

Liberty

March 1998

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Give the
Unabomber
His Due!

by *Thomas S. Szasz*

I Run for President

by *Russell Means*

The Coming War on the Automobile

by *Randal O'Toole*

Uncovering the Clintons

by *Alan Bock*

The Wolf in Bureaucrat's Clothing

by *John Baden & Douglas Noonan*

Canadian Witch Hunt

by *J. Philippe Rushton*

The Truth About *Titanic*

by *Stephen Cox*

Also: *Ross Overbeek* on scientific research without government funding, *Aviezer Tucker* on the free market revolution that failed, *Richard Kostelanetz* on why E.E. Cummings should be capitalized . . . plus other articles, reviews & humor



"The ground of liberty must be gained by inches." —Thomas Jefferson

Letters

Hazing Arizona

Paul Armentano needs to get his facts straight regarding the current status of Arizona's Proposition 200 ("The Fight for Medical Marijuana," January 1998). When Arizonans overwhelmingly approved the initiative in November 1996, they enacted much more than a simple "medical marijuana" initiative. The Proposition allows doctors to prescribe, and patients to possess, *any* Schedule I drug, providing the doctor obtains a second physician's concurring opinion. It prohibits incarceration for first and second-time offenders convicted of simple possession of any drug for non-medical use, instead requiring probation and referral to treatment programs. In addition, it authorizes the release from prison, pending approval by the Board of Executive Clemency, of all those currently serving time for simple drug possession.

Arizona's constitution states that a bill passed by the legislature does not become law until 90 days after the governor's signature. During that time, any interested party can gather the requisite number of signatures on a petition to force the bill to be referred to the people for their approval or rejection at the next regularly scheduled general election. This action effectively "stays" the legislation pending the decision of the voters.

In April 1997, Arizona's legislature narrowly passed two bills that effectively gutted Proposition 200 — the "medical use" and the "criminal justice" provisions. Arizonans were outraged. The committee that sponsored Proposition 200, "Arizonans for Drug Policy Reform," renamed itself "The People Have Spoken," and announced a petition campaign to refer the bills to the people at the next general election in November 1998. They gathered twice the number of required signatures. Many who signed the petitions admit-

ted to voting against Proposition 200 in November 1996, but were incensed by the arrogance of the political class and their utter disregard for the initiative process.

The legislature's attempt to gut Proposition 200 was thus derailed. The bills were put on hold pending the decision of the voters next November. Proposition 200 remains the law in Arizona.

Contrary to Armentano's assertions, the proponents of Proposition 200 did not "resurrect a provision allowing doctors to prescribe marijuana pending a public vote in November 1998." They saved Proposition 200!

Proposition 200 is having some impact. The probation and treatment provisions of the law are being invoked by criminal defense attorneys with some success. And currently 60 inmates are on line for release from state prison.

We never expected the drug warriors to just roll over when we passed Proposition 200. This will be a long struggle. We are just seeing the opening shots being fired by people who have finally had enough of our idiotic and futile War on Drugs.

Jeffrey A. Singer, M.D., FACS
Phoenix, Ariz.

Laughter Is the Best Emetic

Reading Mr. Voorhies's letter (January 1998) suggesting that lawyers are the last of the libertarians posed a dilemma: I didn't know whether to laugh or puke. Having predecessors who legalized, in effect, rape and pillage, doesn't qualify the present profession as freedom fighters.

Stephen DeGray, M.D.
Bluefield, Va.

Losers Pays Is a Winner

William Voorhies theorizes that we don't like lawyers because we have to pay them. A more accurate explanation for lawyer antipathy is that even when we win, we still have to pay them. The blame rests squarely on the shoulders of

the American legal establishment for failing to adopt the more equitable English system of loser-pays-legal-fees.

A lawsuit is an act of aggression that forces others to defend themselves with great quantities of time and money. Defendants who are liable should suffer the cost, but even those who "win" still lose their time and money. Anyone who values liberty should appreciate the inherent injustice of a system where the only ones who can ever truly win are the lawyers.

Card-carrying members of the American Bar Association argue that the loser-pays system isn't fair to poor people. What they mean is that lawyers are not willing to accept responsibility for their actions. They are currently happy to represent poor people for a contingency fee because they might get lucky with a jury. If they had to accept the risk of compensating the other side, they would be forced to think twice before trying to extort money using bogus lawsuits that are cheaper to settle than fight.

Richard James Uberto
Atlanta, Ga.

The Reefer Market

I take exception to Mr. Cason's Fact #14, that "all the War on Drugs has done is drive up the price of marijuana" ("Thirty-Four Curious Facts about Marijuana," January 1998). He give far too much credit to the government's war on drugs. Its impact on marijuana pricing is nonexistent — an efficient market has insured that. Your 1972 \$15 ounce would cost \$40 in today's dollars. Of course back then your marijuana was 50 percent seeds and 10 percent stem by weight, versus the seedless product you now buy. Your ounce is now equal to \$100 today. Average strength has doubled (or increased tenfold, if you believe the government). \$200 per ounce. Today's consumer demands fresher, mold-free, cosmetically superior product. \$260 per ounce. \$40 for a 1/4 ounce of today's (Mexican) marijuana is simply a better value. Ain't the market wonderful?

Cason's complaint is not without

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merit though: the 6,400 percent increase in the drug war budget over the last 20 years has yielded almost a 90 percent drop in the real price of cocaine and heroin. Maybe if you write your congressman he can rectify this gross inequality.

Kevin McHale, #05689-052
Seagoville, Texas

Serial Offence

I have the honor of informing you that your publication has been banned from the general-reading library of the Arizona Center for Women.

I went in there one day and found that the copy that I had left there had been removed from the magazine rack, along with my issues of the *New American*, the *Round Valley Paper*, and *Freedom Network News*. Interestingly, the Department of Corrections did not think that *Reason* was too dangerous to leave laying around.

Rycke Brown
Phoenix, Ariz.

Out to Free Lunch?

I don't know where Bill Bradford ("Strategy Debate," November 1997) got the idea that *Reason* "spent about \$1,000,000 on direct mail during the previous year," but, contrary to his claim, no such figure appears in our annual report — and for good reason. In a typical year, *Reason* spends significantly less than half that much on direct-mail marketing. And if it's true that "in the past year alone, *Reason* and *Liberty* have sent out nearly three million pieces of direct mail soliciting subscriptions," *Liberty* has my sincere condolences on the poor performance of its direct mail: We've sent out less than one million pieces, which means you don't have much to show for your two million-plus.

Mr. Bradford is quite correct in his analysis of the difficulties of building a political movement via direct mail. It is an expensive business, and finding the interested individuals in a large universe of names is hard. Once you get beyond a few hard-core political lists, response drops off substantially. Certainly there are libertarians who read such large-circulation publications as *Forbes*, *Wired*, or *Scientific American*. But they are lost among the hundreds of thousands who aren't interested in politics at all, or whose political views tend in other directions. If *Reason* really did have \$1 million a year to spend on direct mail, we'd grow by 20,000 or 30,000 —

assuming we could find decent lists. And that's quite an assumption. In fact, *Reason's* significant investments in direct mail have built the largest good — and rentable — list in the libertarian universe. If, as Mr. Bradford guesses, that list-universe has grown by 20,000 names in the past decade, almost all that growth is accounted for by *Reason's* efforts. (Cato's donor list is confidential, for obvious competitive reasons.)

These reporting inaccuracies — and your willingness to make precise numerical assertions without checking them with anyone at *Reason* — raise another issue: In *Liberty's* 10th anniversary issue, Bill Bradford implied that *Reason* gets gobs of easy money from foundations and corporations, while *Liberty* is supported by its subscribers. In fact *Reason* receives almost all its support from individuals — all of whom are, to my knowledge, *Reason* subscribers. It's true we have a paid, professional staff. But in recruiting journalists willing to be careful about what they report, as in so many other areas of life, there's no such thing as a free lunch.

