the moves of the enemy. Decisions must be swift, and correct most of the time, and ability at this craft depends on experience as well as innate talent.

As I got to know our Mavens during the week, I concluded that they are surely the best in the LP. In the midst of an amorphous, highly difficult and ever exploding situation, Franzi, Suter and the others kept their cool and were able to keep on top of the morass with amazing accuracy.

I also discovered that the Mavens on both sides keep in continual touch with each other, discussing the various moves, feeling each other out, making suggestions, and hoping to pick up stray bits of important information from the other. Also each side generally has too much respect for the other's ability as managers to try to con the other. The Crane Machine honchos might spread Disinformation among the delegates, but they don't presume to try to con the Mavens on the other side. Each side respects the ability of the other as craftsmen. Thus, in a post-victory analysis, our Mavens all agreed that the CM almost beat us because they had the smarts to put in Dick Randolph, their only real pro, as floor manager. "If Howie Rich (who ran the Guida campaign in 1981) had been their floor manager," they said, "we would have won easily on the second ballot. And if Crane himself had been their manager, we would have beaten them on the first." "How is Howie as a counter?" one of us asked. "Pah," replied one of our Mavens, "Howie can't count his change."

Our Mavens were worried from the first day of the convention. As Franzi concluded when it was all over, "This was the most difficult, hardest-to-read, most uncontrollable convention I have ever been to, of any party." From the very beginning, all the Mavens agreed that there were "an enormous number of undecideds, of wimps and mushheads out there, even more than at Denver." How do you figure out where the undecideds will jump? And information was at a minimum.

As Franzi reported during the middle of the week, "there are still lots of delegates out there coming in asking, 'Where's Burns?' " By Thursday, it was the general consensus, concurred in by the Machine's Mavens, that we were definitely ahead. "If the vote were taken now," they agreed, "the vote would be about 180-190 for us, 120-130 for them, with about 250 needed to elect." But the Machine vowed that they would overtake us by the time of the voting on Saturday. For one thing, they knew they had several aces up their sleeves.

#### V Enter Earl Ravenal

Earl Ravenal, professor of international relations at Georgetown University, entered shortly after Bergland as the Crane Machine candidate. It is true that very few of the delegates had ever heard of Ravenal, but in this chaotic situation the lack of knowledge worked for him, for he seemed a charming and knowledgeable gentleman of stature, which indeed he certainly is. To the delegates, he appeared simply to be the candidate of the MacBride Unity Faction; Ed Crane kept a very low profile all week, in evidence only on the actual day of the balloting.

Bill Evers and I were two of the very few who knew Ravenal, from our days at the Cato Institute, where he has served for many years as a Board member. My first, instinctive reaction when I heard the news that the Machine had entered Ravenal as candidate was the same as that of a number of my friends, all of whom liked and admired the man whom Ed Crane affectionately refers to as "Earl the Pearl." That first instinctive reaction of each of us was: "But he's not a libertarian!" A libsymp (libertarian sympathizer) for sure; a man generally in agreement with libertarian concerns. But a hardcore principled libertarian? Certainly not. The sort of man a presidential candidate might ask for scholarly advice on foreign affairs, but not the sort of man whom the LP should make its presidential candidate. I knew that Earl had told me several years ago that some day he might like to run for President on the LP ticket, but that before that its platform would have to become far less extreme. I also knew that in several Cato summer seminars in recent years, Ravenal had told the participants that he was *not* a Libertarian, but a sympathizer. In addition, many recalled that in the past, at least, Ravenal had been hesitant about the full right of women to have abortions. How to research Ravenal's views in the almost zero time available, and to get those views to the delegates?

Several intellectuals in the Bergland camp swung instantly into action, looking up articles by Ravenal in *Reason* and elsewhere in 1978 expounding a raft of important deviations from libertarian principle. Furthermore, interviews with Ravenal on his current views elicited a number of problems, including softness toward the draft in wartime or other emergency, great reluctance to abolish the welfare state, apologia for the illegal CIA-run Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam—and in general a utilitarian cost-benefit analysis toward issues rather than basing his views on a solid groundwork of moral principle and natural rights. Under hard-hitting questioning at a Radical Caucus (RC) candidates' meeting Wednesday night, Ravenal insisted that he now admired the consistency of the LP platform and that he now opposed the draft root and branch. His reply to a question eliciting specifics of what government programs he would *not* abolish at this time was unsatisfactory, however; and he

continued to justify the Phoenix program, given the hard choices faced by the Defense Department in a war we should have pulled out of. In general, it was disquieting to find an LP candidate thinking from the point of view of a Defense Department official, which he himself had been for three years, rather than from the point of view of someone outside of, and opposed to, the government.

Furthermore, Ravenal got angry quickly under the rigorous questioning, proclaiming that he would never apologize for his work in the Defense Department. This gave rise to widespread speculation on whether he would lose his cool under far more hostile questioning by journalists and others during the heat of a long, grueling Presidential campaign.

Ravenal's continuing support in interviews for compulsory vaccination revealed his troubling utilitarian rather than rights orientation. And even in his area of expertise, foreign policy, his strong suit according to his supporters, Ravenal continued to deviate sharply from the libertarian principle of non-intervention. Even in convention week, Earl Ravenal continued to justify in retrospect his position on Iran during the hostage crisis. His excessively legalistic view—to put it mildly—was that the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was legally sovereign U.S. soil; that therefore the attack on the embassy was equivalent to an attack on the U.S. and an act of war; and that military attack on Iran by the U.S. was therefore justified. Whatever that is, it is certainly *not* a creed of non-intervention.

Apart from the RC questioning, how to get this vital information on Ravenal out to the delegates? The Radical Caucus Central Committee, then still pro-Bergland, issued a blue sheet of facts on Ravenal, and I wrote a widely distributed Open Letter to the delegates, a rather gently written letter not in my usual rip-roaring style. The letter had the positive effect of alerting undecided delegates and others, who knew little about Ravenal, about the grave ideological problem with Ravenal's candidacy. The brunt of the letter was that, after the Burns episode, it is vitally important to nominate a tried and true hard-core Libertarian for President, and that meant Dave Bergland, a man we could trust without reservation. Perhaps the most effective sentence in my letter was a cry from the heart: "Never do we want to wake up one morning next March, June, or September and say 'My God, did he say that?'"

Each nominee was entitled to a nominator and two seconders. Ed Clark was the obvious choice to nominate Bergland. I was originally supposed to be one of the seconders. My letter had done essential negative work, but now it was important to put in someone with a more positive image among the delegates. Dave Nolan (CO) was a fine choice for my replacement. Although at least as ardent a Bergland partisan as myself, he was perceived by the convention as more of a unifying factor, and he had built a new constituency among the delegates by serving as chairman of the platform committee. Some of them were urging a Nolan draft for president. The other Bergland seconder—an excellent change of pace—was Lori Massie, who was later selected as regional NatCom rep from Florida.

The big argument for Ravenal by the CM/Unity Faction was that he, as a professor at Georgetown, was a candidate of stature. The counter-argument was that stature as a professor does not necessarily mean stature as a candidate, and that the

most "presidential" occupation, after all, in America is that of attorney, which is what Dave Bergland happens to be. Besides, we have had only one Ph.D.-Eastern Establishment professor as President in American history, Woodrow Wilson, and *he* was probably the greatest single diaster in the history of the Presidency. When asked what is Ravenal's "natural constituency", Bill Evers quipped: "One-fifth of the Georgetown faculty."

Another powerful counter-argument was Ravenal's proudly proclaimed past and present membership in the Council on Foreign Relations, the infamous Rockefeller-controlled foreign policy outfit. Ravenal's proclamation that the CFR is a harmless discussion group that gives one the opportunity to have frequent lunches with David Rockefeller to try to influence Rockefeller and others from within, scarcely sat well with the many anti-CFR buffs among the delegates. His further explanation that he had refused an invitation to join the dread Trilateral Commission, which he claimed *is* a policy-making group, hardly helped matters. Many delegates wondered why in heck Ravenal was even *invited* to the Trilaterals, and the indefatigable anti-Rockefeller researcher Howard Katz (Mass.) did spade work among the delegates, pointing out that, technically, the Trilaterals are *also* a discussion group rather than a policy-making body. Many delegates were instantly converted to Bergland when Ravenal's CFR membership was pointed out. "My God," said a prominent LPer, "if Ravenal is nominated, what do I do with all my Trilateral and CFR charts? Then *we'll* be on them!" Another effective point was that a Ravenal nomination meant that we could kiss goodbye to the votes of all disaffected Reaganites, all the tax-rebels, all the anti-tax groups, Birchers, and many others who would never *ever* vote for a CFR Presidential candidate, "discussion group" or no discussion group.

After all the hullabaloo, the question still remains why Earl Ravenal suddenly entered the race. Undoubtedly, the Crane Machine/Unity Faction lied to him, in the inimitable Craniac manner, telling him that his candidacy was desperately needed to save the Libertarian Party. Such an argument might have seemed plausible had no one else entered the race. What arguments they used to convince Earl that a Bergland candidacy still required him to save the Party I do not know, but they must have been lusus. In a sense, Earl Ravenal is the major unfortunate figure of this convention, a good man who was used, abused, lied to, and manipulated by the Machine.

If Earl Ravenal was lied to, what was the motivation for MacBride and Hunscher to suddenly re-enter the party on his behalf? Certainly an intense desire to be kingmaker. But I think there is something else going on here. Emil Franzi, in his typically perceptive way, has engaged in an incisive sociological class analysis of the composition of the Libertarian Party. "There are three groups in the Party," he points out, "the preppies, the rednecks and the hippies." The "preppies" or would-be aspiring preppies are the Crane Machine, the epitome of the three-piece suit Eastern Establishment; the "hippies" are the Radical Caucus, and the "rednecks" are the Alicia Clark supporters of 1981. There is not, of course, a 1-to-1 correlation here, but the broad breakdown provides a remarkably accurate fit of the three factions. The Crane Machine is the "respectable" preppie elite, the opportunistic seekers after power; the rednecks are the unpretentious populist voters, the people of the heartland of America.

Let us then turn to MacBride and Hunscher. Both of them are ultra-preppie. The Preppie Connection extends also to Earl Ravenal, and to the entire Crane Machine, which is uptight, Eastern Establishment, and pretend-intellectual. So that when Roger MacBride, in a dramatic moment at one of the Ravenal open meetings, took off his jacket and dramatically showed his "hatchet" marks from the Crane Machine and proclaimed his own willingness to forgive and forget in the name of the Unity Scam, he was reverting to the preppie Ties that Bind. Besides, the famous breakup between MacBride and his campaign manager Crane in 1976, it turns out, was trivial, petty, and strictly personal, having no ideological components whatever, centering on Crane's opposition to Roger's flying his own private plane on campaign trips around the country. Considering *that* kind of reason for their breakup, the Unity reconciliation of these two Titans in 1983 becomes far less puzzling.

#### VI Pushing The Unity Scam: Snaring Bob Poole

The Unity Faction had a problem. How could they demonstrate to the delegates that they were truly the "unity" group in the Party? To do so, they had to get some supporters beyond the Crane Machine and Roger MacBride. Specifically, they had to get some leaders of both Left and Right to make their Unity pitch plausible. On the right, they asked John Hospers to be their Vice-Presidential candidate, but Hospers would have none of it. Indeed, the hawkish right-wing of the Party, as mobilized in the small but tightly-knit Libertarian Defense Caucus, were disgusted with both candidates. Bergland they considered a radical, and Ravenal was a CFR member who had long been associated with the Institute for Policy Studies, which all dedicated right-wingers absurdly claim to be *the* KGB agitation and espionage post in the United States. Tonie Nathan was the Defense Caucus candidate, and after she dropped out, the Defense people, with the exception of Robert Poole, Mike Anzis (CA) and some other leaders, went for Bergland as the "lesser of two evils."

But the Craniacs were able to snare one important right-winger, Robert Poole, Jr., editor of *Reason* magazine. Poole, though formerly an enemy of the Machine, and whose now defunct *frontlines* was a leading architect of its overthrow, had long been looking for a less pure, broad-based, big name candidate, Libertarian Party. Besides, he fell hook, line, and sinker for the Unity Scam, trusted a promise in writing from Crane and Hocker that they would play no role in a Ravenal campaign, accepted a future post on a supposedly all-powerful three-man Ravenal Campaign Oversight Committee, and generally fell for the self-same promises that the Crane Machine had broken egregiously only four year before. My reaction was that if Bob had only reread his own *frontlines* he wouldn't have fallen for this hokum. There is a wise saying that if you are cheated once by another person it is *his* fault; but that if you allow yourself to be cheated by the same guy once more, you too are to blame. Or, in the immortal words of Oscar Wilde, "To lose one parent is a misfortune; to lose two, smacks of carelessness."

#### VII: The Radical Caucus: the Stab-in-the Back

Radicalism was a powerful force at this convention, among RC members and numerous sympathizers. How powerful may be gauged by the fact that Joe Fuhrig, the RC candidate for Vice-President, received 61 votes on the first ballot on

Sunday and 91 votes on the second. The Radical Caucus was founded in early 1979 by Justin Raimondo (San Francisco) to back radical hard-core principle in the LP, the main activity of the RC being the organizing of members of the LP and the publishing of the periodical *Libertarian Vanguard*. In the spring of 1979, Bill Evers and myself, in the process of defecting from the Crane Machine because of its growing opportunism, joined the RC Central Committee. The RCCC is the 7-person governing body of the RC; its membership is not empowered to vote in any elections for officers. Eventually, the RC intends to call a National Conference to regularize its operations and have periodic elections from the membership; but in the meanwhile it is a body governed by a seven-person self-perpetuating body.

For years, there was only a six-man CC, and soon it became apparent that there were two basic factions on the CC: the laughingly but accurately termed "Revolutionary Tendency (RT)", consisting of Raimondo and Eric Garris (San Francisco); and the rest of us, including myself, Evers, and two old Stanford friends of Evers, Scott Olmsted and Colin Hunter. Last year, the flaky and volatile RT relinquished the editorship of *Vanguard* to the more sober rest-of-us. Specifically, the shift from Raimondo to Olmsted-and-Evers meant a shift from pictures of burning police cars and a format aping the *Young Spartacist* of 1968 to a sober, professional-looking newsletter brimming with incisive news and critiques of the libertarian movement as well as analyses and bibliographies of real-world issues. The improvement in *Vanguard* was enormous, and Raimondo seemed perfectly happy to retire and concentrate on his novel-in-progress about AIDS and the CIA.

Evers had been a leading figure in the Burns campaign, a development one would think would be greeted with enthusiasm by his supposed comrades in the Radical Caucus. Instead, Raimondo and Garris were eternally sour and gripey, almost as if they personally envied and resented Evers's prominence in the LP. But of course the RT claimed just the opposite. They began to complain increasingly about the "emphasis on personalities" in Evers's and my attitude toward the malignant domination of the Party by the Crane Machine. Privately and publicly, we pointed out to our RT volatiles that there is no such thing as Platonic ideas floating in some sort of abstract vacuum, that ideas are held, for good or bad, by *people*, and that *people* form machines and try to dominate the Libertarian Party. When such people act badly, sell out principle, and dominate libertarian institutions, it becomes necessary to attack them, their ideas and their actions. All in all, it was a strange position for the RT to take; usually it is the wimps and mushheads in movements who shrink as if from the head of Medusa at any negative criticism. But the RT has never been known for its saintly forbearance.

The Radical Caucus Central Committee came to the PresCon on Monday of convention week supposedly full of enthusiasm for Dave Bergland. And no wonder: He and his campaign manager Sharon Ayres had always been friendly to the RC and the radical cause. And Less Antman, RC member and editor of *Caliber*, the outstanding state LP newsletter from California, had long been an effective and rousing speech-writer for Bergland campaigns. And yet, as the week progressed, a strange and almost lunatic volatility seemed to take possession, not only of Garris and Raimondo, but also of long-time Rocks of Gibraltar, Olmsted and Hunter. Sporting

Bergland buttons and pledging to Bergland and Ayres their all-out enthusiasm for the Bergland campaign, Garris, Raimondo, Olmsted and RCCC member Dianne Pilcher (Florida) fluctuated wildly like yo-yos for three days. One minute enthusiasts for Bergland, three hours later they would start muttering about how Ravenal was "impressive"; three hours after that they were back to hailing Bergland; and so on for three entire days. Talk about your "volatile"; after a while I began to form the impression, in talking with my RCCC comrades, that I was living in a looney bin. For example: on Wednesday night, while subjecting Earl Ravenal to searching questioning, Raimondo was hopping up and down muttering about Ravenal's warmongering and pure evil; twelve hours later, Raimondo officially endorsed Ravenal and the next day spoke at a "Unity" meeting for Earl.

By Wednesday night, all four RCCC comrades were showing a distinct trend toward Ravenal, a trend which to me was incomprehensible. Although volatile, none of these people is stupid, and yet they began to argue on the intellectual level of nine-year olds, and to argue in total opposition to their usual hard-core radical stance. Two examples will suffice:

When, two weeks before he pulled out, an interview with Gene Burns was published by the Libertarian Defense Caucus, Burns took a horrendously hawkish view of what he would do as President if Nicaragua installed short-range missiles. Bill Evers quickly contacted Burns, and showed him the fallacy of his argument, including the fact that such a stance would justify an immediate Soviet invasion of Western Europe. Burns quickly saw the error of his ways and recanted, and he had issued a retraction statement before he withdrew from the race.

Yet for Raimondo, Garris and other radicals in the party, such as the Crane Machiner Sheldon Richman, one slip, even retracted, and you're out. Hard core to the hilt and even beyond. And yet . . . when numerous deviations of Ravenal were pointed out to our self-proclaimed r-r-revolutionaries, suddenly the milk of human kindness took over. "Well, he's getting better"; "he's learning"; "he says he's not a statist", and other utterances so far out of synch with the usual stance of Raimondo, Garris, Olmsted, Richman *et al* that it boggled the mind.

Or take my conversation Wednesday night with Scott Olmsted, a bright young Ph.D. in decision theory. After pointing out the impeccable hard-core radical record of Dave Bergland, and contrasting it to the decidedly leaky and soft-core record of Ravenal, Scott turned to me and said, perfectly soberly, "Well, you can't predict the future." Apart from the fact that this little gem contradicts Olmsted's own decision theory which claims that one *can* predict the future, the answer was so absurd that I could only gape. Otherwise, I would have had to descend to degrading quasi-baby talk, to explain patiently that of course no one can *absolutely* predict the future, but that one goes on the best evidence one has, that the evidence for Bergland's hard-core-ness was far superior, etc. *ad nauseam*.

After these chilling conversations Wednesday night, I concluded that our Gang of Four (Garris, Raimondo, Olmsted, and Hunter) were about to endorse Ravenal, and that, given the absurdity of their arguments, there were only two explanations for this gross betrayal of principle, of friends, of their word, and of honor itself. *Either* they had jointly gone

crazy, in a highly improbable *folie a quatre*; or they had, quite literally, sold out. Being an economist rather than a psycho-babbler, I was strongly inclined to the latter explanation.

An RC Central Committee meeting had been called for Thursday noon, to consider possible endorsements, to be followed by an RC membership meeting at 1 p.m. When I got to the floor late Thursday morning, I found that matters were even worse than I had expected. Without even calling a meeting of the CC, the Gang of Four had issued a leaflet proclaiming that the RCCC had endorsed Earl Ravenal for President. I was stunned, pointing out that, (a) no meeting had been called, and (b) only a majority of the RCCC would make such an endorsement. Demanding an immediate meeting of the Central Committee, I pointed out that this unseemly haste and breach of form was relatively minor, since they had the votes and a majority was clearly ready to move for a Ravenal endorsement. I tendered my immediate and irrevocable resignation from the Radical Caucus, and the meeting, to all intents and purposes, was over.

I added a minor but interesting point: that Justin Raimondo, who, with Eric Garris, are the self-proclaimed Leninists on the RCCC, had publicly distributed a leaflet attacking Evers and myself for not being willing to repudiate Gene Burns absolutely after his Nicaragua gaffe. I pointed out that this was not only an arrant breach of Leninist caucus discipline, but also of proper behavior in any other caucus, be it Menshevik, Debsian, redneck, or sewing circle: Namely, you refrain from public criticism of fellow caucus members. If such a rule was not to be followed, there was no point in having a "caucus" at all.

Since I was no longer a member of the RC, I did not go to the open meeting, which I understand was a disaster, with Evers breaking down in tears amidst the emotionalism of the meeting. The reaction of his former friends and comrades in the Gang of Four was revealing: They all accused Evers of faking it, of only pretending to cry for effect. This is highly revealing of the personal character of the Gang of Four, one that I suppose could be called "callous" if one wanted, for some obscure reason, to be very very kind.

The next day, Garris and Raimondo appeared with MacBride, Crane and a bunch of other Unity Factionalists at a Unity meeting. The high point of unconscious humor at the meeting came when Raimondo urged a vote for Ravenal in the name of Party unity, going on to say that when Ravenal was nominated the right-wing would be driven out of the party!

And so the Crane Machine, by Thursday, had built its Unity facade. From the right-wing it had snared Poole, and from the Radicals of the Left came the Gang of Four, who constituted the majority of the RC Central Committee.

What had happened? We don't know for sure, but rumors abounded that my erstwhile friends and comrades had sold out—sold out for promised jobs and especially influence and power in the Ravenal campaign. The Crane Machine was willing to promise a lot to suborn the radicals, and particularly to capture Garris's excellent ability as organizer and vote-getter. When it was all over, our Mavens estimated that Garris's sellout cost Bergland 30 votes. Considering that the eventual Bergland victory was by 40 votes, it is clear that the RC sellout was a powerful weapon, and that without it Bergland would have won handily.

Specifically, the Crane Machine, noticing the argument in *Vanguard* over Leninism between Raimondo and Evers and myself, sensed that there was a rift in the RCCC that they could exploit. David Boaz, Crane underling as Vice President of the Cato Institute, approached the RT, and for three days Raimondo, Garris and the rest dickered with the Crane Machine behind our backs, in the meantime using their sudden volatility and inane arguments as a cover for their secret machinations. The rumored price for which they cut the deal was as follows: Garris and Raimondo got promises of full-time jobs in the Ravenal campaign and of veto power over all other posts in the campaign; and Scott Olmsted obtained a seat on the allegedly all-powerful three-man Campaign Oversight Committee, along with Randolph and Poole. Not only was this a betrayal of principle, of friendship, of personal integrity, and of honor, it was also stupid—for what made these bozos think that the Crane Machine would keep such lavish promises? Especially when very similar promises by the same people in the 1979-80 campaign were broken as soon as the Clark nomination was secured? In fact, a high ranking Crane Machine operative was laughing out loud during the week to one of our top Mavens, chuckling about how, on Sunday night, the entire Gang of Four would have been out on their ear. It *almost*, but only almost, would have been worth a Ravenal nomination to see these renegades, get their just deserts. Clearly, they should have held out for the traditional price: thirty pieces of silver, cash on the barrelhead.

Emil Franzi's comment to the Ravenal leaders (Randolph and Howie Rich) on the RC defection was: "Remember—the British never let Benedict Arnold guard one of their bridges!"

The RC betrayal was perhaps the single most dramatic event of the convention before the actual voting. People kept coming to me in the corridors, urging me to form a new organization. Among leading radicals, Less Antman promptly quit the RC, Jeff Hummel stuck with Bergland, and Mike Grossberg shifted to Ravenal.

And so we have another powerful argument against Leninism: What happens to the movement if "Lenin" sells out?

#### VIII: Ideology vs. People: The Importance of Integrity

The RC stab-in-the-back led me to ruminate on the role of ideology as against personal behavior in our movement. When Garris and Raimondo argue for sticking to ideas and against criticizing people it *sounds* nice, cozy, and humanistic. But what does concentrating only on ideology and forgetting about individual persons mean in practice? Let us set aside for a moment the betrayal of radical principle in shifting from Bergland to Ravenal. In practice, holding individual persons of no importance is used to justify betrayal, breaking one's word, and a general pattern of behavior devoid of personal integrity. In a far greater degree, of course, this is what all fanatical ideologues do: the Robespierres who send dissenters to the guillotine; the Communist rulers who are cheerfully willing to slaughter tens of millions in order to advance "the cause". Libertarians, we have found all too starkly, can be the same sort of ideologues. They can possess the same sort of commissar mentality. They will not—one hopes—slaughter millions, but they can justify climbing to influence and power on the backs of former comrades because after all, and what

the hell, people, individuals are not important, only "the cause of liberty." Such people forget, of course, the whole *point* of achieving liberty: to give individual persons the chance to develop their own lives in freedom.

In this connection, Robert Heinlein has written a highly perceptive analysis of the difference between old-fashioned pols, who stress loyalty and integrity, and ideologue "reformers", who are far more dangerous. In *Time Enough for Love* (p. 110), he has Lazarus Long say:

"Reform politicians not only tend to be dishonest but *stupidly* dishonest—whereas the business politician is honest . . .

I don't mean that a business politician won't steal; stealing is his business. But *all* politicians are non-productive. The only commodity any politician has to offer is jawbone. His personal integrity—meaning, if he gives his word, can you rely on it? A successful business politician knows this and guards his reputation for sticking by his commitments—because he wants to stay in business—go on stealing, that is—not only this week but next year and years after that. So if he's smart enough to be successful at this very exacting trade, . . . he performs in such a way as not to jeopardize the only thing he has to sell, his reputation for keeping promises.

But a reform politician has no such lodestone. His devotion is to the welfare of all the people—an abstraction of very high order and therefore capable of endless definitions . . . In consequence your utterly sincere and incorruptible reform politician is capable of breaking his word three times before breakfast—not from personal dishonesty, as he sincerely regrets the necessity and will tell you so—but from unswerving devotion to his ideal.

All it takes to get him to break his word is for someone to get his ear and convince him that it is necessary for the greater good of *all* the peepul. He'll geek.

After he gets hardened to this, he's capable of cheating at solitaire."

But yes, it is true, libertarianism is a strictly political philosophy. As long as one sticks to the non-aggression axiom, one can continue to be a good libertarian. But in all personal relations, including our movement, there are other things as important as being a pure, hard-core libertarian. Sometimes it might be fully as important to be a person of morality, honor, and integrity as it is to Have the Correct Position on the El Salvador Question. In short, one can be a pure and consistent libertarian and still lie, cheat, betray, and be devoid of honor and integrity. You can be a libertarian, all right, but you will not be worth a hell of a lot as a human being.

As usual, the inimitable Franzi expressed this sentiment best: "Hey, this guy, Mike Lewis, a physician from Iowa, is really a great guy. He delivered 5 out of 5 delegates in Iowa, he did exactly what he said he was going to do, he didn't give me any crap, he didn't break his word . . . What the hell is he doing in *this* Party?"

The seething cauldron, the intense pressure-cooker of a Presidential convention, is a fascinating testing-ground of personal character. It is easy to be a good guy when there is no

pressure and events are moving serenely. But at a convention, and especially a Presidential convention, one truly finds out the mettle of one's compatriots: that is when you find out who are the good guys, who are the responsables, who are the wimps, who are the flakes, and who are the whores.

In a little known but revealing crisis at the convention, the mettle of David Bergland was tested and, as far as I am concerned, he came out with flying colors. Richard W. Suter, a superb Political Maven and an old friend of Bergland, and a man who had nominated Bergland for chair years ago, was denounced by many people in the Illinois delegation. Suter had been indicted for "mail fraud", and had plea bargained his way to a guilty verdict. He was then expelled from the Illinois party on the patently absurd charge that he had violated the Pledge that all LP members sign that they oppose the use of violence to achieve political and social ends. First of all, "mail fraud" is scarcely violence, and more important, whatever was done was hardly done for political and social ends. Tremendous pressure arose within the Bergland camp to dump Suter because many Illinois votes would be lost otherwise. Several delegates informed me that out of "principle" they could not vote for Bergland if Suter was kept on. What to do?

Emil Franzi is often scorned by radical ideologues for Not Having the Correct Position on a few issues. But Franzi's "position" on the Suter Affair was crystal-clear: "Suter," he said, "if you were guilty of rape or bank robbery, I'd blow you off. But 'mail fraud'? What kind of a chicken s - - - charge is *that*?" To me, his sentiments were more explosive: "If I have to rat - - - my friends to pick up a few votes, I might as well go back to the Republicans!"

Dave Bergland's reaction to the Suter Question, by the way, was tough and decisive. After listening to all the evidence and arguments on both sides, he said, "Suter stays". Suter himself ended the crisis by withdrawing from his official role as mid-west coordinator, in order not to embarrass the Bergland campaign and keep it above reproach. However, Suter stayed on as an unofficial but influential Maven.

#### IX: David Koch: The \$300,000 Question

The Crane Machine had three aces up its sleeve at this convention. The first was the suborning of the RC Gang of Four. The second, which appeared toward the end of the week, was the very visible and imposing appearance of multi-millionaire David Koch. Koch, moving around the delegations with Randolph and MacBride, laid it on the line: If Ravenal were nominated, he as prepared to give \$300,000 to the Party for ballot drives. And what this "Unity" spokesman was asked, "if Bergland is nominated' Would you, in the name of unity, then contribute an equal amount to ballot drives?" "Certainly not," David Koch replied, "I only contribute to first-class candidates."

The Koch offer was, as on might expect, highly effective. After Bergland was nominated, Koch's statement to the press was, to say the least, ungracious. Instead of calling for unity behind the winner, he deplored the fact hat such a fine candidate as Earl Ravenal had been rejected by the Libertarian Party. What price "Unity" now?

Actually, while all support to the LP is to be welcomed, it will not harm the Party in the long run to be no longer depen-

dent on the Koch family; it will not harm us to make it on our own in the real world. There was getting to be a danger of the Libertarian Party's becoming a perpetual welfare client of the Koch family. It will in the long-run be better for the LP to go out and develop more broadbased sources of funding, and hence more feisty independence.

### X Bringing in the Ringers

The third trump card played by the Crane Machine at the PresCon was the pouring in of an enormous amount of money to bring in the ringers, to "paper" the various delegations at the convention. I hasten to emphasize that there is nothing illegal about "papering" delegations with "ringers." There is no residence requirement for membership in any state LP, and, so long as one is a paid-up LP member, any state delegation can make one an alternate to vote in its delegation. The problem is that many delegations do not have their assigned quotas filled at conventions. If a state is allowed, say, 10 delegates at a national convention, it may and usually will elect 10 delegates and other alternates, but often far less than that will appear. If only 7 delegates show up, then the state can "paper" its quota by 3 more delegates.

At the 1983 PresCon, there were huge gaps in many of the Western delegations. But clearly the best place to find "ringers" is the host city. The problem is that most of the Western states were principled while New York City, the local pool for ringers, is a stronghold of the Crane Machine. Most Western states would not add Craniac delegates, but Alaska, another Machine stronghold, was available. Alaska was allowed 36 delegates at the convention, but very few genuine Alaskans showed up. Thus, on the fourth ballot, the Alaska vote was 5 for Bergland, 25 for Ravenal. After Ravenal lost the Presidential nomination, and the Crane Machine surrendered the field, the ringers all trooped home. The next day, on the second ballot for Vice-President, there were nine Alaskan delegates on the floor. Emil Franzi walked over to one Alaskan and asked, "Hey, what happened to all the Alaskans?" "They flew back to Maryland," was the bitter reply.

Bringing in ringers is not illegal, but the Crane Machine operation was shameless, intense, and enormously expensive. Apparently there were not enough New Yorkers to paper the delegations, and so many Craniac ringers were flown in to New York, their airfare paid, and their hotel rooms taken care of. As far as I know, all of the far less numerous Bergland ringers paid their own way. As one of our Mavens said in wonder afterward, "All day Friday buses were coming from the airport loaded with Ravenal delegates. Some of them were walking in already equipped with Ravenal signs." Any and all Crane Machine friends, past, present, and hopefully future, suddenly showed up. Ghosts out of the past who had lost all interest long ago in the LP or in libertarianism suddenly popped up, and they were all delegates from somewhere wearing Ravenal buttons. Ray Cunningham, whose last act in the LP had been to swear up and down at the 1979 convention that he, not Crane, would be running the Clark presidential campaign and then quickly disappeared leaving Crane in charge—Cunningham showed up sporting a Ravenal badge. Bill Burt, pre-Hocker national director, who had left the LP years ago to become a railroad tycoon, suddenly appeared with a Ravenal button. Fran Youngstein, who had run for mayor of New York City in 1973, and had dropped out eight

years ago to become an ESTian, suddenly popped up out of the blue—as an Alaska delegate for Ravenal. Professor Mario Rizzo, old friend and NYU economist who has never had the slightest interest in the LP, suddenly showed at the convention. "What are *you* doing here, Mario," I asked? "Oh, I got bored at home and decided to see what was going on." Three days later this self-proclaimed "value-free" economist was a delegate from Alaska, snake dancing through the hall, carrying a Ravenal placard. Professor Jack Sanders, libertarian philosopher and proto-Voluntaryist who has always scorned the LP, was flown down from Rochester to be a Ravenal delegate along with Victoria Varga, former employee at the old Crane-run Libertarian Review/SLS warehouse in San Francisco.

It was truly bizarre, a *Through the Looking Glass* version of Old Home Week.

Estimates are that the Crane Machine brought in about 75 ringers. Remember that our estimates on Thursday had put Bergland about 180-190 and Ravenal about 120-130. In fact, on the first ballot on Saturday the vote was Bergland 185, Ravenal 190, with about 270 needed to elect. It is not too much to say that the difference was the ringers.

Another way to look at the importance of the ringers is to note that there were 540 delegates on the floor for the Presidential balloting, falling dramatically to about 440 the following day. Virtually the entire difference was the ringers.

Tentative estimates by our Mavens judge that the Crane Machine spent at least \$50,000 on the Ravenal campaign, mostly on the ringers. As one of them said, "I bet they spent more money per vote than on the Randolph campaign" (for governor of Alaska). Since the Bergland forces probably spent about \$10,000 total for the campaign, the inferiority of the Crane Machine in dollars/vote effectiveness once again becomes dramatically clear.

On the other hand, the situation was immeasurably confused by the fact that some ringers on both sides shifted their vote after they were seated. One of our Mavens talked about one state where "they had four Ravenal ringers. But on the ballot, they voted 1 for Bergland, 1 for Ravenal, 1 for (Dick) Siano (of New Jersey), and 1 for None of the Above." On the other hand, some Radical Caucus ringers shifted with the Garris defection to the Ravenal camp.

### XI The Ruwart Phenomenon

As the convention opened, there were three announced candidates for the Presidency, Bergland, Ravenal, and James ("Piggi") Norwood, an eccentric retired colonel from Texas who was not himself a Party member or delegate and who got a maximum of two votes in the balloting. Another announced candidate was one Larry Smiley, a favorite son from Wisconsin; just before the balloting, Smiley withdrew and threw his entire delegation to Ravenal. At the last minute, Tonie Nathan was put in nomination. In mid-week, a complete unknown threw her hat into the ring: Mary Ruwart of Michigan, who announced that "you should vote for me because I am a woman." I only heard Mary in the Radical Caucus candidates' meeting, and she could not be heard beyond the first row. I dismissed her candidacy and went on with other pressing concerns. I was dead wrong.

By Friday night, I learned to my astonishment that Mary

Ruwart, though perhaps not audible without a mike in a big room, was very effective in the candidates' debates in the regional delegates caucuses. In a small, living room situation, she was poised and articulate, and she began to accumulate support from the newcomers, the "mush," the undecideds, hungry for a nonexistent unity and increasingly seized by the emotionalism of a Ruwart candidacy. The cry, "Mary, Mary" would redound throughout the hall on Saturday. On Friday night, our Mavens estimated that Ruwart would get 7 to 8 per cent of the vote. Actually, ever they underestimated the Ruwart Phenomenon, although they correctly saw that hers would be the decisive voice at the convention. For on the first ballot, Mary got 77 votes, 15% of the total, and on the second ballot her vote rose to 99.

On Friday night, then, both of the "superpowers" began an intensive effort to woo Mary Ruwart by getting her to drop out in their favor, with a Vice-Presidential nomination as her reward. Neither side had determined on a Vice-Presidential choice, and so both were playing the situation by ear. The Crane Machine tried first, but they struck a snag. Since Bergland promised to be a full-time candidate after January, and Ravenal said he had to teach two graduate courses all year, the Craniacs felt they needed a Vice-Presidential candidate who would be full time; but Mary Ruwart, a biochemist, could also campaign only part-time. That, plus the important fact that Ruwart "liked our side better", as one of our Mavens put it, led her to consider an agreement with the Bergland forces late Friday night: She would drop out Saturday morning before the balloting in return for the Bergland camp's support for the Vice-Presidency. Thinking they had lost Ruwart, the Crane Machine announced their own Dream Ticket early Saturday morning: Ravenal for President, and Roger MacBride (who had sworn up and down his unavailability for running in 1984), for Veep.

## XII H-Hour

One of the prime charges—indeed, the *only* charge against Bergland—was that he was not a charismatic speaker. "What kind of criterion is *that* for a Party of Principle?" asked Christopher Winter, chairman of the Hawaii Party and devoted Berglandite, in considerable anguish. Besides, the most perceptive word on the charisma question came from the highly charismatic former Congressman Sam Steiger (AZ), who endorsed Bergland before the convention: "It's easier to make the stable guy a little flashier than to make the flashy guy stable." Actually, Bergland often gives rousing speeches, his most moving being one delivered on behalf of principle and against sellout at the California LP state convention in 1980. Less Antman, who had written that speech, came flying in from California on Friday, and stayed up virtually all night writing a dynamic speech for a special pre-voting speaking session on Saturday morning, featuring Ed Clark, Larry Dodge, a highly popular Montanan, Dave Nolan, and Bergland himself. I thought all the speeches were highly effective, including Dodge, who is such a charming and amiable person that criticism coming from him is especially effective: "I worry about Ravenal. Why does he say 'you' instead of 'our' when he talks about the Party?" Our Mavens tell us, however, that the pre-balloting session swung very few votes.

Our forces had promised a "Special Announcement" at this session, but there was none, because Mary Ruwart had begun the first of several teases for that day. She decided that she

would not throw her support to Bergland before the balloting, but only at the end of the first ballot. The Bergland forces struck an agreement on that basis.

10:30 A.M. The nominations had started and the voting was about to begin. Mason and Evers were optimistic, the latter on the basis of the loudness of relative applause. I myself had thought that Ravenal's applause was slightly louder, and then I became greatly worried to find that Emil Franzi, for the first time since I had known him, was no longer buoyant and optimistic, "I don't know," he said. "I don't like the feel of this convention. I haven't liked it for two days."

Never let it be said that the working press, at least the top journalists, are not highly astute. Frank Lynn, one of the top political reporters for the *New York Times*, who wrote two lengthy and perceptive articles on the convention, walked over to Bill Evers just before the first ballot began. "You look like one of the leading Bergland people," he said. "I think Bergland's going to take it. How do I get his picture taken?"

Dave Bergland was nominated by Ed Clark, who had announced for Bergland in mid-week in an open letter to the delegates, and who was selected to be Chairman of Bergland's campaign committee.

Franzi had made an excellent decision, which most of the rest of us had disagreed with at the time. He decided not to have any of the banners, placards, boaters, etc. that the Ravenal forces were amassing, and not to have the traditional snake-dance demonstration when Bergland was put into nomination. As a result, when Bergland was nominated, there was great applause, cheering, but nothing else. Then, came the Ravenal demonstration, snaking around the floor. It was at *that* moment that I began to take heart, because peering closely at them, it was evident that (a) there were not very many of them, and (b) they were only the old toadies and hirelings and ringers of the Crane Machine that we had all come to know so well. For me, that was the psychological turning-point of the balloting. It turned out later that Franzi and Mason had precisely the same reaction: the thinness of the Ravenal demonstration was the psychological turning point, and probably influenced the undecided delegates as well. As Franzi the Military Maven put it: "The Ravenal demonstration was when I knew we'd won it. Like Meade watching Pickett at Gettysburg, I knew there weren't enough of them to overrun us."

Franzi later explained his choice for no demonstration. "Look, when both sides do it, it's fun, and everyone looks to see who has more demonstrators. But, among Libertarians particularly, if only one side does it and the other doesn't, then the side that *doesn't* looks serious, while the people doing it look hokey and silly." Hokey and silly is precisely the way the Ravenal demonstrators looked, as the same relatively small number of Craniacs kept it going on and on.

It was now nail-biting time. On the first ballot the result was Ravenal 190, Bergland 185, Ruwart 77, and scattered votes for Nathan, Siano, assorted write-ins, and None of the Above. It was bad to be behind on the first ballot, but it was also clear that we would soon pick up Nathan and Siano votes (both of whom preferred Bergland) and most of the None of the Above. The key was the Ruwart vote.

Mary Ruwart now came to the microphone, on a point of

personal privilege, ready to make her agreed-upon withdrawal statement. She began: "I see now that it is impossible for a woman to be nominated for President today." If she had simply made a withdrawal statement, all would have been over, and she might now be the Vice-Presidential candidate. Instead, roars went up, not only from her own supporters but even more from the Ravenalians, desperately anxious to stop the withdrawal: "Mary, Mary!" Swept up in the tide of emotion and thinking perhaps that she might even win, Mary Ruwart cancelled her agreed-upon announcement.

The second ballot was a cheery development for the Bergland forces. It was obvious that on the second ballot, both sides would pick up a lot of the None of the Above and minor candidate votes. One of our Mavens guessed that each side would pick up 5 or 10 votes on the second ballot. Instead, while Ruwart picked up 22 votes and Ravenal added 8, Bergland picked up 33 votes to spurt ahead of Ravenal by 218 to 198. The excellent showing on the second ballot made things look good for Bergland, but once again La Ruwart was the key. What would she do?

Once again, the fandango started. This time, Mary went to the podium, and milked every minut for what it was worth, playing her hopped-up supporters—and all the rest of us—like an accordion. Stopping and starting, milking every bit of applause, and "No, Mary, Mary", Mary Ruwart finally Did It—she finally not only withdrew from the race but also threw her support to Dave Bergland. It was all over but the shouting.

Yet it was *not* over on the 3rd ballot. Ruwart scarcely delivered to us more than half of her own supporters. Bergland added 51 votes on the third ballot, but Ravenal added almost as many, 45. A particular oddity is that in Mary's own state of Michigan, she only delivered her own vote to Bergland, and not any of her seven supporters. It was now 260 for Bergland and 243 for Ravenal, with 34 None of the Above, and 272 needed to win.