Virginia I. Postrel
Editor, *Reason* magazine

Bradford responds: Ms. Postrel makes three charges against *Liberty* in general and me in particular: (1) that there were serious inaccuracies in the data I cited in my letter to Harry Browne; (2) that, in a retrospective on *Liberty's* first ten years published in our July issue, I had implied wrongly that "*Reason* receives gobs of easy money from foundations and corporations"; and (3) that these errors are the product of a lack of professionalism on *Liberty's* part. I shall consider these charges *seriatim*.

(1) Ms. Postrel is quite correct in claiming that "no such figure" [as "about \$1,000,000"] appears in the Reason Foundation's annual report, or at least in any annual report that I recall having seen. Indeed, virtually no financial figures at all appear in *Reason's* annual reports, which consist mostly of accounts of its influence.

The 1995 report, which I have in front of me, for example, contains 13 pages of reports on its research, seminars, publications, etc., as well as 52 photographs and a page of information on its "media impact." But it provides only one financial figure: its 1995 budget of \$3.35 million. It also provides a bar graph showing the growth of its

annual budget and two pie charts showing a general breakdown of its revenues and expenditures.

One pie chart reports that in 1995, *Reason* spent 24 percent of its total expenditures on "subscription/membership outreach." 24 percent of \$3.35 million is \$804,000. I had a pretty good idea of what "subscription" expenditures are, but I could only surmise about what "membership outreach" means. The Reason Foundation is a corporation that publishes research and a magazine, not a club with members, and its annual report breaks out "fundraising" expenses, so I couldn't figure out anything that "membership outreach" could mean except for direct mail subscription solicitations. My interest piqued by Ms. Postrel's letter, I called *Reason's* publisher, Robert Poole, and asked him what "membership outreach" means. He replied that it was "direct mail marketing for the magazine." A day later, he called back to say that it included certain related expenses, such as billing costs.

Now it is patently true that \$804,000 is not the "about \$1,000,000" that I recalled when I wrote that response to Harry Browne for which Ms. Postrel excoriates me because I failed to check with anyone at *Reason*. But neither is the figure "significantly less than half [a million dollars]" that Ms. Postrel advises in her letter.

When I wrote that *Reason* and *Liberty* had sent out nearly three million pieces of direct mail during the past year I was adding *Liberty's* efforts (which I know) to a figure extrapolated from *Reason's* annual report. *Liberty* sends out about 200,000 pieces of direct mail per year, at a cost of about \$64,000, or about 32 cents each. Since *Reason* is a much heavier mailer, I estimated that its cost per piece at about 30 cents, a bit lower than ours. At 30 cents each, the \$804,000 that *Reason* reports it spent in 1995 would buy 2,680,000 pieces of direct mail. That would mean a total of 2,880,000 pieces of direct mail for *Reason* and *Liberty*.

Ms. Postrel is correct in that I didn't check these numbers with anyone at *Reason*. In my defense, I can only report that I was writing in response to a letter from Harry Browne, which arrived at our office less than 48 prior to press date. I thought the numbers were firmly planted in my memory, and I doubted that anyone at *Reason* would want to share such proprietary data with me.

(2) According to Ms. Postrel, this was not my first error of this sort. In the September *Liberty*, I wrote the following near the end of a retrospective on *Liberty's* first ten years:

Most political magazines, especially those with circulation of less than 100,000, fit into a different category: "donor-driven." Most are financed primarily by their donors, who are generally large wealthy foundations or corporations. *Liberty* is a unique publication, a political magazine driven by its readers and its editors. Virtually all of *Liberty's* writers have worked without compensation beyond the pleasure of seeing their writing in print. But our expenses are virtually all met from our subscription and newsstand revenue, and we've put together ten years of a pretty good magazine. . .

Somehow, Ms. Postrel finds in this an implication "that *Reason* gets gobs of easy money from foundations and corporations, while *Liberty* is supported by its subscribers. In fact *Reason* receives almost all its support from individuals."

But it was not *Reason* that I had in mind here. I was thinking about such publications as *The American Spectator*, *Chronicles*, *American Enterprise*, and *The Nation*. For example, back when the *American Spectator's* circulation was down there with *Reason's*, I read press reports that it received about \$500,000 per year from a single foundation.

This spirited defense raised my curiosity. I again opened *Reason's* 1995 Annual Report. It says that during 1995, *Reason* received 26 percent of its revenue from foundation grants and 15 percent from corporate donations — a total of 41 percent from these sources — and only 23 percent from individuals. Its 1992 annual report says that it received 48 percent of its funding from these sources, and just half as much (24 percent) from donors. Surely, Ms. Postrel is mistaken when she says that "*Reason* receives almost all its support from individuals."

In both these cases, foundation and corporate funding substantially exceeded the total revenue of *Reason* magazine, which was reported at 30 percent of total foundation revenue in 1995 and 38 percent in 1992. Its 1992 report devotes as much space to listing its foundation and corporate donors as it does to reporting its finances.

(3) Ms. Postrel suggests that the origin of my "errors" lies in the fact that, unlike *Reason*, *Liberty* does not have a "paid, professional staff." While it is true that, as I had written, "virtually all *Liberty's* writers have worked without compensation beyond the pleasure of seeing their writing in print," *Liberty's* staff has always been "paid" and "professional." There have only been two exceptions: my wife and I. I hope that the fact that we have been able and willing to work full time at *Liberty* without compensation will not be held against us.

Having filled nearly two typewritten pages with this response, I fear that a reader might infer from my spirited self-defense that I do not hold *Reason* in high esteem. This would be a serious mistake. I have been an enthusiastic subscriber to *Reason* since 1971. In my judgment, it is a very good magazine, whose contributions to the cause of liberty have been almost incalculable. *Reason* and *Liberty* are

allies, but they are not identical. I started *Liberty*, not because I was dissatisfied with *Reason*, but because I believed there was an important role to be played by a magazine whose editorial focus was different. My relationship with those at *Reason* has always been cordial, even friendly. I am truly sorry to have upset Ms. Postrel, under whose editorship *Reason* has become an even better magazine than it had been in the past.

Austrian Anti-Semitism

In Ralph Raico's November "retort" to Tom Palmer ("Mises and Monarchy," November 1998), he asserted that the Habsburgs are "the best symbol available of Old Austria . . . before the arrival of the Nazis and Reds. If for nothing else, then for . . . the way the Jews of Austria and Hungary — including the Mises family — were treated, compared to what came after."

I disagree. Just because there was no

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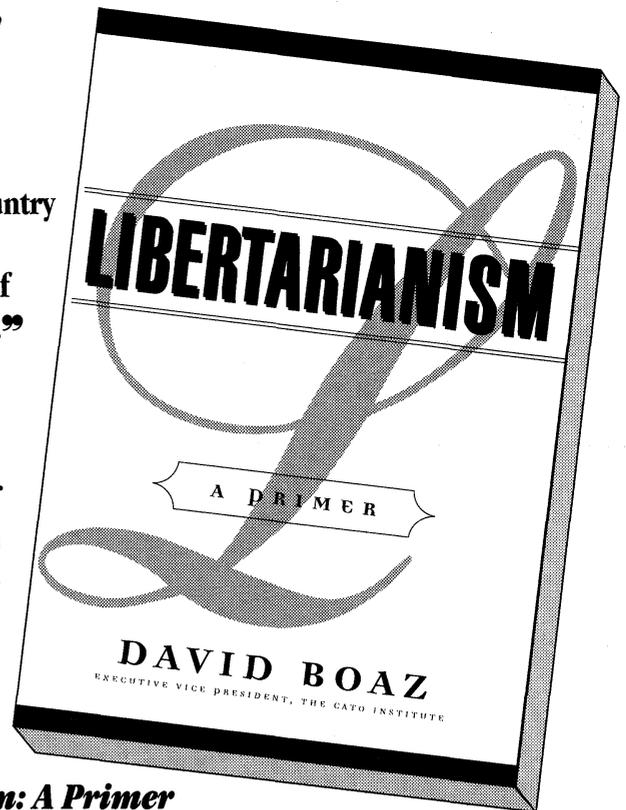
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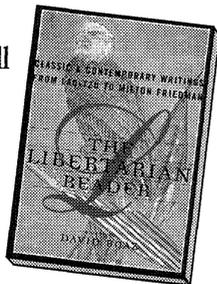