We looked good, but it was still very close. Bill McMillen of New York charged that Gary Greenberg, boss of the New York delegation, was not counting votes correctly, and asked for a polling of the delegation. Greenberg started bellowing that California—whose voting procedures under chairman Mary Gingell were scrupulously fair—should also be polled. For some reason, the chair failed to gavel down Greenberg or insist upon polling the New York delegation. We started putting pressure on the None of the Above Delegates to change their votes, preferably to Bergland, but even to Abstain, since the winner must only have a majority including NOTA but not of Abstainers. One delegate was wringing her hands, virtually in tears. "I can't do it," she said, twisting her handkerchief in agony, "I can't vote for a CFR member." She had been a Ravenal ringer. She changed her vote to Abstain, and then at the last minute on the 4th ballot, changed her vote again to Bergland.

On the climactic fourth ballot, with 270 needed to nominate, Bergland picked up ten votes for 270, while Ravenal lost 13 to 230, with 24 sticking stubbornly to NOTA. We started screaming and shouting in triumph; Bergland was over the top, by one vote, although the flow of the voting made it certain that we would win handily on the next ballot. (Fortunately NOTA cannot hold up things forever; after the fifth ballot the low man—Ravenal—would have had to drop

out and all would have been over.) At that point, the Crane Machine pulled their last tacky and sleazy stunt. They pulled a fast one with the North Carolina delegation, inducing one delegate to get up and announce a shift in his vote on the fourth ballot from "Robert Heinlein" to Ravenal. That would not have changed matters, since we would still have had 270. But somehow he was able to fox the chair into polling the entire North Carolina delegation, which gave an opportunity for one delegate to change—ostensibly on the fourth ballot but actually and illegally *after* the ballot was over—from Bergland to Ravenal. We now only had 269 votes.

Emil Franzi then walked over to Dick Randolph and said: "Look Dick, the question now is not *who* but *when*. The question is whether you go out with class." Randolph scowled a refusal, but at this point Ravenal himself decided to withdraw. Earl went up to the podium and delivered a gracious, even noble, withdrawal speech, saying that the wishes of the delegates were clearly with Dave Bergland. It was over, and now we could shout and sob without hindrance. Armageddon was finished and the Good Guys, the Guys in the White Hats, had triumphed. Despite the money, and the ringers, and the swiftly moving cadres of the Enemy, Justice had finally triumphed. Hallelujah! In the words of the great Christian hymn of James Russell Lowell,

Once to every man and nation  
Comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of truth with falsehood,  
For the good or evil side . . .

Amidst all the chaos and confusion of the 1983 convention, amidst all the temptations of Power, the Libertarian Party had arrived at its moment of decision, its moment of truth, and it had chosen the side of good and of righteousness. The Libertarian Party is indeed, and shall remain, the Party of Principle.

### XIII Aftermath

One of the charming aspects of the Bergland victory is that, since he won a full majority by only one vote, there were an enormous number of Bergland voters each of whom was convinced that it was his or her own vote that had put Bergland over the top. And in a sense, of course, each of them was right. All this gave every Bergland voter an extra stake in the triumph.

Saturday night is traditionally the big banquet after the Presidential nomination, the time when everyone slaps everyone else on the back, pledges unity behind the winner, and opens his or her checkbook for the campaign. And where, at the banquet this Saturday night, were all the Unity-mongers, all the movers and shakers of the Biddeford Accord? The answer is, precisely Nowhere. No MacBride, no Hunscher, no Crane, no Hocker, no Koch, no Herbert. Of the top Craniacs and the Unity crowd, only the Riches and Randolph were there. And Randolph lurked in the wings, sourly refusing to put on a Bergland button and leaving before the fund-raising. Earl Ravenal, however, was there to his great credit, as was Bob Poole, greatly distressed to see the extent to which the cry for unity had proved to be a hoax and a scam. But despite the Craniac-Biddeford walkout, Larry Dodge as fund-raiser at the banquet managed to raise the excellent sum of over \$42,000 to kick off the Bergland for President campaign.

On Sunday, the Crane Machine turned tail and ran; it rolled over and disappeared, gone perhaps forever. No Craniac contested the Vice-Presidency, or any of the national party offices, and no leading Craniac ran for any of the At-Large seats on NatCom. The floor had fortunately defeated ultra-decentralist attempts to eliminate at-large seats or to have each state chair appoint a state rep to NatCom, which would have made NatCom impossibly large and unwieldy. There are only a handful of lesser Craniacs on the new NatCom as regional reps.

One might have expected that, after the fervor of the day before, Mary Ruwart would sweep in to the Vice-Presidential nomination. But the delegates had had a day to think over the Ruwart Phenomenon, and presumably were having second thoughts. The Radical Caucus flew in Joe Fuhrig from California to run for the Vice-Presidency, heedless of the dubious constitutionality of running two candidates from the same state. I nominated my old friend Jim Lewis from Connecticut, stressing that Lewis was a hard-core libertarian and active campaigner, that he particularly emphasized the importance of abolishing the income tax, that he was a member of no faction, and that his job as bookbinding salesman made him particularly qualified to travel, especially among the campuses of the East and Midwest. Dave Nolan was also put into nomination, and the first ballot had Ruwart leading with 140 votes, Lewis second with 117, Nolan third with 84, and Fuhrig fourth with 61, with 224 votes needed to elect.

Dave Nolan then withdrew, throwing his support to Jim Lewis. On the second ballot, Lewis picked up virtually all the Nolan votes, rising to 206, with Fuhrig increasing to 91, and Ruwart holding about the same at 145. Ruwart's failure to pick up votes on the second ballot signalled an imminent Lewis victory. What happened to Ruwart demonstrates the extreme volatility of the convention psyche. Fuhrig then withdrew, and Lewis went over the top on the third and final ballot. We now had a fine Bergland-Lewis ticket.

And so the Crane Machine, at least within the Libertarian Party, rolled over and died. It is no longer a factor; PresCon was indeed another Trafalgar. The Libertarian Party now enjoys a true unity, unity with Justice. A lingering question is whether the CM is finished forever or will someday return. Presumably they would not dare to challenge Franzi on his home turf, for the 1985 convention will be in Phoenix; so the earliest they might possibly be heard from is in four years.

With his flair for the *pomposo*, Craniac Roy Childs, after the Presidential vote, announced his immediate and eternal departure from the Libertarian Party. Some of the drama in this proclamation, however, was punctured by Franzi, who asked: "In what sense has Roy left the Party? All he ever does is come to conventions when he's paid to speak." Whether Roy will continue in his role as Minister of Hate and Disinformation for the Crane Machine, which consisted largely of calling up my friends in the LP and boozily denouncing me at great length as being the quintessence of evil, only time will tell. Chris Hocker has also resigned as publisher of *Inquiry* and from the Crane Machine, and Mike Burch has resigned from the National Taxpayers Legal Fund, in order to rejoin the real world. Is the Old Gang really breaking up?

On the status of the RC Gang of Four in the Party from now on, Franzi summed it up in his inimitable style: "They

have the word WHORE written all over them." He added that his biggest single mistake in the campaign was "to be naive, to think that Libertarians have higher standards of integrity than Democrats or Republicans." Franzi also noted that he had made two other mistakes at the convention. One was that his enormous admiration and respect for Dave Bergland led him to lose his normal convention cool at the stab-in-the-back performed by the Radical Caucus. Another was that as campaign manager, he had not pointed out early enough and forcefully enough to some that campaigns necessarily have only *one* manager.

As for the new NatCom, it overwhelmingly ratified the action of the old one just before the convention in moving the National Headquarters out of Washington, D. C., the heart of the State and what the New Left used to call the Bowels of the Beast, and also and not coincidentally the home of the Crane Machine, and to Houston, Texas, a stronghold of the Party where there are a myriad of eager volunteers.

#### XIV: Overall Assessments

**1. Did It Just Happen, or Was Burns Pushed?** The mainstream account of what happened was as I have written above: Burns dropped out, a general scramble occurs, and Bergland and Ravenal enter the race. Our Armageddon, like the classic battles of Gettysburg and Jutland, was a fortuitous accident, planned or expected by neither side. But there is an alternative, "conspiracy" explanation, believed fervently by many leading Berglandians. The conspiracy view holds that the Ravenal forces were too well organized, their buttons and placards too professional, to have been planned for only one week. They also maintain that Burns has a friend and leading supporter in Orlando who has been in contact with the Crane Machine. The hypothesis goes on that the Machine, learning of Burns' Achilles' heel about finances, worked on Burns through the contact, inducing him to leave the race by discouraging his financial expectations about the campaign. We also know that Craniac Chris Hocker was in frequent contact with Burns over the summer. In a sense, then, according to the conspiracy analysis, Burns was "pushed" out of the Presidential race, with Ravenal already prepped, and waiting in the wings.

One counter to the conspiracy view is the fact that Crane and Hocker officially endorsed Burns only two days before he pulled out, so that seemingly his pullout caught them unawares. But of course a counter to that would claim that the official endorsement was a cover for Craniac knowledge of the impending pullout.

So there we have an alternative scenario. While there isn't enough evidence as yet to embrace this view, it certainly cannot be ruled out of court. Perhaps we will one day learn the full story. At any rate, this sort of thinking in the Bergland camp, shows that we, at any rate, have never made the fatal mistake of underestimating the enemy.

**2. The Crane Machine Engaged in "Maginot-Line" Strategy, Imitating the Successes of the Last War.** The French were smashed in World War II because of their "Maginot Line" thinking, their generals re-fighting the successful battles of World War I. Similarly, the Craniac Unity Scam was a mechanistic aping of the successful unity theme of the victorious Alicia Clark campaign of 1981. The Crane Machine was unimaginatively re-fighting the Guida-Clark struggle at

Denver. Whereas the Bergland forces won on the old Mason theme of 1981; they won on a theme of principle. As Franzi succinctly put it, "The Bergland campaign was the victory of principle over unity." Or, as Bill Evers sardonically suggested, if the Crane Machine should return in 1985 or 1987, they will probably run on a theme of "principle"! Always one convention out of synch.

**3. The Crane Machine, As Usual, Underestimated its Opposition.** Because of its overall megalomania, because its very being is rooted in the myth of its own unique "competence" and "professionalism", the Crane Machine is inherently doomed to underestimate its enemies. Its preppie orientation also leads it to underrate people of different cultures or lifestyles. It grievously underestimated Alicia Clark for years, and probably still does so, and in this campaign it underrated and continues to misunderstand Dave Bergland. Low-key rather than flamboyant, Bergland is solid as a rock. As Franzi points out, Bergland is "absent the manic-depressive tendencies of most candidates, possessing deep inner convictions, and is one of the most principled people in the entire LP." Franzi adds that, if he were to give a title to Bergland, it would be "The Quiet Fighter."

**4. The Bergland Forces Had the Better Mavens, and the Smarter Troops.** The Bergland forces turned out to have the better field people as well as the superior Mavens. The troops were also smarter and more knowledgeable. As Franzi notes, "certain hard-core states such as Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Texas—filled with real people, not ringers—held tight, saw through the scams, and made the difference."

**5. The Biggest Internal Problem of the Bergland Campaign was a Tendency to Panic and React to the Opposition.** Franzi points out that, as often happens at conventions, some Berglandians had a tendency to panic at opposition moves and were impelled to copy or react blindly. Franzi's insistence over opposition on not having the snake-dance demonstration at the nomination is one example. Another was a desire to mimic the favorite CM tactic of putting your candidate in a big room and hyping it up with staged questions and big name LP supporters. Instead, Franzi, seeing that Bergland comes across

better in small groups, successfully insisted that the campaign stress Bergland speaking close-up to several groups a night in Room 4501. When Antman arrived Friday to write Bergland's speeches, the large-room tactic could then be successfully used. Franzi also denounced some supporters' yen to leaflet for Bergland outside Ravenal meetings or parties; as he puts it, "tacky, bad manners, and worth *no votes*."

**6. Populism Triumphed over Elitism.** Corollary to the victory of principle over "unity" was the fact that the Bergland nomination was a triumph of populism over preppie elitism. As Evers cogently put it, the convention rejected the fundamental Craniac vision of the role of the LP as being socially acceptable and "making liberals like us." Instead, the triumphant vision is that of an LP seeking out principled constituencies, whether they be Right or Left. Or, as Franzi phrased it, "there are still more rednecks than Ivy League graduates!"

**7. Whither the Radical Caucus?** What happens now to the Radical Caucus? Essentially, the RC, apart from conventions, consists of *Libertarian Vanguard*. But most of the work on *Vanguard* had been done by Olmsted and Evers. Olmsted, however, burnt out, tired of the turmoil, and lacking confidence in the wisdom of his decision at jumping on to a losing ship, has now quit the Radical Caucus and the LP itself. Ironically, the bright young decision theorist has announced that he doesn't want to have to make any more tough decisions. And Evers is likely to be inactive in the RC. This leaves the RC in the hands of a Raimondoite rump, and one can only be dubious at the prospect of Raimondo writing and editing *Vanguard* by himself. If *Vanguard* ever comes out again, it will be ineffective and irrelevant to Party concerns. The best guess is that the RC, having aided in the historic task of overthrowing the Crane Machine and then self-destructing, will sink quietly under the waves.

And so, despite the treachery of the Gang of Four, it was indeed a glorious and magnificent victory. A New Era is dawning for the Libertarian Party, an era of true harmony based on shared principles and common strategic insights. Onward and upward with Bergland and Lewis! ‡

## Keeping Low-Tech

By The Old Curmudgeon

I inhabit a movement where nine out of ten activists are—or at least seem to be—computer programmers. And this was in the Neanderthal Era when computers were esoteric and mainframe. In the last year or so, as everyone knows, personal and home computers have hit America like a thunderclap, and of those I know who are writers, I am one of only a tiny handful that remain determinedly low-tech. Conversations at cocktail parties and soirees, which used to be devoted to exquisite analysis of political or social mores, are now redolent with talk of modems, peripherals, hard

disks, Kaypros, and all the rest. Not only that: But I have been bombarded by well-meaning enthusiasts among friends, colleagues, and acquaintances urging me to get a computer, dedicated word processor, et al., along with detailed advice on brands, compatibles, etc. My stubborn insistence on pounding away on my reconditioned IBM-Model D electric (*not electronic*) typewriter tends to send my friends into paroxysms of frenzy at my failure to join the modern epoch.

Well, people, I've finally found the way to shut my

freres up. I didn't plan it that way, but this has been a great serendipity, a *mitzvah*, the unplanned consequence of human action not human design. And for those of you who want to stay peacefully low-tech, happy and undisturbed, I offer you my solution.

I told my friends and colleagues the following: Look, people, I have no, repeat no, interest whatsoever in playing video games, having a computer balance my budget, or keeping a file on the non-existent nails stored in my non-existent garage. I have no interest in "fooling around" on the computer, spending my leisure time at it, etc. I have the sneaking hunch that the alleged time the computer saves you is calculated by overlooking the "fooling around" and learning times, which you guys seem to enjoy but to me is boredom personified, multiplied to the nth power. Recently, the university at which I teach tried to nudge all of us into the modern age by giving us a Texas Instrument computer gratis, a computer which, typical of our shop, can do nothing. We were also handed a free instruction booklet which is slightly larger than the computer itself. I have found, my friends, an instant cure for insomnia: Pouring over the computer instruction booklet. By the end of Page 1, my eyes glazeth over, and I'm off to the arms of Morpheus. I can be high-tech too, but it's a different and even *higher* kind of tech, I ween: the kind of tech where I push a button and *it* does all the work. Like my TV set; like my VCR. Like my hand calculator. The kind of tech that I want is the kind of tech where I don't have to have an intimate relationship with the tech in question; where I don't have to know how it works or what are its special needs. Can your much vaunted computer say the same?

Yes, it's true I write a lot, so I would indeed have one, but only one, use for a computer/word processor. Here is what I'm looking for (at this point my listener perks up, for he thinks—a grave error!—that he has me): I want to continue to type my stuff on a typewriter, with old-fashioned paper in the machine, and the paper emerging with the words on it; then, I would also like the typewriter to be hooked up to a computer, so that the same words register on it. But I pay no attention to the computer whatever, Finally, after I do my usual editing of the first draft on my beloved "hard copy" (with naturally *real* letters and not the monstrous collection of dots that cheapo computer printers give out), and I'm ready for final printing, I

go to the computer, redo the mistakes and correct to the final draft, and print the whole thing out on a letter-quality printer. In short, I want to ignore the blasted computer until the time has come for final printing, thus saving money and/or lots of time and effort for my long-suffering spouse.

By this point, my perky friend has grown quiet and thoughtful. Usually, he says, "I don't see why that can't be done," but if he pursues it at all, he reports back, crestfallen, that the thing is impossible. One of my friends, a computer maven to the hilt, said "I know what you want! You want to buy a .44 Magnum, and then use it as a club!" "Precisely," I replied. The Maven ended the conversation with high hopes, but later declared that it was impossible. Another Maven, a professional word processor, also grew thoughtful, and he said: "You know, I'd advise waiting a while. They're coming out with great new advances all the time." Aha! Precisely my view, too. Yes, I will hunker down and wait. After all, I was that way with *all* modern developments. I first got a TV set in 1967, thereby skipping the entire Uncle Miltie-Dagmar era, and I dare say I am little the worse for my loss. I hung on to my sturdy old mechanical Olympia for years after people cut their eye-teeth on electrics, but here I am, a decade or two behind perhaps, but happy at my IBM. So, unless one of my friends or readers can come up with a hot new development, I shall be content to wait it out, escaping the excruciating boredom of the instruction booklet, the eyestrain of peering at the green letters, and all the rest. They tell me, by the way, that there *is* an even better way available to me right now. I can type my stuff on my electric typewriter, take the final corrected hard copy, and place it under a hotshot computer with a photo-method, which can then photograph the copy and thereby implant it in the computer, from which I can correct, print out, etc. Aha! Eureka! Better even than a wire leading from the typewriter. But there is, of course, a catch. The thing apparently costs about 10 grand, and none of my friends is so wealthy that he can, with a straight face, advise me to buy this equipment. But hell, ain't technology wonderful, and maybe in a few years I can buy this photo-computer marvel for the same price that my friends are now putting out for their high-tech systems. Or, better yet, maybe a computer will eventually be *so* high-tech that I can push a button and *it* can do all the work. Like I said, I can wait. ‡

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Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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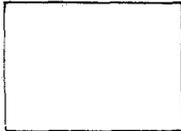
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THE

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## New Airline Massacre: Where's the Outrage?

Remember 007? It wasn't so long ago. Remember the wave after wave of hysteria that permeated the media, led by the cries of outrage from the Reagan Administration? Remember all the howls about the "massacre," and about how this "proves" that the Soviet system is barbaric and evil? Remember the righteous wrath of Reagan on nationwide TV, of the Dragon Lady Kirkpatrick at the UN, of ordinarily mild-mannered Shultz in yelling at Gromyko? Remember the outcry from the entire right-wing, smelling blood at last, yowling for retribution for vengeance against the evil Russkies? Remember the full-page ad of the orthodox Randians grouped around the *Intellectual Activist*, urging the United States to treat the Soviet Union as neighborhood police treat local murderers?

Emotions ran high in the United States, and nothing that the Reagan Administration or the right-wing has done in years has been so successful at heating up the Cold War. Within our movement, it was *Reason* magazine's refusal to print my revisionist Viewpoint column on 007 and editor Robert Poole's calling it "monstrous" for me to equate the U.S. and Soviet lies on this issue, that sparked my resignation from *Reason* as columnist and Contributing Editor (see below).

Well, folks, how many of you know that sometime in November an Angolan civilian jetliner, carrying 126 people, was shot down *deliberately* by the "pro-Western" southern Angolan UNITA guerrilla movement, headed by Dr. Jonas Savimbi? I say deliberately because there is no question about it, because Dr. Savimbi "proudly claimed credit for shooting it down" (*Washington Monthly*, January 1984, p.6.)

Well, now. How come *not one word* of this, as far as I know, appeared in any of our august media? There was no Reagan, burning with indignation, denouncing Dr. Savimbi's deliberate butchery and mass murder. No outraged Dragon Lady. No call from any right-wing for retribution and vengeance. No clamor saying that this mass murder proves that Dr. Savimbi and UNITA are thugs and monsters, running an evil system in southern Angola. No calls for ending all covert U.S. aid to UNITA, or even for reproving South Africa for its continuing aid to what is virtually a client guerrilla movement of its own. No Randians taking full page ads urging the U.S. to treat Dr. Savimbi and his guerrillas as police treat local mass murderers. No clamor from *Reason* magazine.

In our July-August 1983 issue, ("Ronald Reagan, War-

monger") I denounced Americans for being very selective in their moral indignation, noting that there had been no cries of outrage when Israel shot down a Libyan airliner in February 1973. A reader noted that Israel apologized the next day. Okay. It is now admitted by U.S. intelligence experts that the Soviet downing of 007 was probably a bumbling mistake on their part. But in the case of Dr. Savimbi, there is no mistake, and certainly no apology. Quite the contrary, UNITA is proud and happy at their accomplishment. So therefore the cries of outrage against UNITA should be far greater than they were against Russia. Yet the silence is deafening.

So silent has the media blackout been in the U.S. that I had to write "sometime in November" above because I don't know the specific date that this barbarity occurred. The only notice I have seen was the aforesaid paragraph in the *Washington Monthly*, and it gave no further details. If any readers know anything more about the Angolan butchery, I would appreciate their letting me know.

So there we have it. Anyone willing to bet that the orthodox Randians, in their consistent devotion to moral principle, will take out an equivalent full-page ad denouncing Savimbi and UNITA in the same terms? If anyone is willing, I have a Brooklyn bridge, in mint condition, I'm ready to sell you.

As for *Reason* magazine, this was the second column they had killed out of the last three, the first one suppressed being about the growing legend of tax-rebel Gordon Kahl, who was at large and had not yet been killed by the authorities. In my letter of resignation to Bob Poole, I pointed out that I had originally taken on the column in order to bring the radical libertarian viewpoint to their conservative readers. At the time, he appeared enthusiastic about this idea, but clearly times have changed. I also told Bob that he wouldn't have to worry any more about my columns disturbing the somnolence of himself or his readers, since no new or disquieting idea is likely to be offered them by the likes of the columnists that remain.

And so I leave *Reason* magazine, with its instructive lessons on how to demunicipalize government services. Ideologically, *Reason* has always been somewhere in that murky zone where extreme-right-wing Libertarianism and extreme-left-wing Reaganism meet and overlap. Let's hope that the unwillingness to bring a radical or anti-war message to its readers does not presage a glitch rightward out of libertarianism altogether. ‡

# The Bergland Campaign

The Bergland campaign is off to a seagoing start. While Dave Bergland intends to campaign full-time starting in February, he has really been campaigning almost full-time ever since the convention.

## 1. Hard-Core Principle

It was evident from the very beginning that this is going to be a Presidential campaign devoted to hard-core principle. A few days after the PresCon I happened to flip on the tube to C-Span Cable, and there, as luck would have it, was Dave Bergland on a call-in show. Dave was magnificent, answering questions about the LP's aims clearly and candidly: Yes, we want to abolish the income tax, and yes we want to privatize everything, including defense. Wow! What a joy! and all this explained patiently and calmly in a non-inflammatory manner.

This, our glorious goal, is what libertarianism is all about. Sure we should have transition demands, but *this* is what we're aiming for, this is why we're here. Eat your heart out, Crane Machine!

## 2. Setting Priorities on Issues

The Bergland for President Committee has issued a Campaign Statement that is highly important, for it sets out the *priority issues* for this campaign as Bergland and his team see them. Bergland will be hard-core on all issues, but every candidate must select those issues that he will particularly stress during the campaign.

The goal of the campaign, the Statement begins, "is to continue to spread and implement the ideas of individual rights throughout American society." *Rights*, not some utilitarian cost-benefit calculus. By being on the ballot in all 50 states, Bergland and the other LP candidates "will give every American the opportunity to expand their freedom by voting to cut back the federal government, the principal source of oppression within our country."

After this preamble, the Statement specifies the four basic goals of the LP in this campaign: (1) to "remove all controls on the peaceful, voluntary and honest actions of all Americans;" (2) "to abolish draft registration and the threat of the draft;" (3) "to repeal the federal personal income tax;" and (4) "to reform American foreign policy so as to promote peace and better defend Americans." At long last: A Presidential campaign that says flat out and urges repeal of the monstrous income tax! Tax rebels and other anti-tax folks take heed! What *other* candidate can you vote for, to send an anti-income-tax message to Washington?

In the next paragraph, the Bergland Statement makes clear that we seek not only repeal of the income tax, but of *all* taxes! I quote in full: "We seek as quickly as possible the end of all government violation of individual rights, including the end of the seizure of the wages and savings of the American people by income, excise, property, gross receipts, capital gains, or any other taxes." Note that we are pledging ourselves not only to seek repeal of all taxes, but that, at long last, we are doing what radicals in the LP have long been urging: that we don't

set up our own self-imposed roadblocks on the path to our goal. Lord knows that there will be roadblocks enough without adding to them. In short, we are no longer hobbling ourselves by adopting obligatory gradualism, but stating that other considerations are more important than the achievement of liberty. And so we seek these goals "as quickly as possible." In short, the Bergland campaign has adopted a specifically "abolitionist" stance toward the ills of statism.

The Bergland Statement then goes on to set forth specific immediate demands on the road to the above goals. In economic affairs, these are: repeal of all minimum wage and licensing laws; an end to federal expansion of the money supply, "the cause of inflation"; the establishment of gold or other commodity money; the elimination of all subsidies; and "major reductions in social and military spending so as to reduce the federal deficit at the same time the personal income tax is eliminated."

In foreign policy, specific programs are: "immediate and permanent withdrawal of the United States from all entangling military alliances;" pulling all U.S. military personnel out of foreign countries; "development of adequate defensive weapons to protect the United States against nuclear attack" (In my view a chimera, but certainly laudatory for a non-tax-funded goal); "establishment of a 'no first strike' nuclear policy;" reductions in U.S. nuclear arms as part of arms reduction negotiations;" and "free trade with all nations."

In social policy, the basic goal is "the right of Americans to control their own lives and to educate and protect their families." As interim reforms, the Statement calls for a large income tax credit for private tuition, for one's own children or anyone else's; and abolition of the "compulsory and deficit-ridden Social Security System" and replacing it "with voluntary alternatives while providing present beneficiaries with payments from private annuities purchased with the proceeds of the sale of land and the assets of the federal government."

The Statement thus implicitly repudiates all pseudo "voluntary" plans that are voluntary only in the sense that one is not forced to join them, but *not* voluntary for the long-suffering American taxpayer (e.g. the much hyped but sellout Ferrara Plan pushed by the Cato Institute, which, even worse, would retain compulsion for older citizens.) And finally, firm support for the "natural and constitutional right to keep and bear arms as a necessary means of self-protection." It is great to see our Presidential candidate come out squarely and fully against gun control, even though this will anger the liberal media. Tough crackers!

The Statement ends in an eloquent concluding passage: "A Libertarian vote will be the strongest statement that can be made that we all want to be free of the crushing burden of taxation, free of social control and free of the U.S. government's dangerous foreign policy with its resultant risk of war. Every vote for every Libertarian candidate will be a powerful message that millions of Americans demand respect for their right to keep their earnings, their right to exercise control over

and responsibility for themselves, and their right to have their federal government adopt a foreign policy that will provide a growing hope for peace."

Ideologically, the Bergland campaign is in superb shape. We can all support the Bergland/Lewis ticket—physically, morally, and financially—with a high heart.

(Send money or inquiries to Bergland for President, Suit 105 West, 1525 Mesa Verde Drive East, Costa Mesa, CA 92626).

### 3. Non-support by Alaska

At the NatCom meeting on Dec. 3-4 at New Orleans, it was reported by the Bergland Campaign committee that three state LPs have been reluctant to support the Bergland/Lewis ticket. One is Delaware, a virtually non-existent party headed by a flaky state chair. Another is Kansas, the heartland of the Kochtopus. Most important is Alaska, where Craniac state chair Dick Randolph told the Bergland campaign that the Alaska party doesn't want Bergland to appear in their state. This announcement understandably shocked the NatCom members, who grilled the Randolphian Alaskan rep, Steve DeLisio. DeLisio explained that there is "nothing personal" involved, but that the Alaskan Party feels that Bergland is not sensitive to the special needs of Alaska. On the other hand, they would love to have Ed Clark up there at any time. (If this pronouncement is not "personal," then what is?)

DeLisio never specified exactly what the Alaskan LP feared about a Bergland speaking engagement. After all, usually citizens of states are enthusiastic about Presidential candidates appearing there, especially in a place so far off the beaten path as Alaska.

One of the LP's top political Mavens later explained what the DeLisian gobbledegook was all about. The problem was Dave Bergland's critical review in *frontlines* in 1982, of Randolph's pussyfooting campaign book written for his race for governor. Bergland had criticized Randolph for failing to oppose the major source of revenue for the Alaskan government. It turns out that the reason why Randolph was easily able to spark the repeal of the Alaskan income tax is because the bulk

of Alaskan revenue comes from a tax soaking the oil companies. Like Third World countries living off confiscation of Yankee investments, Alaskans apparently love this tax by which they can finance goodies from government by socking it to Big Oil. According to the Randolphian Party, it would be "political suicide" for the LP to come out for repeal of the oil tax. Apparently what the Randolphians are worried about is Bergland coming up to Alaska, and being asked by the media what he thinks about the tax on oil. And by the patently obvious fact that Bergland, bless him, would answer that he favors its abolition. And there would go all "credibility" for the Alaskan LP!

Well, tough cookies, Alaskans. Libertarianism never promised you a rose garden. Did you become LP members because you thought that the majority of the public would automatically support us? Are you for free markets and against tax theft, or are you not? Are you Libertarians, or are you just, after all, Republicans in Libertarian clothing? Isn't it best that we all find out now, before it's too late?

And, dear readers, now how do you feel about all the money you gave to Randolph-for-Governor?

### 4. Response of the Crane Machine

The Bergland campaign did precisely what it said it was going to do at the PresCon: it asked each and every Crane Machine member to work in the campaign. In contrast to the Unity hoaxers at the PresCon, Dave Bergland is a man of his word. And what has been the Craniac response? In every case, an angry refusal, with the honorable exception, according to reports, of Howie Rich.

The Libertarian Party membership will duly note this sour-grapey response, this refusal to cooperate after the vote ran against the Machine. One defeat, it seems, and they're out. Well, OK, that's their privilege. But let them not think that the LP will ever again take them seriously, or consider them for positions of influence. The Machine has decided to walk away from the campaign, and their walk will, whether they like it or not, be a permanent one. Good riddance to bad rubbish. ‡

## Life In "1984"

**1. Of All Time.** Recently, one Dan Lurie, publisher of Muscle Training Illustrated magazine, decided to search for someone whom he could dub "the best physically fit President of all time." After an exhaustive search, Lurie came up with, lo and behold!, Ronnie Reagan.

Ronnie Reagan? But how about George Washington, a strapping 6'2" in a world where most male Americans hardly poked up above 5'5"? How about Abe Lincoln? Or Ike Eisenhower? No, he couldn't pick people like that, Lurie explained, because "You can't go back and honor a President who's no longer there." Oh. Well, that takes care of *that*.

**2. The Shortest Time Period.** It is an old New York quip that the definition of the shortest perceivable interval of time, is the time it takes between the change of the traffic light to green and the moment when the car behind you honks its horn. I offer a new definition of the shortest period of time:

the length of any given cease-fire in Lebanon.

**3. Unemployment in Grenada.** In the last days of the Marxist Bishop regime, unemployment in Grenada was severe, at 14 percent. The United States invasion—oops, "rescue mission," as Lew Lehrman's Citizens for America managed to have it called—had the effect of more than doubling that unemployment, which is now about 30 percent. Why? Because of the "sudden unemployment," imposed not by wicked capitalists, but by the U.S. military occupation regime: i.e. on former members of the People's Revolutionary Army, former officials in the Bishop government, former members of Bishop's ruling party, the New Jewel Movement, and workers building the famous airport.

Comment by a 19-year old Grenadian who hasn't had a job yet: "They call it a rescue mission, but they haven't rescued me yet." To each his own, on Grand Fenwick. ‡

## Living Liberty, And All That

For many years I have heard the injunction that it was not enough to “merely” (?) be a libertarian, i.e. to favor and work for a society resting on non-aggression. What we should all be doing instead, these people imply, is to “live liberty.”

Now I confess that I have been unable, even with the best will in the world, to understand what these people—and there are many of them—are talking about. Until now, “living liberty” has seemed to me a congeries of egregious fallacy, including: attacking all organization *per se* as “unlibertarian”, denouncing the political process (that is, the process of running an ideological organization) on the same grounds, and berating as unlibertarian kicking one’s dog or yelling at one’s neighbor. “Living Liberty” has also extended to the horror of voluntarily sharing one’s energy and worldly goods with anyone who shows up proclaiming his libertarian credentials—a sort of voluntary libertarian communalism.

All this, however, has been so vague and amorphous as to scarcely deserve rebuttal. As far as I am concerned, if I were ever to use this odd phrase at all, “living liberty” implies two things: (a) *not* robbing banks or hitting people over the head, and (b) doing one’s best to promote the doctrines of libertarianism. If *this* were all that the “living libertarians” were talking about, then fine, but it is pretty clear that this is *not* what they mean. Whatever they do mean is far fuzzier and more grandiose. Their fuzziness, however, hardly prevents them from adopting a smug air of moral superiority to the rest of us peasantry who have not been clued in to the message.

Lately, the Living Liberty concept has been sharpened, and the message is getting a bit clearer—much to my regret. Somewhere in an Ayn Rand novel one of the villains whiningly complains to one of the heroes or heroines: “You don’t understand me.” And the hero replies, in a marvelous riposte: “I am trying very hard *not* to understand you.” As the Living Libertarians etch their position more clearly, I am beginning to get a similar reaction.

Two recent items highlight this problem. One was an episode where I appeared at a state LP convention, and someone came up to us and insisted that the LP Presidential candidate should be Irwin Schiff. Our lips curled, and he bristled. We pointed out to him that, *inter alia*, Mr. Schiff was weak—to put it kindly—on civil liberties. All this was dismissed by our LP comrade as of no account. “No, no,” he expostulated. “Irwin Schiff is a better libertarian than any of you. He *lives* liberty. He doesn’t pay taxes.”

A second item: I received an anguished letter a few months ago from one of the best and most dedicated libertarian activists I have ever met. She had a moral problem and asked my advice. Taxes were criminal and immoral, and therefore paying taxes was immoral, and so wasn’t it incumbent upon her to drop out of libertarian activism altogether, and head for the hills, so that she would not have to participate any longer in an immoral system?

I was rather astonished, and wrote back pointing out to her that it was absolutely vital to libertarianism to preserve a clear and crucial distinction: between the *criminal* and the *victim*. The criminal is the guy who *inflicts* taxes; the victim is the person who is forced to pay it. Inflicting taxes is immoral; *paying* taxes is not. The mugger is the criminal, *not* the muggee; the rapist the criminal, not the person being raped.

After the episode of the exhausted activist (which is what she turned out to be) and the odd Schiffian, I was one day raising my standard question: “What do these people *mean* by ‘living liberty?’ ”, to a keen analyst of the current movement, and he answered immediately: “not paying taxes, not possessing a driver’s license, not getting married.” At that point, the Living Liberty puzzle fell into place, and its ramifications appeared grave indeed. For what *this* breed of living libertarians, at any rate, are doing is systematically fuzzing over or obliterating altogether the crucial distinction of libertarianism: between the criminal and the victim. For if it is equally or even partially immoral to *pay* taxes, then the victim, too, is implicated in the crimes of the State apparatus. The distinction between criminal and victim also implies the crucial difference between freedom and coercion. For libertarianism holds that only voluntary actions are moral or immoral, and that therefore if one is coerced into an act it cannot be considered either voluntary or immoral. But this means that the Living Liberty libertarians, who have adopted a superior moral pose to the rest of us, are not simply wrong but ironically 180-degrees wrong; for in obliterating the criminal-victim, or voluntary-coercive distinction, they are slipping out of libertarianism altogether.

On the libertarian “left”, Voluntaryist literature is redolent with the living liberty fallacy. Sometimes they refer explicitly to “living liberty” in hushed tones. But more often their crucial error is placing undue emphasis on the La Boetie-Hume insight that, in the long run, any government, no matter how dictatorial, rests on the majority consent of the governed. By riding hard on this insight and distorting its lessons, the Voluntaryists implicitly attack the rest of us who do *not* disobey laws or resist taxes as being immorally implicated in the continuing existence of the State. From being victims of coercion according to libertarian theory, we non-Voluntaryists have suddenly been transmuted into people who consent voluntarily to State coercion; we have become criminals rather than victims. A crucial flaw in the Voluntaryist embrace of La Boetie-Hume is that they forget two key aspects of their insight: *long-run* and *majority*. Consent is not unanimous but by a majority, and individuals cannot be implicated in any collective guilt; furthermore, this is only a *long-run* insight, because in the short-run even a highly unpopular government has the guns and can use them successfully. Overthrowing even such a government will take many years of bloodshed, suppression, and revolution. Exercising long-run majority preferences against a State is emphatically *not* a dinner-party.

There is another crucial point here: if paying taxes is really voluntary, as left-libertarians and Voluntaryists seem to maintain, then what's wrong with the State after all? For if taxation is voluntary, then the archists are right, and we can have no complaint against taxation or against the State itself as a criminal enterprise. In short, while loudly proclaiming their "living" of liberty, our left-libertarians and anarchists have unwittingly abandoned libertarianism altogether. By making victims into criminals they are also transforming genuine criminals into non-criminals. Vociferous anarchists wont to sneer at the rest of us as only half-libertarians, they have become, in the last analysis and in a bizarre way, objective apologists for statism and the State apparatus.

Right-wing libertarians, on the other hand, erase the crucial distinction between criminal and victim, between coercion and the voluntary, in a different way. One delegate to the national LP platform committee at Austin, Texas this spring, for example, kept maintaining that it is *not* murder of innocent civilians to wipe out Russia in a nuclear attack. There *are no* innocent civilians in Russia, he declared, because since the government exists, they must be consenting to its rule. Hence, all Russians are implicated in the crimes of their Communist rulers. This standard right-wing (and also Randian) line is the flip side of the left-anarchist-Voluntaryist reliance on La Boetie. In both doctrines, the very existence of a government or of taxes means that those who obey the State or pay its taxes are

implicated in its crimes. The victims have become murderers.

Note that the only real difference between the right-wing and left-wing libertarian approaches is that the former confine their melding of criminal and victim to *Communist* regimes, whereas the left consistently applies this confusion to all governments and all countries.

The final irony is that the left-libertarian, Voluntaryist-anarchist tendency, in its eagerness to assume moral superiority to the rest of us by Living Liberty, by not engaging in any State activities or State contamination, by not paying taxes, not getting drivers' licenses, et al., yet necessarily fail *even on their own terms*. For I bet that they are willy-nilly still enmeshed in the State and "giving it their sanction" by, e.g. paying sales taxes through buying products, flying in government-regulated planes that take off from and land in government-owned airports, sending letters through the evil U.S. Post Office, and walking and driving on evil government roads. *I do not consider them* statists for engaging in these activities, but *they should*. If they cannot bring themselves to rethink their negation of libertarianism's pivotal distinction between the coerced and the voluntary, they should at least get off their high horses and acknowledge what *they* should consider their own voluntary enmeshment and adherence to the Leviathan State. ‡

## Reagan War Watch

### I. Escalation in Lebanon

As we predicted in our July-August issue, the conflict in the Middle East continues to escalate dangerously, with the U.S. leading the parade. Reagan's reaction on learning of the truck-bombing of Marine headquarters is that the most unthinkable of all the hard options is to pull out. And so, as Lebanon becomes more and more of a Vietnam, the Marines stay on the flat at the Beirut airport, establishing a hunkered down symbolic presence at the *now* closed airport, while snipers in the hills use them for target practice and Muslims take dramatic action to try to remove the hated U.S. presence from their country.

And no one seems to know why in hell the Marines are there. First they were supposed to be part of a small International Peace-keeping Force to interpose symbolic bodies in between fighting forces in the permanent floating Lebanese civil war: mainly between Christian militia and the Palestinian refugees. Like the handful of British and Italian troops, the troops were supposed to be smiling and visible, handing out candy to Lebanese kiddies, and generally making ourselves visible and universally beloved. Since then, the supposed role of the Marines has been changing every month. "Peacekeeping" has been transformed into maintaining and extending the rule of a minority government of Maronite Christians and thug Phalangists over the majority Muslims of Lebanon. But as "peacekeepers"—an Orwellian term in itself—the Marines can hardly be expected to run amok and slaughter the civilian population. But step by step we are

beginning to do so. First, we began to shell and bomb Muslim villages in order to defend the Marines against snipers. Then, we began to bomb Muslims in order to extend Maronite rule over them, describing this as a kind of indirect protection of the Marines. And then, we began to bomb in order to "punish" an enemy we have not been able to find. And in all this, the Marines had to hunker down and abandon the very "presence" that was supposed to be the original point of the exercise. And now President Reagan says the Marines will remain until peace and a stable and united government have come to Lebanon. Well, if *that* is the goal, U.S. troops are in Lebanon until—in the grand old phrase of Khrushchev/shrimps learn to whistle.

One problem with the dark Reagan threat to "punish" those responsible for the truck-bombings is that we can't find out who in hell the villains are. An organization called the Islamic Holy War has claimed credit for all the car-bombings, but no one seems to know who they are. The Lebanese police are investigating the incident, but, as Thomas L. Friedman wrote in a witty article in the *New York Times* (October 25), they will undoubtedly never find the culprits, because: "for one, the investigation is being led on the Lebanese side by the military prosecutor, Assad Germanos, who led the investigation into the Sabra and Shatila massacre a year ago. In a draft report on the massacre . . . he concluded that it was impossible to say who exactly did the killing, though an Israeli investigation was able to do so." And further: "Since the Lebanese civil war broke out in 1974, virtually no major crime

of any political significance has been solved in Lebanon by the military prosecutor or anyone else.”

But the Reagan Administration is not worried about such niceties as pinpointing the guilty. Instead, we seem to be adopting the Nazi practice of hauling in and “punishing” any and everyone in sight. First, we became convinced that the Islamic Holy War are “pro-Iran Shiites.” Sounds ominous, except that most Shiites are “pro-Iran” in the sense that they consider Khomeini the highest spiritual leader in the Shiite world. But this hardly means that Tehran gives them orders, or that the Tehran government can be held responsible for any action committed in Lebanon by any “pro-Iranian group.” Indeed, Iran—usually not shy about their achievements—has completely denied any role in the truck-bombings. Despite the lack of evidence, however, the U.S. remains convinced of Iran’s guilt, and so we have finally—along with trigger-happy Israel—punished the “guilty” by bombing . . . Syria! or rather Syrian positions in Lebanon. Go figure this lunatic logic. Syria, after all, is nearer to us in Lebanon than Iran is, and so the Syrians make a handier target. And the bombers allegedly live in Syrian-occupied territory in Lebanon, so that makes the Syrian government guilty of their crimes. Great! On that basis, if John W. Hinckley, Jr. had happened to have been a Canadian, the U.S. would have been justified in fire-bombing Toronto. The next step, I suppose, will be: on to Damascus!