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genocide under the Habsburgs does not mean that Jews were well treated in the *ancien régime* Austria-Hungary. Professor Raico may not be aware of the villainous anti-Semitic reign of Karl Lueger, Vienna's mayor at the end of the 19th century. Lueger's anti-Semitic views were well known when he was elected mayor in 1895. Indeed, Emperor Franz Joseph delayed confirming his appointment for two years because of his virulence. However, the Emperor caved in to political pressure in 1897 and allowed Lueger to begin a low-level (compared to Hitler) reign of terror against Viennese Jews. Surely, the Habsburg family bears some responsibility for this development.

Would Professor Raico consider allowing an anti-Semitic thug to run the Austro-Hungarian capital good treatment? I hope not.

Karol Boudreaux
Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Peters Not a Radical

In "Winning in 2004" ("Achieving Liberty," January 1998), LP founder David Nolan posits a scenario in which the LP recruits "a ticket like management guru Tom Peters" and wealthy donors for the 2000 presidential campaign. I can only imagine what Mr. Peters would say to such a draft, considering his interview in *Wired*:

I've long prided myself on being — besides Warren Buffett — the only Democrat businessperson in America, and on being a quasi-libertarian . . . Part of my problem is that whenever I read the ballot propositions, I'm always appalled by the Libertarian position. They aren't libertarian. They are anarchist. (5.12, p. 210)

I don't know what ballot propositions Mr. Peters is referring to, but Harry Browne's commentary ("All or nothing at all," January 1998) on tax reform would surely reinforce his opinion of the LP. To denounce a national retail sales tax (favored solution of the Cato Institute) and a flat income tax rate is bad enough. Either would make our tax system fairer, simpler and spur capital formation and economic growth — all positive incremental steps toward a freer America. But for him to hold out for repeal of the 16th Amendment while doubting the prospects for these reforms? That's the grandest statement of political chutzpah since Bill Clinton kept a straight face while proclaiming

"the era of big government is over."

Douglas Greene
Cedarhurst, New York

Read My Lips, No Taxes, Period

Harry Browne's critique of Republican plans to replace the national income tax with a national sales tax ("All or nothing at all," January 1998) leaves me somewhat mystified. A centerpiece of Browne's campaign for president was *his* plan to replace the national income tax with a national sales tax. Libertarians objected to Browne's plan primarily on the basis that taxation violates the libertarian nonaggression principle. Browne responded in an open letter to Libertarian Party members in which he ardently defended his sales tax plan and in which he said that a political campaign "isn't the place to browbeat people into accepting every aspect of libertarian dogma" (*LP News*, November 1995).

Some time after that, Browne quietly dropped his sales tax plan. But he has never explained the circumstances that caused him to do so or why he so enthusiastically embraced his sales tax plan in the first place. Wouldn't it be helpful to understand Browne's critique of the Republican sales tax plan in the context of how his own position has evolved on this same issue?

Also mystifying is the fact that, in other forums, Browne has continued to embrace tariffs and excise taxes as a way to fund the federal government. But tariffs and excise taxes are simply other forms of sales taxation. How does Browne determine which sales taxes are acceptable and which are not? If a person refuses to pay any tax, including tariffs and excise taxes, the state will seize his property, fine him, or jail him — and in the case of continued resistance, kill him for resisting arrest. Is a person better off being violently punished for nonpayment of one tax rather than another?

What Browne fails to recognize is that ultimately the problem is a moral one, not a practical one. Where is the morality of forcing someone to pay for something for which he'd rather not pay? Where is the morality of taking someone's money against his will?

Libertarianism is not about finding the most efficient use of force to fund government activity, no matter how big or small. Libertarianism is a set of principles that precludes the initiation of force against a peaceful person. When a

libertarian abandons this fundamental principle, he abandons libertarianism.

Jacob G. Hornberger
Fairfax, Va.

Browne responds: When I began my presidential campaign in 1994, I proposed to reduce the federal government by at least two thirds. While working out the details of a budget plan, I said that — at the very least — we should replace the 15–39 percent income tax with a 5 percent sales tax, which would finance what might not be covered by the current level of tariffs and excise taxes. But when I completed the budget plan, I could see that the sales tax was no longer necessary — and so the sales tax was discarded in the summer of 1995 and my book *Why Government Doesn't Work* proposed reducing the federal budget within one term to only \$100 billion.

The sales tax was never a "centerpiece" of my campaign; nor did I "enthusiastically embrace" it or "ardently defend" it. In fact, in the article Mr. Hornberger cites, I said: "A 5 percent sales tax has only one virtue. It isn't as bad as what we have now. It has nothing else to recommend it." Nor was it "quietly dropped"; it was happily rejected.

As to tariffs and excise taxes, I've never "embraced" them — nor any other tax. I've said often enough that the only good tax is a dead tax. I simply pointed out that a government of \$100 billion can be financed with the current level of tariffs and excise taxes — so that we can get rid of the income tax without having to replace it or increase any other tax.

Mr. Hornberger's comments about morality are certainly inspiring. However, in addition to inspiration, a credible Libertarian candidate must provide a specific plan to reduce government. Had Mr. Hornberger been the presidential candidate, what would he have proposed? To abolish all taxation and government on inauguration day?

Government is force. And so long as government exists, there will be force. I want to reduce force as far and as fast as possible. What does Mr. Hornberger want to do?

Trade Secret: Freedom

I took several of Galambos's courses in Volitional Science and signed the agreement not to disclose his ideas ("Freedom's Unknown Guru," November 1997). Like Harry Browne, I had a

discussion with the seminar leader over the document and was reluctant to sign it, for similar reasons to his.

In the fifteen years since I have a discovered a simple truth: if I share Dr. Galambos's ideas of primary property with someone (no easy feat, as anyone who's tried it will attest), and they accept them, they will voluntarily either take an introductory course on tape or simply transmit the fee for the course to Dr. Galambos's estate.

If they don't accept his concept that ideas are property, they remain exactly as they were before I began talking to them: unknowing advocates of coercion. This is literally a trade secret that you cannot give away to someone for free, because if you do so successfully, they will voluntarily accept the responsibility to pay for it.

Bobby Matherne
New Orleans, La.

Rocket Fuel for Thought

Yes, attending Andrew Galambos's lectures was a little bit like pouring rocket fuel into an old motorcycle: occasional bursts of lightning-like speed and an occasional blown gasket. However, I

sure would like to hear those lectures again. But who owns them?

Jeff Place
Prescott, Ariz.

Apples & Oranges: The Ominous Non-Parallels

For the record and to state my prejudices up front, I am an Objectivist. I read with great interest R.W. Bradford's "Deep-Cover Radical for Capitalism" (November 1997), because of my continuing interest in Objectivism and Alan Greenspan.

The article, besides being interesting and informative, also reaffirms why I am not a libertarian. Due to libertarians' continued rejection of a philosophic basis for their commitment to liberty, they fail to provide the essential arguments on which liberty ultimately depends.

As example, Bradford went on for paragraphs comparing working for the FBI, IRS, and other government agencies providing menial services, to develop his analysis of the ethics involved. The problem here is not ethics but epistemology. Bradford is not comparing apples to apples. Working for a

branch of the government which is essentially legitimate is one thing, apples. Working for a branch of the government which is essentially oppressive is another, oranges or some other fruit. This whole line of analysis does not help to develop Bradford's argument, whatever it may be.