Just as in Vietnam, we hear from the Reagan Administration that, whether or not the Marines should have been there in the first place, once they are there they cannot be pulled out, else the U.S. will lose its “credibility.” Once a “commitment” is made, no matter how idiotic, it must be pursued to and beyond the bitter end in order to preserve American “credibility.” A beautiful recipe for permanent war, and for an escalation and a morass that will make Vietnam look like a tea party. In a sense, the situation is worse than Vietnam. With Soviet military advisers among the Syrians, the danger of World War III breaking out is far greater. And instead of two or three political or military forces at work, the U.S., the Ugly American bull in the china shop, has blundered into a region where there are literally dozens of warring ethnic, religious, political, and military groups, each of whom has hated the guts of the others for up to a thousand years—and often with good reason. How *dare we* bulldoze our way into this tangled web that is none of our damned business, and then proceed to grow petulant because there are all these inconvenient groups that won’t roll over and obey American orders: Druze, Shiites, Sunni “fundamentalists”, “pro-Iranians,” Palestinian loyalists, Palestinian rebels, left secularists, Christian anti-Phalangists, and on and on? Yankee, go home!

It even got to the point that the U.S. became worried about an attack of neutralism in Israel, as Israel, stung by its heavy losses and its lack of accomplishment in the war of aggression against Lebanon, retreated to the south, where it is surrounded by a hostile Shiite civilian population. In the midst of this, the U.S. began to pressure Israel to resume its old ultrahawk role, to come back and crush the Druze and the Shiites in the villages of the Shouf mountains. The astonishing (and unconstitutional, if anyone cares) Reagan-Shamir agreement was designed to lure Israel into resuming its war-fighting role in Lebanon (Note the irony: the U.S. Marines were *originally*

sent in to protect the Palestinian refugees from the Israeli puppets of the Christian Phalange.)

The escalation of American fighting is based on the madman view of “world terrorism” that has been pushed successfully for years in the U.S. by the Stirling-DeBorchgrave-Moss-CIA axis. That view holds that any “terrorist” bombing or shooting or kidnapping anywhere is run by evil Cuba or Khomeini’s Iran and *through* them to the Muscovite puppetmasters of the KGB. As Robert Scheer pointed out in his scintillating and scary book, *With Enough Shovels*, Ronald Reagan—and his ultra-right confreres—came to office with a world-view held fast for over four decades that all trouble in the world is caused by the masters of the “evil empire” in the Kremlin. It’s as if every bad guy in the world must be, ultimately, a Commie. To call this “simplistic” is to put far too kind a face on it. Do any of these jerks know what Khomeini *does* with real, that is, Iranian Commies? If the Reagan warhawks should ever find out on their own hides, they would sing a different tune.

There is, of course, a curious exception. Any U.S. political figure who gets assassinated is invariably killed by a lone nut. The long hand of the KGB invariably stops at the water’s edge. We might note, too, that Colonel Khadafi, after enjoying his day in the sun as the top neo-Commie bogey-man for our ultra-right, has faded away and been replaced by the Ayatollah. (Does anyone remember the bearded Libyan “hitmen” who were supposed to have invaded our shores in order to kill Reagan? And whatever happened to them?)

The United States seems to be constitutionally incapable of being neutral in anyone else’s conflict, and sure enough, we are moving further into the Iraq-Iran war, raging now for four years. Iran being neo-Commie bad guys, Iraq, the reasoning goes, *must be* good guys, and so the U.S. is now “tilting toward” Iraq. Mitterand’s France, the Social Democrat running dog of U.S. imperialism, has sent fighter-bombers to Iraq, fueling the crisis and threatening escalation. Iraq and Iran have been fighting a war of attrition, which the far less populous Iraq is ill-equipped to wage. Iraq’s despicable totalitarian dictator, Saddam Hussein, is openly threatening to bomb Iranian oil facilities at Kharg Island in order to provoke the Iranians into mining or sinking Western oil tankers in the Straits of Hormuz, whereupon U.S. imperialism will once again rush to the aid of yet another “free world” regime.

As we wrote in the August, 1982 *Lib. Forum* (“Don’t Cry for Iraq”) the Hussein despotism deserves no support whatever. Iraq launched its war of aggression against Iran in September 1980, and deserves to take the consequences. Its regime is a socialist despotism ruled by the Ba’ath party and devoted to the cult of personality of Saddam Hussein. Recently it was discovered that the driver of the truck-bomb of the U.S. Embassy at Kuwait was a “Pro-Iranian Iraqi.” A “pro-Iranian” because he was a Shiite. And the crucial religious dimension in Iraq is that Hussein and his Ba’ath dictatorship constitute a Sunni minority tyrannizing over a Shiite majority in Iraq. That’s the reason why anti-Hussein dissidents are apt to be both Shiite and “pro-Iran.”

## II. Syria, the Palestinians, and Yasser Arafat

When I was growing up, we used to scoff at the Communist

Party for its dizzying reversal of "line", of who the good guys and bad guys might be. Well, the CP had nothing on U.S. imperialism for dizzying reversals. Blundering into age-old conflicts, not knowing what the hell it's doing, and yet desperately anxious to intervene somehow, to find groups that are one micrometer more Good Guy than the opposition, the United States has reversed its field without shame on the question of Yasser Arafat. Reviled for many years as a terrorist thug, Arafat, now on the ropes, has suddenly been transformed by U.S. propaganda into a shining "moderate", the last best hope for peace on the Palestinian question. Indeed, the U.S. had to put enormous pressure on its Israeli allies so that Israel wouldn't blow the Arafat troops to smithereens as they embarked from Tripoli to Tunis and other far-off Arab climes. Before that, Arafat's bacon was saved by his old friend the Soviet Union, who put tremendous pressure on its Syrian ally, and, in turn, on the PLO rebels to let Arafat and his men slip out of the squeeze that the rebels had put on Arafat's forces in Tripoli. If not for the Russians, Arafat might well now be permanently out of the Middle Eastern picture.

So what's the real story here? For many years, Arafat was revered by all Palestinians as the George Washington of his people, as the guerrilla leader and head of Al Fatah, by far the biggest single force in the umbrella Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Using great diplomatic skill, Arafat was able to win recognition and acceptance for the PLO at the UN and at many world capitals. For years, however, the Palestinians have been faced with an important quandary: should they accept a mini-Palestinian state, consisting only of the 1967 Israeli conquests of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip? Should they accept this half (or rather one third of) a loaf, rather than the full program for Palestinian justice, which would mean returning all the lands stolen by Israel to their Palestinian owners? In the latter event, the state of Israel would virtually cease to exist. The Palestinian quandary is complicated by the fact that Israel has shown no sign of offering such a deal; the deal has been bandied about by assorted "moderates" in the U.S., among the Arabs, and among some of the peace dissidents in Israel. Most of the non-Al Fatah forces in the PLO, constituting the "rejection front" headed by Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, angrily reject such ideas. Arafat and Al Fatah have always been ambivalent and vague on the issue, and the "extreme moderates" of Fatah, headed by the late "pro-American" Dr. Issam Sartawi, eagerly embraced the idea of such a deal. Dr. Sartawi was reviled as a traitor to Palestinian justice, and executed summarily by refusenik "terrorists"—an instructive lesson to other Palestinians who might have been tempted to follow his lead.

It must be realized that the issue is not simply whether or not to accept half a loaf. The rejectionists are not so crazy that they would simply refuse an outright mini-State. The problem is that the "moderates" are not simply offering a mini-State to the Palestinians. In order to appease Israel and gain its acceptance of the scheme, the mini-State would (a) have to renounce all claims to justice for the Palestinians driven out by Israel in the 1947-67 period, that is for the Palestinians who once lived in Israel proper; and (b) would have to remain disarmed, its borders patrolled by UN "peacekeepers", and suffer other indignities in order to reassure Israel. It is *these conditions* that no self-respecting Palestinian would agree to. A

Palestinian State would have to be a sovereign state among nations, and not accept any sort of special demilitarization, and it could not barter away the just rights of Arab brethren despoiled by Israel in 1947-48. *This* renunciation of just claims to stolen lands within Israel is what Zionists are always referring to as "recognizing Israel's right to exist." And that is why this renunciation or "recognition" is the heart of the Palestinian problem.

In the midst of this tinder-box, Ronnie Reagan unveiled his famous Plan to solve the Palestinian problem. The plan would create a mini-State on the West Bank and Gaza, all right, but (a) it would involve the renunciations, the disarmament and the guarantees mentioned above, and (b)—final indignity!—the mini-State would not even be Palestinian! The PLO would be deprived of any role, and the Palestinians would be "represented" by the infamous King Hussein of Jordan, who turned and butchered the PLO guerrillas without warning in the brutal month of Black September, 1970. For the United States, in its typical ignorance and arrogance, to airily appoint the "pro-Western moderate" Hussein as eternal spokesman for the Palestinians was bound to raise their hackles.

Issam Sartawi was eager to embrace even this egregious sellout, and so he was summarily disposed of by the refuseniks. But the rejectionists and even increasing numbers in Al Fatah looked upon Arafat's evasive and ambivalent response to the Reagan Plan with deep suspicion. The Al Fatah guerrillas began to realize that for years Arafat had done more talking and showboating than real fighting. He was so enamoured of his jet-set image that he had neglected the actual war front. His eagerness to display his "moderation" was becoming increasingly evident. And, to top it all, he gathered around him as guerrilla commanders lazy and corrupt cronies. When Arafat greeted his pummeling by the Israeli aggressors in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon as some sort of heroic "victory," it became apparent to the majority of the Al Fatah fighters that the showboating Yasser Arafat had outlived his usefulness to the Palestinian cause. He had become a drag upon the revolution.

There is another important difference between the strategic perspective of Arafat and the refuseniks: Their position on the "front-line" (those bordering on Israel) Arab states. In order to pursue a short-cut to victory, Arafat has always trusted blindly in seemingly sympathetic Arab regimes. Yet he has consistently been betrayed. Arafat trusted King Hussein of Jordan, and as a result the PLO was almost wiped out by the horror of Black September. Then Arafat settled in Lebanon, and he trusted Syria, who responded by invading Lebanon in 1976 when the coalition of the PLO and the Lebanese Left were on the point of total victory. It was "Commie" Syria, now supposedly the champion of the radical Palestinian cause, who crushed the Lebanese Left and restored minority Christian rule. In contrast to this running after short-runs, to this purblind reliance on Arab states that are only interested in their own power and not in justice for Palestinians, Habash and the rejectionists have long pointed out that the Palestinians can only win in a long-run perspective, by first engaging in a long march through the institutions, overthrowing the untrustworthy Arab states and relying mainly on Palestinians themselves for a Palestinian victory.

Thus, it is true in a very different sense from the Reagan Plan that the large majority of Jordanians are ethnically Palestinian. Jordan is Palestinian, but the only way to effectuate this reality is not to call King Hussein a surrogate "Palestinian", but to overthrow Hussein and his Bedouin praetorian guard and replace them by a Palestinian-ruled Jordan. There is no sign of this happening, although the gutsy movement, Black June, headed by Abu Nidal, is headed toward this goal. Taking this radical perspective will be slower, but it will in the long run be a far surer path for the Palestinian cause.

The situation now is tangled and complex. Aided by the Soviet Union and the United States, Arafat was able to escape from Tripoli. He has no base anywhere near Palestine, his troops are scattered all over North Africa, and yet the U.S. is pinning its hopes on his re-forming an alliance with Jordan. Arafat clearly has nine lives, so it is difficult to know which way events will jump. Although scorned and repudiated by most of the Fatah guerrillas, headed by Colonel Abu Moussa, Arafat still has the strong support of the West Bank civilian masses, who have not caught up with the significance of recent events. Only time will tell how much of a role the wily Arafat will be able to carve out for himself in the Middle East.

As a footnote to the inability of the United States to be neutral in *any* situation, let us note the cries of horror with which it greeted the recent declaration of independence by the new sovereign state of Northern Cyprus. For years, Cyprus has been in effect partitioned between the Turkish-occupied North and the Greek South. But why *shouldn't* the Turkish minority on Cyprus have the power to secede and set up their own republic?

It is true that when Turkey invaded Cyprus several years ago, it occupied the ethnic Turkish areas, but unfortunately extended Turkish rule to places far beyond the range of Turkish ethnicity. In short, it congered many ethnically Greek areas. Still and all, partition is always to be welcomed. Why shouldn't the Turkish Cypriotes have their own country? And why does the United States, with unvarying accuracy, not only intervene in all foreign quarrels but usually take the wrong side?

In this Turkic-Greek fight, there is nary a Commie in a carload. As a matter of fact, the Turkish government is considerably to the right of Greece. So why did we come out on the side of Greece over Turkey? Could it, by any chance, be due to the fact that there are lots of Greek-American voters and hardly any American Turks? Is this too cynical a stance? Or is it that U.S. imperialism has an all-pervasive instinct for coming out *against* the course of justice in any given foreign policy situation?

Finally, while ruminating on the Middle East, we may ponder the following fascinating question: Is sacrificing one's life for a cause Heroism or Crazy Fanaticism? This is a tough question, especially for someone like myself who espouses a pro-life ethic. Ayn Rand, the great opponent of self-sacrifice, tried to bring it in again through the back door by justifying such action in the name of a "life worth living". Perhaps, but this is hardly very convincing. At any rate, on one thing I am clear: It is illegitimate to brand someone who dies for a cause *you* don't like as a crazed fanatic while honoring as heroes those who die for a cause of which *you* approve. But yet the press has been denouncing the young lad who drove the truck-

bomb into American Marine headquarters in Beirut as a bestial fanatic who dared to smile at the end, while lauding Marine Commandant General Paul Kelley for opining: "I would simply ask that all Americans this evening, with bended knee, thank God, that this country of ours can still produce young Americans who are willing to lay down their lives for free men everywhere."

Maybe it all depends on *which* God one is praying to. If the young truck driver was indeed a Shiite Muslim, as is generally believed, then he had a powerful incentive for his kamikaze deed. For Shiites believe that all who die for *their* cause are assumed straight to Heaven, without any of the delays and uncertainties that afflict everyone else. Can the Judeo-Christian religion offer anything comparable?

### III. Conquering Little Grenada

Unfortunately, our title and article, "Ronald Reagan, Warmonger" (July-August *Lib. Forum*) proved to be all too prophetic. In a brutal act of naked aggression, Reagan on October 25 invaded the tiny island nation of Grenada, along with a few measly troops from neighboring client governments used as a flimsy cover. Not only was this a reprehensible act of aggression and murder, but it violated every tenet of international law and of U.S. treaties. International law is scarcely libertarian law, but at least it offers *some* restrictions on one government's intervention into another country. Thus, it is anti-libertarian for one government to aid another state militarily against the other's revolutionaries, but it does happen to be consonant with international law. But governmental aid to subversive troops in another country (such as the massive U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*) *does* violate international law. Even more of a violation is a naked act of aggression against another state and its people. But that is what U.S. imperialism, at last shedding much of its usual pose of legalistic hypocrisy, has done in Grenada.

Note the following:

A. The U.S. invasion was a clear and dramatic violation of Article 15 of the 1948 charter of the Organization of American States, of which the U.S., the puppet island governments, and Grenada were all signatories. Article 15 states: "No state or group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state", whether by "armed force" or otherwise.

B. The invasion of Grenada was also a clear violation of Article 17 of the OAS charter: "The territory of a state is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or other measures of force taken by another state, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever." The United States did not seek the approval of the OAS before invading, because it would not have received it.

C. The invasion of Grenada was a violation of the UN charter, which prohibits "the threat or use of force" in international affairs except for defense against "armed attack." Grenada, it seems superfluous to add, had not launched any armed attack against the U.S.—or indeed against any other state.

D. The invasion of Grenada was illegal, because it did not

follow upon a declaration of war by the Congress.

E. The invasion of Grenada was illegal, because it violated the War Powers Resolution of 1973. Reagan lied in claiming that he had notified Congress after the fact of invasion, in a manner "consistent with the War Powers Resolution." For Regan wilfully failed to report that he had introduced U.S. troops "into hostilities"; if he had so reported, the resolution would have required him to "terminate" the use of troops within 90 days.

F. The excuses used by Reagan for his brutal act of murder were feeble to the point of obscene. He claimed he acted to protect U.S. citizens in Grenada. But there was no evidence whatever that these citizens, mostly students at the St. George's University School of Medicine, were under any threat, imminent or otherwise. In fact, the head of the medical school, Charles R. Modica, was bitterly critical of the invasion, and pointed out that the only threat to the lives and persons of the students was that posed by the invasion itself.

It's true that Mr. Modica, after a lengthy session with State Department officials, changed his tune, and declared that their "information" had led him to favor the invasion in retrospect. One wonders what in fact the State Department told Modica, and whether anything was mentioned, for example, about the legitimacy in American eyes of his Grenadian medical school and their practice of medicine in the U.S.

The United States lied, too, when it said that the Grenada airport was closed and that therefore the students could not have been evacuated without the invasion. Only the day before the invasion, Canada evacuated its citizens from Grenada at the airport with no problem. Furthermore, in a desperate attempt to forestall the attack, the Grenada authorities offered any guarantees that the Americans wanted on the safety or the rapid evacuation of the students. In fact, Grenada's Revolutionary Military Council, the Austin junta ruling the island, hand-delivered a note to the U.S. Embassy in Barbados, stating that: "We reiterate that the lives, well being and property of every American and other foreign citizen residing in Grenada are fully protected and guaranteed by our government. There is absolutely no basis whatsoever for any country launching an invasion of our beloved country and homeland."

But all to no avail. No plea was enough or was even heard by a Reagan Administration hell-bent on a war they could finally win. The Grenadians delivered the message at the U.S. Embassy at 2 A.M. Monday morning October 17. The U.S. reply—ignoring the Grenadian guarantees and simply reiterating concern about American safety—was sent not by normal diplomatic channels but by slow commercial telex after midnight Tuesday morning (a ploy reminiscent of U.S. actions at Pearl Harbor!). The idiotic excuse was that the Reagan Administration didn't "recognize" the military regime on Grenada as a "legitimate" government. The Council never received the telex. The *real* reply came a few hours later, from U. S. Marines and Army Rangers spitting death.

The Reagan Administration also claimed that the invasion was needed to "restore law and order and governmental institutions", and, as a corollary, "to forestall further chaos." But, first, it is unclear why the United States is supposed to be functioning as the imposer of law, government and "order" throughout the world, or why its function is supposed to be

that of universal repressor of "chaos." And, second, there was hardly any chaos or absence of law and government on Grenada. On the contrary, there was all too much government. Obviously, what Reagan was *really* saying is that the U.S. has the right to invade any country having a government it does not like, in this case Marxist-Leninist, and impose any other government—including its own troops—that it desires.

One of Reagan's excuses for his aggression is that the existing government (the Austin regime) murdered the Prime Minister. But since this Prime Minister, whom Reagan was claiming to avenge, was Maurice Bishop, a Marxist-Leninist who had seized control of Grenada in a *coup* in 1979, this means that the U.S. is willing to go to war to defend the honor of one Marxist-Leninist group against another—in this case a harder-core faction. Further, there is a great deal of evidence that Reagan had been toying with the idea of invading Grenada when it was still ruled by the beloved Bishop.

Secretary of State Shultz's excuse—that the U.S. had to act to put an end to "an atmosphere of violent uncertainty" in Grenada—is an even more destructive variant of the anti-"chaos" argument. Every time there is "violent uncertainty" somewhere, are we supposed to go to war?

The final insult was Reagan's last alibi for the invasion; "to restore democratic institutions" in Grenada. So are we supposed to wage war around the globe to impose "democracy" everywhere? Why then doesn't Reagan invade Haiti, Chile, South Africa, South Korea and a host of other undemocratic states? In fact, how many countries around the globe does this cretin think can pass muster in any sense as "democratic"? Darned few is the answer. We are back to the worst lunatic doctrines of Woodrow Wilson, in which the United States is supposed to wage perpetual war in order to cram "democratic institutions" down everyone's throat. Even the hawk Senator Moynihan (D, N.Y. ) protested at this and declared that he could not see how "democracy" can be brought to Grenada at the point of a bayonet.

And, finally, what in the concrete does this "restoration of democratic institutions" amount to? It turns out that the U.S. plan was to reactivate the British "Governor-General" in Grenada—the last defunct remnant of British imperialism in Grenada—and get him to *appoint* a new puppet government. What price "democracy" now?

In fact, since the American invasion, the resurrected Governor-General, Sir Paul Scoon, has been imposing "democracy" upon Grenada via the American troops. His hand-picked Cabinet is only a figure head, without power, and Scoon rules directly with the aid of American bayonets.

A particularly bizaare aspect of the Grenada caper was reactivating Scoon, since Great Britain itself not only refused to join the invasion, but sharply warned the U.S. against it. We have come to a helluva pass when Margaret Thatcher, the Butcher of the Falklands, is pleading with Reagan to show some common sense and restraint in Grenada. Legally, furthermore, Grenada is and has been a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and is an ally of Great Britain, so that the U.S. attacked and invaded a British ally. In fact, in one charming though highly unrealistic scenario, Britain could have interpreted the U.S. assault on Grenada as an attack on itself, and so we could have seen the fascinating spectacle of Great Britain launching a missile strike on Miami in

retaliation for our aggression against its Commonwealth protectorate!

Ronald Reagan, in announcing his attack upon Grenada, condemned its regime as a "brutal group of leftist thugs." But what are we supposed to do about *rightist* thugs? And especially about the Greatest Rightist Thug of them all, Ronald Reagan? For Reagan is not only a thug but a cowardly bully, only ready to launch armed aggression against a nation too tiny to fight back. As a friend of mine suggested, "Reagan has been anxious to Win One for the Gipper, and so he finally picked on a country he could—probably—beat." But even teeny Grenada minus an army gave us unexpected trouble, the Pentagon admitting that it had greatly underestimated the fighting capabilities of the Grenadians and of the Cuban construction workers (!) In fact, to defeat several hundred Grenadians, the U.S. had to send wave after wave of fresh troops, totalling over 5,000, from Marines to Army Rangers to the famous 82nd Airborne. Perhaps Maurice Bishop, who in 1981 forecast a U.S. aggression against Grenada, will prove prophetic when he warned: "The United States will find it a lot easier to land here than to leave."

In fact, Bishop's prediction has already come true. At first, the U.S. authorities trumpeted that our troops would be in and out—a quick victory taking no more than a week. Then it became "many weeks." And finally it was out by Christmas. When Christmas arrived, the Reagan Administration had totally changed its tune: only all "combat" troops were out of Grenada, with four hundred American troops remaining indefinitely, i.e. permanently. Half of these "non-combat" troops are military police, brandishing their "non-combat" weapons as they swagger around Grenada, seeking subversive Cubanos.

The determined resistance of the Grenadians has obscenely been used by Reagan to justify the aggression itself. They had a large cache of arms! What would the evil Grenadians need arms for anyway? Surely not to guard against an American invasion, as the "paranoid" Grenadians had kept muttering? Don't they know that the U.S. is always peace-loving, and never never commits an act of aggression? So that the cache of arms, many of which were 1870 rifles, were marked down by the Reagan Administration as "proof" of the imminent aggression to be launched by teeny Grenada. Whom do you suppose they were going to attack, they with no army, navy or air force? A massive strike against Pensacola, perhaps, the "soft underbelly" of the North American continent?

It now turns out that the evil airport, which Grenada had under construction and which the U.S. denounced as a base for military attack, was a genuine airport after all! There were none of the underground installations that mark a military airstrip. The construction workers may have been Cuban, but the company employing them was British, and now the Americans are talking about finishing the airport for Grenada.

Ronald Reagan claimed that the invasion had come "just in time." Just in time for what? Even the Reagan Administration has not claimed that Grenada was planning, much less about to launch, armed aggression against any other Caribbean island, let alone the U.S. (No, dammit: If we don't stop them now, in Grenada, we will soon be defending the shores of Coney Island from Grenadian attack. And so, in the "complex of fear and vaunting" which Garet Garrett pointed

out is endemic to Empire, we launched a "preventive" strike.) No, it was just in time in the sense that the Grenadians might have been able to defend themselves for a longer time, to turn even this tight little island into another Vietnam for U.S. imperialism.

Another *post facto* rationale has been to play up the Cuban connection, as if the Austin-Coard regime were Cuban puppets. Apart from any other problem with this reasoning, the fact is that Maurice Bishop, the man Reagan was supposedly avenging, was far closer to the Cubans than were Austin-Coard. Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba strongly denounced the Austin-Coard *coup* against Bishop, and Fidel has described his relations with these ultra-hard-liners as "cold and tense" at best.

A particularly repellent aspect of the Reagan announcement of his aggression was his trundling out M. Eugenia Charles, Prime Minister of Dominica, the most "pro-American" of the Caribbean puppet regimes, to supply a native fig leaf for the invasion. Miss Charles provided a unique justification by interdependence and kinship: "I don't think it's an invasion," she said. "We are one region. We belong to each other. We are kith and kin." Well, that clears *that* up: alibiing mass murder by invoking a "sense of belonging." Truly, in Isabel Paterson's memorable phrase, the "humanitarian with the guillotine."

A few days after the invasion, La Charles came up with another dubious contribution to the cause of the Grenada War. She then maintained that the beleaguered Governor-General Scoon, who had been deposed in 1974 when Grenada became independent of Britain (though still a member of the Commonwealth), had asked the U.S. and its Caribbean stooges to intervene and invade Grenada. Miss Charles's assertion that Scoon is the "only constitutional authority" in Grenada proves a bit too much. For on those grounds, Queen Elizabeth would, right now, be the "only constitutional authority" over the American "colonies", and the U.S.A. would still be a vassal of Great Britain. It is strange for the U.S. to endorse this sort of argumentation.

Another heinous aspect of the invasion was the impudence by which the U.S. barred reporters from accompanying the invading forces. It was an act unprecedented in American history. In fact, when the U.S. troops found four American reporters on the island they promptly shipped them off by force. The insulting excuse was that the U.S. "feared for the safety" of the journalists. Again, phony humanitarianism and liberal paternalism were being used to justify arrant aggression. For, of course, it should be up to the journalists *themselves* whether they should endanger their safety. Does the Reagan Administration think it owns the bodies of the men and women of the press, and is therefore entitled to make such decisions?

The real reason why the press was kept out, while the war was going on, is that the Reagan Administration didn't want any Vietnam-like repetition of the media taking pictures of innocent civilians butchered by U.S. bombs and bullets. As it was, the Reaganite tactics worked beautifully, the embarrassing photos were avoided, and the pictures could be confined to happy Americans (happy to be evacuated from the Grenada war zone, that is) kissing U.S. soil. Far better for the Reaganite image!

To be continued

# Mercantilism and Public Choice

by Richard A. Cooper

Ekelund, Jr., Robert B. & Tollison, Robert D., *Mercantilism as a Rent-Seeking Society: Economic Regulation in Historical Perspective*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1982. \$17.50.

Reviewed by Richard A. Cooper

Today's debates over economic regulation versus deregulation render yesterday's debates over the system and doctrine of mercantilism of contemporary interest. In the view of Ekelund and Tollison mercantilism emerged as a result of efforts to obtain monopoly rents through state privileges. The authors state that, "... the supply of and demand for monopoly rights through the machinery of the state is seen as the essence of mercantilism." The authors apply the modern economic theory of public choice and economic regulation in order to understand mercantilism and its decline. Previous studies, they contend, were excessively "ideological," concerned with the arguments of the proponents and opponents of mercantilism. The mercantilist doctrines arose to provide an ideological cover for the privileged monopolists.

The authors rely heavily upon the Swedish classical liberal economist Eli Heckscher's classic study *Mercantilism* for historical data. However, Ekelund and Tollison reject Heckscher's interpretations, which emphasize the role of ideas in the rise and decline of mercantilism. The authors explicitly reject the concept that it was the free trade writers who overthrew the mercantile system in England.

Instead, using public choice analysis, Ekelund and Tollison assert that English mercantilism declined because the rise of parliamentary power raised the lobbying costs for monopoly privileges. As parliament refused to delegate its newly won powers to anybody, any prospective monopolist had to secure majorities in the legislature as well as the acquiescence of the king.

Ekelund and Tollison level two valid criticisms of Heckscher's work. First, they denounce the absence of economic actors from a work purportedly on economic history. Second, they note that Heckscher concurred with the German historical school economists (who praised the mercantilist system) in taking at face value the mercantilist doc-

trines for the building of state power. Ekelund and Tollison reject this public interest appeal as self-serving cant.

Certain observations are in order. My training was in European intellectual history and I believe that the German historical school accepted the Hegelian notion of a state above the interests in society. Moreover, the tendency I found in Heckscher's *Mercantilism* is not so much that of an emphasis upon intellectual history as upon "juristic" developments, an approach which owes much to the German historical school.

Ekelund and Tollison skirt close to the most vulgar sort of Marxist interpretation, albeit with a free-market perspective. Of course, people justify themselves to others on the grounds of serving the public interest. But is it not true that people can sincerely believe that the protectionist or other mercantilist schemes are good for the vast majority of people? I hesitate to say that I do not sincerely believe that free trade and laissez-faire are good for most people while at the same time I believe they personally benefit me. The mercantilists of the age of absolutism, like their counterparts today, will tend to favor a strong state, even though they recognize that it might not work to their advantage in all instances. The authors fall down in not clearly distinguishing between the particular historical actors in the mercantilist system, namely the monarchs, the royal bureaucrats, the guilds, the merchants, and officials of the various municipalities, as well as the writers of mercantilist tracts.

Ekelund and Tollison appear to hold the stereotypical Ricardian view of "Economic Man." This places them in a quandary: they shrink from the implications of their own statements by not applying the same rent-seeking analysis to themselves, other contemporary supporters of deregulation, and their free trade predecessors. They should take note that Ludwig von Mises, in *Human Action* and other works, forcefully reminds us that all values desired by acting humans, whether material or "spiritual," are the objects of economic behavior.

However, Ekelund and Tollison provide a necessary corrective to that somewhat naive concern with mercantilist and free trade propagandists on the part of previous students of mer-

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cantilism. The authors interpret prior views as guided by an evolutionary theory of the history of economic thought, which appears insupportable to me in the light of twentieth century experience, but which was

... propagated by historians of economic thought, such as Viner, who tend to view the history of economic theory as a progression from error to truth. These writers, whose approach is derivative of Adam Smith's famous critique of the mercantilists, have concentrated on an expose of the fallacies of the mercantilists as expressed by the "central tendencies" in the vast literature of the writers of the period. These scholars emphasize the presence of grave errors in mercantilist logic, errors that were exposed by David Hume and the classical economists.

Correctly, in my view, the authors stress the similarity between mercantilism and present-day economic regulation, despite the changes in the political system. I concur with their application of Stigler, Peltzman, Posner and Niskanen's theories of economic regulation to the study of French and English mercantilism. Beyond that, I maintain that they fail to provide the promised application of the interpretation of their model of mercantilism to the contemporary deregulation debate. Perhaps this is because the present controversy contradicts their dismissal of subjective-philosophical influences.

Take airline deregulation for example. We can identify particular authors and studies that persuaded Ralph Nader, Senator Kennedy, and President Ford to champion airline deregulation and to shepherd it through Congress. Did they have self-interest behind them? Yes, but what of it?

We can place Ekelund and Tollison into intellectual perspective. Clearly, they draw upon Chicago and Virginia School approaches, with a greater stress upon the Virginia "public choice" model as most relevant to the auctioning of monopoly privileges. As they see themselves: "It should be stressed that our purpose is not to *evaluate* mercantilist ideas from the standpoint of modern economic theory. Rather, it is to *explain* mercantile political economy using positive economic theory."

Such an approach does have some elements in common with the praxeological method of Von Mises, in that it is concerned with the actual subjective motivations and choices of the historical actors rather than quantification in the Chicago mould.

The authors' methodological assumptions appear "Austrian": "A blend of methodological individualism and evolving institutional constraints is central to our main thesis concerning the rise and fall of mercantilism . . . Given the standard and timeless assumptions of individual-choice theory, the rent-seeking, model telescopes into a specification of the constraints that modify economic behavior." James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock of the Virginia School have acknowledged their intellectual debts to Von Mises and the Austrian School. Ekelund and Tollison are quite "Austrian" in their stress on mercantilism as a dynamic process rather than a set of legal institutions.

Ekelund and Tollison have created an impressive reinterpretation of mercantilism, despite the flaws in their conception of economic behavior. It should start a healthy debate on mercantilism.

‡

# THE Libertarian Forum

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## Bergland Campaign in High Gear

On February 1, the Bergland for President campaign, ideologically sound from the very beginning, swung into organizational high gear. The Bergland campaign opened national headquarters in Orange County, in southern California, and moving down to take over as full-time campaign manager for the duration was the redoubtable Williamson Evers. Coming down to join him as his full-time Administrative Assistant was Evers' wife, outgoing California LP chair Mary Gingell, a sparkling combination of efficiency and warmth. Since Evers' installation, a steady stream of knowledgeable and hard-core statements on current news and political issues has been flowing from the Bergland camp—all of which (in stark contrast to the 1980 campaign) have been cleared in advance with the Review Committee. Coming on board as Bergland media coordinator was a pro at the job, Laurie Sano, and no sooner was Laurie in place than she began to line up scads of top media interviews for Bergland. One of our Mavens pointed out the incredible contrast with the media coordinator of the 1980 campaign, Ed Crane, who had virtually specialized in the instant personal alienation of leading media people.

The veteran John Robertson has taken to the road as travelling ballot-drive coordinator, and fund-raising has been going well under the dedicated direction of Burt Blumert and Emil Franzl.

Alicia Clark did a fine job as Bergland scheduler for LP

appearances, and this task has now been turned over to Melinda Pillsbury-Foster of the southern California party.

Meanwhile, Jim Lewis, LP Vice-Presidential candidate, has been doing a fine job travelling tirelessly around the country, conveying the hard-core radical Libertarian message without fear or favor.

The Bergland campaign has also developed a crucially important organizational tool: the name and address of everyone who calls headquarters for information is being computerized, put on cards, and the cards sent to the local LPs where the caller resides. In that way, the Bergland campaign will not be just a ship that passes in the night; it will systematically use its resources to develop grass roots Libertarian parties throughout the country. In this way, the presidential race is functioning harmoniously as a combination education, recruitment, and grass-roots party-building campaign.

Call for information, or send money to, Bergland headquarters: Bergland for President Campaign, Suite 105 West, 1525 Mesa Verde Drive East, Costa Mesa, CA 92626. (714) 754-1776.

As an example of the excellent statements emerging from the campaign, we are herewith publishing Dave Bergland's article on The Nebraska Seven. ‡

## The Nebraska Seven

by David Bergland

Prison is not the happiest place to spend the holidays, but in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, seven fathers spent both Thanksgiving and Christmas in the Cass County Jail—while their wives lived as fugitives in a neighboring state—all for the "crime" of sending their children to a church school which had not been certified by the Nebraska Department of Education. Worse—the men had not been tried and found guilty of any charges. They were imprisoned when they invoked the Fifth Amendment at a court hearing, believing their testimony would later be used against them. Until they break down and agree to waive this Constitutionally protected right they must remain in jail, where they have already spent nearly three months.

This travesty of justice is no surprise to those who have been following the underlying conflict. State officials and their allies in the education establishment have been stepping up their opposition to parents seeking alternatives to a government operated school system. Across the country, parents are increasingly disenchanted with government schools. They are aware of the billions of tax dollars poured into these institutions, while each year graduates emerge less literate and informed than their predecessors. Children are not receiving adequate instruction in such basic skills as reading and arithmetic. They are being engulfed in what the National Commission on Excellence in Education has called "the rising tide of mediocrity." Parents are alarmed, and to

save their children from being swept away by this tide, many are removing children from government-operated schools, to teach them at home or in private schools where parents have direct control over subject material.

It is often said, incorrectly, that only the well-to-do can afford to send their children to private schools. But, these new private schools are being established and supported by parents of moderate, even low incomes. As such repudiation of government schools becomes a widespread movement, the educational establishment is panicking.

To inhibit this grass-roots movement, many states have established mandatory certification requirements for schools and teachers which give state authorities the power to prohibit the formation or continuation of any school of which they disapprove. By making it very difficult to operate a private school, the government monopoly on education—and its control over children—is being protected.

Foremost in the new home education-private school movement are Christian fundamentalist parents for whom reading the Bible is of primary importance. They are thus also foremost in challenging the government monopoly over education. When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its decision outlawing prayer and Bible reading in public schools, many Protestant parents were dismayed—but this ruling did force the issue. Religious observances in tax-supported schools violate the principle of separation of church and state required by the First Amendment of the Constitution.

But the first Amendment not only separates church and state, it also outlaws government interference in the exercise of religion. Yet such interference is taking place in Nebraska.

The church-school parents there take seriously the Biblical injunction to “train up your children in the way they will go . . .” As they see it, it is not only their right, but their duty to oversee the education of their children—and to be certain they receive thorough instruction in the Bible.

Five years ago, as an expression of their convictions, nine sets of parents in Louisville, Nebraska, formed a school which met in the basement of their church, Faith Baptist—an independent Baptist church. They were assisted by their pastor, the Rev. Everett Sileven and his daughter, Theresa Schmidt, the school supervisor. There were 29 students enrolled, grades K-12. Emphasis was on the basics: reading, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, etc.—and the Bible, for them, the most basic text of all.

From the school's founding, the Nebraska Department of Education opposed it—refusing to certify it or the teachers,

although several had college degrees, and the children consistently scored one to three years above the Nebraska average. The parents and their pastor offered to permit yearly testing on standardized tests to demonstrate that the children were maintaining their high performance level. They refused, however, to hire state certified teachers who may well hold doctrines contrary to those held by the parents themselves. As long as the students are maintaining certain objective standards, the parents reason that the state has no legitimate interest in the matter.

Nebraska authorities feel otherwise. On several instances, through court order, the church itself was forcibly closed down and padlocked—to be open only Sunday mornings and Wednesday evenings for permitted services! On November 23, 1983, a hearing was held at which Everett Sileven and Theresa Schmit were ordered to show cause why they should not be held in contempt of court if they continued to operate the school. Warrants were issued for the parents, but through an error, only seven couples were subpoenaed. The day of the hearing, the seven fathers appeared, took the Fifth Amendment, and were thrown into jail. The mothers, fearing their children were to be seized and made wards of the court, fled into hiding. Bench warrants were ordered for their arrest.

The Louisville parents are not alone. Six other independent Baptist schools in Nebraska are similarly threatened, and school authorities across the country are watching to see how the courts handle the situation.

We libertarians wholeheartedly support the parents and the Rev. Sileven in their courageous and non-violent stand against the arrogant Nebraska government. The argument is not about literacy—but about authority. Who has the ultimate right to decide about the upbringing and education of children: parents or bureaucrats? That is what is at stake. We hold that the right to direct the education of one's children is as important a right as freedom to practice one's religion or exercise free speech—and should be recognized as such.

Centuries ago the great cry was for a separation of church and state—and in this country that was achieved. Libertarians are calling for a similar separation between education and state. In particular, we would repeal mandatory certification requirements as well as all other tax and regulatory roadblocks to the growth and development of private schools or home schooling. A free people requires freedom in education—and separation from the state is critical if education is to be free. Without that crucial separation, government will assert ever increasing control over our lives, and the lives and future of our children. ‡

## Who Is the Real Mafia?

by Emil Franzi

*A MAN OF HONOR*—The Autobiography of Joseph Bonanno. With Sergio Lalli. Simon and Schuster, \$17.95.

by Emil Franzi

After reading several rather poor reviews of this book, all by more or less WASP reviewers. I would maintain that only an Italian, even a Piedmontese like me, is fully capable of

appreciating this magnificent piece of cultural anthropology. After all, even my half-WASP older daughter referred to the unfortunately demised television series “The Gangster Chronicles” as “Guinea Roots”. Fascination with what has come to be known as “The Mafia” is as American as fascination with the Old West. Having an autobiography of Joe Bonanno is as valuable to the study of the former as

having an autobiography of Geronimo or Crazy Horse would be to the latter. The critics of this book claim that it is Bonanno's goal to make himself look better than his press clippings. Well, so what? Most, if not ALL autobiographies are written in favor of their author, leaving little difference between Bonanno's and, say Kissinger's. Except I think Bonanno was probably more honest than Kissinger—but that wouldn't be hard.

This book may be far more relevant than its author may have expected. In telling his own story, Bonanno tells many others. There is a steady and growing interest in this country in what Joe Bonanno calls "The Tradition". While several interesting biographies of principal players have been published, notably Meyer Lansky's, and while such decent fictional accounts as *The Godfather* exist, most of the literature about "the Mafia" is pure garbage. From the *Valachi Papers* to *The Last Mafioso* to the reams of government-produced drivel, most of what we have been told about "The Tradition" is false. To have this rather candid discourse by someone who was a "heavy hitter" from the 1920's onward (I know of no other book that gives you a lineage chart of the five New York families, complete with photos) is of great value to students of this aspect of American history and sociology. No one who was as many places as Joe Bonanno and was at so high a level has chosen to tell us as much about it. In this regard, Lalli's translation (Bonanno's English is admittedly inadequate) of Bonanno's lifestyle, principles, and reminiscences may well be as important historically as Riordan's similar efforts on behalf of Tammany leader George Washington Plunkitt (*Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*) some 75 years ago.

*A Man of Honor* has many passages that are of distinct interest to Libertarians. After one recognizes, as Joe Bonanno ably points out, that "Mafia" is one term for what is, to many Sicilians, not a formal organization but a way of life based on custom and tradition, it's easy to understand how the Sicilian people, one of the most oppressed in history, have chosen to react to varied but constant tyrannies. To begin with, they have comprehended (as most WASPs coming from a freer tradition have not) that the game of government isn't on the level. Their response was to group around family and village in mutual self-defense. In doing so, trade-offs were made—such as submitting individual will to the good of the group. While this response would hardly be applauded by hard-core Randians, the reason for it is of obvious interest to those of us who share a distrust in "lawful" and "legitimate" rulers. What Joe Bonanno tells us about his Sicilian heritage—family group first, allegiance to a small piece of turf, a lack of interest in the political process as a solution to problems—is validated by (or aids in validating) Thomas Sowell's superb treatise *Ethnic America*. Sicilians, when moving to a new country, treated their new government with the same distrust as they did the old one. In fact, they often found it more baffling. As Joe Bonanno explains:

... if people, ordinary people, didn't demand such services as gambling and money lending, no one would bother to supply these services ... It is difficult, therefore, for me to take seriously government attempts to dislodge the entrepreneurs who provide such services ... Men of my

Tradition (Family members) some of whom were involved in illicit gambling operations, understood the human condition and provided these services, which society demanded. The naive view is to believe that a certain group of people, such as Sicilians, somehow force these activities on society ... (P.218)

I think we call them victimless crimes.