For lack of philosophy, Bradford misses the most important points and essential arguments. Evading or ignoring the need for philosophy means one is left to muddle through in a self-induced fog. As a result, one can be dedicated to liberty but unable to define what promotes or undermines liberty in essential terms.

I do not have space here to analyze the choices made by Alan Greenspan to head the Federal Reserve. But I can illustrate Bradford's lack of philosophic savvy with a simple question: Ethically, how is acting as the head of the Federal Reserve any different from a libertarian that uses and relies on Federal Reserve notes every day?

John H. Zaugg
Mansfield, Ohio

Anguished Reaction

I was both taken aback and dismayed by R. W. Bradford's "I don't care" comment on the death of Diana, Princess of Wales ("Diana's dead and I don't care," November 1997). The light of consciousness going out in anybody due to accident is saddening. I find John Donne's words, "any man's death diminishes me, for I am involved in mankind" both moving and apt, despite their collectivistic connotations. Diana deserved our sorrow at least. And while I don't agree with *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, there's a time and a place for disparagement, and an obituary notice is not it. Nor is it the place to call "bovine" a vivacious and plucky woman who was beautiful by most commonly accepted standards.

I have absolutely no interest in monarchs or "aristocrats," and no time or patience for the undeserved adulation they commonly receive. But Diana did manage to preserve her self and her character in an institution and in an atmosphere that more normally stifle or destroy both.

It has been impossible to live in Britain for fifteen years and ignore "the royals" completely — as I would have preferred. Newspaper and television

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Reflections

The Unapatient manifesto — On November 21, the *New York Times* reported that “[Theodore] Kaczynski’s lawyers say their client is so delusional that he denies that he is mentally ill. . . . When he met with a defense psychiatrist, according to a document filed in court, Kaczynski looked the doctor in the face and said, ‘You are the enemy.’” *Plus ça change . . .*

In 1965, in “Ward No. 7,” Valeriy Tarsis, a Soviet ex-mental patient, put these words in the mouth of Valentin Alamazov, a mental patient: “I don’t regard you [the psychiatrist] as a doctor. You call this a hospital, I call it a prison to which, in a typically fascist way, I have been sent without a trial. So now let’s get everything straight. I am your prisoner, you are my jailer, and there isn’t going to be any more nonsense about my health or relations, or about examinations and treatment.”

More than a hundred years ago, in 1892, in “Ward No. 6,” Anton Chekhov put these words in the mouth of Dr. Andrei Yefimich, a psychiatrist: “I am serving an evil cause and receive my salary from the people whom I dupe.” This recognition soon lands the doctor among the patients and to a beating by an attendant that leads to his death.

Kaczynski wants to be taken seriously and condemned for his deeds, which proves he is crazy. Those sitting in judgment of him want to dismiss him as a madman, hold him not responsible for his deeds, and lock him up for the rest of his life anyway, which proves they are compassionate.

On this score, Kaczynski is obviously right. But that may not save him from our inquisitors. The “mental patient” is the sacred symbol of Psychiatry, much as the crucified Jesus is the sacred symbol of Christianity. When such a system reaches out to “help” a person against his will, we cannot begin to understand his situation unless we ask, and honestly answer, the classic Roman legal question: *Cui bono?* Who profits, from advancing the claim that an individual is mentally ill? —TSS

Awful symmetry — In November Hillary Rodham Clinton traveled to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine and Russia. There, according to the *Seattle Times*, she espoused, among other things, “free-market economics.” Remarkable symmetry: in the formerly socialist states (USSR), she urges the adoption of capitalism; in the formerly capitalist state (USA), she urges the adoption of socialism. —RH

The Forest Disservice — For the first time in history, the Forest Service has admitted that it lost money on its national forest timber sale program. According to the agency’s figures, that program lost nearly \$15 million in 1996.

The foresters’ previous claims that they made money were based on a specious accounting system that simply ignored numerous costs under the pretense that they were “investments.” The accounting system also counted all receipts even though the agency kept only a third to two-thirds of the receipts for itself. When actual returns to the

U.S. Treasury are compared with actual costs to the Treasury, the national forests have typically lost around \$400 million per year on timber in the past decade.

Of course, timber isn’t the only national forest resource that loses money. Recreation, wildlife, grazing, and minerals all cost taxpayers huge amounts even though private land-owners manage these resources at a profit. Despite the fact that the 192 million acres of national forests are worth, roughly, \$100 billion, the Forest Service loses \$2 billion per year managing those forests.

Privatization may be one way to end such losses. But privatization has been politically unacceptable and is likely to remain so. An alternative is to fund federal land managers exclusively out of their net receipts. If they run a deficit, they get no budget. Such a change might actually be feasible because it would benefit everyone. Efficiency can be a painless solution to the problems of an agency losing \$2 billion a year managing \$100 billion of assets. —ROT

Helmets and class — Twice in the past week, political celebrities have been harvested by trees while skiing. Cher’s ex-hubby and one more Kennedy scion would be alive today if they had worn helmets. Surely, the number of injuries per thousand miles traveled on the slopes is far greater than injuries to those on motorcycles. But skiing is the pastime of the wealthy and politically powerful, so the logic that has inspired the states to require that motorcyclists wear cumbersome and heavy helmets, even if merely driving to the corner store, does not apply to skiers.

In the meantime, the growing burden of government regulation has made motorcycling more and more expensive. Perhaps the day will arrive when most bikers are prosperous yuppies, and they too will be free to enjoy their sport unencumbered by brain buckets. —RWB

The unexpected Jesse Helms — It’s no news, of course, that Jesse Helms has never been a libertarian. But it’s surprising to realize that the Senator from North Carolina has never been a genuine conservative either. Like the unlamented ex-Congressman Robert Dornan, Helms has gained a following among right-wingers by pressing highly-charged emotional buttons from time to time. When there was a chance of doing away altogether with the National Endowment for the Arts a few years ago, Helms chose instead to attack the NEA’s patronage of pornography. Last fall he made a big fuss over the nomination of William Weld, the Massachusetts Governor who decided it would be a fun thing to be ambassador to Mexico instead. Again, Helms’s opposition was over the hot-button issue of Weld’s mild endorsement of legalized marijuana for “medical” purposes. Earlier, though, Helms had enthusiastically backed the nomination of the dim saber-rattler Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State.

As head of the Foreign Relations Committee, Helms regularly okays the foreign aid budget, most especially the

annual multi-billion dollar dole for Israel. When it came to championing a real conservative/libertarian cause, it was left for the great Congressman Ron Paul (my personal hero) to introduce a resolution to withdraw the United States from the United Nations and expel the Grand Coven of the world's plundering political class from our shores. Paul's resolution gained the votes of an astonishing and heartening 53 other Congressmen. Don't expect anything so radical or significant from the Tarheel time-server. That's why the liberal media love to portray Helms as the "archconservative": he accepts their premises and basic policies, and fiddles around with the trivialities that impress the yahoos back home.

And now Helms is supporting the eastward extension of NATO. Since the alleged purpose of NATO was to help a feeble western Europe defend itself from the Soviet Union, it isn't entirely clear why it should continue to exist at all, now that there is no Soviet Union and Europe is anything but feeble. The U.S. foreign policy establishment has no qualms, however, about openly threatening the wobbly Russian Republic by this move, and in the process breaking the explicit promises made when the Russians dissolved the Warsaw Pact. Every political grouping in Russia adamantly opposes the expansion, which plays directly into the hands of the ultra-nationalists, who say you can never trust the West. It makes no sense on any terms, especially Realpolitik. But since neither pornography nor drugs is involved, that doesn't worry the pompous dope from North Carolina. —RR

The creature from the Silent Spring — In the 1950s malaria seemed on the point of eradication. The insecticide DDT had spectacular success in killing the mosquitoes that carry the parasite. But something happened. According to the World Health Organization, in the '90s about 2.7 million people die of malaria each year.