Other portions of the book of direct interest to Libertarians are the many accounts of the sloppy, shoddy, sleazy, unconstitutional behavior of our law enforcement "Mafia". Bonanno make a rather good case that the government wanted him in the slammer, and didn't care how many rules (or laws, or rights, or constitutions) they had to screw over to do it. It's easy for Libertarians to defend constitutional rights when the victim is a little old lady getting eminent domain, or an Amish farmer losing his livestock for non-payment of Social Security, or young men being drafted for some lousy war. Those are cheap, and relatively popular. Well, let's try it when the victim is this time someone who is supposed to be one of the biggest criminals in America. Same rights. Same Constitution. Same principles.

Whatever Joe Bonanno is supposed to have done, whatever laws he may have broken, it is glaringly apparent to me that he is of far less danger to the rest of us than many of the lawenforcement dirt-balls and scum-bags who claim to be protecting us while they treat such items as the Bill of Rights as so much toilet paper. I do not, as some Libertarians have in the past, mean this as a blanket condemnation of all of those involved in law enforcement, many of whom are decent people with a tough job. Let Joe Bonanno himself differentiate:

In discussing policemen, it is best to distinguish between street cops and paper cops. Street cops are the ones who work for a living. They're out on the streets, responding to calls, chasing criminals, settling disputes, putting their lives on the line. A man of my Tradition can have respect for a street cop.

Then there are the paper cops, the bureaucrats of their profession. Paper cops spend most of their time at a desk, shuffling papers, doing research, making out reports, filing for government grants and the like. Paper cops rarely put themselves in dangerous situations. They have normal working hours for the most part. Paper cops like to sit around and chew the fat. They are very big on holding conferences and attending crime seminars. Of course, paper cops wouldn't be seen dead in uniform. (P. 358)

The "Organized Crime" Scare of the last 20 years or so will someday be looked upon by rational Americans the way "Reefer Madness" is now. As an attempt to manipulate the truth and scare the Hell out of people for the primary purpose of giving certain select government agencies more money and more power over the lives of the rest of us. The danger to this country posed by the "Mafia" is as phony as the politicians and paper cops who promote it. This book helps make that clear.

Take it from a Piedmontese.

‡

# Crisis '83: The Council of Foreign Relations and the Libertarian Party

by Howard S. Katz

"Libertarian Party nominates C.F.R. for President."

These words were not the headline to come out of the Libertarian Party National Convention of 1983. They missed by a margin of 27 votes. And there hangs a tale.

One week before the convention, Gene Burns, the leading contender for the LP's presidential nomination, withdrew, leaving an open field. Several candidates emerged, most prominent of whom were Dave Bergland, the Party's vice-presidential nominee in 1976, and Earl Ravenal, who has been featured in libertarian publications for his anti-interventionist foreign policy analyses.

Ideologically these were two fine choices, although Ravenal is somewhat of an unknown quantity in economics. The problem was that Ravenal is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. The further problem was that a substantial minority of delegates did not understand what was wrong with that. Ravenal was defeated, but a great many people did not realize that nominating a member of this organization would seriously threaten the basic goal which the Libertarian Party was set up to achieve.

## I History of the Council on Foreign Relations and Tilateral Commission

A generation ago, intellectual Objectivists and conservative economists in the pro-liberty movement used to turn up their noses at crackerbarrel Birchers who ranted about a giant conspiracy centered about the Council on Foreign Relations. Conspiracy theory was not respectable.

It turned out that the intellectuals were wrong. The Birchers colored their view of this conspiracy with a right-wing interpretation, but the basic facts were true. We owe a note of thanks to people like Pete McAlpine for making the study of this conspiracy intellectually respectable and to Steve Zarlenga for publishing one of the definitive works on the subject, Carroll Quigley's second conspiracy book, *The Anglo-American Conspiracy*. Taking all of these things together, the following facts have now emerged.

In the late 19th century, a group of British conservatives, inspired by the ideology of the arch-reactionary John Ruskin, formed a secret society dedicated to the goal of British imperialism. England was superior, these people argued; therefore, the British way of life should be imposed on all the inferior peoples of the world (for their own good of course). The British public of the time, which tended to more liberal ideas of freedom and self determination, would not have supported this policy of imperialism openly. Therefore, the group had to operate in secret, that is to become a conspiracy, to further its goal.

This conspiracy, like thousands of others that are hatched each year in the political arena, would probably have died a rapid death if not for the fact that its early leader was a millionaire named Cecil Rhodes, who devoted a large share of

his fortune to its promotion. The crucial element was its ability to control the *London Times*, one of the world's most influential papers. This conspiracy was variously called, the Rhodes group, the Round Table, Milner's Kindergarten, the Cliveden set, the All Souls group, or just Us. It fomented the Boer War<sup>1</sup> as an excuse to achieve one of its goals, the Cape to Cairo railway (a prelude to British control of Africa), and it regarded the loss of America as one of the worst mistakes of British foreign policy (a mistake it fully intended to rectify).

J. P. Morgan was the head of the American affiliate of the Round Table, and when Germany challenged the British Empire in World War I, Morgan manipulated to bring the United States into the war on England's side.<sup>2</sup> After the war, Morgan set up the Council on Foreign Relations as a public forum to serve as a front for his Round Table group. Its key positions would be controlled by Round Table members, but it would also contain naive third parties and publicly hold idealistic goals.

Thus, it is necessary to make a few corrections in the Birch view of the conspiracy. First, it is not a left-wing conspiracy, and there is no connection with any Bavarian Illuminati.<sup>3</sup> Its founder, its ideology and its most important members were on the extreme right.<sup>4</sup> Second, the C.F.R. itself is not the conspiracy but merely a front for it. Thus many naive and innocent people can belong to the C.F.R. without understanding anything about the conspiracy that controls it. Third, the goal of the conspiracy was not one-world government in the idealistic sense in which Birchers oppose it. (Although, since it wanted England to control the world, it

1. The conspiracy managed to place two of its men into top positions, one on the English, the other on the Boer side. These two men began a series of provocations and ultimatums which led to war. The Boers never found out that one of their highest officials was an English agent. See *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley.

2. Aside from Morgan's overt war policy and his control of *The New Republic*, we have substantial evidence that he indirectly controlled much of the American press. This press pilloried anti-war congressmen and frightened them into voting for war in April 1917. President Wilson was in Morgan's pocket. He was reelected in 1916 by running as peace candidate and then immediately reversed his stand. The submarine warfare issue (which we are still taught in school) was a smokescreen for Morgan's policies. See my book, *The Warmongers*.

3. Which was probably a pro-liberty organization.

4. However, Ruskin was a socialist, common among the 19th century right.

did favor one-world government in the imperialistic sense in which many conservatives favor it.) Fourth, the conspiracy is nowhere near as powerful as the Birchers make it appear. It failed to bring the United States back into the British Empire. It failed to conquer the world for England. In fact, it stood helplessly by in the late 1940s as the British left smashed the empire into little pieces. And finally, this conspiracy was never a top-down, authoritarian organization headed by a firm leader (a la a James Bond movie). It was an old-boy network of people in the same social class who used their college, business and class associations to good advantage, and were able to accomplish many things by these associations, their money and their positions.

In the 1930s the U.S. Branch of the conspiracy passed out of Morgan hands and came under the control of the Rockefellers. From the late '30s on, it began to have a dominant influence on U.S. foreign policy. It was the Eastern Establishment in the Republican Party, and it controlled the Democratic Party. A succession of Secretaries of State and advisors came from C.F.R. ranks: Cordell Hull, Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles and Henry Cabot Lodge, to name a few. Under the influence of these advisors, Presidents abandoned traditional American anti-interventionism and followed a foreign policy of successive hot and cold wars in various parts of the globe. There is a great deal of evidence that several of these wars were deliberately provoked by the C.F.R. officials in Government (Vietnam,<sup>5</sup> possibly Korea, probably the Pacific theater of World War II. Again, see *The Warmongers*.) In 1972, a sister organization, the Trilateral Commission, was formed by David Rockefeller (C.F.R. Chairman), and from that time on the C.F.R. played a less active role in foreign affairs. C.F.R./Trilateral control of the American media is so complete that information about these organizations cannot penetrate to the American people. Some prominent Trilaterals in Government in recent years have been: Henry Kissinger, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Paul Volcker, Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Alan Greenspan, John Anderson, Alan Cranston, John Glenn, George Bush, Casper Weinberger, Arthur F. Burns, I. W. Abel, George Ball, Bill Brock, Hedley Donovan, Walter Heller, Lane Kirkland, Paul McCracken, David Packard, Robert Roosa, Bill Scranton, Michael Blumenthal, Warren Christopher, Elliot Richardson, Cy Vance, Paul Warnke and Andy Young.

## II Goals and Modus Operandi

When I questioned Earl Ravenal about his membership in the C.F.R., he responded that the C.F.R. did not take any ideological positions. It was merely a discussion group of the top foreign policy people in the country. As a foreign policy analyst, it was his duty to belong. The Trilateral Commission,

5. Upon arriving in South Vietnam, Lodge found that Premier Diem had the Communists well in check and did not want American troops in his country. Lodge used the CIA to overthrow Diem and replace him with a more pliant, less effective leader. In the chaos, Communist strength grew until American troops were "necessary" to prevent a Communist takeover. This was the pretext for American entry. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan was copied from Lodge's manipulations in Vietnam (overthrow a friendly head of state who refused to accept your troops and replace him with a more obedient chief who would "invite" them in).

Ravenal continued, was another matter. It did take positions, and he has refused to join this group. He felt this justified his membership.

It should be pointed out that Mr. Ravenal was incorrect in his answer. I debated George Franklin, the Trilateral Commission's coordinator and David Rockefeller's brother-in-law, on two occasions; each time he strongly affirmed that the Trilateral Commission did not take positions but, like the C.F.R., was open to all views.

Although the C.F.R. and the Trilateral Commission are theoretically open to all points of view, there is a tacit understanding that lunatic positions, such as support for a gold standard or reduction in the size of the government, are beyond the pale. After all, the organizations must be limited to sane people if the discussions are to be fruitful. (Which is another way of saying that despite their non-ideological cover these organizations are still loyal to the ideology of their founder, John Ruskin.)

But even if we grant that the C.F.R. and Trilateral organizations are non-ideological, citing this as an excuse for cooperating with them shows a frightening naivete. It reflects a premise that our entire battle is ideological and that changing people's minds is 100% of what we have to do.

To win the battle for liberty, it is necessary not only to defeat the ideas of the enemy, it is also necessary to block his anti-liberty actions. If you are fighting the Marines, the Notre Dame football team or the CIA, you must defeat them in reality; there is no contest in the ideological realm. In the same way, the C.F.R. and the Trilateral Commission are not our ideological enemies. They are not (as organizations) expounding anti-liberty ideas. They are aiding and assiting their members to take anti-liberty actions. Draft boards, local boards for seizing property by eminent domain, and the I.R.S. are not ideological organizations either. But no libertarian can join one of these organizations without violating his fundamental principles. So to justify a membership by taking the C.F.R./Trilateral ideology (or their non-ideology, or their propaganda about their non-ideology) at face value very much misses the point.

In general, a person or organization cannot be condemned for his (its) ideas. Even false or evil ideas can be held by error. This is unfortunate, but it is not immoral. People or organizations must be judged on the basis of what they do, not what they say. The CIA is evil because it is engaged in lying and murdering on a wide scale, that is, because of what it does not what it believes.

In the same way, there is a long list of C.F.R. and Trilateral officials who have lied and schemed to kill millions of people, to subvert freedom in this country (and others) and to steal billions of dollars. I condemn these officials, and I condemn the organizations which helped them get power.

To get the flavor of these organizations, one must get a sense of John Ruskin, the intellectual inspiration for this conspiracy. Ruskin was a fervent enemy of the 19th century and longed to go back to some time about the 12th, back to the time when an armed aristocracy had reduced the majority of the people to serfdom and when the only meaning given to the word "rights" was "Permissions granted by the lord." Although these aristocrats armed themselves to the teeth and trained themselves in techniques of fighting, they were not

able to maintain their power completely by brute force because they were outnumbered by the peasants 100 to 1. Therefore, they devoted themselves to the art of politics and became extremely skilled in intrigue and insider manipulation. The object was for the small elite to control the government which, in turn, controlled the people. It is this basic idea which motivates the members of the C.F.R. and Trilateral Commission today.

Power today results from a combination of media, money, intellectuals and politicians. One function of C.F.R. and Trilateral meetings is to bring these four elements together so that things can happen. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the intellectual, could never hope—given his anemic personality—to win an election. But pair him with Jimmy Carter, who is as American as apple pie, and they are off to a start. Let Carter meet Hedley Donovan, then editor-in-chief of *Time Magazine*,<sup>6</sup> at a Trilateral Commission meeting, add a few wealthy contributors, and presto. Four elements, neither of whom could achieve its goal alone, have power when they work together. These organizations are trying to seize control of the apparatus of the state, to increase state power and to use this power for the furtherance of their goals. They are in a direct succession from men whose goals have been the fomenting of war, the killing of millions of human beings, the seizure of vast amounts of wealth and the suppression of freedom. They do not publicly state their current goals,<sup>7</sup> but in *The Warmongers* I marshal a great deal of evidence that these are in essence the same.

The Trilateral Commission and Council on Foreign Relations have been extremely successful in seizing control of the U.S. Government in our generation. Their members get appointed to high positions in both Democratic and Republican administrations. They had three of the top five Presidential contenders in the 1980 election—Bush, Anderson and Carter. The man whom the American people actually elected was the one candidate who spoke out against the Trilateral Commission; but still they occupy the chairmanship of the Federal Reserve, the Vice-Presidency and the positions of Secretary of Defense and Ambassador to Germany.<sup>8</sup>

But the really frightening thing about the Trilateral Commission and the C.F.R. is that they are never covered in the press. When Trilateral members perform acts which by any contemporary standard are newsworthy, there is a wall of silence. When a conflict of interest tempts a high official from

6. It was *Time* which, by a number of features prior to 1976, made Carter a national figure. See, *The Carter Presidency and Beyond* by Laurence Shoup. Conversely, libertarians who begin with more public support than Carter are treated as non-entities.

7. Except in very namby-pamby terms indicating that they are in close alliance with the Girl Scouts (“a group of concerned citizens”).

8. There are also a number of aspiring members who serve the conspiracy's goals, for example, Richard Burt, who as a reporter for *The New York Times* acquired a reputation as Brzezinski's mouthpiece and who is now an underling in the Reagan Administration.

his public duty, it is normally a front page story. But if the conflict involves the Trilateral Commission, silence. The associations of men in public life are carefully studied; they are exposed to a blinding publicity. But Trilateral and C.F.R. associations are never mentioned, even when these associations directly affect actions and policy decisions.

A good example of this is the Iran hostage crisis of 1979-80 (which probably surfaced because of an internal conflict in the Trilateral Commission itself). This crisis was fomented by David Rockefeller using his Trilateral connections (principally Henry Kissinger, Jimmy Carter and Warren Christopher). I broke this story in *The Gold Bug*, and it was picked up by L. J. Davis, a contributing editor of *Harper's Magazine*. Davis did an excellently researched article and offered it to the *New York Times*, which turned it down. It finally appeared in *Penthouse* (October 1980, December 1980) where the establishment could pooh-pooh its conclusions because they had appeared in a girlie magazine. Shortly after the article ran, Iran offered to return the hostages, and Christopher, who was the U.S. negotiator, refused to accept them unless Rockefeller's bank was guaranteed \$500 million which was in dispute. This conflict of interest on Christopher's part was never mentioned anywhere in the media. Neither was his membership in the Trilateral Commission. Neither was Kissinger's membership in the T.C. or the fact that he is now under salary to Rockefeller's bank.

Careful students of current events will have noted that, when the U.S. gave the Panama Canal to Panama, it paid them a sum of money to take it. This bonus from the U.S. taxpayers enabled the dictator of Panama to pay a debt to Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank. The negotiator of the canal treaty for the U.S. was a Trilateralist. Similarly, the Federal Government bailed out New York City, whose bonds were held in large quantities by Chase but never bailed out other cities faced with bankruptcies.<sup>9</sup>

### III The Threat to the Libertarian Party

The total number of C.F.R. and Trilaterals is quite small (100 U.S. citizens in the T.C. and a few thousand in the C.F.R.), and despite their wealth and power, they could not dominate the country to the extent they do without the use of certain techniques. One of these is to infiltrate from within and control all parties (small p as well as capital P). Their ideal election is a Republican Trilateralist against a Democratic Trilateralist. The C.F.R. would have no objection to Earl Ravenal accepting the Libertarian nomination. It fits perfectly with their policy of a foot in all camps. They understand that access is power and that personal ties are more important in determining policy than ideology.

Of course, the C.F.R. is not engaged in an all-out effort to control the Libertarian Party. We are, as yet, but a mosquito to them, perhaps a petty annoyance. But it is quite possible that during the campaign certain libertarian positions would become embarrassing to the C.F.R. Naturally almost all libertarian positions are anathema to C.F.R. members, but one particular position could easily become dangerous. It might tilt the balance of power to have a nosy little third party

9. The House Banking Committee, which normally moves at snail's pace, was in session until 3:00 a.m. to get the NYC bailout voted through on schedule. When David Rockefeller cracks the whip, mere congressmen jump.

harping on this issue (for example, the issue of the IMF bailout of the big banks<sup>10</sup>). A major party candidate might be forced to pick the issue up to keep us from taking votes from him. And if one major party candidate picked it up, the other might be forced to go along. That would be very bad for the power structure.

The Ravenal supporters were promising delegates that Ravenal's establishment (that is, C.F.R.) connections could be used for the benefit of the Party. Would they if one of the Party's positions began to annoy these people in this way?

If one of Ravenal's positions began to annoy the establishment, then lo and behold, the promised connections would disappear. The pressure would be on, not necessarily to change his position, but merely to tone it down a bit. If he cooperates, he gets the support and the votes, and most Party members don't even know that he has sold out. If he doesn't cooperate, no connections, electoral disaster, shame and disgrace.

This is what happened to Gov. Brown of California in the 1980 New Hampshire Democratic primary when he began speaking out about the Rockefeller-Iran connection. He simply disappeared from the newspapers.

To depend on an enemy for support is incredibly stupid. To walk into a situation such as I have described—as Ravenal was intending to do—indicates, at best, that he had not thought the matter through. One does not place one's self in a position in which integrity requires the destruction of one's enterprise.

(Libertarians, of course, are not supposed to put things like personal ties above ideology in determining political actions. It is only the power structure which understands the importance of such things. For example, some years ago after a presidential campaign in which the Libertarian Party candidate had been pristine pure on the issues, I found his name—along with his conservative friends—on a letter supporting the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. I did not make an issue of it because by that time the election was over and done, and I do not enjoy intra-Party fighting. Perhaps he did not consider the ability of the Chilean state secret police to make people disappear to be a deprivation of civil liberties.)

Since Ravenal was proposing to place himself in a position in which his integrity would be under a great deal of strain, a key point becomes relevant.

One of Ravenal's apologies for his C.F.R. membership consisted in asserting that C.F.R. members represented the top people in his field. Membership was a professional *sine qua non*. Sadly this is nothing more than establishment propaganda. It is what George Franklin told me about the Trilateral Commission during our first debate. It is the myth of the best and the brightest.

Strange it is, Mr. Ravenal, that David Rockefeller is so well qualified (and motivated) to choose America's best and brightest. For moral integrity he has given us Henry Kissinger. For intellectual achievement he selected Jimmy

Carter, for charm and personality, Zbigniew Brzezinski. For economic advice he picked Walter Heller and Arthur Burns but passed over Ludwig von Mises and Murray Rothbard. For advice in foreign policy, he selected many of the people who gave us the Vietnam War. How curious that our foreign policy is in such a mess with such intellects to guide it.

I find Ravenal's assertion that this collection of boot lickers and power mongers constitute America's best and brightest to be offensive and absurd, and I will take a random sample of LP delegates over them, for integrity, for political theory, for awareness of the facts, any day in the week. But it does lead to a question. If Ravenal really believes that his C.F.R. associates are the best and the brightest, from where would he have selected his advisors for the campaign, from libertarians or from the "top" people in their field (meaning his C.F.R. associates)?

Worse than what Ravenal said was what he implied. For to advance expertise as a virtue carries the implication that the people in question are on our side. It would only be said in the context that there is one foreign policy which is best for America and that all of these people are carefully searching for it.

But the fact is that there is not one America with interests at stake; there are two. There is the American power structure and the American people. These interests are often diametrically opposed, and the damning thing about Trilateral and C.F.R. operatives is that, when faced with this conflict, they do not hesitate to place the interests of the power structure above the interests of the people. In such a situation, intelligence or expertise, were it to exist, would be a negative quality.

For example, Kissinger helped the Shah of Iran to manipulate the price of oil higher in the early '70s.<sup>11</sup> This was of benefit to Exxon (a Rockefeller controlled corporation) but hardly to American motorists, who were shooting each other in frustration over the gas lines of the time. When Russia invaded Afghanistan, Jimmy Carter committed the lives of American youth to help defend Saudi Arabia, again protecting the special relationship which that country has with Exxon (through Aramco). At present the issue is whether the American people should be taxed to make good the bad loans which Chase Manhattan and a number of other banks made to a variety of tinhorn and Communist dictators. (These dictators are not seriously worried about paying back those loans because they know that the real payment owed is subservience to David Rockefeller. As long as they make this payment, they do not have to worry about the other kind.)

For the Libertarian Party to nominate a C.F.R. for President would be to immediately and permanently lose the support of all those political activists who are familiar with the above facts. It would seriously undercut the message of those like myself who are writing and lecturing to tell the American people that the Rockefeller organizations are an evil power which must be rejected. It would deal a long term

10. The I.M.F. bailout is being managed in Congress by Rhode Island Congressman Fernand St. Germain. We may assume that Mr. St. Germain is not indifferent to the current Rockefeller interest in acquiring R.I. radio and TV stations, as with their recent purchase of The Outlet Company.

11. This probably would have happened anyway because that was the direction indicated by supply and demand. But looking at the incident from the point of view of a man like Kissinger, who does not know anything about supply and demand, it is indicative of the way the men involved thought and acted.

blow to the Party from which it might never recover.

David Rockefeller is a man obsessed with power. He has studied it with the intensity of a Hitler, a Louis Napoleon or a Julius Caesar. He has assembled all of the elements of power, including a very tight grip on what is widely considered to be a pluralistic press. You cannot have power and liberty together. You cannot place the Libertarian banner in the hands of a member of the C.F.R.

If I am permitted to assume what was going on in the mind of a Ravenal supporter during the time of the convention, I would say something like: "These people have the power. They are the establishment. We will win them over to our side by our ideology, and they will do lot of good for our cause." Such people do not understand the structure of power in our society. Their naivete dooms them to defeat. There are two factors, one inherent to any power structure, the other unique to 20th century America, which give us much more power than they realize and which indicates the nature of our battle.

(1) The first factor, inherent in any power structure, is that liberty is in the interests of the people. The classical liberal political activists understood this, but it appears that modern libertarian theorists do not. Power is always wielded on behalf of a small elite and against the majority. The propaganda of the New Deal, to rob from the rich and give to the poor, is a myth. It is one of the lies of our time, on everyone's lips but nowhere in reality. What our government does, on issue after issue, is to rob from the poor and give to the rich.

This means that direct appeals to the interests of the majority are a useful libertarian tactic—as Howard Jarvis proved with Proposition 13 in California. California property owners were not voting on the basis that taxation is theft. They were simply voting their narrow interests. In the same way the Anti-Corn-Law League in 19th century England was able to abolish the corn tariff. The average Englishman of the time did not understand the economic theory of free trade. He voted for cheap bread.

In short, the pro-liberty theorist concretized a libertarian principle, and its concrete form was in the interest of the majority (who would not necessarily understand the abstraction). In this way pro-liberty activists of the 19th century (Jefferson, Van Buren, Sam Adams) won victory after victory. By neglecting this principle and by cutting themselves off from their mass base, pro-liberty advocates in the mid-20th century (Robert Taft, Ayn Rand) suffered defeat after defeat.

(2) The second factor results from the very success which the statist forces have had. In the 19th century, the average person's political views were more collectivist than the existing system. The statists could not make an appeal to those views because the liberals had a better grasp of the mechanism of power. The liberals controlled the press; they had committed political activists, and they understood the proper techniques of mass action. They literally pushed the country to be more free than was strictly warranted by its ideas.

But in the 20th century exactly the opposite has occurred. The power structure has gotten control of the press and understands the proper techniques of insider manipulation. They have pushed the country to be less free than is strictly warranted by its ideas. For this reason, if every issue were left

to be decided by a nationwide referendum to be voted on immediately without any consideration in the media, libertarians would win some striking victories. We would definitely have a balanced budget. We would probably have a gold standard. We would certainly have lower taxes. We would probably not have troops in Lebanon or El Salvador. The average American is not ideologically a libertarian, but he is closer to libertarianism than the current power structure is.

I found that, when I toured the country promoting my books on the gold standard and against the Trilateral Commission, I was shut out by the establishment media. But I was avidly welcomed by the local radio and TV stations. The public response in some of those areas (such as Dallas and San Diego) can only be described as overwhelming. And I was described as "one of the hottest guests on the circuit" by a talk show host in Illinois. But no network show wanted one of the hottest guests on the circuit, not when he was advocating a gold standard and denouncing David Rockefeller by name. No way. It is my understanding that Ed Clark was treated the same way, being welcomed by the local media but shut out by the majors.

The major infusion of statism into this country came in the 1930s when a number of left-wing intellectuals who had brought socialism and chaos to Germany were kicked out by Hitler and came to the U.S. These people were well trained in the mechanisms of power. They moved quickly to capture the high points, the most influential newspapers, the TV networks, the places where power was centralized and could be controlled by a small number. They played up to wealthy businessmen, like the Rockefellers.<sup>12</sup> Their converts still hold power in those places today.

Thus, the American people are more libertarian than the existing power structure, and the existing system is only maintained by a combination of media pressure and power politics (of which the forced resignation of Secretary Watt is only a recent example). The media may create an image totally different from reality. They may present an issue in a way that plays upon the fears of a large ethnic group. They may create an impression in a politician's mind that there is a large majority for some position, causing him to espouse the position out of expedience. For example, there are millions of people in this country who believe that John Anderson was a liberal (in the modern sense of the term) Republican and do not know that he is a member of the Trilateral Commission. In fact, Anderson is an ultra-conservative who once tried to make Christianity the official religion of the country. Registered Democrats do not know that the main choices being promoted by the media for the 1984 presidential nomination (Glenn, Mondale and Cranston) are Trilateralists. People are *never* told of David Rockefeller's dealings and manipulations, and every effort is made to prevent issues from being joined in a national election (which is why we have election after election in which both candidates take identical positions on all the issues).

Again, it is well known that political candidates routinely lie to the American people. (The media always treat this moral outrage with jovial good nature.) But they almost always lie

12. Which is why so many Trilateralists still have trouble with the English language.

by taking a pro-liberty position in the campaign and betraying it after the election. They very rarely lie in the opposite manner. They promise to balance the budget; they promise to keep us out of war (1964); they promise a free economy (1968); they promise an outsider who has no connection to the power structure (1976); they promise to reduce the size of the government (1968 and 1980). Why would they make these promises during a campaign if they did not find such promises effective in gaining votes? Why would they betray them after the election if they were not basically in league with the power structure? Thus the American power structure is fundamentally out of touch with the American people and only maintains its positions by a succession of lies and manipulations.

It is this position of fundamental weakness which determines elitist strategy and which must determine our strategy as well. A few members of the elite, those with unusual integrity, might be won over to our side by ideology. But the majority can only be moved by direct self-interest. (And, quite frankly, I do not put much faith in the program of attempting to convert David Rockefeller to our ideas by pointing out to him that he suffers a loss of self-esteem every time he steals millions from the American people. It may be true, but I don't think it will play in lower Manhattan.)

Rather than try to convert 60 or 70 elitists who gain wealth, power and fame from government programs, it makes more sense to try to convert the 200 million Americans who are taxed, regimented, conscripted and murdered by big government. These are exclusive strategies. Power is fundamentally an elitist instrument. It is always authority which wields power. To expect this elite to dismantle the power which makes them rich is extremely naive. During the pro-freedom revolutions of the 19th century there were always a few aristocrats who come over to the side of the people on moral grounds—but there were never more than a few.

Two essentials to defeat this power structure are media which tell the truth to the American people and a political party which stands for something and does not betray its campaign promises.<sup>13</sup> The power structure depends on its members placing personal loyalty above loyalty to principles. It bears a striking resemblance to a medieval power structure where a small group of related families schemed and manipulated to maintain and increase their power over the peasants. Behind-the-scenes manipulation and personal contacts are their game. To nominate a C.F.R. and to hope to use his personal contacts for our purposes is to play it by their rules. It is the formula for defeat. It is precisely the formula by which the Republican Party gave up any hope of saving liberty in America.

If Earl Ravenal wants to aid libertarianism vis a vis the Council on Foreign Relations, I would suggest the following. He should immediately quit the C.F.R. and denounce it and the bulk of its members as evil. He should publicly reveal the proceedings of the meetings.<sup>14</sup> He should maintain the kind of association with these people that a virtuous person has with pimps and prostitutes. And he should start a campaign with the media to cover C.F.R./Trilateral meetings and activities. This would put the pressure on David Rockefeller in the same

way that Ravenal put the pressure on the Libertarian Party by his attempt at the nomination.

The power structure's great weakness is its smallness in size. Given a persuasive ideology, it is possible to assemble considerably larger amounts of both people and wealth against them. The only way to stop this from happening is by the insider manipulation I have described above. To enter into personal associations with these groups is to play their game. It is to play the only game they can win. It is like a man trying to defeat a woman by sexual intrigue. It is like an elephant trying to defeat a mosquito by seeing who can fly fastest. It abandons the arena of principle and truth, which are our forte, and allows the issue to be resolved by personal wealth, connections, insider manipulation and media influence. It is a sure formula for defeat.

#### IV On the Need for a Libertarian Movement

What almost happened at the LP Natcom '83 is very alarming. It shows that a significant percentage of the most involved libertarian activists do not understand the evil of the C.F.R. and the danger of getting into bed with it. It reveals a libertarian movement composed of coterie of experts in several fields. There are experts on the power structure. There are experts on education. There are experts on monetary theory. There are experts on tax law. But the experts in one field do not understand the other fields. And the five days of education we try to cram into our national conventions every two years is simply not enough.

What is happening is that libertarians are falling victim to the American consensus. This is a set of views propagated by the major media that dominate the country: the validity of the welfare state, the need for foreign involvement, the non-existence of a power structure (or the identity of its interests with the country's interests), the basic truth of everything printed in *The New York Times*.

This set of ideas is continually propagated by the establishment media and convinces many people. But a small number of the most intelligent discover, through their own thinking and through specialty work in their field, that the consensus is wrong. They get very upset about this and then find that the libertarians are also against the consensus on this point. Thus they join the libertarian movement.

However, they keep reading the establishment newspapers, watching the network news on TV and believing most of the establishment lies. Their home town newspaper carefully copies the *New York Times*, and their home town TV station carries the news produced in New York. Outside of their own specialties they do not understand the lies and misrepresentations of the consensus. They become one-issue libertarians.

It used to be a saying in the socialist movements of the early part of the century that no one was a socialist in his own field of expertise. This was because the socialists had established a consensus. They had a network of socialist media read by their membership, and this media convinced them of all

14. I am sure this suggestion will be met with horror on the part of C.F.R. members. Their promises to each other are considered sacred. It is only their promises to the American people, involving millions of lives and billions of dollars, which are treated as a joke.

13. Yes, a victory by idealistic Communists would also defeat the power structure (but not in the way we want).

aspects of socialist ideology—except where the individual had special knowledge or expertise. What we have in the libertarian movement is the opposite. Everyone is a libertarian in his own field, but we are ragged about the edges. Our people are getting their basic sources of news from the lies of the opposition. Thus the movement is undercut in every way.

On the issue of the power structure, the media propounds the view that it does not exist and anyway, if it does, its interests are the same as those of the American people; so what difference does it make? Although I have twice debated the Coordinator of the Trilateral Commission, I still get know-it-all looks from people when I assert that this organization exists. ("Oh, he's one of those kooks who believe in the Trilateral Commission.") Believe me, I do not appreciate seeing a similar attitude coming from libertarians who take the attitude, "I don't have any evidence of a conspiracy."

Those who do not have evidence of a conspiracy should not offer their ignorance as evidence in a debate. They should educate themselves. For starters I would recommend:

*The Anglo-American Conspiracy* by Carroll Quigley (New York, Books in Focus, 1982).

*The Warmongers* by Howard S. Katz (New York, Books in Focus, 1979).

*The Carter Presidency and Beyond* by Laurence H. Shoup (Palo Alto, Ramparts Press, 1980).

*Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley (or for those who do not want to wade through this long book, only small parts of which deal with the conspiracy, *The Naked Capitalist* by Cleon Skausen contains its essential parts from a Bircher point of view.)

the L. J. Davis articles on David Rockefeller in *Penthouse*, Oct. and Dec. 1980.

*Trilaterals Over Washington* by Anthony Sutton.

The solution is two fold. We need more libertarian media, not just one or two magazines. And we need movement people to shift their basic source of information from the American consensus to the libertarian consensus. This will make us into a true movement and avoid disasters of the type that almost occurred at Natcom '83. ‡

# Reagan War Watch

## Part II

### IV. Bringing "Democracy" to Grenada

It is instructive to examine what kind of regime the U.S. military brought to little Grenada. Having gotten rid of the Leftist Thugs, what was the New Democracy U.S. Army-style?

The victorious U.S. troops, in collaboration with their ally Scoon, imposed a regime of military despotism. After the war was over, the occupation ensued. Key to the occupation was the U.S. attempt to purge the little island of anti-democratic elements. Using a computer which classified all Grenadians as "A" (no risk), "B" (uncertain) and "C" (hard-core Communist), the U.S. military arrested, interrogated, and detained without warrant or formal charges more than 1,000 Grenadians in the first two weeks of November. That's one per cent of the Grenada population, the equivalent of a foreign occupying army arresting and detaining over 2,000,000 Americans in two weeks. Note the revealing explanation of his role that Brigadier-General Jack Farris, commander of the occupying forces, gave to the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in early November:

You develop a human intelligence network, whereby you have your police and your agents throughout the country and find out who the bad guys are and find out who were guilty of murders and torture and hard-line politics and have them tried for their crimes . . . You build a data base on those people, on thousands of them . . . and that's how you stamp out something like that.

Oh. "Hard-line politics"; is that a new crime that somehow worked its way into the common law or the U.S. Criminal Code while none of us were looking?

Of the over 1,000 Grenadians arrested, nearly 500 were detained for at least twenty-four hours, many of them kept for two days in solitary confinement in specially constructed 8 x 8

foot wooden crates with leaky roofs. Kendrick Radix, minister of legal affairs under former Prime Minister Bishop, was held for nearly twenty-four hours in such a box at the Point Salines detention camp, charged with "sowing discontent and ill will in public places" (Oh, gee, we can't have any of *that* in a "democratic" country), and released while handed a green card. The card warned: "Refrain from participating in any anti-government activities." Over fifty detainees were sent to prison for being "extremist-Leninists", while nearly forty foreigners were simply expelled from Grenada without a hearing.

Amnesty International protested the political detentions and the degrading punishment of the wooden crates, which violated the Human Rights Convention of the OAS. James E. Thyden, director of the Orwellian-termed "Human Rights Office" of the U.S. State Department, said about the crates that "the use of those structures was reasonable and not a violation of human rights." Is that because, *pace* Dragon Lady Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S.-conducted torture is only "authoritarian" and not "totalitarian"?

As a final icing on the cake, the U.S. Army conducted its own propaganda campaign in occupied Grenada. Its Psychological Operations Unit took over the island's only radio station, and the Army put up posters showing the junta leaders Austin and Coard bound and blindfolded, with Coard wearing only undershorts—a clear violation of the Geneva Convention on treatment of detainees. One of the posters, presuming to speak on behalf of the Grenadian people, thundered that "The Grenadian people will never again allow such characters to assume power . . . Support democracy in Grenada." (For the above picture of Grenada under U.S. occupation, see Jonathan Rosenblum, "Grenadian Dilemmas," *The New Republic*, January 9 & 16, 1984, pp. 14-16).

One man who has been detained by the U.S.-Scoon combine for two months now is the much-hated Bernard Coard, the fat, jolly alleged hard-line theoretician of the Austin regime. Coard, Coard's wife Phyllis, Austin and other members of the Revolutionary Military Council were captured by the U.S. forces and still languish in prison, detained without charges, and suffering restricted access to legal counsel. Unrepentant and understandably not very jolly now, Coard insists that he resigned from the Austin regime several days before the murder of Maurice Bishop on October 19. He threatens to sue the U.S. government and the associated Caribbean governments for kidnapping and libel for denouncing him publicly as a murderer and tyrant. Also, some Grenadian lawyers are getting worried that Coard might have a good case in attacking the constitutionality of Scoon's assumption of absolute power behind U.S. bayonets and his jailing of Austin, Coard et al for political acts on the grounds of criminality—a precedent that could easily boomerang on many State apparati, including the U.S. (Edward Cody, "Jailed Coard May Sue U.S.", *Washington Post*, Dec. 26, 1983. On other aspects of the Scoon dictatorship, see the (London) *Sunday Times*, Dec. 11, 1983).

But never fear, the Yankee dollar is here. Already, \$30 million is being poured by the U.S. into the little island, not just for reconstruction but for economic development. It is the Falklands all over again, or, on a lighter note the delightful satire by Leonard Wibberley, *The Mouse that Roared*. Declare war on the U.S., lose quickly, and then sit back and see the money pour in.

**V. Are the American Masses Pro-War?**

One discouraging aspect of Reagan's October Surprise is the huzzahing by which the American public greeted the war in Grenada. It is over-optimistic to believe that the public is opposed to war; as was the case in Vietnam, the American masses are only opposed to a war that the U.S. has difficulty in winning. Give them a quick victory, with small loss of American life, and they love it. As one Pennsylvanian said after the invasion, "I'm glad our President is a *man!*" Americans seem to have little interest in the immorality or illegality of the invasion, in the principle of non-intervention, or in the fact that the closest modern analogy to the U.S. assault on Grenada was the much-reviled Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, where the Soviets invaded a country whose Commie ruler was *100* Commie for the Soviets to handle. No, the average Americano seems to glory in the vicarious *macho* thrill of war, provided victory is swift, and the resistance of

the foreign victim disappears quickly. But let the resistance of the natives grow chronic, and U.S. casualties mount, and *then* finally the Americano will grow tired of the fun, and begin to adopt moral as well as strategic arguments for finding a way out of the morass. It is sad but apparently true that the *only* consideration that might deter Reagan (or, for that matter, other Presidents since World War II) from aggression and war is the prospect or fact of heavy American casualties. And even *that* might not be enough, as witness the willingness of U.S. Presidents, in the Berlin airlift crisis, in Korea, and in the Cuban missile crisis, to threaten nuclear aggression.

**VI. Who's a "Coward"?**

A cowardly bully is a person who exults in the macho thrill of kicking the teeth out of a small, virtually defenseless victim, and then thinks better of the deal when his victim shows a good prospect of fighting back. On that criterion, Ronald Reagan and his host of supporters among the American masses qualify neatly for the "cowardly bully" emblem.

Yet, in a reversal of proper meaning, the apologists for the U.S. war machine in Grenada have, of course, placed the "coward" label on all with the guts enough to stand out against the cheers of the war mob. Thus, Rep. Mark Siljander (R., Mich.) accused the (all too mild) Congressional critics of the invasion of "creeping cowardice." And his ultra-right colleague Rep. Henry Hyde (R. Ill.) added the psycho-smear: "An abnormal psychologist would have a field day listening to some of you people." The gutsiest Congressional critic was Rep. Theodore Weiss (D., N.Y.) the only one to call for—and *still* call for—the impeachment of Ronald Reagan for his invasion of Grenada.

A curious—and special pleading—use of the "coward" label is also habitually placed by the U.S. on the actions of enemy "terrorists." Characteristically, Vice-President Bush, in his trip to Beirut after the truck-bombing, denounced the bombing as the work of "cowards". Now however we might want to designate the young putative Shiite who drove the truck to his death into the Marines' headquarters building, "coward" is surely not a sensible label. In fact, how he came to be a "fanatic" and a "coward" at the same time passeth understanding.

The designation of "coward" has been used by imperial troops against guerrillas and "terrorists" since at least the American Revolution. Thus, at the Battle of Lexington where untrained farmers picked up their rifles and virtually annihilated a crack British force, the British heatedly

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denounced the Americans for being "cowards" by not marching into open-field battle and getting mowed down for their pains. Instead, the Americans instinctively turned to effective guerrilla tactics, hiding behind windows, barns, and trees, and picking off the British with sniper fire as they marched, with their superior firepower, down the road from Concord back to Boston. Ever since, imperial forces with greater fire-power have always denounced the alleged immorality of natives with greater numbers and inferior firepower who fight the best way *they* can, in the guerrilla mode. And among all the Western Empires, the British and the American have always been the most adept at the use of phony moralizing to spin a web of excuses for their acts of conquest and to sucker the American and British publics into enthusiastic support of "their" Empires. It is the old trick of inducing the citizen to identify with "his" State; but the trick has always been most effective in time of war, real or imagined. That is just one of the reasons that the libertarian Randolph Bourne, during World War I, called war "the health of the State." Unfortunately, many libertarians, here and in Britain, are just as ready as avowed statist to hail "their" State whenever it fights a war of aggression. How can the cause of liberty ever triumph if libertarians themselves are confused about this central issue?

#### VII. Reagan "Takes Responsibility"

It is fitting to conclude by noting Ronald Reagan's allegedly noble gesture in "taking full responsibility" for the fact that the truck-bombing killed 241 ill-prepared and badly defended Marines. In this way, by drawing all sin upon his

own head, Reagan let our incompetent military commanders off the hook. A noble gesture? But let us examine this: In precisely what sense did Reagan "take responsibility" for the killing of a large number of Americans? Clearly in no sense, for the limit of Ronnie's assumption of responsibility is obviously his oral statement. After which statement, we are supposed to forget about the whole thing. (In much the same way, ESTholes often claim that they have "taken responsibility" for the world's hunger—whatever that is supposed to mean.)

What *should* "taking responsibility" for the deaths of hundreds mean? It should mean, first, that Ronnie be indicted and tried for criminal negligence, and accept the full measure of legal penalty for the deaths of the Marines. Perhaps he might even be convicted of manslaughter, and spend many instructive years in the pokey as a result. But to indict and try Reagan, he must first and at the very least be impeached. Impeaching Reagan seems to be the very least that could be done as a way of taking this "assuming responsibility" hogwash at Ronnie's own word.

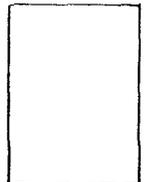
But he doesn't have to be impeached; for if Ronnie really meant what he said, if this cretin had any *idea* of the meaning of what he said, he would resign posthaste from the presidency, and then I suppose that George Bush could pull a Ford and grant Reagan legal absolution.

The chance of either impeachment or voluntary resignation is of course *nil*, the world being what it is. But one thing the American people have the power to do, provided *they* understand the meaning of Reagan's confession. They can vote the monster out come November 1984. ‡

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## CAMPAIGN FEVER '84

### 1. The Pits: *Here's The Beef!*

In the course of a sparkling confrontation with the evil liberal and conservative Braden & Buchanan on *Crossfire*, Dave Bergland was asked, in their usual nasty fashion: "What makes *you* think you're qualified to be President?" Dave shot back: "Well, I'm an attorney and former law professor. I think I'm at least as qualified as an old actor and a peanut farmer."

And how! Comparing notes the other day with my old friend and libertarian comrade Professor Ralph Raico (and it is *he*, it should be noted for present and future historians, who came up with the magnificent motto, "This is the Movement You have Chosen"), we both agreed that this Presidential campaign—the "real world" one, that is—is the scurviest and most repellent in our memory, perhaps even in all of American history. Can you imagine, for example, a debate between, say Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, or even, on an infinitely lower level, between Lincoln and Douglas, and can you imagine the crucial, telling phrase in such a debate being "Where's the beef?" It is almost incomprehensible to me that the Hart-Mondale contest should have turned on Mondale, in his flat, nasal, Minnesota twang, intoning this idiotic slogan. Presumably, poor Hart, still burdened with a modicum of intelligence and dignity, was so taken aback by the aggressive thrust of the Minnesota Moron, that he was reduced to nerd-like dithering for the rest of the campaign. And so Fritz the Pits joins the *basso profundo* of the octogenerian lady in the fast-food commercial, going arm in arm down the Memory Lane of history. Never has mainstream American politics been so dumb, odious, and . . . creepy.

As Ralph Raico points out, the American voter now chooses his or her President solely on the basis of symbolism. Is he an aggressive Leader? Does he score idiotic points in what might be called sardonically the "guerrilla theater" of American politics? Mondale's turning on the poor, bemused Gary Hart was one big ploy. And then of course we could reminisce about the two guerrilla-theater ploys that won the election—and probably eight years of absolute rule over us all—for the Monster Cretin Ronnie Reagan: "I paid for this microphone" (crushing George Bush), and "there you go again," disposing of poor, Uptight Jimmy Carter. One can fantasize: It's October, 1984, and the climactic debate between Cretin Reagan and Minnesota Fats Mondale is under way. Mondale suddenly wheels on

Ronnie: "I say: Where's the beef?", to which Ronnie retorts: "There you go again!" One is tempted to surrender completely to mirth at the total idiocy of American politics, when one stops short at the incredible but overriding fact that the fate of the human race may rest in the hands of one of these two egregious turkeys.

### 2. Do We Gotta Have Hart?

Don Ernsberger, in SIL's *Individual Liberty*, cynically disposes of the entire Hart Phenomenon as a pure media creation, with Hart's "New ideas" signifying only nothing. Long cynical about the Libertarian Party, Don unsurprisingly deduces from the Hart experience that Americans are all hopeless puppets of the media, and that therefore the Libertarian Party can never hope to get to first base.

But, first, Hart was not a deliberate media creation. It is true that the media, like the rest of us, prefer excitement to boredom, but they had pretty much adjusted to the idea of a Mondale sweep until—genuine surprise!—Gary Hart came in second in the Iowa caucus vote. It was only *after* this astonishing showing that the media—quite properly—concentrated on Hart; and that he then went on to win the New Hampshire primary.

Second, it is blindly insensitive for Don Ernsberger to miss the fascinating nature of the Hart Phenomenon. It is true that Hart's "new ideas" hardly amount to a well-thought out political philosophy that we could stack up against Locke or Hobbes. But *there are* new ideas, and certainly a new style, about Gary Hart that will loom large in years to come. In a deep sense, Hart is at least part of a wave of the future, whereas Fritz the Pits Mondale is marching steadily into the dustbin of history.

Mondale and Hart differ sharply in their ideas, their style, and their *personae*. Mondale, as Hart has pointed out, is the living embodiment of "the old arrangements", of the New Deal-Fair Deal-Great Society Establishment that has been ruling over us since the 1930's. This Establishment is quintessentially statist, the essence of the Welfare-Warfare State, symbolized in the fact that Fritz Mondale is the heir and shadow of one of the most repellent and odious politicians in 20th century America, the loudmouth Hubert Horatio Humphrey. Fritz Mondale is the monotonic leavings, the detritus of HHH. His boring *persona* is the living incarnation of his boring, old-hat ideas.

More than that: the Mondale coalition is a bunch of turkeys marching into oblivion. Studies have shown that the

modal Mondale voter is: an elderly, male, doggedly regular Democrat, low-income, Jewish or Catholic union member from the smokestack industries of the Northeast quadrant of the U.S. A dying demographic from a dying region. It is only people such as these who could, at this late date in history, be impressed by endorsements from Al Shanker and the AFL-CIO Teachers' Union. On the other hand, Gary Hart managed to mobilize groups who are in many ways the wave of the future, people who have been called the Yuppies (young, upscale, urban professionals—although it should be Yuspies, since most of them live in the suburbs). Yuppies are young, upwardly mobile, professionals in high tech industries, strongest in the West and Southwest.

But "where's the beef?" Is there any substance in Hartism apart from the Kennedyish hair and gestures, and the cowboy boots? Yes, there is. In contrast to the good, grey New Dealer Mondale, the Yuppie Generation, including Hartpence, came of age during the late 1960's and early 1970's, imbibing innate skepticism about the power of Big Government to achieve much of anything, in domestic or foreign affairs. The legacy of Vietnam (and Watergate) accounts for the far harder-core anti-interventionism of Gary Hart—a policy that drove Mondale to reveal his cloven Humphreyite hoof in joining the Monster Reagan in accusing Hart of aiming to turn Central America over to the eager arms of the Russkies. On domestic policy, Hart is also noticeably less statist, especially attacking protectionism and other subsidies to old, decaying smokestack industries. As a Coloradan, Hart is also—or at least was until his confrontation with Fritz—opposed to gun control.

Hart met his doom by rolling over and turning wimpy under the blows of Mondale's vicious personal attacks. Presumably, he fell for the fatal temptation of turning stuffily "Presidential" before the presidential nomination was wrapped up. For some reason, Hart failed to pay tit for tat, failed to desanctify Mondale with a "negative" campaign of his own.

But whatever the fate of Gary Hart, the underlying demographics remain clear. 1984 is the Mondale constituency's Last Hurrah, and in 1988 and afterward, the Yuppies will take on ever more power and clout.

### 3. LP Constituencies?

From the Hart phenomenon, we can dimly discern the outlines of the voting coalition that present and future LP campaigns can appeal to. Apart from hard-core Libertarians, our potential constituency consists of two broad and very different groups: on the one hand, disaffected "extreme" Reaganites: tax rebels, gun toters, opponents of the inflationist Federal Reserve; and, on the other, anti-war and high-tech Yuppies, disenchanted at the savage way that Mondale and the media, barracuda-like, went for Gary's jugular. A Yuppie-redneck coalition, forged on an anti-war, pro-civil liberties, anti-tax, pro-free market perspective!

And now John Anderson, the quintessential Yuppie—quiche and white wine—candidate in 1980, has dropped out of the 1984 race. The Anderson defection and the Hart mugging should drive a substantial number of Yuppies into the Bergland-Lewis LP camp. That, plus the increasing statism of Ronnie, should form a substantial con-

stituency among which libertarianism can do its vital spadework.

### 4. Ridgeway on Hart as Libertarian

In the left-liberal *Village Voice* (May 1, 1984), the astute political analyst James Ridgeway, covering the Hart campaign in Ohio, identifies Hart and his supporters as quasi-Libertarian. Thus, Ridgeway points out that it is clear why Hart opposes the Chrysler bailout—and has the guts to do so in a smokestack state like Ohio. That bailout, he points out, is "a remnant of New Deal government, and Hart is a neoliberal who thinks the New Deal is dead. He believes organized labor is a special interest. He is for free enterprise. He ought to be running in the right wing of the Republican Party, or more aptly in the Libertarian Party, where there is an economic and historic context for his views." Well! Ridgeway is going overboard, or course, but it is fascinating that libertarianism and the LP is embedded in his consciousness as the logical framework for genuinely free market views.

Even more fascinating is an interview Ridgeway conducts with one John Turk, owner of Grabowski's food market in Cleveland's Slavic Village, precisely the sort of Democratic voter one would expect to be a Mondale diehard. It turns out that Turk, a lifelong registered Democrat, broke ranks in 1980 to vote for Ed Clark! He is now for Gary Hart in the primary. Turk dismisses Mondale as someone who would "say anything, do anything to get elected." He opposes Jackson because Jesse would mean higher taxes. On the other hand, Turk is against Reagan because of his fanatical anti-Soviet and interventionist foreign policy. "Reagan is so intense in his McCarthyism. He hates Russia so bad he can't see clear. That's no solution because the Russians are going to be there after Reagan is gone. Hart would be more realistic about it."

On Central America, John Turk takes a charming Old Right-isolationist—to hell with them all—position:

These problems didn't happen yesterday. They've been there for a long, long time. Even if you occupy the territory, what have you accomplished? The problem will still be there. You might kill a few troublemakers, but you're not going to help the situation. I think that where these dictatorships are entrenched, and everybody is in the underclass, we should let them fall. Let what will happen happen. They don't deserve anything else. The answer is not to throw billions of dollars to those bastards. They are going to squander it.

Wow! Bless you, John Turk. Maybe, in addition to the tax rebels, the ultra-Reaganites, and the Yuppies, we can also snare a good chunk of Catholic ethnics. What an LP coalition that would be!

### 4. The Rev. Jesse: Report from Hymietown

"The Reverend Jesse Jackson," as he is always referred to in full regalia (sort of like the German "Herr Professor Doktor . . ."), has provided by far the most spice and interest in this otherwise appalling Democrat campaign. The media speak in wonder at Jackson's presence, articulation, charisma, and unique ability to mobilize the black masses—and all this is true. As someone with no hope to win the nomination, and yet in command of a formidable bloc of

voter support (carrying Philadelphia, and winning one-third of New York City votes), Jackson necessarily sails above the fray, since his two rivals dare not indulge in negative campaigning against him. He can therefore afford to be candid, and candid he is. In a sense, although he lacks the brilliance of Malcolm X, Jesse is Malcolm's natural successor, and being a Christian rather than a Muslim minister, he is far more in a position to influence and lead the black masses. Like Malcolm, Jesse Jackson carries the message of the "Protestant ethic"—hard work, thrift, self-discipline—to the black ghetto.

In his candor, furthermore, Jackson has been bringing a radical political perspective to the Democrat Party for the first time in a decade: Everything from a consistent anti-imperialist, anti-war position to raising the hitherto taboo stance of revisionism on the Martin Luther King assassination. (It's OK to make a compulsory national holiday out of King's birthday, but not to raise questions about the alleged sole responsibility for King's murder of James Earl Ray.) In contrast to Gary Hart's ritualistic obeisance to the gods of military expansion, furthermore, Jackson even favors a substantial cut—a cut-cut—in the military budget.

But, as a Hymie from Hymietown, am I not deeply aggrieved, shocked and saddened, etc. by Jackson's Hymie references? The answer is No. In this genuinely rotten campaign, where "Where's the beef?" becomes the font of political wisdom, and where, on the other side, Ronnie Baby is revving up more of his lying anecdotes and his war schemes, Jesse at least provides some much-needed fun in the campaign, from "Hymietown" to his habitual speech in rhyming couplets: (e.g., "Lebanon is only the text, for without the context of the Middle East, it's only a pretext";

or, "we must move from the outhouse to the *White House*")

Never fear, however; this does not mean that I have become a Jackson enthusiast. The man is, after all, a socialist, which is the *real* and unsung problem with his campaign.

The Hymietown material provides a fascinating example of a clash of political cultures. As Jackson soberly went on at length to the press, detailing why "Hymietown" was not meant as a slur, the effect was hilarious, since Jackson was presumably unwitting that every single phrase rubbed raw the hypersensitivities of his Jewish listeners: "You see, when I was growing up in Chicago, we called 'Hymietown' or 'Jewtown' the area where we could buy cheap clothing. 'Where's Jewtown?' we'd say. Now, if I had said 'kike' that would have been derogatory." To speak in Jacksonian rhyme: Every word was true, but none of it flew.

As the Jewish-black clash escalated, neocon and right-wing columnists, who are now spread all over the media, hammered away at the theme that an evil double standard rules in American life, because if a *white* candidate had said these same allegedly anti-Semitic slurs, he would have been driven rapidly from political life and by now would have had to resign. True enough, but the rightists seem not to understand that this argument, like the left-liberal wailing about the "gender gap", is a doubled-edged sword. For, *how is it* that white Christians, for fear of their political lives, exist in mortal fear of saying anything that might in any sense be interpreted as anti-Semitic? (The double-edged aspect of the gender gap, of course, is: if Republicans should worry about their lack of female support, why shouldn't the Democrats equally worry about their dearth of *male* voters?) ‡

## Arts And Movies

By Mr. First Nighter

*Swing Shift*, directed by Jonathan Demme, with Goldie Hawn.

In the "real world," we are used to the idea of an integrated, useful, and pleasing product emerging out of organizational chaos. But in the world of drama, we expect production chaos to result in a tangled, chaotic movie or play. Well, no film in recent years has suffered the problems of *Swing Shift*, which went through three movie companies before completion, and has been repudiated by the three main principals: the director, the screenwriter, and the star. And yet, it emerges onto the screen, a lovely, charming, and beautifully integrated film. Go figure it! Despite their unhappiness, director Jonathan Demme, assisted by main screenwriter Nancy Dowd, deserve the lion's share of credit.

First of all, for those, like me, who *don't* like Goldie Hawn, with her generally infantile mugging and clowning, have no fears, because Miss Hawn has been tamed and caged for this picture—and as a result, for once she gives a fine performance. *Swing Shift* is an exercise in nostalgia,

specifically for the home front during World War II. It ranks up at the top, with *Summer of '42*, and *that* picture was far more a timeless story about adolescent love than about America during the war. The lovely thing about *Swing Shift* is that it captures the mood of the era perfectly by *not* talking down to it. It achieves total empathy by adopting the values and styles of the era and working within them, and not trying to score points from the superior vantage point of 1984.

*Swing Shift* is the story of two women home front workers at an aircraft plant in southern California, "Rosie the Riveters", who responded to the call of patriotism and of good jobs not previously open to females. It is a story of great sweetness, sensitivity and charm, although it does not underplay the tension coming from affairs on the home front while the hubby is off to war. There are marvelous performances from the nonstar players, especially Christine Lahti as the second female lead.

See *Swing Shift*, the picture of the year—a lovely valentine to a lost world. ‡

# This Is The Movement You Have Chosen

By The Old Curmudgeon

## 1. Post Pres-Con Notes:

More on media astuteness on the issues involved in the climactic Bergland vs. Ravenal race. T. R. Reid, in a long *Washington Post* (Sept. 4, 1983) article called Dave Bergland "an outspoken antigovernment activist who is considered a hard-liner even by the Libertarians' stern standards." (Whoopie!) "In choosing Bergland", the *Post's* Reid added, "the Libertarian delegates chose ideological purity and turned away from the more pragmatic approach of their 1980 Presidential nominee, Ed Clark." Earl Ravenal, he went on, was backed by "the party's pragmatic wing." He astutely noted that "the distinction between them was clearly drawn when the voting was interrupted to let both address the delegates." Bergland, Reid pointed out, spoke of "the ideal of liberty" and the "ugliness" of government; while Ravenal talked of making the LP "relevant" to the "broad sweep of the American people." In contrast to the Clark campaign of 1980, Bergland declared that Social Security should be "terminated forthwith". Reid went on to detail the Libertarian programs and principles.

Philip Lentz, in the *Chicago Tribune* (Sept. 6, 1983), while breezier and less perceptive, also pointed out the crucial differences, with Bergland representing the forces devoted to principle and ideology, and Ravenal backed by the pragmatic "Washington-New York connection". Many purists, Lentz noted, "were afraid he might deviate from the party line in a long campaign." "Some recalled," Lentz noted, that Ravenal "once wrote in a magazine article that there were circumstances where the draft might be necessary."

But perhaps the most illuminating post-Prescon press note came from Earl Ravenal himself. Interviewed by his hometown newspaper, the Easton (Md.) *Star-Democrat* (Sept. 20, 1983), Ravenal held forth at some length in decidedly ungracious fashion, denouncing the winners. In contrast to his own "larger (sellout?) vision" of the party with projected "mass appeal", Earl the Pearl denounced the rest of us as fighting to maintain the LP "like a tightly cloistered church", "just guarding the flame of dogma." OK, that tears it, because, you see, one man's principle is *always* another man's "church dogma". And if principle equals "dogma", what does that make the person who bitterly denounces "dogma"? The answer is "unprincipled, opportunist—not a libertarian—" in short, all the things many of us were worried that Earl Ravenal really was down deep. But now it's not so deep. It all came out in the wash, and it didn't take very long.

Meanwhile, speaking of coming out in the wash, Professor John Hospers, hero of the LP's small ultra-right wing, has slithered *his* way out of the Libertarian Party and into the ranks of the Republicans. Hospers now supports Ronnie

Reagan for re-election, and laments that the LP has been taken over by backers of unilateral disarmament. (See the *USC Daily Trojan*, Oct. 21, 1983). Since the LP's platform is still solidly pro-multilateral disarmament, and hasn't changed on the issue in many years, and since the unilateral disarmamentists have always been in a minority, one wonders what world John Hospers has been inhabiting in recent years.

## 2. Crane Machine Notes:

And what of our old friends the Crane Machine, once so scary, now a figure only fit for raucous mirth? In addition to refusing to support the Bergland ticket and sulking loudly and angrily in their tent, so filled with *angst* were these turkeys that they actually contemplated for a while joining John Anderson's National Unity Party ticket, and then "taking it over" from Anderson! What a gas that would have been: the Machine extending their Unity Scam from the LP, after its failure there, to a bigger failure for the entire country! To finally get their hands on another source of funds than The Donor, i.e., matching funds from the taxpayers! Truly, the Crane Machine has now become, in the great phrase of Nietzsche, only a "laughingstock, a thing of shame."

And speaking of laughingstocks, the intellectual collapse of the CM's once-puffed up theoretician and would-be demagogue, Roy Childs, the no-show "foreign policy analyst" for the Cato Institute, is proceeding apace. The one-time champion of anarchism has become an archist, the one-time inspiring speaker against war now defends the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the one-time anti-imperialist has become pro-Zionist. And the one-time atheist is now seriously considering "converting to Judaism." And, of course, the one-time out-and-out champion of lying ("if lying helps . . .") now spends his time accusing the rest of us of lies. He also has the historiographical sleaze to laud his paymaster, Ed Crane, as the modern embodiment of Cobden and Bright.

On Childs's projected conversion to Judaism: May he get a *mohel* with a rusty knife!

Send in the clowns? Don't bother, they're here.

## 3. Exit Upchuck?

Our farflung intelligence network reports the impending demise of *Update*. Apparently, The Donor has pulled the plug on this old Craniac smearsheet, long since become toothless and unread. Let me ask you, dear Reader, how long has it been since you have seen, much less read and pondered *Update*? If *Update* is truly leaving us, it will depart unwept, unhonored and unsung.

‡

# NEW YORK POLITICS

For political buffs, there is nothing more amusing or fascinating than politics in New York. (Or, to put it another way, if politics can't be principled, it may as well be fun.) For one thing, New York, especially "the City", still luxuriates in old-fashioned "ethnic" politics. To wit:

## 1. Mayor Ed Koch

Ed Koch enjoys enormous popularity among the New York City masses: for two basic reasons, (a) his personality, and (b) because he is perceived, by both white and black voters, as anti-black. The anti-black image is not of course attained by rabid demagoguery, but by various subtle blends of rhetoric and reality. Since, almost alone among Northeastern inner cities, New York City still has a large majority of white voters, the result is a generally satisfied conclusion that "he has put 'them' in their place." But Koch, as was shown by his disastrous race for Governor in 1982, cannot parlay that great popularity anywhere outside the boundaries of the city. His loss "upstate" (defined as anywhere in New York outside "the City") has, of course, nothing to do with his anti-black image. The problem is Koch's flamboyantly "ethnic" personality, a trait that hardly goes down well in soberly WASP-dominated upstate.

But they love him in "the City." For one thing, Koch, in contrast with most politicians, even ethnic ones, who generally cultivate an image of unbearable *serioso* sobriety, Koch lets it all hang out. Candid, funny, abrasive, he tells it like he sees it—including the dressing-down of fellow politicians and pressure groups. As he puts it in his newly published and scandalous memoir (see below), he *gives* ulcers rather than gets them. As one top New York official put it recently, Koch's popularity "reconfirms the notion that he is a unique type, irascible, sometimes charming, sometimes petulant—the embodiment of a typical New Yorker." Yeah! But how, you might ask, can he be a "typical New Yorker" and yet unique? Because he is unique among *politicians*, and hence his great support among a public, as one reporter put it, that "adores candor and has little regard for most politicians."

Recently, Koch shocked and stunned the political world by publishing his memoirs, "Mayor", *while still in office*. This is a political first, since invariably memoirs are written after the statesman in question has safely retired and doesn't have to cultivate political allies. And Koch even for a memoirist, is unusually candid and self-glorifying, spending his time in the book patting himself on the back and, in particular, getting back at his numerous enemies. Koch spares no one: the former Mayor, Abe Beame, tried to delay getting out of the mayoral mansion; a Koch employee, proven incompetent, broke into tears when Koch fired him, etc. Getting back at his enemies; as Koch might say, why else write a political memoir?

But, Koch was asked, why write the book while still in office, when the impact is bound to be divisive, and not follow the custom of waiting until he retired? Koch's answer was not only candid, it was definitive:

I believe that no matter how interesting books on public life are, if they are published long after the events occurred and when the individual who was in the eye of the hurricane is no longer in office and gone from the scene, those books are purchased and placed on coffee tables and read by very few and have no major impact.

But won't the book prove divisive in New York City and make it more difficult for Koch to govern? Sure, but Koch doesn't care, because the people, the voting public, who are not themselves under attack and who love the Kochian style, won't care tuppence. As Queens Democrat leader Donald Manes, who was bitterly mocked in the book, said: "The book is Ed Koch—he is open and outspoken. People already know what he is, so I don't think the book will hurt him."

Among all the sputtering responses by politicians, only two displayed the wit and verve worthy of the occasion. Public relations bigwig Howard Rubenstein, a Koch friend, griped about not being mentioned in the book at all, but then: "I expected to at least be in a footnote, but I'm not terribly upset because from the tone of some of the attacks on some of the other people, I come out ahead." And the always witty Governor Mario Cuomo, strongly attacked in the book: "One should never write a book immediately after losing an election."

Sometimes, of course, Koch's ethnic *persona* gets to be too much. This fall, he overate in some restaurant, and, a few hours later there he was on radio, treating us all to a blow-by-blow account of the dishes he ate, of how an ambulance was rushed to his side (clearly needlessly), etc. Hypochondria on one's own time is one thing; to inflict it on the rest of us is something else.

## 2. Mario Cuomo

Constant readers of the *Lib. Forum* will remember my enthusiasm for Mario Cuomo—the man not the political philosopher—in his successful race for governor of New York against the rightist Lew Lehrman in 1982. Cuomo's style as governor continues in the same charming vein as Cuomo the candidate. Eloquent, bright, witty, worried about becoming a "Governor" rather than a person, Cuomo has been criticized by Albany mavens on two grounds. One is that, a hard worker, Cuomo delegates no power to his staff and does almost everything himself. Not unusual in government—or in business—but the charm is in Cuomo's reason for this practice. True to the Italian-American values inherited from the *Mezzogiorno*, Cuomo doesn't delegate work because he Trusts No One, except his own immediate family. As his son

Andrew, his informal second-in-command, commented when asked about some of Cuomo's early political allies who felt they were being ignored in the new administration: "Mario Cuomo has two political allies, Matilda Cuomo (his wife) and Andrew Cuomo." And who is to say that he is wrong?

The second criticism is that Cuomo is often indecisive, postponing important decisions. Mario Cuomo often speaks in parables, and his reply was to tell the story of the Czar, the rabbi, and the dog. The Czar, wishing to show up the Jewish community, called in the revered and elderly rabbi. "If you are so wise," taunted the Czar, "how about teaching my dog to talk?" Politically, the rabbi could not afford to refuse the Czar's challenge directly, and so he replied: "I accept your challenge on condition that you give me a year." When the rabbi later told his wife and students about his decision, they were astounded: "How could you say you could teach the dog to talk?"

The rabbi's answer was definitive: "In a year the Czar could die. In a year, the dog could die. In a year I could teach the dog to talk."

An Italian politician who tells rabbi stories: Only in New York!

### 3. Meade Esposito

And this brings me to the third ethnic politico of the month, the great Meade Esposito, long-time head of the Brooklyn Democrat Party, and the last of the old-time ("my word is my bond") bosses.

Meade has the grand old Brando-*Godfather*-Mafioso croak (How do they *get* those croaky voices? Do they go to school?) He was asked last year by the ultra-reform, ultra-liberal *Village Voice* why he so often selected inferior candidates (for judgeships, city council jobs, etc.) over better ones who were

running. Meade was too honest to sputter any denials. He simply "croaked" one word in reply: "Respect!" Respect—isn't that what everyone wants, in the last analysis? (Remember one of the great lines in the *Godfather* when several Mafia biggies were discussing whether or not to talk to a newcomer? Brando assented: "I hear he's a serious man, worthy of respect.") Or, if Meade had studied philosophy, he might have retorted with the Kantian: "I want to be treated as an end, and not just as a means."

A year or so ago, all the major Democratic leaders staged an unusual event, an open discussion forum. In the course of the evening, Meade spoke proudly about his balanced ticket in Brooklyn. It was something like: "We have two Jews, two women, an Italian, two blacks, two Irish, an Hispanic . . ." And, wonders of wonders, not a soul, either in attendance, or in the widely reported press accounts, took Meade to task one iota, much less drove him out of office as had been done shortly before to James Watt. Why the double standard? At any rate, in the case of Esposito, everyone knew full well that the balanced ethnic ticket had always been the case in New York, and always will be, and no one—even the reformers—saw anything wrong with it.

In January, 1984, Meade, in his mid-70's, retired from his long-time post, proud that "they've never laid a glove on me", and explaining that politics had become a "menagerie." And besides, "I'm tired." He recommended long-time aide Howard Golden to succeed him as party leader. At this point, Ed Koch intervened, and pressed hard for his own ally, Tony Genovesi, while the blacks put up Assemblyman Fortune. The press touted the fight for the Brooklyn party leadership as nip-and-truck, a dead heat. But when the vote came, it was a landslide for Golden, and Koch's man Genovesi came in a distant third, beaten by nearly three-to-one. It was a grand Last Hurrah for the last of the old-time bosses. ‡

## Still Keeping Low Tech

By The Old Curmudgeon

In our famed double convention issue on the PresCon (September-October 1983), we had an article on computerism ("Keeping Low Tech") which in its way drew as much attention (amused rather than agitated) as our lead article ("Total Victory: How Sweet it Is!"). Here are some reactions.

### 1. The Revolution Has Come and Gone.

My brother-in-law the printer, a computer maven long before everyone else, read my article with considerable amusement. He pointed out to me that the Revolution I am waiting for—being able to type hard copy on a regular electric typewriter and have it register automatically on a computer at the same time—has already come and gone. He has been using such a machine in typesetting for over a decade. You type on a seemingly regular electric typewriter, with hard copy coming out of the typewriter as usual. But, *at the same time*, punched tape emerges like magic out of a hole in the

typewriter (it's called, I believe, a Justewriter or Flexewriter), and then one feeds the punched tape into a computer, corrects it there, and, voila, it's printed out. Of course, it's true that it's not quite automatic, and you have to know the codes, etc. to be able to feed the tape in, but still and all, it's *almost* my desired revolution.

In fact, my brother-in-law wryly pointed out, if I used this gadget I would *still* be my desired decade or two behind current tech. There is, however, an unfortunate hitch. The machine is already obsolete, and if I managed to get one, the parts for repair have probably vanished. The idea is so old-tech that I missed the entire Revolution.

### 2. The Hands-Off Maven.

I have found a wonderful new way to keep up with the latest computer tech, to be able to hold my own at cocktail

parties, and yet *still* not acutally have to touch a computer. My role model is an old friend of mine who has done this in many areas of endeavor for many years. He is virtually a Universal Maven, who can discourse learnedly on almost all topics, but without actually doing anything about them. For years, he has been a learned Maven on all aspects of consumer electronics. He subscribes to endless consumer electronic magazines, knows the plusses and minuses of every model of every hi-fi set, VCR, and advanced techno-gizmo imaginable. But he actually *has* almost nothing.

My friend the Universal Maven took to the personal computer age as a duck takes to water. It's his meat. He subscribes to all the computer magazines, uses all the lingo, advises everyone else on what computer to get, engages in critiques of instruction manuals, but he himself has never touched a computer *and has no intention of ever doing so*.

At first I was puzzled: What can I call this paragon? You can't call him a "theoretician", since he doesn't actually *know* any physics, engineering, or whatever. I finally figured that the perfect name for him is the Hands-Off Maven—the man steeped in hands-off experience in the often bewildering world of computers.

And so I find that I have become an apprentice Hands-Off Maven. I will never match my *cher Maitre*, but what the hell! I now understand the lingo, and can discourse upon the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of computers. And, further, I have recently discovered the magnificent Macintosh, which, at the very least, has the best

ad copy I have seen for any product in a long time. It goes straight to our hearts. (E.g.: "In this country there are 250,000,000 people, of whom only a small fraction know anything about computers. The Macintosh. For the rest of us.") With the Macintosh you don't have to learn complicated computer codes and signals. You "point" and move the cursor around the screen by shuffling the pointer (the "mouse"). Of course I haven't touched a Macintosh yet, but I have become, in my own way, a Hands-Off Macintosh specialist, carving out my own little though growing niche in the mad, mad world of computers. I have read articles and learned journals on the Macintosh. It has a sparkling black on white screen instead of the dull green stuff. Etc. Why don't I get one? Well, aside from the fact that it doesn't fulfill my Revolutionary requirements, it will take at least a year (a lifetime in the computer world) to develop enough software, to get a letter-quality printer produced for it, etc. And hell, like I said, I can wait.

### 3. Lower Tech than I.

I received a touching and heart-warming note from a young lad in response to my original article. In a cry from the heart, he wrote that he is even lower tech than I, and that he is deeply convinced that *all* high-tech is a creature of the State, and that, in a purely free market and free society, none of it would be used. Well, I can't really subscribe to this young chap's position, but I find it quintessentially charming. First, for its own sake, and second because I am always delighted when someone makes *me* look like a middle-of-the-roader. ‡

## Fifteen Years Old!

With this March-April issue, the *Lib. Forum* is now fifteen years old. Apart from *Reason*, we are the longest-lived libertarian magazine, and, if you don't consider *Reason* libertarian . . . Unlike the fifth and tenth anniversary issues, we'll spare our readers the saga of the ups and downs of the movement over the years, and the legendary start of the *Forum* on a suggestion of Joe Peden's while driving down a cold and rainy New Jersey Turnpike. The point is that for fifteen years we have called the shots as we've seen them, a plumb line voice for truth and justice both in the libertarian movement and in the "real world." We have seen the movement through its takeoff stage, and have combatted

deviations from right, left, and all over the compass. We began the *Forum* in an epoch when many libertarians were hailing the new Nixon Administration as the advent of liberty in our time; and as we celebrate our fifteenth anniversary, there are still a few benighted comrades who are claiming the same thing for Ronnie Reagan. *Plus ca change* . . .

And as for why we spend so much of our time denouncing deviations, errors, and follies in the movement, the answer is short and sweet: it is a task that needs to be done, and nobody else is doing it. And if we have to do it, we may as well do it with *panache*.

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# The Journal of Libertarian Studies

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY REVIEW

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Murray N. Rothbard, Editor

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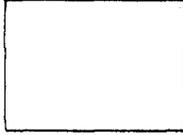
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(Both papers originally presented at the CLS/Liberty Fund sponsored conference on "Herbert Spencer: His Ideas and Influence," August 1980.)

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A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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# Democrats Self-Destruct

The Democrat Party seems to have a veritable genius for self-destruction, at least on the Presidential level. Either that, or the fix is indeed in. Man for man, and dollar for dollar, they rival the Crane Machine for blithering ineptitude. And all of it done to the tune and the guidance of the Establishment Media.

## 1. Hart Had No Heart

Just as Mondale was moving smoothly toward his coronation, Gary Hart pulled the one interesting phase of the campaign, by making it a horse race, from Iowa to Florida. But Hart had no guts. "New ideas" or no, the guy turned out to be a wimp and a nerd. For what happened when the stunned Fritz Mondale, his crown a bit wobbly, lost his "Presidential" cool and went viciously for the jugular, making Hartpence's name and date changes sound like being caught *in flagrante* with a page on the steps of the Capitol? Hartpence, instead of replying in kind, wilted and wimped and whined. End of Hart.

Note, by the way, that once again the Establishment press lied through its teeth. It's a lot of nonsense (*pace* the analysis of Don Ernsberger) that the media created and virtually fabricated the Hart phenomenon to whip up interest in the campaign. You'd think *a priori* that's what they might do. But the press's action was just the opposite: as soon as they recovered from the shock of the Hart horse race, they were on the poor *schmuck's* back like a pack of barracudas, raking over his name and date and his cheating on some high school exam and his mother being a bot dotty, and all the rest. Not only that: the press always maintains sternly that, though it might be fun, negative campaigns always backfire at the one who hurls the smear. Bull! Mondale's negative campaign won the primaries for him, and this is now conceded by everyone. But poor Hart's brain or guts have apparently been softened by a lifetime of quiche and yogurt and American Indian mysticism and all-around yuppiness, and so he only dithered and called for his momma as Fritz the Pits raked him fore and aft. Where's the gut-fighter?

But Hartpence's actions *after* June 5 were the final straw. Even though he lost New Jersey — because of the media-blown up gaffe about how California is nicer than toxic waste dumps in New Jersey (the understatement of our epoch), he after all won California handily. He *still* had a fighting chance, *if* he'd had the guts. If he had the guts, he could have pulled the same stunt that the Eisenhower forces employed to steal the Republican nomination from Bob Taft in 1952. He could have howled about the "tainted" Mondale delegates, whom he'd already pointed to, and raised a big fuss, and

allied himself with Jackson, and gone into the convention fighting and scratching all the way. He could have yelled "Thou shalt not steal!" in his best Disciple of Christ manner, and he could have insisted that none of the tainted delegates (500-600 odd) be allowed to vote on any of the credentials fights. And he just might have pulled it off, because if he had won that fight, his momentum might have carried him to victory.

There was a chance of that, but immediately the goddam Media rushed in like a personal crusade—all of them, the Restons, and Krafts, and all the know-alls—and they virtually ordered Hart, day after day, to lie down and roll over. If he fought, they said, it would destroy the Unity of the Democrat Party. And, they went on, bitter fights are always counter-productive, because if Hart won the Democrats could never win in November, and if he lost, his name would be ruined forever as a "spoiler." What a lot of mendacious bilge! You'd think they'd forgotten that Unity is supposed to come *after* a convention not before, that the convention is *supposed* to be a time of savage bloodletting. The idea that conventions must always be boring coronations is very new. And as for a bitter fight ruining things, how come Eisenhower went on to win handily? How come, after "ruining" Ford by the bitter 1976 battle, Reagan's name was not mud in 1980? Etc. These sober, "scientific" political analyses were a pack of lies, designed to stop all struggle, to ensure Fritz's nomination, and to insure Fritz's going on to a quiet, dignified, landslide defeat in November.

Obviously, something very odd has happened to American politics. In the old days, you could count on a few things: for example, exciting fights at conventions, and the Establishment Press being liberals. Now this is all out the window, as we could have seen from the Press's supine failure to expose the galloping cretinism of Ronald Reagan. They failed dismally to hound Reagan out of office as they did the far less dangerous and more capable (or less incapable) Tricky Dick. Getting Gary to lie down and roll over was patently part of the fix, and, naturally, El Wimpo stood up to the pressure for something like 24 hours. And that was that.

## 2. Jackson at Bay

With Hart on ice, Jesse took front and center as the only really interesting legacy of this repellent campaign. Hart having prostrated himself in a satisfactory manner, the next step of the Media jackal pack was to humble the Reverend Jackson. Jesse, after all, was still acting feisty, several weeks after he was supposed to join the phony Unity chorus. Jesse, after all, of all this smarmy crew, had actually accomplished

something in the real world during the campaign. Notably, he had freed Lt. Goodman, and the several dozen Americans from Castro's prison camps. One would think that this would be a cause for rejoicing. No indeed. Gripes all the way. How dare Jesse talk to the bearded Butcher? And besides, they all grumbled, Jesse's speech in Nicaragua attacking the CIA and the *contras*, even though true, was, as one big Democrat politico put it, "well, tacky." What in hell do the Democrat Party bosses, whose very lives and beings are steeped in tacky 24-hours a day, what do they think they're doing getting uppity on *this* issue?

But riddling Jackson on *issues* might be dangerous, and so the pack pored over the weekly broadcasts of the famous Minister Farrakhan as they would Satanic Writ. And then the shock of it! How in the world could the Minister refer to Judaism as a "gutter religion," and then the Marx Brothers element was introduced as everyone wrangled for days about whether he had said "gutter" or "dirty." Now *there's* a textual and semantic lulu for you! All of a sudden, every cub reporter has become a linguistic analyst.

And a *philosophic* analyst, too. For weeks, months, the furor has raged: It's not enough for Jackson to repudiate the *statements* of Farrakhan, why doesn't he also repudiate the *man*? When Jackson reasonably replied that Farrakhan had not played a role in his campaign for months, the jackal pack grew impatient: "But why don't you repudiate the *man*?"

This bunch of clowns are refugees from a second-rate Woody Allen movie. What would they have Jesse *do*? What is the objective correlative of "repudiating the man?" Would they have Jackson go back to colonial days, and take an effigy labelled "Farrakhan" and stick pins in it, and stomp on it, and cut off its head, and set fire to it? Or would they have him read some kind of medieval damnation or exorcism procedure? "I curse thy bones and thy hair," etc. Or would they have him execute Farrakhan *for real*?

Jesse is smarter than the whole bunch put together. His reply to the press pests was that "Pope John Paul II denounced the attempt to assassinate him but forgave the would-be assassin, and Jesus Christ continued to love Judas, who betrayed him." Can Jackson do any less? Jackson emerges as the only one of the Democrat candidates with brains and guts and integrity, perhaps because he's not a professional pol. But whether he will survive the money and the power of the jackal pack remains to be seen. It's too bad the guy's a socialist. He has a little bit of the brains and charisma of Malcolm X, the the greatest black leader of our century.

There is more to be said about the philosophic point and about the hypocrisy of modern liberalism. Every liberal, every Christian (or at least every *liberal* Christian), every ESThole, every humanist, every shrink, every humanist shrink, every day of their lives, says: "I'm OK, you're OK, he's OK. Condemn the *actions* of a man, but never condemn the *man* himself." The Rational-Emotive shrink Albert Ellis holds this as central to his entire world-outlook: "Just because he lies a lot, doesn't mean he's a *liar*," etc. Now I have always held all this to be balderdash, and I have never understood any of it. It seems to be if a guy lies a lot, what else is he but a liar, and if a guy commits evil acts what else is he but evil? But it seems to me liberals should be stuck with their own petard, i.e. they should have to eat it. Presumably, this doctrine, if one holds it at all, applies to Minister Farrakhan as well as anyone else.

When Jesse Jackson attacked "the amazing degree of cynicism" on the part of the media, he was right on target.

As for Minister Farrakhan, why should everyone fall down and go boom because he condemns Judaism as either a "dirty" or a "gutter" religion? Farrakhan is the leader of the "fundamentalist" wing of the Black Muslims, and as such he believes that *all* whites, Jew or gentile, are "devils." Presumably their religions are diabolic as well. If so, why should anyone go into deep shock at the "gutter" reference? Why swallow an elephant yet strain at a gnat? Or could there be a curious double standard at work on the part of Jackson's band of persecutors: that reviling Judaism is infinitely worse than denouncing Christianity? And if so, how come?

### 3. The Woman Question

At this writing, a couple of weeks before the Democrat Convention, Mondale having been already crowned by everyone and Jackson forced, at least partially, to bow down, the Big Issue has suddenly become the enormous and surprising pressure to force Fritz to nominate a female Vice-President. The capacity of the Democrats for self-destruction has not been so patently, and hilariously, on public display since the ill-fated *hari-kari* committed by the McGovern convention of 1972.

It all started when NOW abruptly ended its vaunted non-partisanship and endorsed Fritz very early in the campaign. So much so that New York NOW participated in the savaging of poor Gary Hart, despite the anguished pleas of Hart's main female, Representative Patricia Schroeder. With Hart wimping out and the coronation in tow, Mondale decided to add a little spice to the June-July boredom by engaging in an ostentatious Interview Game with a bunch of *Veepables*. Something to fill the time, to get a little press, and to hand out little harmless kudos to various party stalwarts. A pleasant charade. And besides, Fritz clearly had a sentimental attachment to this crummy new process, since that is how *he* had vaulted from deserved obscurity to his present high eminence. So if you're going to see a bunch of Veep-types, how about throwing in a few women, blacks, and maybe an Hispanic? That way we can get a little old-fashioned balanced-ticket stuff going without having actually to *select* anyone.