To read the current literature, it's hard to figure out exactly *what* happened. The campaign of the World Health Organization "backfired," says *Technology Review*. Why? Spraying of DDT was "inadequate and erratic," so that some mosquitoes became resistant or moved to areas where there hadn't been spraying. And where the program worked, "it soon became a victim of its own success," the same article states. With malaria "negligible," international organizations and local politicians and government agencies withdrew support. *The Atlantic Monthly* has a slightly different version. "It soon became clear that spraying was most effective in areas that were only marginally malarious — areas such as Egypt and southern Europe, where the parasite had only a slippery hold." In tougher areas, the *Atlantic* says, and "for complex reasons, mosquitoes where malaria was solidly endemic started showing resistance to the insecticides." The "complex reasons" are not explained.

But, as most people know, DDT was banned in the United States in 1972, after a protracted campaign against it that started in 1962 with the publication of Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring*. There were many claims — DDT might be carcinogenic, Carson said — but the credible evidence was that DDT collected in the tissues of fish-eating birds

and ultimately led to thinning of their eggshells, to the point where reproduction was impossible. Undoubtedly, DDT was overused, but whether it should have been banned is another question.

The ban on DDT figures virtually not at all in the *Atlantic* and *Technology Review* articles. Perhaps it is too far in the past. Reading these articles quickly one might get the impression that mosquitoes' resistance to DDT is what makes it impossible to use now. But on more careful study one finds that most of the "resistance" is over the parasite's resistance to drugs. The extent of the resistance of mosquitoes to DDT is not discussed at any length.

However, the experience of Sri Lanka is well known. Sri Lanka had almost eradicated malaria in the early 1960s. (The *Technology Review* article says that reported cases were as low as 17 cases in 1963.) But Sri Lanka pulled out of the WHO eradication program and the number of malaria cases rose again to 2.5 million in the years 1968–1969. Malaria remains a killer in Sri Lanka today.

A 1989 article in the *Wall Street Journal* by Kenneth Mellanby, says that "many Third World countries" still use DDT, but "some" have banned it. I have been told that countries that receive aid from the U.S. follow the rules laid down by AID (Agency for International Development), and opposition to the use of DDT is one of these rules, whether written or unwritten.

I suspect that DDT offers a path of hope in the struggle against malaria, but it is one that few governments are likely to take. Much remains clouded, but there is clearly a correlation between the disappearance of DDT and the resurgence of malaria. The *Atlantic* article quotes one health worker in India. In 1966 he saw "almost no malaria." When he returned in 1988, "there was a raging epidemic." Correlation is not causation, but the same article quotes Robert Gwadz of the National Institutes for Health as saying: "Rachel Carson's legacy is not entirely positive. DDT is one of the more benign pesticides known." —JSS

Graphic details — In an editorial-page feature in the *Wall Street Journal* for December 23, 1997, Charles Murray called attention to the downward trend of trust in the federal government. A striking graph of responses to a poll question about how much the feds can be trusted to do what is right shows that, except for a few years in the early 1980s, the trend has been downward for some thirty-five years, dropping from nearly 80 percent who trusted the government to do the right thing "just about always" or "most of the time" to about 20 percent in recent years.

Before you organize a street dance to celebrate this finding, I suggest that you place beside Murray's graph another set of graphs, showing various measures of the size and scope of the federal government — spending, taxing, regulating, you name it. These graphs will show that notwithstanding the falling trust in government, the growth of government has proceeded relentlessly during recent decades.

Whatever they may say, politicians could scarcely care less whether the general public

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trusts them. After all, they are not in office to serve the general public. They are there to serve the interest groups and rich people who bankroll their election campaigns, and the contributors are engaged in a clear-eyed exchange of money for subsidy or other privilege. All the talk about public trust is just bubbles on the surface of the scum. —RH

Who'da thunk it? — In 1994 the Republicans took over Congress. They now have passed three federal budgets. The three budgets combined have increased federal spending by 11.5 percent. The previous three budgets, passed by a Democratic Congress, increased federal spending by only 9.7 percent. So tell me again why we should worry that voting Libertarian might help a Democrat beat a Republican. —HB

Syndicated Rambos — The anti-climactic conclusion of the most recent U.S.-Iraq confrontation has left the media pundits and the foreign policy wonks in Washington with a "post-crisis depression." For about ten days, since Saddam Hussein announced the expulsion of the American members of the United Nations weapon inspection teams, Washington's foreign policy experts seemed to be coming back to life after the relatively long period of world peace and tranquility that followed the collapse of the Berlin Wall and the end of Desert Storm. The front pages of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* screamed predictions that the U.S. military might soon be teaching Saddam another lesson. The Columnists Commando, led by my favorite trio of Bill Safire, Abe Rosenthal and Charles Krauthammer, echoing as usual the views of the Likud government in Jerusalem, warned the Clinton Administration that any compromise with Baghdad would be construed as an act of "appeasement," a Middle-Eastern "Munich Agreement." Veteran Middle East and military specialists were appearing once again on CNN explaining how the U.S. Air Force would bombard Iraq back to the Stone Age. In sum, the Iraqi crisis had produced a feeling in Washington that "happy days are here again," that we are going to witness another of America's "unilateral moments," when its military power in the Middle East would prove to the world who is the Boss.

Unfortunately, it looks like we won't be able to see this year another of those mesmerizing CNN animations of U.S. "smart bombs" falling on Baghdad. You see, other countries were not in a mood this time to follow the dictates of the "world's only remaining superpower." And that kind of surprises the "experts" in Washington. Hey, it's true that we have just announced our intentions to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to the borders of Russia, and despite the end of the Cold War we transformed that bankrupted defense group into an even more powerful anti-Russian tool. Okay. But is that a reason for those guys in Moscow to get pissed off and to reject our "leadership" in the Persian Gulf? How ungrateful of them. Really. And the French? Well, you know the French. So what's the Big Deal if the junior Senator from New York, that moron from Long Island, got Congress to approve legislation that would punish any French companies that dared to disagree with our idiotic policy of "isolating" Cuba and Iran and that wanted to open an hotel in Havana or look for oil in Persia? After all, we are doing all of this in order to fight tyrants and spread democracy (not in order to win Cuban-American and Jewish-American

votes, God forbid!). Is that not good enough for those double-crossing, greedy (and who did collaborate with the Nazis in WWII? Was it the . . . ?) French? Shame on them, the Russians and the French, forcing us to make a deal with Saddam, rejecting our enlightened "hegemonism," and just ruining everything. And that wimp at the White House, the "appeaser"; and see, now we have this Munich on the Euphrates. And instead we could have had again one of those Splendid Little Wars, some action here in Washington, pizzas delivered to the Pentagon after midnight, something to write about, good video for television. Now all we are left with is this financial mess in Southeast Asia. How boring.

Well, it *was* fun as long as it lasted . . . —LH

Heresy! — A congressionally chartered National Defense Panel has recently recommended that the U.S. armed forces reduce their ranks and shift their focus from fighting foreign wars to what the panels dubs "Defense of the Homeland." Imagine that!

Pentagon watchers expect the armed forces leadership to pooh-pooh the report. The military bigwigs have little interest in employing a reduced force to protect Americans from foreign terrorists or other threats on these shores. They prefer to maintain current force levels — more Indians require more chiefs — and to procure more advanced versions of the traditional weapons platforms (F-22 stealth fighter planes, upgraded heavy tanks, and another Nimitz-class aircraft carrier), which require massive budgets to manage, pass on to contractors, and generally piss away. —RH

Full disclosure — Recently I tried to check into a Marriott hotel in Dearborn, Michigan. The room clerk apologetically told me there was no room available, and that the hotel would arrange for me to stay at a nearby Hyatt. "But I have a guaranteed reservation," I said.

"I know," answered the room clerk, "but several guests decided to extend their stays and we don't have enough rooms." As this was a considerable inconvenience to me — I had already scheduled several meetings at the Marriott — I silently swore never to book a room at a Marriott again.

Although I didn't expect it to do any good, I couldn't



help saying to the room clerk, "You know, whenever I want to extend my stay at a hotel, the room clerk never approves the extension until he checks to be sure there will be rooms available. Why are you giving the existing guests precedence over guaranteed reservations?"

"Because Michigan law forbids us from evicting any guests from the hotel." I had blamed Marriott for a policy the government had forced on it. This situation raises an interesting question: In how many other cases do we blame private companies for policies over which they no longer have control?

Medicare, Medicaid, and other government programs run up the price of health care, but doctors, hospitals, and insurance companies take the blame for the high costs and the inaccessibility of health insurance. Airlines are blamed for logjams at airports, even though the airports are all run by governments. Law after law provides for lucrative lawsuits against companies and individuals that someone is going to take advantage of, but the public blames greedy lawyers for the litigation explosion.

In each case, we see only the problem and the company in front of us — not the politicians behind them creating the insane policies.

Until the day when we get rid of the idiotic laws, business people should explain to customers how the law harms them, like the clerk at the Marriott told me. There is no reason to lose customers by taking the blame for something that isn't your fault. Point out that the law forbids you from providing what both you and the customer know makes more sense, but that you'll do everything possible to accommodate the customer as best you can. —HB

I scum from Down Under — When Rupert Murdoch joined the board of directors of the Cato Institute, it shocked the hell out of me, not least because Murdoch seemed to be a practical, profit-oriented manager with no time for foundations or do-gooders. Cato is pretty practical in its approach to wising up elected officials, but it's still a voice in the wilderness. Murdoch and Cato are an odd match.

Maybe I think that way only because of Murdoch's considerable image problem. Ted Turner compared Murdoch to Hitler after a spat last year; Murdoch's planned ASkyB satellite network was quickly dubbed the "Death Star"; and when he applied for American citizenship to enable his company to own more broadcasting stations than some idiotic, nativist FCC rules allows non-citizens, he was reviled as a corporate

carpetbagger. He is supposed to have inspired the latest Bond movie villain.

Cato's November/December *Policy Report* quoted an article in the online magazine *Slate* on Murdoch's benevolent side: "Everywhere Murdoch has gone, competition, efficiency, and consumer choice (and profit) have followed." Cato had the good taste to omit the fact that the *Slate* story began with the words: "It is a truth universally acknowledged that Rupert Murdoch is scum."

But no matter what the left thinks of Murdoch, he has vastly improved media competition and efficiency in Australia and Europe, busting monopoly and union with alacrity. In cooperation with *Peoples' Daily*, his News Corp. runs *Chinabyte*, a Chinese language online news service. In America, Murdoch started Fox News and went head to head with Dan Rather and Peter Arnett by positioning his channel as unbiased, objective coverage. Until Fox, unbiased television news was relegated to the Platonic realm of ideal forms.

So maybe Rupert Murdoch is a hero of free enterprise, cursed and scourged because he is just that. Maybe he is a marvelous catch for Cato. —BB

The pitter patter of little fascists — The three most dangerous words in the vocabulary of ideological discourse are "we," "us," and "our." No surprise, then, that government officials and those who pant for election to public office use these words constantly. Bill Clinton invariably opposes or vetoes a bill because it is incompatible with "our values" — as if the values of decent people could possibly have anything in common with those of our glorious commander in thief. As George Orwell warned, once the collectivists have collectivized the language, the rest will be relatively easy for them.

Nowhere does this nefarious phraseology poison communication more than it does with regard to the term "our children."

Nowadays, as no one can help noticing, nearly every proposal to expand the powers of government comes clothed in the rationale that the new power is necessary to "protect our children." Hence we have the first bill signed by President Clinton, the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993; and the new Kiddie Care extensions of Medicaid; and the FDA's recent, wide-ranging regulations to protect our children from Joe Camel and his diabolical comrades in harms; and the V-chip and proposed strictures on the Internet to save our children from the wicked sight of naked ladies; and new food safety regulations to keep tainted hamburgers from the mouths of babes; and the War on Drugs to save adolescents from the horrors of marijuana and other seductive substances. The list goes on and on.

Lest someone forget the theme, Hillary's *It Takes a Village* may be consulted as an everlasting reminder that all issues are matters of caring for the children, and nothing less than a totalitarian government is equal to the task. "Everywhere we look," she wrote, "children are under assault."

Of course, the Clintonistas are hardly the only political faction playing the kiddie card. Conservative heavyweights fight hard on behalf of children, too, especially but by no means exclusively those yet unborn. For example, the stupid party seeks to reduce the government budget deficit solely to lighten the future generation's burden of servicing a bloated debt.



Baloo

"I can't sleep, dear — would you go out and catch a mammoth and get me a glass of warm milk?"

The battle to save the children by governmental means, however, is one the collectivists are almost certain to win: children make the perfect entering wedge for an endless litany of new or expanded government programs.

Electoral politics also lends itself to this sort of paternalism. Female voters now outnumber male voters by more than seven million in presidential election years. Whatever the reasons, women fall for phony government promises to protect the children more frequently than men do.

Freedom-minded people have always supported the separation of church and state. More recently they have espoused the separation of school and state. It is now time to demand the denationalization of children. Nothing less than the separation of kid and state will truly serve the interests of young people. Hitler youth was wicked then; Clinton youth is wicked now.

And let's make one thing clear: I have kids and you have kids but "our children" are nothing but a political ruse. —RH

Privatizing the neighborhood — You could make a good argument that the most important challenge to government in America today is the spread of private residential associations. They take two main forms, the condominium and the homeowners association. Homeowners associations have been around since the 19th century but the legal form of the condominium dates in the United States only to the early 1960s.

In such "private neighborhoods," property owners vote to elect a governing board. It amounts to a private government. The responsibilities of the neighborhood board include control over land use and the provision of services like street cleaning and garbage collection. Some neighborhoods have their own private police force. In private neighborhoods, traditional government activities like zoning are superfluous.

As recently as 1970s, about 1 percent of Americans lived in private neighborhoods. Today, the figure is approaching 15 percent. In major metropolitan areas, about 50 percent of all new development is being constructed in private neighborhoods. In the Los Angeles and San Diego areas, always bellwethers for the rest of the country, 70 percent of new housing comes with collective private ownership.

It turns out that, if you give people a choice, they seem to like private neighborhoods with a well-defined character and tight rules to enforce that character. Private neighborhoods for the elderly often do not allow residents under the age of 55. Other neighborhoods do not allow children or pets. Land use rules frequently control tightly things like the color of house paint, or the placement of shrubbery. This might seem petty or oppressive but developers of private neighborhoods are clearly responding to what people want.

Before the Civil War, most businesses in the United States were individually owned. By the end of the 19th century,

almost two-thirds of U.S. manufacturing output came from private corporations. The transformation from individual ownership of residential property to collective private ownership now occurring at the end of the 20th century may be just as socially important.

It amounts to the creation of a whole new private property regime under which more and more people are living their lives. It is in essence substituting a property right system for the functions formerly performed by local governments in the United States.

So far, the spread of private neighborhoods has taken place mostly in suburbs, rather than in cities. As usual, the poor seem to be the biggest losers: it is in inner cities that the need for secure control over neighborhood environments is the greatest. Many neighborhoods there would be far better places to live if muggers, drug dealers and other disruptive elements were kept out and environmental quality maintained in other ways. The way cities are run today, solving these problems has been impossible. But, if necessary, a private city neighborhood could even build a wall and tightly control physical entry through a few access points.