One thing that has always marked the feminists: they are experts at upping the ante. (In more innocent days, the motto would have been, "give them an inch and they'll take a mile.") So all of a sudden the whole thing had turned deadly serious, and the relatively sane idea of the balanced ticket went out the window as "the old politics." The pressure turned intense: "It's either Hart or a woman!" and the muttering in many quarters was that even Hart—the obvious choice for Unity and coalition-mending—was becoming unacceptable.

Now, I refuse to feel sorry for Fritz the Pits for getting into this pickle. No one deserves it more. No one has played the dangerous game of pandering to the quota-system-Left as diligently as he. And even now, when the process began, he dared to answer critics who mildly questioned some of the political credentials of the women and blacks interviewed: that, since blacks and women have been oppressed, we can't apply the same criteria to their record as we do to white males.

Well, there we have it. Pick any boob, so long as he or she has enough characteristics of the Oppressed! Well, in that

case, why stop at a woman or a black? Why not go out and find someone who wears every one of the following Badges of Oppression: say, a Spanish-speaking, one-armed, black Single Mother who has converted to Judaism? That person, whoever she may be, will be not simply once-blessed (as would Geraldine Ferraro or Tom Bradley) or even twice-blessed (as is Dianne Feinstein), but five-times blessed! And using only a little more imagination will bring in someone even more strikingly "qualified" for high office!

What is there to say about all this? My God, is *this* the Real World? Have the inmates really taken control of the asylum? Compared to *this*, the Libertarian Movement begins to seem a model of sobriety and rationality.

By the way, I was not kidding about the "one-armed" candidate. It seems unbelievable, but several of our leading political pundits have seriously been pushing Senator Inouye of Hawaii for Vice-President, solely on the grounds that he is at the same time a Japanese-American and a one-armed war veteran. Are we to be spared nothing?

Another horse laugh is the stated reason why the feminists have moved in recent days from Dianne Feinstein to Geraldine Ferraro. It seems that while the masses are panting desperately for a woman Vice-President, they are not yet ready for the twice-oppressed (Jewish and woman) La Feinstein. On the other hand, veteran San Franciscans have scarcely been aware until recent weeks that Feinstein is Jewish at all. She had never trumpeted her being Jewish, and as a matter of fact, her bio would stress her having gone to a Catholic school (Catholic mother—three-times blessed!) But now that her big chance is here, she seems to have suddenly discovered Judaism, meaning that *she* thinks that the world is ready to embrace oppressions, the more the better. (If someone wanted to have some fun in this loony bin, he could start denouncing the Ferraro forces as "anti-Semitic." It would make about as much sense as anything else.)

As for the electoral impact of a female candidate, my guess is that it would constitute the final plunge of the samurai

sword in the quadrennial *hari-kari* ritual of the Democratic ticket. Left-feminists, after all, would have voted for Fritz in any case (or would have before they began to take the whole thing seriously). No votes to be picked up there. But let us not forget that the modal Mondale primary voters have been elderly, male, low-income, union members of the Northeast, Jews or Catholics, and that these elderly male Catholics are apt to take a walk *en masse* if confronted with a sassy, feminist veep candidate. The fact that Ferraro is Catholic is not going to swing it, especially since she is pro-choice on abortion. In the meanwhile, there is the danger that the Hart voters, the upwardly mobile WASP Yuppies and the Westerners, are going to take a walk themselves if Mondale does not pick Hart for Veep.

But, in any case, it looks very much as if the Great Cretin is going to waltz into a veritable landslide, and that only Divine Providence can save us from the horrible, gut-wrenching prospect of Four More Years. Four More Years of that smile, that folksy shake of the head, that soothing syrup of a voice. Oh Judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason.

Another word on the Woman Question: Why has there been no whooping it up for the highest-ranking female in Democratic politics, Governor Martha Layne Collins of Kentucky? Curious. One suspects it is because Governor Collins is pretty much of a southern conservative. And she is a right-winger on the abortion issue. One suspects, by the way, that just as in the old saying, one may be cursed by getting one's wish, that organized left-feminism may not be very fond of whichever female is the first of her sex to rule over us. Feminists are always looking for role-models. Well, there are some female rulers that come to mind. In the past: Queen Elizabeth, Catherine the Great. In the twentieth century: Golda Meir, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Indira Gandhi, Mrs. Thatcher, Sandra O'Connor, Jeanne Kirkpatrick. Why are there no feminist hosannas to these surely gutsy and powerful, even if a little *too* powerful, rulers? Why the silence? □

## ERIC MACK AND THE ANARCHIST CASE FOR WAR

### 1. Reason and the Case for War

At the Libertarian Party's first Presidential convention, in New York City in 1975, a titanic struggle, spearheaded by Bill Evers and myself, was waged in the Platform Committee and on the floor over the mighty issue of war and foreign policy. Against great odds, the struggle was successful, and ever since then the Libertarian Party has stood committed to opposition to all foreign as well as domestic intervention, to the warfare as well as welfare segment of the modern Welfare-Warfare State. Having thrown off the right-wing, Cold War heritage of much of the libertarian movement, libertarianism has since then stood squarely in opposition to the Leviathan State, whether it be stationed in the Pentagon or the Department of Education. Indeed, the Libertarian Party has, year after year, consistently strengthened its commitment to isolationism and opposition to the imperialism and militarism of the modern United States government.

A small minority, the ultra-right-wing of our movement,

the John Hosperses and Tibor Machans and Michael Dunns, they who stand in the murky zone where extreme right-wing libertarianism blends with the civil liberties "left" of Reaganism, have never accepted this consistent anti-statism, at home and abroad. The headquarters of this pro-war ultra-right has always been the engineers and technocrats clustered around *Reason* magazine. Until now, *Reason's* stance on foreign policy has been symbolized by editor Tibor Machan, who characteristically prefaces his pro-war, pro-foreign intervention lucubrations by remarking that he knows nothing about foreign policy, and then proceeds only to demonstrate this proposition at great length.

Robert Poole, editor-in-chief of *Reason*, has apparently decided that a pro-war libertarian stance needs an intellectual groundwork that goes beyond aggressive ignorance. He has put together what amounts to the *Reason* line on military and foreign affairs in a new book, published by the Reason Foundation, *Defending a Free Society* (Lexington Books). The eleven essays, by nine authors, dealing with such hard-

nosed topics as "Effective Land and Tactical Air Forces," are kicked off by an article on the moral case for war, and it is this attempt to ground a war-fighting stance in libertarian moral theory that will concern us here.

Some of the great opponents of war and imperialism in the past—such as Richard Cobden, John Bright, and Herbert Spencer—have been *laissez-faire* minarchists, and what has been true in the past could also exist in the present and the future. I simply don't know, however, of any leading minarchists of our time who are solidly opposed to war and foreign intervention.

On the other hand, while you don't have to be an anarchist to be opposed to war and mass murder, it assuredly helps. There are precious few anarchists who have been in the forefront of the Cold or Hot War crusades. In fact, the concept of "anarcho-warmonger" boggles the mind. And yet, in our Movement all is apparently possible. As a case in point, note the major moral set piece and lead article in the Poole book: Professor Eric Mack's "The Moral Basis of National Defense." Eric Mack is a talented and productive young philosopher at Tulane whose world outlook may be best summed up as "anarcho-Randian." Here Mack attempts the notable feat of making a moral anarchist case for international war.

## 2. Substitutionism: Assimilating Man to the State

How does he do it? One critical device for Mack is what we may call "substitutionism" assimilating man to the State, and implying that if, for example, it is all right for Joe Zilch to do something in a free society, or for a Private Protection Agency to do so, then it is *ipso facto* all right for the State to do so. Now, Mack would agree with mainstream anarchists that the State should be abolished and all functions privatized; but, *failing that* he sees little wrong with the State and with what it does. In other words, the first deep flaw in the Mackian world-view is that he doesn't *hate* the State, he doesn't resent it from the very depths of his being. Like all other anarchists he regards taxation as theft; but like other *Randians*, who agree that taxation is theft, he unaccountably does not pursue the logic one more step. For if the very being of an organization—the State—rests on organized theft, then this makes the State simply an organization of thieves, a criminal institution. Unlike other robbers and criminals, the State, far from being scorned and reviled as are most other marauders, is admired and even worshipped as "sovereign." The State is the only socially legitimate organization of criminals. And yet, like other *Randians*, Eric Mack evidently regards taxation as a mere technical error, unfortunate perhaps, but not enough to hold the organization itself up to condemnation. So that he is able to apply to the State the same standards as to any private individual and organization; he lacks the state-hatred vital to any libertarian and which certainly should be in the bones of any self-proclaimed anarchist.

Note that I am not taking the absurd position that a person sanctions the State by walking or driving on government roads or by taking off in planes from government airports. Given the monopoly of roads or airports or postal service in the hands of government, and until they are privatized, we have no sensible alternative to using them. But this does not mean that we must blithely accept the State as an automatic proxy, or surrogate, for a firm in the private sector.

For example, suppose that, if roads were totally privatized, we would conclude that "private road firms would be embarking immediately on a \$20 billion program of repairing and expanding the interstate highways." Let us set aside the valid point that, without a market in operation, there is no way whatever—especially for an outside observer—to figure out how much firms on that nonexistent market would now be spending on roads. But let us assume for the sake of argument that private firms on the free market would now be spending \$20 billion on investment in roads. But this by *no means* implies that, as libertarians, we should now advocate that federal or state governments spend \$20 billion on roads. Even when the State is actually performing an important service that it has seized and monopolized, it does not follow in any sense that we are warranted in calling for more government spending. For we cannot do so without adding to the burden of tax-theft in the society. In short, even in the case of valid but monopolized functions, it is always impermissible for libertarians to support an increase in tax-theft. For the State is *not* a private firm. If people want more roads, they should be willing to support this activity privately and voluntarily, and blocking *at least* any more State funding might even give them the idea of privatizing roads entirely. We cannot substitute the State for a private person or firm because it is inherently unsubstitutable. It is unsubstitutable because the nature of the State differs totally and radically, and not just marginally and technically, from all other social institutions. The State's very being rests on theft and invasion of private property, and this theft and aggression must be reduced and hacked away at every way we can. At the very least, libertarians must never justify its increase.

The odd thing is that I can't see Eric Mack looking so benignly on the State postal service, or fire departments, or departments of roads. Certainly Robert Poole would not. Poole, and *Reason* magazine, have devoted considerable space and ingenuity to showing us how these State functions can and should be privatized. I can't see groups of Pooleans writing books on a "Global Strategy for \$100 billion for the Postal Service." Only when it comes to "national defense" does knowledge of inherent State theft drop out and is the government treated as equivalent to a large and benevolent private firm, busily and earnestly protecting our "freedom." And this "protecting" is supposedly being furnished by the largest and most aggressive group of criminal looters in our society!

The truth about the State is just the reverse. When it provides postal service, or roads, or steel plants, the State can only loot and miscalculate. It is monumentally inefficient and monumentally thieving. But, at least, in those functions it does not kill. It is precisely in war, in its active use of force outside its borders, that the State Murders. And murder is not something which may be properly done either by an individual or by a private defense agency in a free society. On this ground alone, in contrast to the right-wing libertarian view that the State provision of war and defense is less immoral than State provision of regular goods and services, it is far more so. For it is in the use of force, especially externally, that the State habitually murders. (And it is in the army, and *not* in local police, that the State conscripts, but we need not worry about *that*, because, fortunately, on this issue Poole and the Pooleans are true to their Randian heritage and are vigorously opposed to conscription-slavery.)

Since the State murders—that is, kills innocent people—and private defense agencies must not, we cannot simply advocate that the State, in defending us, do whatever a private defense agency would do. For one thing, precisely as in the case of roads or postal services, libertarians cannot advocate an extension of taxation. But, for another, a crucial feature of the State is that it always coercively monopolizes the exercise of coercion over a given territorial area. A private, free-market defense agency could not do so. So that when the French government takes a course of action in military or foreign policy, it willy-nilly commits all “French citizens” living in that area to that policy. If the French government attacks Spain, then all French citizens are implicated, at least in the eyes of Spain, which government will force its own citizens to retaliate. In this way, the subject peoples of every State are (a) forced to pay taxes for the war, (b) conscripted, and (c) forcibly subject to the retaliatory force of the “enemy” State. In our world, States cannot have enemies without dragging in their citizenry. Even Frenchmen who are opposed strongly to the war or who are ardent pacifists are coercively implicated in the strife.

Eric Mack, for example, asserts that there is nothing *a priori* immoral or untoward about State A making an alliance with State B, since, after all, in an anarcho-capitalist world, various Defense Agencies A, B, and C may well make alliances with each other, regardless of territory, in order to curb outlaw “Defense Agency” X, now turned aggressor, or simply for more efficient operation of their police functions. But the whole point is that, unfortunately, we are *not* living in an anarcho-capitalist society, and therefore States are *not* like private Defense Agencies. It is vital, then, that the two institutions not be conflated.

If Defense Agencies A, B, and C, for example, make an alliance, they do not thereby commit anyone else in any territorial area; they only commit their own members. But States commit *everyone*, willy-nilly, in the geographical area which they have grabbed and over which they exert sovereignty.

In short, it is impermissible to say with Mack that, given the unfortunate existence of the State, we should treat it as if it were a private defense agency. We must say rather that, given the unfortunate existence of the State, we must limit and reduce its power, anywhere and everywhere, and wherever possible. We must try constantly to abolish or at least lower taxes—whether for “defense” or for anything else—and never, never advocate any tax increase. Given the existence of the State, we must try to abolish, and if not abolish to limit and reduce, its *internal* power—its internal exercise of taxation, counterfeiting, police state aggression, controls, regulations, or whatever. And similarly, we must try to abolish its *external* power—its power over the citizens of other States. The criminal State must be reduced as much as we can everywhere—whether it be in its internal or external power. In contrast to the usual right-wing partiality for foreign over domestic intervention, we must recognize that foreign intervention tends to be far worse. For if State A invades or commits war against State B, it aggresses against the citizens of State B, in their lives and their property. And by expanding its activity, as we have seen, the State also *ipso facto* expands its aggression (tax and/or conscription as well as public debt) against its *own* citizens as well. And, finally, since States have the power to commit every one residing in

their territorial area, war by State A against the citizens of B automatically subjects the citizens of A to retaliatory death and destruction at the hands of State B.

Put another way, if we suffer from the very existence of States, we must *at least* see to it that the State confines itself to power over its own territorial area. At least let it *not* make things far worse and aggrandize State power everywhere by aggressing against the subjects of *other* States.

But, in addition to all this, the State, in its capacity to kill, is all too likely to commit the ultimate crime: the mass murder of innocent people.

### 3. Forgetting the Rights of Innocent Shields

Eric Mack has two defective, fallacious, pernicious arrows in his anarcho-warmongering bow. One, as we have pointed out, is the assimilation of man to the State, the substitutionism of treating this coercive, organized criminal gang as if it were a private individual or defense agency in the midst of a free, world-wide anarchist society. The second fallacy is on the “micro” level, in dealing with the individual groundwork for his doctrine. The scenario goes something like this: A, the victim, is being threatened by B, a criminal aggressor; but he cannot effectively defend himself against B because B is using C, an innocent person, as a “shield.” We postulate that A cannot use defensive force against B without also using force against the shield. *Therefore*, although consumed with regret at the tragedy of the human condition, A, the victim of aggression, is justified in himself aggressing against the shield. In this emergency situation, Mack uses the principle of “double effect” and claims that after all A doesn’t *want* to shoot or kill C; that effect is foreseen but not directly intended. If killing C is the necessary consequence of self-defense against B’s aggression then, says Professor Mack, so be it.

All this stems from Mack’s well-known theory of emergency, or “lifeboat,” situations. X and Y are afloat on the high seas, X grabbing on to a plank. Y, according to Mack, is then justified in pushing X off the plank, i.e., in murdering X. Why? Because, in the Randian schema, the rights of person and property, of self-ownership, are *not* absolute, but “contextual.” In short, they are not really natural rights at all, despite Randian protestations, for they can be cast off whenever things get truly hairy, i.e., when emergency situations arise. In those situations, say the Randians, rights *disappear*, and we are in a contextual war of all against all.

As someone who strongly believes that rights are absolute and inviolable, and that the “context” is the nature of man and the universe in all its aspects, I propose to examine the numerous flaws and problems in the Mackian approach. In the first place, “emergencies” have a way, in political philosophy as well as in the realities of politics, of expanding and becoming permanent. If Professor Mack is willing to give his imprimatur to the killing of innocent shields, and to kicking people off planks and lifeboats in the name of the life and survival of A, the original victim or focus, then what about numerous other emergency situations where neither he nor otherfree society.”) The question is: to *whom* do we direct this regret? Or, whom do we kiss off in any given situation? I submit that, despite the fact that his life is at stake and the Thomson protagonist’s is not, no one has the right to claim someone else’s kidney in any circumstances, emergency or no.

And so on down the line. As Judith Thomson also states, if her protagonist is feverish, and she can only be saved from terminal illness by the touch of Paul Newman's hand on her fevered brow, she does *not* have the right to commandeer Newman and drag him to her bedside.

And then there is the inevitable welfare argument. Jones is starving, on the point of death; he sees a grocery store and rushes to steal a loaf of Wonder Bread and wolfs down the loaf. Isn't this an emergency situation? Isn't there, as there was in the Thomson cases, a contextual Mackian conflict of rights, don't person and property rights drop out, and isn't the thief justified in his theft? The answer is no, both for its own sake, and also because given one "emergency" argument, almost all other situations of theft and aggression can be justified. Criminals can usually come up with good and plausible reasons for their crime.

There may be various extenuating circumstances in each crime, so that we may hope that a victim will be merciful and forgive part or all of the punishment he can inflict on the criminal. We may hope, however, but not *require*. Crime is crime, and the victim is the victim, and he must always have the right to defend himself and to retaliate.

Another deep flaw in the Mackian approach is that it focuses solely on the actions of the original victim, A. Is it or is it not moral, in certain circumstances, for A to steal or commit murder? There are two problems with even focusing on this question. One is that we are interested in political philosophy, not in questions of personal morality. We are not interested in whether or not, for example, the ingestion of heroin is moral or not; we are only interested in whether or not one has a *right* to do so. Frankly, I don't particularly care whether or not it is moral, in some framework of personal ethics, to rob or to kill the guy on a plank or the innocent shield. I personally think it is not. But even if, on a self-preservationist ethic, one concludes that it *is* moral, such a conclusion totally misses the point. We are only concerned in political philosophy, and particularly in *libertarian* political philosophy, with rights and with crime in whichever or not the action by A is moral, he has definitely criminally invaded the rights of *his* victim—the storeowner, the man on the plank, *or* the innocent shield. These victims, therefore, have the right to defend themselves against A's criminal aggression. Rights are rights and crimes are crimes.

Let us now come to the case of the innocent shield, which is the most relevant to the problem of war and the State. A, an original victim, is being threatened with assault by criminal B. Let's say that B is threatening A with a rifle, and he hides behind innocent shield C, who for some reason cannot get out of the way. Does A have the right to shoot in self-defense? No, for this makes A the criminal aggressor against C, a fact dramatically revealed by asking the key question: Does C have the right to shoot A in self-defense? Absolutely. C is causing no harm, and he has the perfect right to defend himself. Shooting the innocent shield is murder, and C has the right to defend himself with force, and he or his heirs have the right to retaliate. Again, our regrets, our "that's the human condition," or "tough cookies" comments, must be directed to the criminal A and *not* to C.

Eric Mack and other political philosophers focus exclusively on A, on his needs and problems: they forget about C, the only person in this tangled triangle who is a pure and undoubted victim and not an aggressor. To borrow a

phrase from Sumner, in all this analysis, C, the innocent shield and his rights is the Forgotten Man.

If Professor Mack were to talk about the shield at all, he would admit that the shield has the right to defend himself against A, but then simply say that each person—A or C—has the right to shoot the other. In short, in Mackian emergency situations, rights are in inherent conflict. But this violates the very nature of libertarian natural rights. The whole point of natural rights is that they are eternal and absolute, and that every man's rights are *compossible* with the rights of every other man. In every situation of a seeming conflict of rights, the libertarian political philosopher must search to eliminate the supposed conflict, and to identify *whose* rights are to prevail, to find out who is the victim and who is the aggressor. In the case of A aggressing against the innocent shield, it is the *shield's* rights that are violated, and A who is the murderer. Compossibility is saved.

I like to think of the libertarian political philosopher as a kind of spiritual Lone Ranger, dedicated to defending rights and justice and to combatting crime against such rights wherever he finds it. Examining all the possible hypotheticals, the Lone Ranger descends from the sky with his six-shooters ablaze, interested in one and only one concern: defense of the victim's rights against aggression. He cares not for excuses, alibies, starvation, or emergency situations; he cares only for defense of rights. *He is*, in short, the spiritual Defense Agency in an anarcho-capitalist society.

Who, then, would the Libertarian Lone Ranger, the surrogate anarchist Defense Agency, defend—whose side would he take with his six-shooters—in all of the above situations? He would unhesitatingly leap to the defense of the storekeeper, the guy on the plank, the Thomson protagonist . . . and, of the innocent shield. He would pop the Mackian victim Mr. A, because he (though unfortunately not Professor Mack) recognizes that taking action against the shield, the original victim has now become a criminal aggressor and must be gunned down.

We have finished our analysis of Mack's anarcho-warmongering. The innocent bystander is the case most relevant to the question of war and the State. Except that we must postulate a mass of innocent bystanders or shields instead of just one. Ponder this: A is being threatened by B, a sniper, hiding in a crowd of hundreds of innocent people. For various reasons he can't simply leave and he also can't warn the crowd. A must either be shot or else he throws a bomb into the crowd, killing hundreds of bystanders along with the sniper. Is A's action, is mass slaughter of innocents, justified because A's life is at stake? It is hard to believe that any civilized person, much less any libertarian, would justify such an action—not simply because it would be profoundly immoral, but because it commits what for libertarians is the ultimate crime: mass murder. In this case, the Lone Ranger would be happy to pop A before he commits mass murder, and even do it with a Randian "mocking smile" rather than a sigh of regret.

And yet this is precisely what is involved in modern warfare, and is increasingly involved as weapons become more and more horrifyingly destructive. We must now address our final question to Mack, to the other anarcho-warmongers, and even to minarcho-warmongers like Bob Poole and the *Reason* group: If it is monstrous and criminal for *individuals* and anarcho-Defense Agencies to commit the

slaughter of innocents for any reason whatever, how much more monstrous is it for the modern criminal State to do so? Never has the phrase "*a fortiori*" been more in order.\*

Once I was arguing with a distinguished libertarian theorist who believed that one could sell one's liberty

permanently in an enforceable slave contract. When I pointed out that this was the classic defense of State tyranny, since the people were assumed to have sold themselves into perpetual slavery, he replied heartwarminglly: "That only applies to the market. *Nothing* can justify the State!" □

## New Crane Machine Floperoo!

In our last issue we wrote that the once dreaded Crane Machine had become a laughingstock, a thing of shame. Boy were we understating the case! The CM's latest *gaffe* is so outrageous, so odious, that one doesn't know whether to fall on the floor laughing or to reach for one's machine gun.

It turns out that the rumor we reported about the Craniacs playing footsie with John Anderson and his jerry-built Potemkin village, the "National Unity Party," only scratched the surface of this caper. Our farflung intelligence network reports the following:

After John Anderson decided to withdraw from the Presidential race, he announced that he would give his allegiance to his shadowy vehicle, the "National Unity Party," and that there would be a national convention of the NUP—whether in 1984 or not until 1988 was not clear, and that he would support the NUP but not run again for President. Well, either before or after this withdrawal—the chronology is not yet clear—the Crane Machine hatched its plan and began to carry it into effect.

The idea—get this—was to pack the convention of the NUP and take it over from John Anderson, and then use the \$6 million of the federal matching funds to run a Craniac candidate for President on the NUP ticket! At last, the Craniacs would have had their pipe dream: (a) they'd be able to use taxpayers' funds and not just Koch moolah; (b) Eddie Baby would be able to run a presidential campaign that the LP had deprived him of last September. Galvanizing their forces, the CM operation, the new Operation Unity, as we might call it, was run by Eric O'Keefe (the martyr *redivivus!*), Tommy Palmer, and Howie Rich, with the Boss, of course, pulling the strings. O'Keefe-Palmer-Rich contacted various people about ballot drives, and the plan (using taxpayers' funds) was to put the NUP on the ballot in 40 states.

The proposed Craniac candidate would have been one Martin Stone, a millionaire industrialist living at Lake Placid, who once owned Monogram Industries (makers of airplane

johns), and Golden West Airlines, and is still the publisher of the periodical, *California Business*. Whether Stone was in on this gig I know not, but I do know that the boys were very serious about the whole campaign. Not only that: but Roger Lea MacBride, now gloriously reconciled with Crane and the gang, and perpetrator of the notorious Biddeford Unity statement, called up at least one long-time LP activist and urged her to attend the NUP convention as delegate to vote for Stone.

What happened, however, is apparently that the boys needed at least one key element for this scheme to work, and that was to get ahold of the taxpayers' \$6 million. And the key to *that* was at least the benign neutrality of John Anderson, the Founding Father of the NUP. Our reports are that Crane went, himself, to Anderson in order to clinch the deal, and that Anderson in effect told him where to go.

End of the latest Unity Caper.

Well, what lessons can we learn from this rather unedifying caper? I suggest the following: (a) that whatever pretensions the Crane Machine ever had to libertarian principle are now long gone, and that this mucking around with Anderson and with our tax money demonstrates that *all* these bozos now care about are money, power, and being big shots in the political process—any political process. Any devotion to liberty has gone down the proverbial drain. We have seen the spectacle of genuine moral corruption at work, in the profound philosophical sense. Have they, at last, no shame?

(b) One hopes that none of these clowns will presume, ever, to set foot again in the Libertarian Party.

And (c) Boy, are they a pack of losers! What can be more demeaning than being, not only complete opportunists, but opportunists who are also totally incompetent? In a sense, this is a fitting Coda to our total victory, and to their total defeat, at the September convention. The next thing to contemplate is what would happen to these bozos if they should ever lose their access to Kochian subvention? Now *there's* a happy thought to while away the hot summer nights! □

## Prohibition Returns!

Prohibition is back, and with a vengeance. Actually, this infamy never really disappeared, and in the half century since the repeal of the monstrous 18th Amendment, we have had dry counties, dry states, Sunday blue laws, and outrageous taxes on liquor as well as cartellized licensing and regulation of the sale of liquor. Arguments have stressed different blends of the "moral" (drinking is a "sin"! ) to the "scientific" ("It's bad for your health.") The latter argument has been particularly virulent in this fanatically health-oriented age.

But there is enough libertarianism in the American people not to be driven completely to prohibition by the arguments of paternalism. And so the final clincher is the seemingly

libertarian point that drinking (or smoking or whatever) "harms others."

If you push the chain of causation back far enough, however, almost any action you take can be said to "harm" someone. If people don't take enough Vitamin B1, it may be argued, they will become more irritable, and a higher level of irritability will lead to more fist fights and more aggressive behavior against others—to more assaults and batteries. Therefore—why not force everyone to take daily injections of Vitamin B1, and outlaw any attempts to avoid this coerced intake as committing harm against others?

The point cannot be stressed too emphatically: people must

be free to do whatever they want, and the *only* illegal action can be the initiation of an act of physical violence against another. There must be no preventive punishment, no preemptive first strike of any kind. Any such action is itself criminal aggression against the rights of others.

We are now in a position to evaluate the new prohibition. Specifically, there are now two assaults against the drinking of alcohol. First, President Reagan is now leading a bipartisan, nationwide drive to raise the minimum drinking age from 18 to 21. The rationale, led by Mothers Against Drunken Driving, is that drunken teenage drivers constitute the major proportion of those culpable in automobile accidents around the country.

But this legislation is idiotic as well as tyrannical. In the first place, 21 is a highly arbitrary age line. It is a date far later than the age of the onset of rationality and yet far below the continued existence of hopped-up youth. On the one hand, as the opponents of the legislation point out, if 18 is old enough to fight, or vote, why not to drive cars? And on the other hand, there are plenty of drunkards aged 22 or 23, or even 40. What about them? So why not raise the minimum age to 25, or 30? Or perhaps 95, and we will achieve full prohibition once more.

Secondly, statistics are a slippery groundwork for political action. If drunken teen-age youth is the focus of the traffic accident problem, it is almost always drunken *male* youth, and not female. So why not prohibit all sale of liquor to males under 30, while allowing all sales to females?

Furthermore, the minimum drinking law is not only monstrous and despotic, it is almost impossible to enforce. Once an adult buys a bottle of liquor, how large would the Gestapo have to be to ensure that the bottle is not resold, or given, to someone under 21? Who will police the nation's homes to prevent this transfer?

And finally, what of the hapless teenagers of America who don't have cars and don't even know how to drive? This may sound outlandish to Middle America, but in New York City, for example, where automobiles are generally a net liability rather than an asset, only one-third of teenagers drive cars. So why should the non-drivers be prevented from imbibing a bit of John Barleycorn?

This brings us to the second of the current assaults against liquor—laws against drunken driving itself. This at least has

the merit of focussing on the problem a bit more directly. There are laws against drunken driving *per se* and against *teenage* drunken driving, but the latter seems pointless and discriminatory, since if such laws are good and necessary, why single out teen-agers for special punishment? If X percent of drunken drivers are (male) teenagers, then they will be caught in the net proportionately to their deserts, and there is no need for special hysteria in their direction.

But the general drunken driving laws are deeply flawed as well. For, contrary to the media hysteria that liquor automatically destroys one's ability to drive, there are plenty of habitually drunken drivers who are so skillful that they never get into accidents. I know one libertarian who is one of the finest drunken drivers in the country; who has the uncanny ability to scoot around the dark and winding roads of the South at 3 in the morning, at high speeds and in unfamiliar terrain, totally tanked up, and never get or cause anyone a scratch. Why should *he* be penalized by the might of the law?

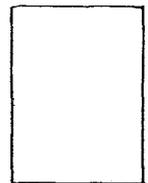
On the other hand, there are rotten drivers, who cause accidents habitually, whether or not under the influence of Demon Rum. Why should they go scot free, while the poor drunken driver, by virtue not of harm to anyone but simply of "potential" harm through imbibing, gets socked by the full majesty of the law, including in some states, instant jail terms just by virtue of driving around with an alcohol content in their blood of more than X percent? By what right, by what standard of justice, does a person's state of legality depend on the content of his blood? How dare it be a high crime merely to drive while drinking, and to receive a swifter and sometimes greater punishment than actually mugging or robbing or assaulting someone?

In short, there should be no penalties whatever on drinking, on the sale or purchase of liquor, or on driving while drunk, regardless of age or gender. On the other hand, if someone actually *causes* a real, honest-to-God accident, then penalties can and should be levied, based, for example, on the degree of voluntariness in causing the damage, and certainly the imbibing of alcohol, contrary to the blatherings of determinists, is a voluntary act. It is there, *after* an accident, after damages have been committed, that penalties or punishment can come into play. Anything else is simply a criminal invasion of the rights of the innocent, of those who have not committed a crime or damages.

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## **Patriotic Shlock: The Endless Summer**

What in hell is happening in America? This has been an Endless Summer, an odious, repellent, horrifying orgy of Patriotic Shlock. In all my years I have never seen so many blankety-blank American flags being waved, mindlessly, over and over again.

It started on that rotten last night of the Democratic convention, when the massed delegates were all waving, instead of the usual banners for their nominees, American flags, duly issued to them by the smooth Mondale machine. The culmination was the acceptance speech of Geraldine Ferraro, in which La Ferraro droned on about her immigrant mother, immigrant daughters, and God knows what else, all to the tune of American flags being waved, and, yes, masses of delegates sobbing and hugging each other.

I put it all down to one night's aberration, little realizing what an orgy of mass sobbing and flag-waving we were all in for. The next step, of course, was the infernal Olympics, in which patriotic shlock reached a new all-time low. Again, what in hell is going on? There was nothing at all like this in the last Olympics held in the U. S. — the winter Olympics of 1976. There was no sobbing, no flag-waving, in fact there was a healthy realism by the media focussing on the transportation foulups at Lake Placid. But here, in L.A., in the home of Hollywood shlock, all of a sudden everyone went nuts, the audience, the media, even the athletes. The pattern began with the Opening Ceremonies, a vast exercise in tedium, when the flag-waving, the sobbing, and all the rest began, and never let up. Come on: 84 pianists in blue tuxes, simultaneously faking the playing of *Rhapsody in Blue*! And it wasn't only ABC (see below) that went bonkers; the press was almost as bad, San Francisco's famous voice of the Peepul, Truman Democrat Herb Caen, writing two lengthy columns on the wonders of the Opening Ceremonies, how it "made everyone proud to be an American again," "proud to wave flags again," etc. Yecchh! Also characteristically weighing in to do his muddled bit was philosopher Tibor Machan in *Reason* magazine, taking off on a few facts, all of them wrong, about the Olympics.

ABC was disgustingly chauvinist, much more than in past Olympics. Cameras pointed shamelessly to Americans to the exclusion of virtually anyone else; commentary was American-hype to the nth degree; behind every American athlete pictured was a huge American flag waving in the non-

existent breeze. ABC got so bad that Olympic authorities began to complain.

But it wasn't just ABC or the press. It was the American masses, the audience themselves, that succumbed to the most unsportsmanlike behavior. The mob, bellowing "USA," "USA," the cheers for every U. S. point, the booing when a U. S. gymnast got less than a perfect 10. Probably the low point of the entire Games was when Carl Lewis, upon winning the 100 meters — typically, about 20 meters ahead of everyone else — grabbed a huge American flag, and virtually wrapping himself in the thing, ran around the Stadium. It was the apex of a truly obscene spectacle.

And what ever happened to the old propaganda of the U. S. media that the Olympic Games are not a team, but an individual, sport, so that one shouldn't even count the medals gained by the various countries? That old hype apparently applied only when the Soviet Union and East Germany used to walk off with most of the medals. But now that the East European bloc was safely out of the way, Oh the crowing and oh the gloating about all the medals "we" of the U. S. were racking up! Hey, fantastic, so we beat up on the British Antilles, and all the other one-horse countries that the U. S. paid to show up. As usual, the American mob was ungallant from start to finish, as in the invasion of tiny Grenada, gloating about the huge U.S. stomping on minuscule opposition!

An old friend of mine, a U. S. patriot from many years of being obliged to live in a hated foreign land, upon watching the opening ceremonies, lamented, "It made me ashamed to be an American!"

I tell you: Watching the Olympics made me nostalgic for the good old days of the New Left, and the ranting about "Amerika" or even "Amerikkka." One more day of this horror, one more binge of patriotic sobbing and flag-waving, and I will be ready for the Jeff Hummell Deviation (i.e. opposition to all nationalism, even national liberation against imperial States.) And for the first time in decades I look with favor on old Herbert Hoover, President when the last Summer Olympics were held in the U. S. (Los Angeles in 1932), who didn't bother officiating at the opening ceremonies because "they weren't important." At this point, I am almost ready to forgive Hoover his origination of the New Deal.

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## Life In "1984"

### 1. Of All Time.

Recently, one Dan Lurie, publisher of Muscle Training Illustrated magazine, decided to search for someone whom he could dub "the best physically fit President of all time." After an exhaustive search, Lurie came up with, lo and behold!, Ronnie Reagan.

Ronnie Reagan? But how about George Washington, a strapping 6'2" in a world where most male Americans hardly poked up above 5'5"? How about Abe Lincoln? Or Ike Eisenhower? No, he couldn't pick people like that, Lurie explained, because "You can't go back and honor a President who's no longer there." Oh. Well, that takes care of *that*.

### 2. The Shortest Time Period.

It is an old New York quip that the definition of the shortest perceivable interval of time, is the time it takes between the change of the traffic light to green and the moment when the car behind you honks its horn. I offer a new

definition of the shortest period of time: the length of any cease-fire in Lebanon.

### 3. Unemployment in Grenada.

In the last days of the Marxist Bishop regime, unemployment in Grenada was severe, at 14 percent. The United States invasion — oops, "rescue mission," as Lew Lehrman's Citizens for America managed to have it called — had the effect of more than doubling that unemployment, which is now about 30 percent. Why? Because of the "sudden unemployment," imposed not by wicked capitalists, but by the U.S. military occupation regime: i.e. on former members of the People's Revolutionary Army, former officials in the Bishop government, former members of Bishop's ruling party, the New Jewel Movement, and workers building the famous airport.

Comment by a 19-year old Grenadian who hasn't had a job yet: "They call it a rescue mission, but they haven't rescued me yet." To each his own, on Grand Fenwick. ‡

## Democrat Convention Notes

The Democratic convention went out drowned in a deluge of odious and maudlin hokum, everyone crying and singing, all sexes and races joined together. The last time I saw all this was at the Democratic gathering of 1976, when Jimmy and Miz Lillian and all the rest of the gang sang "We Shall Overcome." It's getting to be a stale act. The difference, of course, was that Jimmy was nowhere to be seen, having himself bombed out in his pre-keynote address. It looks as if the Great Family of Democrat doctrine, the Family of the dispossessed and the left out, has no room for their old has-been and Former Peerless Leader. It's like the old shaggy-dog jokes; the Party of Inclusion can't include *everybody*.

\* \* \*

And speaking of singing. There were two absolutely rotten and unforgivable aspects of this convention. One was the fact that they robbed us of the best part of a political convention: the suspense, the excitement, by making sure that everyone, even the Veep, was picked way beforehand. That left only the tinsel and the hokum. The media kept quoting grand old H. L. Mencken on the obscene glories of political conventions. But *that* was when conventions really meant something, and the suspense and the excitement were there until the end. Tinsel *by itself* is mere ashes. The second terrible thing was the takeover of the convention by the blankety-blank band. Instead of allowing the conventioners to set the rhythm of events by their own shouting and enthusiasm, the *band* took over at all times, and imposed its overpowering noise on everyone, changing shouting and demonstrations to jiggling and dancing to the band's tunes. The band was everywhere,

ruining the demonstrations. Sometimes it was the 1812 Overture, no less. More often it was repellent rock, and while the convention was a shameless scramble by the Democracy to recapture American Values from the Republicans, they will learn that you cannot do so by the sight of thousands of delegates boogeying down to goddam rock, regardless how many plastic American flags they wave at the same time.

Even five minutes of George M. Cohan and "the Grand Old Flag" won't do it. The Democrats are suffering badly from an adult white male gender gap. They will not recapture that lost vote by playing songs written in 1912. (Hey, bunky, we ain't *that* old!) To quote the great line from "Kids": "Why can't they dance like *we* did? What's wrong with Sammy Kaye?"

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The high point, the *only* high point, of the convention, was the magnificent keynote by Mario Cuomo. Note the difference between Cuomo's and the other instantly forgettable speeches; the content, in many ways, was superficially the same. But the difference was not simply the "delivery," although it was certainly true, as one journalist wrote, that Cuomo's speech had the "grace, the elegance, the strength" of Joe DiMaggio playing center field. In one of the greatest political speeches I have ever heard, Cuomo fused reason and rhetoric in a masterful demonstration of what oratory is really supposed to be about.

One difference is that Cuomo wrote the speech *himself*, and it was indeed, as speeches are supposed to be, an embodiment of heart and mind. It was the expression of an unusual

politician for the current age. A man of luminous intelligence, articulation, Catholic values, insight, and high wit — in short, an ethnic New Yorker in the best sense of the phrase. He is, as Nora Ephron wrote, perceptively if inelegantly, after the speech: “Adlai Stevenson with balls.” Note, too, one of the famed New Yorkers who preceded Cuomo to the podium, his old opponent and fellow-author Ed Koch, the obnoxious clown who spent his entire speech in an unbelievable torrent of fascist hogwash, calling upon the President to mobilize the “Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines” (no less!) to fight the “war on drugs.” Koch did everything but call for a return to the draft for that great battle.

But Cuomo’s speech was superb. He took Reagan’s only known metaphor — the New England Puritan depiction of America as the “shining city on a hill,” and, in the great tradition of political conflict as against consensus, declared that America is a “Tale of Two Cities.” In doing so, Cuomo harked back to the left-wing tradition best symbolized in the famous line of Dos Passos’s *USA*: “all right, we are two nations.”

No, dear readers, I have not flipped my wig, and joined the Cuomo crusade. For indeed it was a socialist-organicist speech, embodied in the premise that the nation-state is a Great Family. Given that deeply fallacious axiom, however, the rest follows. Libertarians, it must be added, *also* believe that we are two nations, or two “cities.” The division, of course, is quite different: for left-liberals or socialist-organicists, it is the rich vs. the poor, or, nowadays, it is an inconsistent jumble of rich-adult-white-male vs. poor-everyone else (fuzzing over what one does with rich women or blacks.) But libertarians have our own two-nation model: the State apparatus and its allies who constitute the ruling class, and the rest-of-us, who constitute the ruled. This division, of course, has a very different fault-line. *Our* two nations is the old class distinction set forth by Representative “Sockless Jerry” Simpson of Iowa: “there are two classes in America — the robbers and the robbed.” Or, as James Mill (*not* his wimpo son, John Stuart) put it: there are two classes in society, “the first class, those who plunder, are the small number. They are the ruling Few. The second class, those who are plundered, are the great number. They are the subject Many.”

The solutions, too, are different. The Cuomo, or socialist-organicist, solution is of course vague and fuzzy; but in some way it involves bringing about one organic city-family by compulsory egalitarianism. The libertarian goal is to bring about “one nation,” a society of free people rather than a Giant Family, by abolishing exploitation by the “first nation.” And *they* call us “Utopians!” The libertarian goal is simple, non-Utopian, and achievable if only enough of us have the will. The goal of achieving a Family of 200 millions or 6 billions is absurd, quixotic, and impossible.

\* \* \*

Still and all, Cuomo’s speech was a great event, and it towered over the other speakers at the convention as a giant over a motley crew of pygmies. The *Lib. Forum* is happy to note that we were among the first to spot Cuomo as a rising star in his debates with Lew Lehrman for the New York governorship in 1982 — where Cuomo sliced Lehrman to ribbons with sallies of high wit that left the *serioso* Lehrman gasping. If Cuomo really makes it to a major national

nomination in 1988, the campaign is going to be a treat.

And *some* of Cuomo’s content was unexceptionable: such as his denunciation of Reagan for the killing of 279 Marines in Lebanon, his attack on U. S. aid to “governments that murder nuns,” and his call for “privacy for people, openness in government,” which capsulizes the libertarian position on the secrecy-publicity question.