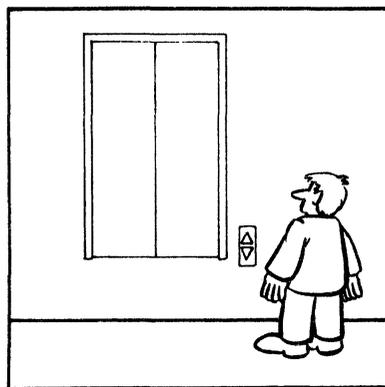
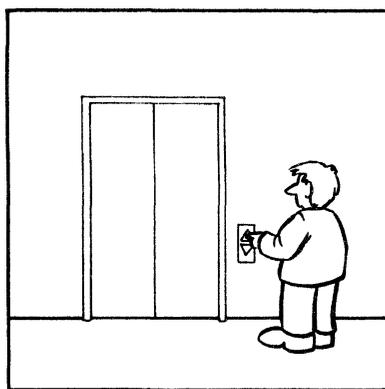
But how can procedure be established that enables the owners of individual pieces of property to join together to form an inner city private neighborhood? I suggest allowing a vote of property owners. If, say, 90 percent of them vote in favor of establishing a private neighborhood, the city would turn over the local streets, parkland, and other facilities to the newly constituted neighborhood. The new private neighborhood would also take over control of environmental quality and security of the neighborhood, as well as various local service delivery functions.

Of course, I think it would be ideal to have unanimous consent in forming a private neighborhood. But I am impressed with the virtual impossibility of getting unanimous agreement on anything when a few hundred people or more may be involved. The great benefits of spreading private ownership arrangements beyond brand new neighborhoods into existing areas that now have individually owned properties are worth making this significant compromise. —RN

Bennettudes — Conservatism has no guiding principle, so today's conservative leaders are groping to find a mission in life. Unfortunately, far too many of them have taken up big government or "good government" as their central theme.

In the *Los Angeles Times* of October 28, William J. Bennett invites us to eliminate the government programs he doesn't happen to like, while joining him in a quest to restore respect for good, efficient government.

To make his case that we shouldn't dislike all government, he says, "In fact, government has done some very difficult things quite well." Here are the examples he gave:



—SHCHAMBERS

It "defeated Fascist empires with its armies." He fails to point out that if the U.S. government had stayed out of World War I there probably never would have been an Adolf Hitler to fight — and 407,316 American lives wouldn't have been sacrificed to political arrogance.

It "defeated . . . a communist empire with its ideas." It also continually propped up the communist empire with taxpayer-funded foreign aid, helping to keep communism alive for over 70 years. And by spending trillions of dollars on offensive weapons, our government kept us in a state of continual fear of nuclear annihilation — instead of building a missile defense that would have made us free from any threat by communism.

It "reduced the number of elderly in poverty." There is no evidence of this that I'm aware of. As a group, the elderly are wealthier today, as are almost all elements of society, because of the progress made by private companies that must continually struggle to overcome the government's obstacles. But because of programs like Medicare, good health care and health insurance have become less available for all Americans.

It "landed a man on the moon." I doubt that even William Bennett knows how much that cost or in what practical way it enhanced society.

It "passed civil rights legislation." This is the same federal government that enforced slavery for 70 years, tolerated state-enforced segregation, and segregated its own employees — and then, 20 years after the desegregation of private institutions like major league baseball, passed legislation that led directly to the affirmative action and quota scandals of today.

It "builds interstate highways." Yes, and spends billions of your interstate highway dollars to force the people of Denver to use a new airport they didn't want and to build a Los Angeles subway system that every Californian thinks is a joke.

It "insures bank deposits" — and thereby causes a crisis by removing all incentive for investors to monitor the activities of bank and Savings & Loan managers.

It "ensures that air and water remain clean." Most pollution occurs on government property — on government roads, in government rivers and lakes, and on government lands. In response to public concern about pollution, government "solves" the problem by taking away property rights from people who have always kept their own property pristine.

No, Mr. Bennett, there is nothing government does well. By pretending government is adept in some areas, you motivate conservatives and liberals alike to keep trying new government programs, in search of the Holy Grail — a program that actually delivers on its promises.

Government doesn't work — even when it tries to do something we want. Whenever you turn anything over to the government, you transform what was a commercial, medical, social, safety, financial, or military matter into a political issue — to be decided by politicians like Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, Teddy Kennedy, and Jesse Helms. And they will never make decisions in an efficient or benevolent way.

Government is coercion — pure and simple. Every government program involves forced activity, forcible prohibition, and/or forced financing — or else it wouldn't be a government program. And there's no way to make force efficient or benevolent; it's just force. That's why libertarians are continually looking for ways to take functions — any func-

tions — away from government, because we want to reduce government force to the absolute minimum possible. —HB

With 1000 friends like these — "Smart Growth" is the latest slogan in the urban planning field. The term stands for the high-density, anti-automobile policies being pioneered by Portland, Oregon. Smart Growth is heavily promoted by the "1000 Friends" movement, a loosely affiliated group of state organizations promoting land-use planning.

Some of the 1000 Friends groups started as genuine grassroots organizations. But others were started by the American Planning Association (APA). APA has received huge grants from a variety of foundations to promote Smart Growth and start 1000 Friends of Maryland, among others. In effect, APA is using grassroots front groups to promote laws that provide full employment for its members.

Even the genuine grassroots organizations, such as the 1000 Friends of Oregon and 1000 Friends of Florida, are now heavily supported by foundations. Charitable foundations do many good things. But they can also insulate an organization from having to deal with such things as public opinion and individual freedom. If you work for a good cause such as "rational planning," and your money comes from a rich foundation, you can advocate the most stringent limits on personal freedom without any fear of retribution. —RO'T

The witness and the monk — In his recent biography of Whittaker Chambers, Sam Tannenhaus notes that Chambers was the "best" student of the popular Columbia English professor Mark Van Doren. At the end of a footnote on page 528, Tannenhaus writes that Thomas Merton, a favorite 1930s student, "was the MVD protégé most akin temperamentally to Chambers." That affinity in disposition scarcely exhausts the ways in which the two men resembled each other.

Both were the sons of visual artists; both came to Columbia College from the suburbs east of Manhattan. Contributing often to undergraduate literary magazines, both learned early how to write with striking elegance while spending most of their time on other things — Merton as a Trappist monk, Chambers as a *Time* functionary and a dairy farmer. Merton and Chambers both lived their beliefs, forsaking not only bourgeois comforts but physical necessities, so that the depth of their personal commitments could make spiritual issues palpable. Read one, I swear, and you can hear echoes of the other.

Both had college buddies who remained loyal in spite of great changes in their own lives — the once-bohemian Merton observing the Trappist vow of silence while writing "garrulous letters to his friends," in the phrase of one of his classmates, the painter Ad Reinhardt; Chambers becoming a Communist activist and then an informer-antagonist in the trial of Alger Hiss while retaining the affection of such lefties as Meyer Schapiro and Louis Zukofsky.