\* \* \*

Cuomo’s keynote stress on the family and on his immigrant roots set the tone and the theme for the rest of the convention. But they were pygmies following a giant, and so they botched it by drawing the theme out and working it over until tedium reigned supreme. It was like the difference between a great movie and a Grade Z shlock. For example, Cuomo spent only about half a minute on his “little immigrant father who worked 16 hours a day, ‘sometimes bleeding from the feet,’ ” and went on to other concerns. The other speakers worked the whole hard work-immigrant theme into the ground and six feet under. In particular, La Ferraro, the *other* Queens Democrat. It seemed that her entire damn speech was focussed on her sainted mother, her daughters, on immigrants, on the generations, until one longed desperately for escape. Hey, we’re not supposed to vote for someone simply *because* he/she is a child of Italian immigrants! Give us a break! To make matters worse, the networks, particularly NBC, interspersed Ferraro’s speech with endless shots of women delegates crying. Are we to be spared nothing?

\* \* \*

And then there is all the insufferable cant about Ferraro-Zaccaro’s “working-class” *persona* from an “Archie Bunker district” in Queens. Her mother may have indeed been sainted and poor, but Ferraro-Zaccaro is a millionairess who lives in a Tudor mansion in Forest Hill Gardens, a highly posh pocket within the Archie Bunker district. She and her husband own three houses, their palatial estates including Long Island and the Virgin Islands. John Zaccaro may, for all I know, be “supportive” and “in touch with his feelings,” but he is also a member of one of the most hated classes in New York City life, “millionaire slumlord.” His houses have received 100 citations for housing violations. (Note: I have nothing against “slumlords,” but, if the Republicans are smart, they can do effective work exposing all this among urban ethnics, also thereby ripping off the Democratic veil of phony populism).

\* \* \*

Note: if the canons of the New Feminism require that Ferraro be treated androgynously by one and all, then *why* is it that Mondale and Ferraro must never, under any circumstances, be seen to clasp hands overhead or put an arm around each other, in public? *Male* candidates do it. So why *isn’t* sauce for the gander also sauce for the goose?

\* \* \*

Problem I’m Not Going to Give Even a Fleeting Worry About: Whether Mondale should precede, or follow, Ferraro down the aisle, or out of a car; or the precise gavotte of how

Mrs. Mondale and Ferraro should act, or where they should stand.

\* \* \*

On the speeches. I unfortunately missed the Jackson speech, but from the snippets I saw I would nothave been impressed. I am not a fan of sweaty, oratory. Being sincere or impassioned is scarcely enough; there must be reason, thought, and elegance of delivery. Also, for me Jacksonian metaphor breaks the mood and is too reminiscent of a Woody Allen sendup: "If mah grape turned into a raisin" indeed!

Gary Hart's speech simply didn't make it. Teddy Kennedy's was a good solid stem-winder. And, as far as I'm concerned, both acceptance speeches were washouts. Ferraro told far more about her lovable Italian family, redolent of American Values, than any of us shall ever want to know. And Fritz the Pits strained manfully not to be boring, but simply didn't make it. Also, the note of apologia to the Reagan voter for not being American Family enough in the past, was weak and absurd. Fritz the Pits did, however,

perform an American First: the definite promise to the American voter that he will raise taxes next year. Well, *there's* a kick-in-the-head! And after *this*, we're all supposed to sing and cry and L-O-V-E that ticket! It *is true*, of course, as Fritz said, that Reagan will *also* raise taxes next year (after all, he already did so, in 1982, 1983, and 1984), except that he won't admit it. Well, what are we supposed to do, Fritz, admire your "courage" or at least concede the good sense of Reagan's handlers in not courting our vote by hitting us openly over the head?

\* \* \*

God what a choice! The Pits vs. The Great Cretin. The Bore vs. the Idiot Smiler. Socialist-organicism and maudlin cant vs. militarist-collectivism and a pack of lies.

Mr. and Ms. America: work, vote for, support the only ticket of liberty and principle, the only way that your vote will not be "wasted" on collectivism and drivel. Vote for Bergland and Lewis, Libertarians!

‡

## Arts and Movies

By Mr. First Nighter

**Red Dawn**, dir. by John Milius.

It's not only the Supreme Court that follows the election returns. Hollywood, too, does its bit, and movie theatres have been increasingly filled with right-wing patriotism, like the rest of the media this endless summer. I went to see *Red Dawn* expecting a bout of anti-Soviet warmongering, but instead was pleasantly surprised. This is hardly a great picture, and is indeed flawed. But *Red Dawn* is an enjoyable teen-age saga, and, apart from right-wing pro-NATO credits at the beginning of the film, it is not so much pro-war as it is anti-State. The warfare it celebrates is not interstate strife, but guerrilla conflict that the great radical libertarian military analyst, General Charles Lee, labelled "people's war" two centuries before Mao and Che.

The beginning of the picture is exciting, if idiotic. Cuban, Nicaraguan, Mexican and other Commie Hispanic troops, headed by Soviet advisors, parachute into and successfully conquer the entire prairie MidWest, from the Rockies to the Mississippi. In the opening sequence, the Red paratroops swiftly invade and, for some reason, annihilate a high school in the mythical town of "Culver City," Colorado, presumably somewhere in the East Slope foothills of the Rockies. In a neat touch, gun control has made it easy for the Commie occupiers to round up all the registered guns in the area. But a half-dozen high school kids escape and set up a guerrilla camp in the Rockies. Jed, the older leader and a former school quarter-back, whips the other reluctant lads into shape, and soon the tiny guerilla band, using light arms, mobile tactics, and superior knowledge of the terrain, strike terror into the Red occupying forces while brandishing the rallying name of "Wolverines." There are some revoltingly *macho* touches at the beginning, especially when one of the young lads receives

his mystical baptism into the guerrilla rites by drinking the blood of his first kill — fortunately a deer rather than a Commie. These touches subside after a while, although they are hardly softened by the appearance of two young lady guerrillas who are fierce and androgynous enough to pose for a Viet Cong or Algerian guerrilla poster.

One of the best parts of the picture is the graphic portrayal of how the Red response to the Wolverines runs the gamut of the U. S. counter-revolutionary responses to the Vietnamese. That is, at first the Russian commander decides to hole up in the cities and military bases, into the "safe zones," whereupon the Wolverines boldly demonstrate that in guerrilla war there are no safe zones, and that the "front is everywhere." At that point, another crackerjack Russian commander takes over, and replicates the "search and destroy" counter-guerrilla response of the Green Berets. This is more punishing, but still does not succeed.

One big problem with the picture is that there is no sense that successful guerrilla war feeds on itself; in real life the ranks of the guerrillas would start to swell, and this would defeat the search-and-destroy concept. In *Red Dawn*, on the other hand, there are only the same half-dozen teenagers, and the inevitable attrition makes the struggle seem hopeless when it need not be.

Another problem is that there is no character development through action, so that, except for the leader, all the high school kids seem indistinguishable. As a result, there is no impulse to mourn as each one falls by the wayside.

But whatever flaws the movie has are redeemed by one glorious — and profoundly libertarian — moment. The Nicaraguan-Cuban insurgent leader is increasingly unhappy acting as a State occupying force. He tells the implacable Russian commander: "Once I was an insurgent. Now I'm a

policeman" — the last word spoken with profound contempt. He writes his wife: "What am I doing in this cold and lonely spot, so far away from home?" So that, in the climax of the film, as one people's war guerrilla to another, he saves the hero, Jed, and allows him to slip out of the Russian net. Ideology, left and right, gets swallowed up in hands-across-the-sea of people's guerrillas against their respective States.

In all war pictures there is the annoying pacifist *nudge*, griping about "how do we differ from *them*," since both are shooting and killing (The LeFevre-Smith *motif*.) Jed's answer is satisfactory enough, even though lacking profound argumentation: "Because we live here!"

Another fine touch is that the evil informer who almost does the Wolverines in is, naturally, the son of the town Mayor, who is identified by friend and foe alike as "the politician." The Mayor, who directs the betrayal, cringes fawningly if despairingly in carrying out the orders of the occupation force.

All in all worth seeing — exciting as well as libertarian.

In books or in movies, my favorite form of fiction is—for want of a better word—"tough-guy," especially tough-guy espionage. The three prime subdivisions of tough-guy fiction as (a) detective, the major form, invented by Dashiell Hammett in the late 1920's, (b) spy, and (c) the Western movie genre. Tough-guy detective fiction is my least favorite form, largely because the genre is generally grubby and gritty, and more so because it has become corrupted by the cynicism and implicit psychobabble of Raymond Chandler and his numerous followers, including Ross McDonald and his California variant (the Lew Archer series). The sort of tough-guy fiction I am interested in is the defender-of-justice theme, in which a tough, smart, decisive, laconic hero defends right and justice against villainy and evil. In the Western genre, this theme was dominant all during the movies of the 1930's and 40's, all the marvelous films featuring the Coopers and the Waynes. On a juvenile level there was the *Lone Ranger* motif. In tough-guy detective or tough-guy urban movies, the leaders have of course been Clint Eastwood in the *Dirty Harry* series and Charles Bronson in the *Death Wish* vengeance movies.

Because of the great importance of its theme as against the grubby minutiae of detective fiction (e.g. atomic secrets as against some Mafia rub-out), spy fiction is inherently exciting, even when it is not tough-guy. Indeed, there are differences of only nuance and degree between non-tough-guy spy novels, such as those of the Pre-World War II originals: John Buchan and Eric Ambler, or the faster-paced post-war Helen MacInnes, and the modern tough-guy genre (e.g. Ian Fleming, Donald Hamilton or Robert Ludlum.) The poisonous equivalent of the Chandlers and the Ross McDonalds is the grubby, cynical both (or all)-sides-are-bad guy novels, exemplified by Graham Green, (in *Confidential Agent*) in the 1930's, and John LeCarre in the modern epoch. The main problem with the Greene-LeCarre works is that they become deadly boring, since if the spies on all sides are bored time-servers and *they* don't care about the outcome of the plot, why in hell should *we*? Sometimes, as in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, LeCarre can rise to the level of good spy fiction, but usually there is not much to hope for.

The question now is: if the hero is to be a tough, smart defender of justice, where do women fit into this heroic picture? Usually, they don't, and it is easy to see why. It simply will not *do* to have a tough hero slugging it out with bad guys, only to return at night to a home-cooked meal by the Little Woman. That's why in Western movies, from the *Lone Ranger* to Eastwood in *High Plains Drifter*, the hero is a rover, moving mythically onward across the plains, with women dropping out altogether. Either women play no role whatever in the life of the tough-guy hero, or he screws them with abandon, as in most tough-guy spy fiction (e.g. Ian Fleming's James Bond). But *marriage* won't do, and so Bond's new bride gets killed with lightning speed, or a John Wayne or another Western hero sets out to avenge the murder of his wife and children at the very beginning of the movie.

Of course, in the corrupt versions of the spy genre, women

play a perverse role. It is typical of the elderly, tired, filled with self-disgust, George Smiley (LeCarre) that he is married, but that he is a brooding cuckold. In non-tough guy detective fiction, such as in Gregory McDonald's Inspector Flynn, he can of course have a sprawling family at home; McDonald's other hero, Fletch, is a wise-cracking hippie, so he can have a long-term, if wise-cracking relationship. In a few fascinating cases, authors get around the female problem by having the protagonist be a *heroine*. A non-tough-guy spy heroine, with a new lover in each book, is featured in the recent and excellent series by Evelyn Anthony. The only tough-guy heroines I can think of are in two marvelous series: Peter O'Donnell's Modesty Blaise novels, in which Modesty is a James-Bond-type heroine; and Walter Wager's *Blue* trilogy, featuring a smart, tough-guy, jazz-loving heroine. Where do *men* fit in? Essentially it's James Bond-in-reverse, but with more sentiment. Wager's tough-guy heroine, who sleeps with one new man per book, is mourning her long-dead lost love. O'Donnell solves the problem in a fascinating way: Modesty Blaise has a series of nice-guy, but confused and a bit wimpy lovers (again, one per book—in contrast with several for Bond *et al.*) But at the same time she has a constant male disciple, boon companion and assistant, tough, heroic Willie Garvin. Modesty and Willie love each other dearly, magnificently, and romantically, but there is never, ever any sex between them, since this would spoil Willie's pedestal image of someone who is essentially his mentor and superior. (If you are worried about Willie's sex life, don't because *he* has a series of lovers too.)

Of course, one way to bring in females, as is done in TV-detective series (e.g. *Mannix*, *Perry Mason*), is to have a loyal female aide and assistant. But in the nature of things, the focus is on the male hero, and furthermore there is never anything between him and his rather shadowy aid.

In the solid, prolific Sam Durell series (by Edward S. Aarons, and lately by Will Aarons), the CIA agent-hero has a true love and fellow agent, Dierdre Padgett, but either they quarrel or she appears in only a few books, in some of which Sam rescues Deirdre from the bad guys.

But the most interesting, bittersweet, way of tackling the female problem in tough-guy fiction is to have a tough-guy female (often a fellow CIA or whatever agent) romantically attached to the hero, but the female is proverbially *not tough enough*, and so has to be discarded at the end of the book. The *locus classicus* of this theme is the marvelous Matt Helm

series, by Donald Hamilton (please: forget the execrable Dean Martin movies). Especially in the first seven or eight of the twenty-book series so far, Helm finds a succession of worthy, tough-guy heroines, but they always buckle at the last, whining that Matt is just *too* darn tough. Matt is indeed the toughest of them all; toughness, by the way, is not to be confused with drawn-out violence and gore, as in so many current horror and science-fiction movies. Toughness is a matter of expertise and attitude of spirit, essential to the genuine hero. For example, a typical plot: Matt is assigned to kill a bad guy; he has a female assistant who also understands why the bad guy is bad and must be killed post-haste. But, at the climax, the female turns wimpy; Matt, for example, shoots him in the back, instead of fulfilling the heroine's romantic notion of a "fair" duel. Another whiner and loser in Matt's quest for a mate and help meet as tough as himself. (There is a key lesson which we all have learned, by the way, from Hamilton/Helm: if a bad guy is holding a gun either on yourself or on another good guy, shoot him right away and shoot to kill. None of this nonsense about "drop your gun or I'll shoot," or shooting him in the hand, à la the Lone Ranger: *no one* can shoot that accurately with any certainty. All else is namby-pamby liberalism.)

After the first eight or so Helm novels, there was a dropping off of some of the excitement of the earlier works, and in ringing the changes on the female-toughness theme. In his last novels, however, Hamilton is back in full-stride. Number 19, *The Revengers*, is a rather sweet work, a retrospective, in which Helms links up with several of his old girl friends in turn, each whom get rubbed out until he seems to have found his true love at last at the end of the novel. In Number 20, his most recent work (*The Annihilators*), however, she is killed at the beginning of the novel, and Matt is off in the pursuit of vengeance.

The woman as not-tough-enough theme appears also in *Death Wish II*, where Bronson, in love with a liberal lawyer, after wiping out the rapist and killers of his daughter and housekeeper, is abandoned by this namby-pamby female for being too tough. In *Sudden Impact*, we have an interesting

twist: the great Inspector Harry Callahan ("Dirty Harry") finds that the female lead has been murdering a series of people, but that she has done it in heroic vengeance against those who raped her and her young sister years ago. At the end, cleaving to the higher law of justice, Dirty Harry lets her go and walks off into the Bay Area night.

Sometimes, rarely, the untough female can find redemption by *becoming* tough. The major theme of the classic Western *High Noon* was the fact that Sheriff Gary Cooper's young bride, Grace Kelly, infected by Quaker pacifism, bitterly opposed Cooper's coming shootout with the bad guys. To the point of leaving him. But Kelly comes through in the end by overcoming her pacifism and killing one of the bad guys to save Coop's life.

The female lead can, of course, be very tough, but in a sense *too* tough; that is, she can turn out to be the major villain herself. In that case, of course, the tough-guy hero, pursuing right and justice to the very end, overcomes his emotions and gives her the works. In that superb movie *The Maltese Falcon*, Bogart gives the delectable Mary Astor the business by turning her into the cops. And in the first, blockbuster novel of the toughest-guy detective (as opposed to *spy*) of them all, Mike Hammer (Mickey Spillane) ends *I, the Jury* by shooting his true-turned-false love in the belly.

Well gee, I might hear it asked, can't the female problem be resolved by having two equal partners, male *and* female, slugging it out together for right and justice? Ideologically si, dramatically no. I can't see it working in the tough-guy genre. There were no movies more delightful than the Nick and Nora Charles *Thin Man* series (with William Powell and Myrna Loy), but these were films of frothy and high-style wit rather than tough-guy action. The closest this parity came to working was the great *The Avengers* TV series (during the Diana Rigg period), when Mrs. Emma Peel (Rigg) and Steed (Patrick Macnee) swatted the bad guys on behalf of British intelligence. But there Diana Rigg really outshone Macnee to take the central role, and the series was so swathed in outre effects and high-style elegance that one may question its "tough-guy" credentials. ‡

## The Miss America Caper

The fascinating thing about the Vanessa Williams — Miss America caper — apart from the fact, of course, that S-E-X is involved — is that there are so many sides to the issue. There are the legal sides involved: of Ms. Williams, of the Miss America Pageant, and of *Penthouse* Magazine, and many more moral sides, including the above three, the left-feminist position of Susan Brownmiller, and many others.

Let us say, in the first place, that the least tenable position is that of La Williams herself. All the bilge about being "only 21" (what happened to the slogan, old enough to vote, and fight, at 18?), it happening *months* ago before she was mature, that she didn't know what she was doing, what she was signing, and all the rest! Pah! She clearly broke her contractual arrangement with the Pageant, and, therefore,

precisely got her comeuppance. And all that guff she slung around about being a "role model" for her race!

Giving Ms. Williams a tough race for last place in these moral sweepstakes is Susan Brownmiller and the Left Feminist movement. Left Feminism, which is a sort of Through-the-Looking-Glass reversion to Ultra-Right Puritanism, claims that Ms. Williams was an innocent victim of male-capitalist exploitation, but that the Pageant, though evil itself for its own quasi-pornography, was right in demanding that she relinquish the crown because of the contractual problem. But, to Ms. Brownmiller, the worst villains of the piece were Bob Guccione and *Penthouse*, who set out deliberately to oppress and destroy Ms. Williams, because oppression and destruction of females is precisely what pornography is all about.

The pornography as destruction and as "violence against women" argument is pure bilge. First, of course, the women and men who participate in pornography are doing so voluntarily, and usually with enthusiasm, considering the money involved. Secondly, only a small proportion of porno involves violence (unless, of course, as I suspect left-feminism does, one equates all heterosex with violence by definition!), and probably most of *that* involves female violence against men! How does the porno-as-violence-against-women theme apply in those cases? and how about male homosexual porn? Where is the violence-against-women *there*? Unfortunately, Brownmiller and other WAPs (Women Against Pornography) are having some success in having porno outlawed on this absurd "violation of civil rights of women" motif.

On the other hand, it is hard to take seriously the smarmy moral justifications of Robert Guccione and his aide, Ms. Keeton: that they are bringing liberation to all women, and specifically helping and advancing the career of Ms. Williams. Presumably, Ms. Williams has no need for such "help" done ver much against her wishes. We can also be spared all the claptrap about Guccione's "moral obligation to the *Penthouse* readers 'right to know'." Let's clear the air by getting one thing straight: *Penthouse* published the famous pictures of Ms. Williams, *not* to further some long-standing campaign to crush American womanhood, *nor* to liberate it; neither did it give a damn about its "moral obligation" to its readers. *Penthouse* published those pictures to make big bucks, and there is *nothing particularly wrong with that*. *Penthouse* served

the consumers in order to make heavy profits, and, while this "marketplace morality" may not be heroic morality, it should be sufficient to carry the day. And that, plus the voluntary participation in both the pictures and in signing the consent form by Ms. Williams, is enough to say that, in the outcome of this case, justice triumphed. Guccione had the perfect right to publish the pictures and to sell the issue, and the Miss America Pageant had both the right and the obligation to get the crown off Ms. Williams' head.

As for the Miss America pageant itself, it is *shlock* but it is charming *shlock*, and I hope it stays around a long time. It is equally idiotic to say that it constitutes "pornography," or that it ennobles American Womanhood. Its main problem is neither of these; its problem is that it has gotten increasingly dull, probably from taking itself too seriously. First of all, they should toss out the "talent" section, which has grown like Topsy, and inflicts upon the viewers what seem like hours of terrible singing or screeching violin playing. Secondly, the tone has gotten so High in recent years as to become almost unbearable. It was bad enough when the girls all announced their career goals to be a good wife, mother, an owner of a vine-covered cottage. It is much worse nowadays, when every one of them outlines her scholarly future with pinpoint precision: "I am going to be a Master of Communication Arts, and become associate editor of a magazine for design." Please, Miss America Pageant! Cut out the so-called talent, and the pronouncements for World Brotherhood, and the forest of prospective Master's degrees! Get back to basics!

## Campaign Notes

What's wrong with the American masses? Since *when*, when in blazes, did they ever vote for a President because he was a "nice guy?" Nobody in his right mind, even the man's most fervent admirers, ever thought Harry Truman a "nice guy." Not "give 'em hell, Harry." Surely no one ever thought Nixon a nice guy. Roosevelt had charisma and was beloved, but nobody considered him "nice." The only authentic nice guy, Gerry Ford, was *defeated*, for Chrissake. Ike? Thought a nice guy, sure, but he was elected, dammit, for his alleged accomplishments, like winning World War II. What has the Great Cretin ever accomplished, except making a slew of bad movies? So what *is* it with this guy?

Optimism? OK, but look at Hubert Humphrey, who proclaimed himself the champion of the "politics of joy," who

was grinning like an ape all the time. *He* was defeated too. So go figure it. Has the country become some sort of Randian nightmare?

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There was a brief moment of joy in this campaign, though it disappeared all too quickly. The wonder of seeing the Cretin exposed at long last, stumbling and fumbling his way through the first Great Debate, the Minnesota Whiner nailing him to the wall, smiling all the while. God bless Rich Jaroslavsky of the *Wall Street Journal*, the fearless reporter who, the day after the first debate, thought the unthinkable and said the unsayable. It was euphemistically called the "age factor." Call it rather the Cretin Factor.

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For a few days, the open conspiracy parted, and the media finally let the public in on the hidden truth, the truth that the Great Communicator is really a Great Cretin when he doesn't have a script placed in front of him. So for a while there was hope of a real contest, but then they propped him up, and probably put him to sleep for 24 hours before the Event. They scheduled it early in the evening so it wasn't past his bedtime, and then, though the Cretin stumbled and made little sense, he seemed OK and wasn't visibly addled, and that was enough. God Bless America and America's Cretin Candidate. The rest is history.

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So let's join the Great Cretin in his boundless Optimism, and look at the bright side of this most dismal presidential campaign in modern times. My beloved grandma used to say that "everything works out for the best," and let's try to approach the election in that spirit and list the Good Things about this election that we can be Thankful for:

1. Never, ever again will we have to see or listen to the Minnesota Whiner. (Some comic said the other day that he just had a terrible nightmare: that *both* Reagan and Mondale won the election!) Exit Fritz the Pits.
2. Never, ever again will a Presidential candidate make the only clear statement of his campaign (or of *either* campaign this year): "I will raise your taxes." If any wise guy in the Mondale camp thought this a savvy political ploy, one hopes that this election will put that myth to rest.
3. Maybe the Democracy will no longer pander quite so

starkly and so wimpily to the special interests, the unions, the minorities et al. Certainly the allegedly mighty power of NOW and the Sisterhood of left-feminism turns out to be mainly hot air.

4. It is too much to expect that La Ferraro/Zaccaro will fade away, but at least the golden glow is considerably tarnished, now that the sainted immigrant, etc. family seems not at all so saintly.

5. Maybe, just maybe, the Democracy will realize that trying to sound as hawkish as Ronnie, and trying to compete in flag-waving with America's Party, ain't gonna work. So perhaps, at the next Democrat Convention we will *not* have to watch a sea of waving American flags, punctuated by everyone sobbing and hugging each other because Ferraro/Zaccaro achieved the golden breakthrough — and got clobbered.

6. Maybe, too, the Democracy will wise up, and realize that a party consisting of blacks, Jews, Hispanics, elderly union members, and people making under \$5000 a year, is *not going to win*. Hey, fellows, you gotta get some white males, some WASPS and Catholics, too. Can this election be called the Revolt of the WASPS?

So I conclude: maybe, just maybe, the American people aren't so dumb after all. After all, if *you* were a yokel from Boonville, USA, and all you knew about these two candidates is that one guy smiles a lot, and talks about American Standing Tall, while the other guy spends his time whining about the "poor and the elderly" and promising his darndest to raise your taxes, who would *you* vote for? ‡

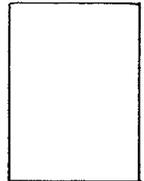
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THE  
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A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER

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THE

# Libertarian Forum

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## The State of the Movement: The Implosion

The end of a Presidential election year is a good time to take stock, to ask ourselves how our movement is going, and therefore how it may be shaping up for the future. All right: so how goes our movement? The quick answer is, not very well. For the last four years, the movement has been suffering through a severe contraction, reaching during 1983 and 1984 the status of what wordsmith Sam Konkin has called an "implosion." The recent implosion, however, is no reason for despair. No ideological revolution proceeds on a continuous straight line from birth to triumphant victory. Every such revolution proceeds in a zig-zag manner. The modern libertarian movement took off into explosive growth in 1969-70, and accelerated that growth during the 1970's. During the 1980's we have been in a zag period. The zag period can only bring despair to those who unrealistically expected Quick Victory, or who were lured by honeyed promises of such Victory to plunge into activity with short-run fervor, only to burn out in disillusion when the triumph never came. We must understand that liberty is a lifetime commitment, and not a quick ticket to fortune and glory. To the extent that the summer soldiers and the sunshine libertarians have left the fold, the movement is better off for this recession, better off to remain with "cadre" (i.e. knowledgeable activists) who are inured to temporary reverses and who can rise above the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

### 1. Why the Implosion?

Before surveying the terrain in detail, let us summarize the reasons for this movement recession. They can be summed up as three-fold: the change in the *Zeitgeist*, the Reagan phenomenon, and the vagaries of the Kochtopus. The first and second causes are, of course, interrelated. The 70's were a decade of endemic discontent with the system and with the U.S. government. Being a time of discontent, it was a decade of searching, of passionate interest in ideology and in exploring alternatives to the status quo. Hence the enormous explosion of interest in libertarianism, and therefore of growth in the movement and in the fledgling Libertarian Party. The 1980's, however, has marked a return to the smugness, the contentment with "America," that had characterized the 1950's and the Eisenhower Era. On the

campus, there is virtually zero political activity, and equally zero interest in ideology of any sort. As in the 1950's, careerism is back with a vengeance.

An anecdote will illustrate the ideological and political apathy these days on the campus, as well as everywhere else. I've been spending this year teaching in Sin City, Las Vegas. When asked by a national LP leader what activity there was on our campus during the 1984 campaign, I replied that there was good news and bad news. The bad news is that there was no LP or Bergland activity whatsoever. The good news is that there was no activity for the Democrats or Republicans either.

The Reagan re-election campaign exemplifies this new smugness and lack of interest in ideology. As we have detailed in the *Lib. Forum*, the entire campaign, and particularly the Reagan effort, was the most odious Presidential campaign in American history. There was not even a feeble attempt to discuss ideology or issues. The all too successful nub of the Reagan campaign was, like Carl Lewis at the equally repugnant and flag-waving Olympics, to wrap himself in the American flag, to make himself "America's candidate" running on the ticket of "America's party," nominated in the home of "America's (football) team." The Republicans successfully carried out the strategy detailed in the June, 1984 memorandum of Richard Darman, a leading White House aide: "*Paint RR*," he wrote, "*as the personification of all that is right with, or heroized by, America*. Leave Mondale in a position where an attack on Reagan is tantamount to an attack on America's idealized image of itself — *where a vote against Reagan is, in some subliminal sense, a vote against a mythic 'AMERICA.'*" (Italics Darman's. *Newsweek*, Election Extra, Nov.-Dec. 1984, p.88).

The 1970's was an era of explosive growth in the libertarian movement and Party because everything came together in 1973-75 to spread a healthy disgust among the American people for the U.S. government. First, during those years came the big inflationary recession, the first sign that inflation was now permanent in American life, even in the midst of a deep recession. As a result came the breakup of the Keynesian consensus, and the search for alternatives among economists, as well as the general public. Something had gone radically wrong after four decades of arrogant fine-tuning by statist economists. Second, the United States, during this same

period, suffered its first losing war, a retribution for its unjust imperial intervention and mass murder in Vietnam. The American public was as fed up with foreign intervention as it was with inflation. The third mighty blow to the American State came, once again, during the same crucial 1973-75 period: the glorious bringing down of the mighty institution of the Presidency over the crookeries and tyranny of Watergate.

Those three events — inflationary recession, Vietnam, and Watergate — happening coincidentally at the same time, exerted a synergistic effect in spreading massive disillusionment in the American State. Surely it can be no accident that this was precisely the beginning of enormous growth in the modern libertarian movement. Americans got increasingly repelled at high taxes, saw that marijuana laws were counter-productive, and became far more concerned with civil liberties after seeing the peccadilloes committed by the FBI and CIA during Watergate. A healthy distrust of politicians spread throughout the land. Increasing interest in libertarianism came as the public grew intrigued with a movement dedicated to getting Big Government "off our backs."

Things began to sour during the last two years of the Carter Administration, even while, on the surface, libertarian sentiment escalated among the American public, and the Movement grew apace. The powerful, war-mongering forces of neo-conservatism began to dominate foreign policy opinion in the Democrat Party, symbolized by the dovish Cyrus Vance losing out in the Carter Administration power struggle to the hawk Brzezinski. The desperate Russian attempt to keep Afghanistan in its sphere of influence proved to be the spark that reignited anti-Soviet and pro-foreign intervention hysteria in the Democrat Party and in the country as a whole, leading to Carter's ill-advised grain embargo and his scuttling of the 1980 Olympics. Then, the Iranian hostage case inspired an apparently permanent resurgence of jingoist hysteria, paving the way for Carter's collapse and the Reagan victory. Finally, Carter's restoration of draft registration awakened little furor, and thereby helped to stimulate a rollback of civil liberties during the Reagan Administration.

Finally, it was in the late 1970's that the Moral Majority grew into a mighty force, and formed a powerful element in the Reagan majority. Theocracy was now a vital part of the conservative movement as it had not been during the entire post-World War II period.

The stage was set for the Reagan victory, which was able to co-opt much of the anti-Big Government, pro-free market sentiment, and cement it for the Republican Party. Reagan's masterful manipulation of rhetoric was enough for what Lawrence Dennis perceptively called the "dumbright;" to keep the fervent support of the dumbright masses, it was not actually necessary to *implement* that rhetoric in action. Pure verbiage was enough.

The advent of the Reagan Administration intensified enormously the malign underbelly of the later Carter years. The famous Reagan personality, that has inspired an outpouring of unconditional love and affection from everyone in America except the tiny staff of the *Libertarian Forum*, did the rest. In trying to explain the unanimous enthusiasm for the Great Cretin, Chicago columnist Mike Royko speculated that Reagan delivers the "snappiest salute to the Marines that

he had ever seen," even including an authentic general, Ike Eisenhower. The consequence is that Reagan has managed to bring with him an Endless Summer orgy of flag-waving and jingoism, has given even greater life to the theocrats of the Moral Majority, and has managed to convince the quasi-libertarians among the masses that he has actually rolled back Big Government, all failures being successfully loaded onto the hapless Democrat Party.

As we wrote in our early analysis, "Movement Depression" (*Lib. Forum*, April 1983), Republican Administrations always bring a financial setback to the Movement, since many movement-inclined businessmen immediately conclude: "Why educate? We've already won." This phenomenon, which set back the movement in the Eisenhower Administration and in the early Nixon years, has been particularly virulent under Reagan, since Reagan's right-wing rhetoric has intensified the misconception that Victory has already arrived. We also wrote that the Reagan recession of 1981-83 set back financial support for the movement. Unfortunately, the 1983-84 boom does not seem to have worked the other way, to revive financial sources for liberty. Partly this is because many of the libertarian business supporters hailed from the old smokestack industries of the Middle West which have never recovered and are in secular decline.

But there is more to the debacle. For there has been a deep ideological shift among many of our business and wealthy individual and foundation patrons. Many of the quasi-individualist Old Right supporters have died off, and have been replaced by trendy young neo-conservatives, and hence the flow of funds has changed accordingly. In contrast to libertarians, neo-cons are nothing if not Respectable: Respectably anti-Communist and war-mongering, respectably in favor of the welfare state (if more efficient and a bit tighter), respectably in favor of theocratic and anti-"subversive" censorship, and oh so respectably in favor of the Beloved Little "Democracy" in the Middle East. The neo-cons are respectable because at every step of the way in the careers of this handful of ideologues beginning in the early 1940's, they have been in the mainstream of respectable opinion: Trotskyites at the beginning, then pro-war Social Democrats, then liberals, then Humphrey Democrats, then centrists, then Reaganite conservatives. In the entire lives of these shrewd and opportunistic careerists, not once have they gone one millimeter beyond respectable opinion, while at each step of the way loudly wrapping themselves in the mantle of being in a heroic "minority." Few in number but ensconced in key positions in academia and in the media, cunning and effective organizers who honed their skills in the Marxist sects of old, the neo-conservatives have been able to bulldoze dumbright wealthy businessmen into turning their funds and their very values over to neo-con control. It is not only the Crane Machine but virtually the entire movement of conservative and quasi-libertarian supporters who have sacrificed principle for respectability and alleged pragmatism. It should always be remembered that neo-conservatives are in no sense libertarians; indeed they are our polar opposite. What they are, as they themselves often proclaim, are Humphrey Democrats, i.e., they are once and present and future liberals. Or, as we say in New York, they are "liberals who have just been mugged." That is, they are liberals reacting in permanent hysteria against all the mixed values and movements of the New Left: i.e., civil rights (affirmative

action); anti-war and anti-draft sentiment; hostility to the public school system; and "liberation" for every allegedly "oppressed" group under the sun. For neo-cons, these obsolete battles of the late 60's are overlaid on top of their previous permanent trauma: the anti-vs. pro-Communist battles at the origin of the Cold War in the late 1940's. It is only these gangs of New York liberals for example who can still wax passionate over such long-dead and unimportant questions as the Rosenberg Case.

## 2. The Anatomy of the Implosion

We have talked about the causes of the implosion; it is time to detail the grisly anatomy of the implosion itself. For it is precisely one of the hallmarks of this massive implosion that there are no longer any institutions or organs of opinion to convey news and analysis of what is going on to movement members. For much of the implosion occurred in our newsletters and magazines, indispensable institutions of cementing the libertarian movement, and conveying news and information as well as analyses to movement members. How do you keep the movement from fragmenting if there are no means of regular communication? Note the following deaths of magazines and newsletters in the last two years. (Some of these defunct periodicals were hardly among my favorites, but all together their loss is a devastating blow to the movement.)

*Inquiry*

*frontlines*

*Free Texas*

*Caliber*

*Competition*, along with its organization, the effective and principled Council for a Competitive Economy (for more, see below).

*Libertarian Vanguard* (if not dead, moribund, along with its organization, the Radical Caucus of the LP),

*The Voluntaryist* (if not dead, moribund).

Various Konkin magazines

*Libertarian Review*

*Update*

*Literature of Liberty*

Libertarian institutions have either collapsed, greatly contracted, or abandoned principle in a generally unsuccessful attempt to corral more support and more funding (known in the trade as focussing on "outreach" — and to hell with inreach, i.e. movement activity). Thus, our premier organ of opinion, *Reason*, not only remains as our sole outreach magazine now that *Inquiry* is dead. It has also become much softer core and much less movement-oriented, even aside from the killing of the movement newsletter, *frontlines*. It has gotten so soft-core, and so outreachy (to say nothing of even more boring), that it is now scarcely discernible as being libertarian at all.

The various think-tanks in our movement are limping badly, most of their "activities" (when they are not being sellout) confined to fund-raising of one form or another. (And what must we call an organization in which fund-raising has become an *end* rather than a *means*?) One leading exception to this ghastly trend is David Theroux's Pacific Institute, which has managed to publish a number of reasonably hard-core, well-edited and widely distributed books. But, on the other hand, the Institute for Humane Studies has had to shut down its once substantial book-sponsoring and publishing program, and has sold off its

inventory of books. And it has had to kill its scholarly journal, *Literature of Liberty*.

One example of the implosion that I am particularly familiar with is the almost total collapse of the libertarian movement in New York City. The Libertarian Party (a topic I will deal with in a future issue) has long been very weak in New York City, and now some of its leaders, after a lengthy string of declines in votes and members, are actually talking of not running a mayoralty candidate at all in 1985 (Particularly ironic since the first major race in the nation was an excellent run by Fran Youngstein for Mayor of New York City in 1973!) But more dramatic has been the collapse of the rest of the New York movement. The Laissez-Faire Bookstore, which for a decade has been the social center of the New York movement, is expanding to larger quarters, but it will no longer be a store-front bookstore. Dyanne Petersen's Libertarian Supper Club, once meeting monthly in Manhattan, now hardly meets at all. And the Center for Libertarian Studies has moved out of New York to the more cordial and supportive clime of the San Francisco Bay Area. (New address for the CLS: P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011.)

## 3. Big Changes in the Kochtopus

We have mentioned as the three basic reasons for the big zag in the movement in the last few years: the Zeitgeist, the Reagan phenomenon, and the vagaries of the Kochtopus. In our "Movement Depression" article we have already described what might be called the "Kochcycle," the "Austrian business cycle" that the Koch family engendered in our movement by pouring in millions within a few years (largely 1977-80), followed by a severe contraction of funding in the years ever since. Partly as a result of that contraction and of the general implosion in the movement, there have been no news organs to inform the movement about the enormous and highly significant changes that have taken place within the Kochtopus in the last year or two.

Until this moment, news of these vast changes in the Kochtopus has been largely confined to excited phone conversations among friends. It is high time that the movement as a whole found out what was going on. Once again, the *Libertarian Forum*, mindful of its responsibilities to liberty, to History, and to the "Movement's Right to Know," steps forward to supply this vital gap in movement knowledge.

But first: probably only our oldest and most faithful readers have any idea of what the "Kochtopus" is (named, once again, by Sam Konkin, who has contributed such deathless words as "minarchist" and "Partyarchy" to the libertarian vocabulary). The Kochtopus used to include the Crane Machine (CM) as the clique of "professionals" that once ruled the Libertarian Party and was vanquished at the mighty and titanic PresCon at New York City in September 1983 (For the full story of the PresCon, told in loving and exuberant detail, see "Total Victory: How Sweet It Is!" in our September-October 1983 issue.) Since that PresCon the CM has left the Libertarian Party. But the CM, while the most visible and dangerous tentacle of the Kochtopus, by no means constitutes its entire body, and the time has come to focus on the "organism" and the enormous changes that have been recently wrought within it.

#### 4. Origins of the Kochtopus: the Founding of Cato

The Kochtopus began when Charles G. Koch, young multi-millionaire scion of the Wichita-based Koch oil empire, was converted from a passive LeFevrian view of libertarian strategy (he had been converted as a youth to libertarianism by LeFevre) to an activist stance. This latter transformation was largely effected by Ed Crane, on the strength of Crane's running of the MacBride presidential campaign in 1976. I myself had been urging Charles (C.K.) to adopt a more activist strategy, so that perhaps I might gain some of the responsibility for this second conversion.

Before then, C.K.'s ideological activities had been minimal and very low-key, and were run by his Wichita-based assistant and servitor, one George Pearson. After the death of F.A. ("Baldy") Harper in 1973, Koch became President of Harper's scholarly Institute for Humane Studies, and he also became involved, with Pearson as his satrap, in sponsoring various programs and conferences promoting Austrian, or Misesian, economics.

The Kochian burst into ideological, and even political, activism at the end of 1976 launched the "Kochtopus." The focus of this new activism was the San Francisco-based Cato Institute, headed by Crane, which also became the nucleus for Crane's continuing domination of the Libertarian Party. (Crane had been, and for a while continued to be, national chairman of the LP, and managed to keep dominating the LP until the titanic struggle at the national convention at Denver in 1981.) Cato's initial focus was twofold and intellectual: the creation of the glossy, intelligent semi-monthly *Inquiry* magazine, which would win an audience of intellectuals and academics to an appreciation of libertarianism; and the forging of a university cadre of libertarian faculty and students. The obvious location for this kind of ideological journal-and-think-tank was New York City; but Crane, in those days dedicated to San Francisco, insisted on locating there. "Cato" was named, at my suggestion, after the Roman opponent of Caesar who had inspired a corps of libertarians in Britain and America in the eighteenth century, and whose ideology in turn inspired much of the American revolution. The board of Cato had, and still has, a low-key inner cadre of stockholders possessing the ultimate legal power to fire and reconstitute the governing board of directors. The original stockholders were the three founders of Cato and carriers of the Cato vision: C.K., George Pearson, and myself.

What was this guiding vision of the new Cato Institute, and of other institutions that were rapidly created, during 1977, to form the massive new Kochtopus? The idea was that C.K. would (as he indeed did) pour in millions into creating institutions that would find and gather the best and the brightest of the libertarian movement, mobilized by the supposed organizing ability of Eddie Crane. The object was to promote a consistent ideology of hard-core and uncompromising radical libertarianism, of which Misesianism was the economic arm. For a movement that had long languished in abject poverty, this was a dazzling vision indeed, and the first year or so was a glorious time for those of us caught up in the excitement of it all. *Inquiry* was founded — a great magazine considering its relatively meager resources and shoddy publishing management, and some excellent editors passed through its ranks: notably Bill Evers, scholar, journalist, and early top Crane Machiner, who put

his own personal stamp on *Inquiry* as editor-in-chief that lasted remarkably for years after his ouster; Professor Ralph Raico, who lasted from beginning to end and managed to give to *Inquiry* the finest back-of-the-book section in the country; and Professor Ronald Hamowy, thrown willy-nilly into the task of being Evers's successor, who did a splendid job under trying circumstances.

To "Cato proper," to the academic cadre section, came David Theroux, fresh out of University of Chicago's MBA program; his assistant Robert Formaini, out of University of Virginia graduate economics; and Leonard P. Liggio as editor of Cato's new scholarly journal, *Literature of Liberty*.

This was the group housed at the posh quarters of Cato on Montgomery Street in San Francisco. Just down the block, another very different, and culturally lumpen-proletarian, group began to form in an old warehouse run by Crane but not officially connected with Cato. In this "warehouse" was placed our raffish brethren. The movement magazine, *Libertarian Review*, had been purchased from its founder Bob Kephart by C.K., with Roy A. ("Roychick") Childs as editor inherited from the Kephart era. It soon became clear to Crane and the others that, despite his potential talents, Roychick as editor and meeter-of-deadlines was in dire need of supervision (In current educationist jargon, Childs might be called the prototype of a PINS, a person-in-need-of-supervision.) And so Childs and *L.R.* were brought from New York to the warehouse down the block on Montgomery Street. Housed with him in this barracks-like office was the newly created Students for a Libertarian Society (SLS), a then radical libertarian group pungently termed by a perceptive critic a "general staff in search of an army." Young Milton Mueller, an unemployed film editor out of Chicago, was plucked from the Windy City, made head of this mighty army of "students," and blessed, at least in the heady first year, with an enormous budget of \$1 million. The LP of San Francisco also found rental quarters in the warehouse, and this entire bloated and overpaid crew, festering together in a bizarre stew, pushed each other into increasingly weird cultural and ideological positions. Jeff Riggensbach was also brought up from Los Angeles to take charge of Cato's mighty radio propaganda effort, now still plodding its way through the unheeding airwaves.

In the heady excitement of the first months, it was all too easy for us to overlook the pitfalls that this vision of the Best and the Brightest would inevitably stumble into. Overall, there were two major flaws which would all too soon take over and bring the entire vision down: (1) A monopoly of any movement lacks the essential feedback and checks-and-balances that competition always brings; for what happens if the top leader or leaders make mistakes, fall prey to temptation to give up or alter their principles, or, in some way, sell out? The answer is that the entire movement can well be destroyed on the rock of such errors, and we must remember that errors by any person or group are inevitable. (2) Almost comparably to government action, throwing lots of money at a problem doesn't always solve it. C.K. threw enormous amounts of money too fast at people (many of whom turned out to be turkeys) who scarcely deserved it. And what happens when the inevitable disillusionment sets in?

Add to these systemic problems the fact that this collection of the Best, the Brightest, and the Kookiest was a gathering of what is known euphemistically as "strong personalities."

With the exception of Liggio, there was not one of us who would rank in the top deciles of any "Mr. Nice Guy" contest. And so clashes of temperament were not only inevitable, they came thick and fast. But certainly the effort was doomed from the start by the fact that the Organizer, Big Eddie Crane, couldn't organize or manage his way out of a paper bag, and in addition was by far the most abrasive of us all.

But in the first months or years the Kochtopus expanded and seemed to flourish. Cato Summer Seminars were founded to educate and recruit likely new people to the Best and Brightest ranks, and out of the first of them, at Wake Forest University in the summer of 1977, came two who would become leading Kochtopusians: Jule Herbert, a young Alabama lawyer, and Sheldon Richman, a scholarly-inclined journalist from Wilmington, Delaware. Herbert was soon set up in Washington as head of the National Taxpayers Legal Fund (NTLF), a spinoff of Jim Davidson's National Taxpayers Union. In addition, Richard ("Rich") Wilcke, who had founded an institute for free-market agriculture, was taken off that track and brought to Washington to head up the Council for Competitive Economy (CCE), designed as a purist group to educate and lobby for genuine free competition, and to express candid opposition to all government privileges and subsidies to business.

### 5. The Early Kochtopusion Power Structure

Before the advent of Crane and Cato, the "power structure" of C. K.'s ideological activities was simplicity itself. There was C. K., The Donor, and his faithful aide, Pearson, who ran, supervised, and helped fund Austrian and other scholarly activities. Now, suddenly, there was deep change. Now there were two co-equal viceroys reporting to Koch: Pearson, still in charge of scholarship, and Crane, now in charge of activism. (The one exception was Wilcke, who was independent, and presumably continued to report to Pearson or to Koch himself). There undoubtedly was and still is no love lost between Crane and Pearson. The power relationships between them were complex. On the one hand, Crane was the rising star, the carrier of the glamorous new vision, and he commanded an enormously greater Kochtopusian budget than did Pearson. And, in the course of the new dispensation, Pearson found himself also moving out of Le Fevrianism and into LP activism, at least on the Kansas level. But although the advantage seemed clearly with Crane, Pearson had one lasting and decisive edge: namely, he was and still is based at Mother Wichita, a direct employee of Koch Industries as well as of various Kochian foundations (including Koch-name foundations as well as the Foundation for the Advancement of Studies in Liberty (FASIL)).

### 6. 1979: The Paradigm Shift

Around the spring of 1979, a radical, systemic paradigm shift occurred throughout the entire Kochtopus, a shift that has accelerated and intensified to this day. As in the case of most such shifts within bureaucratic empires, the transformation occurred unheralded and unannounced, yet it was no less profound for all that. Most libertarians are all too familiar with the drastic change in outlook, beginning in early 1979, of the Crane Machine within the Libertarian Party. What they do not realize — largely because no one has ever

informed them — is that the same drastic change has occurred in all layers of the Kochtopus, from Cato proper through the rest of the ranks, including scholarship in Austrian economics. And the thrust everywhere is precisely the same: abandonment of principle, from radical libertarianism all the way to Misesian economics. In short, a cataclysmic metamorphosis from an organization pressing for hard-core principle, to a mealy-mouthed, soft-core yearning for Establishment respectability.

Being in the middle of this monstrous switch was extremely unpleasant, not the least because none of us in the unregenerate Old Guard who cleaved to principle could understand what in hell was going on, or precisely who was responsible. Looking back on it, however, and weighing the entire Kochtopusian switch in perspective, it is possible to piece together this horror and to sum up its broad features.

The key to the puzzle (and countless are the man-hours that were wasted at the old San Francisco Cato trying to solve it) is not the inept, blustering subordinate Crane but the motivations of The Donor, C. K. Once, while grouching for the nth time to an old friend on The Question: Why does Charles keep this blundering incompetent (Crane) as his unquestioned viceroy? The old friend went to the heart of the matter: "The trouble is that you've been assuming that Charles' motivations are the same as the rest of us (i.e., the advancement of the cause of liberty in the most efficient manner.) Crane sure doesn't fulfill *our* goals but he might be first-rate at promoting *Charles's*. "But," I asked, "what *are* Charles's goals?" "I don't know", he replied, "that's what we have to figure out."

From what we can gather, Charles's goals in all this have been unique and twofold. (First, as one long-standing Kochologist has euphemistically put it, "Charles is control-oriented rather than results-oriented." Yes, indeed, *control-oriented*! What Charles demands above all is absolute, unquestioning loyalty; and that is something that Crane, above all others, was equipped to give him. In this pursuit Big Eddie has not been hobbled by ideological scruples. Those few — all too few — who were so hobbled, those who placed the cause of libertarian principle above going along with the latest twist and turn of the Kochtopusian program, have all been ruthlessly cast aside. Those who refused to go along, Crane, the inveterate hatchet man, accused of "ingratitude" to the man who supplied them with their daily bread.

Hence, the series of purges that have plagued the Kochtopus ever since its 1979 paradigm shift; for these were the people who, in the immortal Craniac phrase, "failed to go along with the program."

Control for C. K. also means the willingness of his top managers to speak to him as hour every day, to go over and clear with the Donor every aspect, no matter how minor, of the day's decisions. Continual daily checking with the Donor is a high road to Kochtopusian success. Those poor souls who, either out of integrity or independence or diffidence about taking up so much of a multi-millionaire's time, failed to perform this daily task eventually found themselves on the beach, one of the Purged.

It is a sad commentary on our movement that in a group of supposedly committed hard-core and intransigent ideologues, that the great majority of them should have turned out to be gutless toadies, willing to cast aside supposedly cherished principles at the first whiff of the Long Green. Well, that's the

way it is, and bad cess to them. In this whole grisly saga, the real villain is not C. K., but the legion of men and women who proved so willing to sell their minds and their souls for a bit of gruel. I suppose that this is common is the history of ideological movements, but it surely happened much faster and more thoroughly than usual in our fledgling little movement.

All right, so C. K. wanted control above all, and hence the purges of the minority who would not go along with the transformation. But why *this particular* shift? Here we come to the second putative part of this pattern of motivation: Namely, Charles wants total control of the movement's institutions, but he wants *others* to fund them. On its face, this is a grave inner contradiction, for almost always with the flow of money goes the flow of control. But that is what Charles has sought for the last five or six years, and what he cannot and will never obtain. After one or two years of lavishing funds on these new organizations, C. K. appeared to panic, and to look around desperately for ways to get *others* to fund his own institutions. On the one hand, this aim might appear perfectly understandable, since he had already poured five or ten millions into libertarian institutions, and was tired of being the sole Donor. But then we must stop short and realize the full implication: that ten million dollars to C. K. is roughly the equivalent of what the rest of us would spend for one month on gasoline. Once put that relative proportion in perspective, and C. K.'s panic at his lavish funding becomes far less supportable.

I am hardly saying that mistakes were not made. In particular, too much was trundled too fast at incompetents, and C. K.'s top honcho, Crane, seemed to have no sense of cost whatever. For example, it was absurd for C. K. not to realize that *all* ideological magazines incur a deficit, and that therefore that deficit (for *Inquiry*) should have been foreseen from the very beginning as permanent. On the other hand, Crane compounded the problem by failing to hire a business or circulation manager for the magazine, for then the half-million a year *Inquiry* deficit could have been considerably lowered.

In fact, the first big crisis at Cato came only six months after it was founded. C. K., appalled at *Inquiry's* deficit, mandated a sudden death slash of the magazine's budget in half. Crane, covering his rear, blamed Evers for going over budget. Evers, however, had never been permitted so much as a peek at the budget. But Evers then proceeded to commit the truly cardinal Kochtopusian sin: protesting C. K.'s actions rather than loyally proclaiming his gratitude and going along with the program. That was the beginning of Evers's long-drawn-out expulsion from Eden.

In the spring of 1979, C. K., in increasing shock at the failure of others to join him in donating to the Kochtopus, effected the Great Paradigm Shift. From all indications, he apparently concluded that the main reason why no one else was contributing is because no one else — either big businessman or mass of small businessmen — was a hard-core radical. Koch was learning the lesson he of course should have known from the very beginning: hard-core radical libertarianism is not a very popular creed. It might be a noble creed but it is also a lonely one. Hence the new, dawning conclusion: *the way to get other people to contribute is to soften the creed. The way to get funding is to become respectable, non-threatening: and the way to become respectable and non-*

*threatening is to Sell Out. To Sound Like Everybody Else.* Hence, the opportunist sellout of the Crane-run Clark Campaign. In short, you can be very, very rich and still Sell Out principle: all you have to do, regardless of your wealth or income level, is to hold the obtaining of outside donations or payments higher than your own cherished principles. And then you have made your Faustian Bargain.

The precise etiology of how the Kochtopus made this decision is still unclear, but reports are that the guru, the theoretician who formulated and sold C. K. on this transformation was none other than Roychick Childs. Childs had always been hard-core, but also he had always lived on the margins of existence. Now, Roychick on Montgomery Street felt a strong, heady whiff of Power. He had the ear of King Koch, and, he felt, by formulating the honeyed vision of Other People's Funding, he could ride the Kochtopus to the heights of absolute Power. Visions of sugarplums, of hegemony, of riding the Kochtopusian train to total power began to dance in the Childsian noodle. He began to talk about running for Senate in California on the L. P. ticket, indeed of actually *becoming* Senator. And after that, who knows? Hell, with Kochian billions, and with Crane as the organizer, all things were possible, all things provided that such inconvenient baggage as hard-core principle were quickly buried and forgotten. For this was the Real World at long last, and Roychick was going to be up there running it. Roychick had come into his own. In preparation for his historic task, he began to groom himself as the great demagogic orator of the LP, he who would sweep millions off their feet with his masterful oratory. Also in preparation, Childs began to cultivate the steely look of his Master and mentor, Ed Crane.

And so 1979 saw the beginning of the radical paradigm shift within the mighty Kochtopus, i.e., the accelerating abandonment of hard-core principle in order to attract outside funding. And that, of course, is virtually the classic definition of opportunism or "sellout" in ideology or politics. It began with a cloud seemingly no bigger than a man's hand: namely, the hiring of an anti-Austrian Friedmanite at Cato (David Henderson): followed by the Muellerite SLS coming out against nuclear energy *per se* in order to try to attract the left-liberal students on campus. And the opportunist betrayal has escalated from there ever since.

## 7. Enter D. K.

The new Kochtopusian Line soon brought its first — and indeed, up till now, its *only* — success: the attraction into the movement of Charles's younger brother, David. David is nothing if not soft-core, as is shown by his curt public refusal to support the Bergland ticket in 1983-84 if Bergland should come out with such radical and "crazy" proposals as abolition of the income tax. (Which Bergland, and Lewis, promptly did, to their eternal credit.) It could surely not be an accident that the entry of D. K. into the Kochtopus in a big way coincided with the abandonment of the old hard-core line by the Charles Koch-Crane forces.

And so the Clark — David Koch ticket was duly nominated in Los Angeles in 1979, and D. K. gave approximately \$2.1 million to the Crane-run presidential campaign. The Crane Machine was truly in its glory.

Phase II of the New Order occurred after the Presidential election. With Reagan and conservatism ensconced in power,

it was apparently determined to move the entire Kochtopus (with the exception of course of Mother Wichita) to Washington, D. C., where Crane and his various institutions could cozy up to Big Daddy and slither along the Corridors of Power. The massive shift of the Kochtopus to D. C. symbolized and physically embodied the shift of the Kochtopusian Line toward the State and toward Respectability.

And so Cato, which had previously emphasized *Inquiry* and the building up of a cadre of intellectuals, shifted radically to become just another conservative policy-studies Think Tank trying to Make It in D. C. *Inquiry*, whose intellectual and leftist tinge was becoming an embarrassment to Cato anyway, was hived off to the Crane-run Libertarian Review Foundation, (LRF). In fact, the entire tactical perspective of tailing after the liberal Left, which had motivated the nuclear power stance in SLS, and had permeated the Clark campaign and *Libertarian Review*, now had to be dropped amidst the new climate of conservative victory. The new Rightward shift after the Reagan victory perhaps had something to do with the killing of *Libertarian Review*, and merging it into *Inquiry*. Also both Cato and Charles Koch were relieved of financing the massive *Inquiry* deficit, which was now being picked up by D. K. This allowed Cato proper to expand without C. K.'s having to enlarge his contributions, and perhaps also meant an accelerated implosion and the final dumping of SLS.

And so, from 1981 to 1983, Eddie Crane set astride the entire Kochtopusian world like a Colossus. All of activism, except the CCE, was his. There was the powerful Crane Machine in the Libertarian Party; *Inquiry* was his through the LRF; his servitor Jule Herbert was ensconced as head of NTLF; and *Update* was founded under LRF to be the Machine newsletter and to do the hatchet work within the LP. At the center of the power web was Crane's Cato, located in an historical landmark mansion in Washington. Cato began to hold the usual ultra-soft-core conferences, and to push such soft-core sleeves as Pete Ferrara's Social Security Plan (keep forcing older people on Social Security and try to transfer youth to private insurance), and to publish a monthly *Policy Report* as well as a tri-annual *Cato Journal*. With the conference and the journal, Crane began to intrude heavily on the Austrian economic and scholarly sphere once allocated to Pearson, the excuse being that this was scholarship *applied* to policy questions. These applications, however, were incredibly sellout; the featured speakers at these conferences were invariably Friedmanites or even Keynesians, and a few marginal Austrians were let in around the edges, as commentators. More and more, Cato began to take on the dimensions of yet another Reaganish Washington think tank, except, of course, that it was much less amply funded than, say, AEI or the Heritage Foundation. In fact, a case could be made that, at this point, Cato is *less* libertarian, at least on domestic economic questions, than the closely Reagan-connected Heritage, and that is One Hell of a Note indeed.

### 8. The World of "Scholarship": Enter Richie Fink

In the meantime, curious things were happening in the Pearson-run domain of scholarship, a part of the Kochtopusian world on which the light of publicity has never really shone. The Kochtopus had played a major role in reviving Misesian Austrian economics, with high level

Austrian conferences in the summer of 1974, 1975, and 1976, and instructional conferences after that. Also, Austrian fellowships and programs were promoted at New York University, where Misesian economist Israel Kirzner happened to be located, and then later at George Mason University in Virginia, where a small Center for Market Processes (CMP) was set up under Kochtopusian auspices. Then, even before Cato cut loose for D. C., Leonard Liggio's scholarly quarterly *Literature of Liberty* was shifted, logically enough, to Menlo Park's low-key libertarian scholarly organization, the Institute for Humane Studies (IHS).

IHS did not begin as a Kochtopusian organization. It was founded by the late hard-core libertarian Dr. F. A. ("Baldy") Harper in the early 1960's, and it struggled for many years, with little or no funding, buoyed up solely by Baldy's lifelong and heartfelt dedication to the cause of liberty. The Board of IHS was manned by old friends and colleagues of Baldy's. After Baldy's death in 1973, Charles Koch, who had been on the board, agreed to become President, and after that, IHS gradually became drawn into the Kochtopusian orbit, run by George Pearson as Treasurer and through Kochian contributions via FASIL. When Liggio moved the *Literature of Liberty* operation to Menlo Park, he became President of IHS, and in another year, Walter Grinder was taken on at IHS as Liggio's assistant in academic affairs (succeeding our own ex-publisher, Joe Peden, who had been at IHS for a year.) Grinder, who had taught economics at Rutgers, Newark, had dropped out of graduate school at NYU, and then gone to University College, in Cork, Ireland for graduate work. There, he had fallen ill, and, his and his family's medical treatments paid for by Charles Koch, he eventually moved to IHS to Menlo Park.

Despite strong Kochian influence, IHS was not yet under full Kochian power. Not only did much of the Board predate Koch, but also the extensive summer fellowship program was largely provided by the totally independent (and also increasingly soft-core) Liberty Fund, which was personally friendly to Liggio. By 1983, however, Liberty Fund, emboldened by changes in the tax law permitting foundations to accumulate part of their income, drastically cut back its overall funding, with the result that IHS was one of the first to suffer. The loss of Liggio's personal financial base, so to speak, apparently emboldered the Kochtopus to seize total control. The IHS Board began to meet very rarely, with all important decisions now taken by the Koch-controlled Executive Committee of the Board. And one of its major decisions was to remove Liggio from all power in IHS, while retaining him as President as a kind of figurehead, and moving their faithful and loyal servitor Walter Grinder into the post, not only of Vice President, but also of CEO of the Institute.

The time has come to highlight, for the first time, the Kochtopusian engineered change in Austrian economics. For precisely what Crane did to libertarianism in the LP, other Kochtopusians were doing to Austrian economics and also to my revered mentor, Ludwig von Mises. For Mises was, in economics, the quintessence of uncompromising hard-core-ness, both in laissez-faire and in methodology. Mises and opportunism have always, both in his lifetime and now in death, been totally and diametrically incompatible. And so Mises had to go.

Mises has been quietly ditched throughout the world of

Kochtopusian scholarship. At NYU, Professor Mario Rizzo, who popped up as a Ravenal delegate at the 1983 PresCon, has led the way in dropping Mises altogether and in transforming Misesian economic thought into a wishy-washy pastiche of "evolution" and what could be called mildly conservative institutionalism. But Kirzner has been resisting the New Dispensation. At George Mason's Center for Market Processes, however, this new Kochtopusian paradigm could proceed unchecked and untrammelled. Instead of the name or the concepts of Mises or laissez-faire scaring off academics or spoiling the new scramble for mainstream respectability, most Center "Austrians" speak only vaguely about "market process", and of "evolution". Nothing threatening *there*. Leading the parade in this betrayal of Misesianism from within was young NYU graduate student Richard ("Richie") Fink, who had studied under Grinder at Rutgers, Newark. Grinder of course gave his blessings to this New Order. A manifesto for the new paradigm, which Mises would have scorned brusquely as "anti-economics", was an as yet unpublished but widely circulated essay co-written by Fink and by his student at Rutgers and then George Mason, Tyler Cowen, now a graduate student at Harvard and widely touted by the burgeoning Fink Machine as The Comer in Austrianism.

And so the important point to note here is that the Crane Machine sellout is not unique; that it has its precise parallel in the world of Kochtopusian scholarship. With Fink in charge at George Mason and Grinder at IHS, the Fink-Grinder apparatus began to dominate the scholarly arm of the Kochtopus.

### 9. — The Big Change: The Coming to Power of the Finktopus

Richie Fink, in his academic maneuvering at George Mason, in hanging on at least part-time despite his failure to attain a doctorate, began to catch the eye of C. K. In particular, what apparently captivated C. K. was a new plan of Richie's, another, very different way of attracting the Outside Funding that C. K. had long craved. Richie's idea was to set up a lobbying outfit in Washington (where he already was, George Mason being in a Virginia suburb) — the Citizens for a Sound Economy (CSE), which would do for soft-core (very soft-core) libertarianism what Common Cause had already done for Establishment liberalism, and what Jim Davidson had done with the National Taxpayers Union: create a flourishing membership organization. If no Big Businessman except D. K. seemed to fall for the soft-core Kochian paradigm, then maybe the masses out there, the updated little old ladies in tennis shoes, could provide the desired funding, leaving C. K. of course in even more secure total control than if other big businessmen had been donors. Whoopee! What could be better, from C. K.'s point of view?

So young Richie was now the shining star, the Comer in the Kochtopus, but how would he find the funding, the seed money, the nucleus, to get launched? C. K. was surely not going to provide much anew; in fact, he was presumably busy contracting his overall giving rather than expanding it. What better than using CCE as a launching pad? There were good reasons for this. In the first place, CCE was already there, in Washington, with some money and an organizational nucleus, already doing lobbying. But its head, Rich Wilcke, had fallen out of Kochtopusian favor, and had to go. Why? I

can only think of two main reasons. One, Wilcke, unlike the rest of the Kochtopus, had never "leaked", i.e. had always maintained his hard-core, uncompromising, laissez-faire perspective. And two, Wilcke was not a Kochian Loyalist. He did not Clear Everything with C. K. for an hour every day. He had mistakenly thought that his job was to manage CCE himself and to do well with it. For these two unforgivable errors he had to be purged.

Getting rid of Wilcke, however, was not easy, and the execution turned out to be a bloody mess. Wilcke did not go quietly, and C. K. was reluctant for a long time to use the famous Stockholder Ploy which he had used to dump me from the Board at Cato. It is true that here at CCE he had even tighter control than at Cato; for while Cato had had three Ultimate Stockholders, of whom I was one, Charles had taken the precaution at CCE to have only *one* stockholder when CCE was founded: himself. (All this conjures up an amusing picture: C. K. enters a phone booth, strips off his jacket and shirt, and reveals a red shirt with S for Stockholder on it, after which he springs into action.) But C. K. was apparently reluctant to use his Ultimate Stockholder power at CCE because it would have meant firing the entire board, including a number of Big Businessmen he was trying to get funds from. But finally, the messy deed was done, and poor Wilcke, whose only sin was to be both highly competent and highly principled, was booted out, without so much as a penny of terminal pay from the organization he had built up and run successfully for years.

The path was now cleared for young Richie, and the Great Kochtopusian Reorganization now occurred, during the spring and summer of 1984. The baby Finktopus, son of the Kochtopus, was born. First, Richie became head of CCE; then CCE was liquidated into the new, mighty CSE, which *also* incorporated unto itself the old lobbying activities of NTLF. Fink now heads up the lobbying-activist program, luring the masses into supporting the new activism. But to get the masses you can't be hard-core, at least so runs Kochtopusian conventional wisdom. And so it looks as if Finktopusian activism will be even softer core, and more sellouty, than Craniac activism. Reports are, for example, that the two planks that will be pushed heavily by the CSE are (a) the flat tax — a rotten program also endorsed by Big Ed, and (b) widening IRA's for Social Security — a cosmetic that would leave the SS intact.

But soft: whatever happened to the basic allocation of power in the Kochtopus: Crane in charge of activism, and Pearson, or later Pearson-Fink, in charge of scholarship? The answer is that this allocation, this "job-description" to use management lingo, is now *kaput*. All bets are off. Richie Fink is now in charge, not only of most scholarship (and through his friend Grinder, virtually *all* scholarship), but also in charge of most Kochtopusian activism. Consider the dramatic change that has occurred in 1984 in the relative power positions of Crane and Fink. Fink, we are reliably informed, now reports directly to C. K. himself, circumventing Pearson. In addition, Fink, now in charge of CSE, the old CCE and NTLF, the Center for Market Processes, and through Grinder of IHS, now bestrides the Kochtopusian world like a new Colossus. And Eddie Crane? Consider his current status: *Inquiry* is now gone, *Update* is gone, SLS is gone. The Crane Machine deserted the Bergland-Lewis ticket and, at least for now, in effect has left the LP. Crane is left in charge only of Cato.

Not only that: but the latest hot news is that IHS itself will, in the fall of 1985, be moved to affiliate with George Mason University, and will be housed in the same building as the Center for Market Processes. Virtually all of Kochtopusian academia will then be under Finkian control, both spiritually and in its physical embodiment in or near Washington, D. C.

**10. Exit Craniacs**

Nothing can better testify to the enormous slippage of Crane's power within the Kochtopus than the fate, in the watershed year of 1984, of two of Big Eddie's most faithful satraps and servitors: Jule ("The Tool") Herbert and Roychick Childs.

For Jule is now reportedly On the Beach: let go from NTLF when Fink acceded to power. Our informants tell us that Crane pleaded with Fink for months to take on Jule in some capacity in his expanded CSE organization, but no dice. Why then did not Cato hire Jule? Presumably either for budgetary reasons, and/or because his hiring was vetoed by C. K. Whatever the reason, good or bad, Jule is out of favor, and Crane could not save him. Other former top Craniacs have earned Big Ed's lasting enmity by accepting jobs in Fink's new CSE: Bob Capozzi, Kent Guida, and Sheldon Richman.

In a sense even more interesting is the recent dismissal of Roychick, once so close to the Pinnacle of Power, he who thought he always had the C. K. ear. I heard from a highly placed source at the PresCon that the command decision had already been made to fire Roychick, presumably because very little foreign policy analysis had been forthcoming from Cato's Foreign Policy Analyst. I didn't reveal this in the *Forum*, because to the query, "when?", the Highly Informed Source said that the timing had not yet been decided. Crane told Roychick in the fall of 1983 that his firing was imminent, but the other shoe did not drop until the following summer. Why the firing took so long, whether out of humanitarian sentiments or to let Roychick twist slowly, slowly in the wind, is anyone's guess. But at any rate, exit Roychick, the end of an era. How the mighty have fallen!

And now? Roychick has returned to New York, there to work at the Laissez-Faire Bookstore, and to live in one of Howie Rich's apartments. The Childsian parabola, his meteoric rise and fall, his coming full circle, can only be fully understood by being put in historical and sociological perspective. For over the years, the Laissez-Faire Bookstore has become the place where young lads begin their libertarian career. It is the place where budding libertarians hope to make their mark in the movement, and begin their rise to something like fame and fortune. It is from the bookstore, for example, that young anarchist Lance Lamberton began as a clerk and book-packer and then rose in a few short years to the pinnacle of power as a renegade in the Reagan White House, only to be dropped shortly thereafter. Indeed, Roychick himself began his own career in libertarianism very similarly — as a young bookpacker in the old Libertarian Review Book Service. And here we are, a decade and a half later, and here Roychick is,

returned to the status of clerk and bookpacker. But the bookstore, one hopes, is a place where one begins, *not* where one ends up, not a refuge to which one returns in one's late 30's, an aging boy wonder after having once hobnobbed with the mighty and dreamt great dreams of Total Power.

Whither Roychick now? Does he deserve yet another One Last Chance? Will he redeem himself, become regenerate, and Build a New Life? Or will he tax the patience of his indulgent employers, fail to show up at the Bookstore, and finally be reluctantly let go, then to sink to Lord knows where? Who knows? Present guesses depend on one's view of human nature in general, and of Roychick's nature in particular. One long-time Roychickologist puts the hard line on this question with great gusto: "They who keep giving Roy 'One More Chance' have been preventing the noble workings of Social Darwinism from giving one of its most convincing demonstrations."

Tune in to the *Lib. Forum* for the next installment of this continuing, Not Quite Ready for Prime Time Soap Opera saga that is the Libertarian Movement.

**11. Whither the Kochtopus?**

And what of the Kochtopus itself? And of the Crane Machine? What will happen to them? Will the Crane Machine try for an LP comeback in 1985 at Phoenix? Or at the next great PresCon in 1987? And even if it *wants* to try, will it be able to commandeer the Kochtopusian resources to do so? Considering the waning of the Craniac star, this prospect begins to seem dubious at best.

And what of the Finktopus? Will young Fink continue, in future years, to dominate the Kochtopusian world? In our view, the answer depends on the success of his Grand Plan to sucker the panting masses into supporting the CSE. Answering *that* question depends on how clear our crystal ball may be. But our strong hunch is that the Fink Plan is going to be a floperoo. The success of Jim Davidson's National Taxpayers Union was based on the fact that there *is* a strong constituency for the neatly-titled NTU, and that, despite its excessive moderation, NTU *has* been doing good and fairly consistent work in the direction of a clear-cut goal: lowering taxes and government spending across the board. But a big constituency for a very soft-core "sound economy"? Not hardly. If our analysis is correct, then the handwriting is on the wall for the Finktopus. As for Fink's future as head of academia within the Kochtopus, the prognosis, as usual in academia, is far cloudier. A lot depends on such factors as the dubious prospect of Fink getting his doctorate, and on whether George Mason University is willing to bet heavily on the glittering but highly unlikely chimera of lots of Kochtopusian money pouring into the new combined CMP-IHS. But at any rate, we would remind young Richie of the lesson already learned painfully by Childs, Herbert, and by Crane himself: *sic transit gloria mundi*, or, Put Not Your Trust in Princes. ‡

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## Why the Apotheosis of Ronnie?

There is no surcease; every occasion is taken in the media for wave after wave of adulation of the Big Boob. Now that the election is over, even his quasi-enemies have thrown in the towel. Even left liberals, even the *New York Times*, have nothing but admiration for the Boob's greatness, his political wizardry, his lovability, etc. Even those who retain one or two nagging doubts about the wisdom of Reaganism join to sing the praises of Reagan the man, our wonderful All-American hero. "Of course I don't like his policies, but *he's* such a great guy." Is there no rest? And even if we have to concede the majority, where in hell are the Reagan-haters? After all, even at the height of popularity and adulation for FDR, there was always a militant minority of embittered Roosevelt-haters to whom one could turn for solace amidst the horrific avalanche of enthusiasm. Looking back on these four years of Reagan I, we can see all too clearly that the historic function of Reagan, the "Reagan Revolution" if you want to call it that, was to wipe out as if it had never been the 1970's mass disillusion with the U.S. government in general, and with the Presidency in particular. By spreading this disillusion, Nixon and Watergate did more for libertarian sentiment in the U.S. than anyone else in this century. And now, this disillusion is all washed away, and the American people are back in their rotten, disastrous love affair with their Sovereign Lord, the President of these United States. In the same way, the lessons of Vietnam have been washed away in the jingoism of Ronnie's heroic conquest of teeny Grenada, that Grand Fenwick without an army, navy, or air force, where yet a handful of Cuban construction workers were able to hold off the massed might of U.S. Imperialism for a solid week. Ronnie has managed to recreate jingoism and flag-waving, literally and figuratively, with the willing collaboration of Fritz the Pits and the Loyal Opposition. And do we wonder why the Libertarian Movement is at a low ebb in America?

If we search, in our bitterness and frustration, for *some* solace, for some small beacon light in the all-encompassing darkness, we will find nothing. But hold! There *is* something. In the January 29, issue of the *Village Voice*, there is an article by J. Hoberman, "Stars and Hype Forever", that warms the cockles of our heart, Hoberman usually functions as the *Voice's* movie critic and spokesman for the wierdo *avant-garde* cinema.

Well, perhaps it takes someone familiar with *avant-garde* absurdism to do full justice to the meaning of Ronnie and his mass adulation by the American public. For once, even Hoberman's crazed left-Freudianism seems almost plausible. For the appeal of Ronnie Reagan is so irrational, his being a walking, talking contradiction so starkly evident, that its almost as if the irrationality is the essence of appeal. As Hoberman puts it:

"Is Ronald Reagan the greatest American who ever lived, or is he only the most American? Only a few recalcitrant minorities seemed able to resist the spectacle of a 73-year-old ex-actor waxing nostalgic for God, neighborliness, the nuclear family, strong leadership, the work ethic, and the

small-town community. Especially since — as everyone knew — he himself seldom attended church, rarely gave to charity, was divorced by his first wife, communicated badly with his children (and indeed everyone else if there was no script), failed to control his own staff, kept banker's hours, hung out with a passel of corrupt billionaires, and had fled the small town (scarcely a Norman Rockwell paradise but a place where his hapless father had been the local drunk) for the fleshpots of California at the first opportunity."

Hoberman suggests that the American masses love Ronnie precisely *because* he's a walking contradiction, a boob, a nice guy, etc. Because that is what *they* are. He notes that Douglas Fraser, head of the United Automobile Workers, told *Time* magazine last August that it's a mystery to him, but that Reagan is "very, very effective with the American worker." Hoberman suggests that the mystery could be cleared up in an explanation given by a UAW regional director in the same issue of *Time*: "He looks good and he's an actor. He's the kind of guy you could strike up a conversation with if he lived in the neighborhood." Back in the 1940's, Hoberman reminds us, Ronnie the movie-star told the fan magazines: "I'm no Flynn or Boyer. Mr. Norm is my alias." "Mr. Norm" indeed! The mystery begins to clear, As Hoberman explains:

"At Camp David, *Time* recently reported in its Nancy Reagan cover story, 'the two former movie stars cozy up on a sofa in the dark, holding hands and sharing a bowl of popcorn as they watch good, wholesome films.' . . . 'I never suggested where the weapons should be or what kind. I'm not a scientist', he said when questioned about his star wars program. His confusion of countries in South America, his blatant ignorance of arms control (which handily keeps him from implication when talks collapse), his proud lack of cultural sophistication endear him to the public. Far from threatening, the gaps in the president's knowledge are positively . . . normal."

Brilliant! And now we begin to see where poor Jimmy Carter went wrong. Because until Ronnie, the American public, in its respect and admiration for the office of the President, desired to put in there someone greater than they, someone larger than life, someone whom they could admire and look up to as their Sovereign. And Carter tried so hard worked hard as a beaver, studied, knew a lot, and he looked so worried as a result. Because, after all, that's what Presidents always were supposed to do. They were supposed to know a lot, and work very hard and take the cares of the American people upon their own brows. Hell, they were *supposed to age* in office, in order to show how much they cared, how responsible they were for what went on. Unlike Ronnie, they weren't supposed to be some kind of Dorian Gray.

But Ronnie broke the mold, or perhaps the American masses broke it for him. For Ronnie is just the opposite, and

the masses love, adore, worship him precisely because he is so, aw shucks! dumb, cretinous, friendly, *normal*, just like they are! Perhaps the numskull Senator Roman Hruska (R., Neb.) was an unwitting prophet during the Carswell appointment hearings for the Nixon Supreme Court. When his man was charged with being "mediocre," Senator Hruska rose to the occasion. "Well," he complained, "why can't the mediocre people have representation on the Supreme Court?" He was laughed at by the liberal media, but he may have been a harbinger of the 1980's. Well, if every conceivable group in American life deserves its quotal representation: the blacks, Hispanics, women, elderly, handicapped, one-eyed Albanians, etc., why not the mediocre? After all, there are a hell of a lot more of *them*. Why not Mr. Norm? Mencken, Mencken, thou shouldst be living at this hour?

Hoberman goes on, with a scintillating analysis of Ronnie Reagan as media creation, as the ultimate product of the movie star system and of Hollywood-California politics. He cites a yuppie quoted in the *New York Times* as favoring Reagan because he is "a John Wayne type," and "standing for the values of the men" as against women. Hoberman notes sardonically that, while Reagan and Bush posed in cowboy hats in Texas with a pair of sexy cheerleaders, Fritz played into his opponent's hands by appearing "in the *Mondale Family Cookbook* wearing an apron . . ."

But there is much more to Ronnie as media creation. For, Hoberman adds,

"Like any modern politician, Reagan's image is pure feedback. He shows the visage that every other-directed person in America might present had he the benefit of scientific polls, demographic statistics, and an endless knowledge of old movie cliches. Even his post assassination ripostes were quotations: 'Honey, I forgot to duck,' he told Nancy just as Jack Dempsey had quipped to his wife after losing to Gene Tunney in 1926. Faced with death, he thought of the epitaph on W. C. Fields's tombstone: 'All in all, I'd rather be in Philadelphia.'

And then, came this illuminating sentence: "Perhaps because he himself is so utterly a product of American mass culture, mass culture has proved unusually responsive to Ronald Reagan.

As a movie critic, Hoberman sees and points out, for the first time, that the Republicans waged the Presidential campaign in pop-movie and pop-culture imagery, and that they "won the battle" to seize that imagery for 1984. Indeed, running through the Hoberman article are quotes from the wildly popular song from *Ghostbusters*. Hoberman continues:

"The 1984 campaign was dominated by movie imagery. 'Star Wars' and the 'Evil Empire' remained buzz words while Vice-President Bush mocked the Democratic convention as the 'Temple of Doom' and Reagan appropriated the slogan that made his erstwhile employer Warner Bros. famous. 'You ain't seen nothin' yet, he affably threatened the screaming crowds that turned out to see him — the slogan, in its proudly illiterate use of the double negative, echoing the punch line of the summer's number one song, 'I ain't afraid of no ghost!' (from *Ghostbusters*). Yes, as everyone in America was lining up for the same film, both Democrats and Republicans realized on some level

that the party that controlled *Ghostbusters* would win the election — and the Democrats had about as much chance of that as Walter Mondale of wearing his apron to Wyoming and serving the cowboys quiche."

Hoberman goes on to analyze *Ghostbusters* as an arch-Reaganoid film. Since I haven't seen it, you will have to turn to the article for explanation.

So far, so wonderfully clear and perceptive. Now comes the murky left-Freudian part, which still seems to make a substantial amount of sense. Basically, it holds that Jimmy Carter's most basic and fatal error was to "secularize the American myth," to reduce "America" to the level of common sense," in the words of Sacvan Bercovitch. In short, Jimmy tried to explain to us soberly that "America" was no longer all-powerful, omnipotent, king of the walk, a truth that was beginning to dawn on the American masses after a quarter-century of Vietnam, Watergate, assassinations, "black and sexual revolutions," and "humiliation at the woggy hands of OPEC sheiks and Iranian mullahs." Reagan came to the American masses as America's projected savior, the agent of its religious and theocratic "rebirth," its return to greatness. America, in the fundamentalist-pietist image, would be "born again," once more to achieve the certainty, in the words of Hoberman, that "the president has made quite clear with his chilling assertions that the U.S. was God's country and folksy reassurance of an after life. (*I ain't afraid of no ghost.*)"

Hoberman continues:

"Reagan pandered to a latent aggression waiting to be released. To be truly reborn, America would have to (as George Bush said, reasserting his manhood after the humiliation of having to debate Geraldine Ferraro) kick ass. Where ineffectual Carter chose to scold America for its indulgence, Reagan would show us how to punish the weak to make ourselves feel strong."

Instrumental to the success of this "salvation," Hoberman goes on, was the Hinckley assassination attempt upon Ronnie. By remarkable coincidence, he points out, both *Time* and *Newsweek* featured cover stories on "America's climate of violence" the week before the attempted assassination. It was a media "message," opines Hoberman, that someone like Hinckley might well decide to act upon. Combined with the widespread popular belief in the "die-in-office" jinx on anyone elected President in a year ending with zero, "his ability to take a bullet in the gut and live gave him an almost divine aura." And: "If America's problems could be said to have begun on November 22, 1963, with the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Reagan's miraculous survival made him a kind of JFK redux."

Fascinating! Could *this* be the reason (along with JFK's media-created personality) that Reagan and conservatives — they who once hated the guts of JFK — keep praising Kennedy and trying to cast Ronnie in the mould of JFK, as well as Truman and FDR?

Having surmounted the assassination, having become reborn, "having proved himself strong enough to contain the nation's violence, Reagan was mandated to wield it." Hence, for Hoberman, the enormous military buildup, and the repeated bullying actions of Reaganite foreign policy. Reagan began his campaign of rebirth through violence in the summer

of 1981 with "two carefully staged events, attacks on symbolic (and appropriately weak) targets — the labor union PATCO and two Libyan jets . . . ."

However, in late 1981 came a grave setback to Reagan's popularity — the Reagan recession, and his approval rating began to decline. How recoup? In the words of Hoberman, "When the social fabric is straining at the seams, when capitalism (sic) reneges on its promise of universal abundance, when humiliation is in the air, military nationalism is the time-tested recipe for the new unity." Specifically, as war fever arrived with the excitement over the Falklands war and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, Ronnie unleashed two monstrous, saber-rattling speeches in March 1983, his "Evil Empire" and "Star Wars" addresses, which, as Hoberman calls them, were "masterpieces of applied irrationality." He goes on:

"As one conjured up the menace of an implacable deadly foe, poised to strike, the other raised the promise of risk-free nuclear war should we, understandably, choose to smash the aggressor first."

During the summer of 1983, Reagan heated up the propaganda against Nicaragua, obviously seeking a war-incident there. Then, in September came the KAL 007 caper, in which, as Hoberman correctly notes, U.S. "War fever reached an almost hysterical crescendo, reminiscent of the anti-Khomeini madness of 1980." Shortly after KAL 007, Reagan began moving toward war in Lebanon, baiting the Syrians until we found that we couldn't pin the Islamic Jihad's blowing up of the American Marines on the Syrian government it was at that point that Ronnie Baby found a

safely puny and powerless victim for U.S. blood lust: little Grenada. For then.

"A few days later, the marines landed in Grenada and America went berserk. At last, Reagan had provided a war. The remarkable thing about Grenada, cited again and again during the 1984 campaign as Reagan's supreme triumph, was its disproportionate effect upon the American public. Tawdry as the spectacle of the greatest power on earth subduing the tiniest nation in the Western hemisphere may have been, it actually sufficed to get America 'standing tall.'"

Hannah Arendt once wrote that the whole point of the Vietnam War was to enable the U.S. government to "create for itself an *image* which would *convince* the world that it was indeed 'the mightiest power on earth.'" Hoberman writes that Reaganism is a replay with this slight difference: the desire of the U.S. to "create images which will convince *itself* that it is the mightiest power on earth." In 1966, Ronald Reagan mused that "Politics is just like show business. You need a big opening. Then you coast for a while. Then you need a big finish." Grenada's was Ronnie's big finish. The silver lining in the cloud is that it could have been worse. Thus Hoberman:

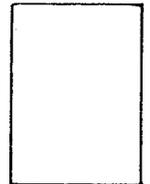
"Considering how infinitely more costly wars against the Sandinistas or Syrians — not to mention a confrontation with the Evil Empire itself — would have been, one actually has to be grateful for Grenada. If all it takes is shooting down two Libyan jets a year to keep Reagan from nuking Moscow — then, by all means, fire away."

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