As Columbia literary men, Merton and Chambers both had intimate familiarity with the classics for Western literature. My favorite among the few photographs in the Tannenhaus biography has the plump Chambers in the New York City subway carrying a copy of Dante's *Divine Comedy* on his way to the courtroom. (Forget about a newspaper or a

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Why the Great Depression Lasted So Long • Are you tired of hearing people discourse on how Roosevelt and big government "saved us" from the Depression? Now you can hear brilliant economist **Robert Higgs** debunk this key myth of American statism. Not to be missed! (audio: A213; video: V213)

The Nazification of the Money Supply • **J. Orlin Grabbe** is the author of the standard reference on international financial markets. Here he explains how and why the government has seized control of the banking system — and how you can foil their plans and get your privacy back. (audio: A132; video: V132)

Searching for Liberty Around the World • Whether you're fed up with encroachments on your liberty, or just interested in opportunities ranging from Nicaragua (!) to Hong Kong to Zambia, this is the tape for you. Hear **Doug Casey**, *Investment Biker* author **Jim Rogers**, international journalist **Bruce Ramsey**, and travellers **Scott Reid** and **Ron Lipp** — the men who've been there. Includes a special discussion of the problems of escaping the IRS. (audio: A103; video: V103)

Searching for Liberty in Small Town America • Fed up with the impersonality, rootlessness, and intrusive regulations of the big city, **R.W. Bradford**, novelist and critic **Bill Kauffman**, and life-extension scientists **Durk Pearson** & **Sandy Shaw** escaped to small towns across America. Hear their thoughts on the blessings and difficulties of life in small towns from Washington state to Nevada to New York. (audio: A102; video: V102)

How to Write Op-Eds • If you're puzzled as to why your opinions aren't getting published in your local paper, or just want to be able to set down your thoughts accurately and concisely, get this tape from professional journalist **Jane Shaw** on the nuts and bolts of getting your point across. (audio: A136; video: V136)

Libertarianism As If (the Other 99% of) People Mattered • **Loren Lomasky** shows how to communicate effectively with the obstinately anti-freedom population of virtually everywhere. (audio: A204; video: v204)

Do Short-Sighted Corporate Decision-Makers Screw the Future? • Collectivists claim free markets destroy society and the environment, because companies only think on a quarter-to-quarter basis. Economist **Richard Stroup** takes on this charge. (audio: A145; video: V145)

Why Not Hang 'em All? • Everyone's talking about crime and punishment, but few ever take an economist's

approach — or approach the topic without an unrealistic trust in government. **David Friedman** explains the benefits of apparently inefficient punishment, with a historian's eye for how different societies have dealt with criminals in the past. (audio: A149; video: V149)

What Libertarians Can Learn from Environmentalists • Libertarian **Randal O'Toole** has worked with environmentalists for years, observing the strategies of one of this century's most successful political movements. In this fascinating talk, he applies his insights to the battle for freedom. (audio: A152; video: V152)

Has Environmentalism Run Its Course? • The honeymoon is over for green giants like the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society. But what about the environmental movement as a whole? And are free-market environmentalists getting anywhere? **Fred Smith**, **Randal O'Toole**, **Jane Shaw**, **Rick Stroup** & **R.W. Bradford** debate. (audio: A157; video: V157)

Anarchy via Encryption • The days of the government snoop are numbered. **David Friedman** discusses the practical workings of new privacy technology — and speculates on its long-term consequences, both inspiring and frightening. (audio: A116; video: V116)

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briefcase!) Chambers's *Witness* (1952) resembles Merton's *The Seven-Storey Mountain* (1948) as a long, rhetorically inflated, and nonetheless compellingly engaging autobiography published by a remarkably young man — early thirties for Merton, early fifties for Chambers — who had significantly changed his life. Both men were favorites of *Time* magazine, where Chambers edited the "back of the book" at the time that an appreciative review of Merton appeared.

Both died young over a quarter of a century ago — Merton in his early fifties, Chambers in his early sixties — while having lived lives customarily regarded as uncommonly rich and perhaps complete. (The thick Tannenhau biography joins Michael Mott's equally thick *The Seven Mountains of Thomas Merton* published a decade ago.) Even in their intellectual eccentricity the two men were posthumously similar. Though Merton became a favorite Catholic for secular lefties who were never entirely comfortable with his piety, Chambers's conservative admirers would never assimilate his lack of interest in capitalism. —RK

Imagine that! — Isn't that horrible, the news about the Chinese government and its agents trying to meddle in the domestic politics of a sovereign country. Such a blatant violation of international norms and diplomatic conduct, blah, blah, blah. Now, just imagine how the world would have reacted if, say, the United States, through the Central Intelligence Agency, would have attempted to oust the democratically elected leaders of Iran or Guatemala and install . . . military dictators in their place, and would have provided financial support to right-wing political parties in Japan and Italy so as to prevent the communist parties from coming to power? Banish the thought. Why always Blame America First? Or the notion that American oil companies and their executives would be the power behind the thrones in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait? Inconceivable. Really. And just for the sake of argument, would it have been possible for Washington to establish a semi-independent entity, let's call it The National Endowment for Democracy, and to use it to "funnel" money to back political parties and to "meddle" election campaign in democratic countries in Eastern Europe, in the same way that the Chinese had allegedly been meddling in our electoral process? Of course, Americans don't do things like that. This is just Chinese propaganda. —LH

Unequal protection for the Law — It might seem strange that so many policemen and police organizations favor gun control. Don't they know that gun control doesn't reduce crime? But the anti-gun stand of the police does make sense.

In a scene in the movie *A Family Thing*, James Earl Jones is an off-duty cop in civilian clothes, walking through a black neighborhood. A car with four young thugs pulls up beside him and the thugs begin harassing him.

Jones asks, "What is it you want?" Removing his watch, he asks, "Is this what you want?" Pulling out his wallet, he asks, "Is this what you want?" And then, brandishing a gun from his coat pocket, he asks once again, "Or is this what you want?" At the sight of the gun, the thugs proclaim their good intentions and drive off in a hurry.

I saw the movie on a rented video, but I can imagine that most movie theatre audiences cheered when Jones pulled out

the gun. I didn't cheer, however.

Instead, I was too involved pondering this demonstration of the inequality before the law that separates the police from the rest of us. A policeman gets to carry a concealed weapon — even when off-duty. But what about the rest of us? In most states we are prohibited from carrying guns no matter how dangerous the situations in which we find ourselves. Gun control assures that the criminals will be armed and we'll be defenseless.

But a policeman isn't defenseless. And if gun control means that he'll face just one less gun in the course of his career, it's a net gain for him. So, naturally, he prefers an unarmed citizenry — no matter what that does to the crime rate. —HB

Peace, peace, but there is no peace — No one will ever penetrate all the lies, hypocrisies, and self-delusions that enshroud human motivation. But one way of testing the reports that people make about their motives is to ask whether they seem happy to get what they claimed to want. If they don't seem happy, then they probably wanted something else.

For several decades, members of the peace movement (I was one of them) sobbed, shrieked, and occasionally went to jail to protest the U.S. policies that, they believed, were leading us to nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Their ideas about what causes war, and how to prevent it, often failed to make much sense, but even their opponents usually conceded the sincerity of their motives.

Now, of course, the problem that these people said was of overriding importance, the problem that they said was making them lose sleep, night after night, the problem that they said absolutely *impelled* them to join Committees for This and Committees for That and to travel hundreds of miles to do unpleasant things in front of government buildings — that whole problem has gone away! As a result of certain events that the peace activists could neither influence nor predict, there is now zero probability of a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Well, what has been the effect of this state of things on the people who said that they wanted it so badly? Have they issued any invitations to celebratory love-ins? Have you noticed any services in leftwing churches to commemorate the demise of the Soviet Union? Have you seen any bumperstickers saying things like, "Communism Is Unhealthy for Children and Other Living Things," or "One Armed Socialist State Could Spoil Your Whole Day"?

The answer, I'm afraid, is no. What one notices is an impressive silence about the formerly all-important issue, a silence punctuated, now and then, by noises like this from Dr. Benjamin Spock, world-renowned peace activist and guide to the naive: "I don't see the slightest indication that we've gotten any closer to world peace than we were before."

Everyone's entitled to his own opinion. But if someone gets what he said he wanted, and he doesn't even notice that he got it, then what should we conclude? Perhaps we should conclude that he actually wanted something else.

Now, what do you suppose that could have been? —SC

It's so easy, stealing green — Green space has value, and most of us want lots of it around us. That's easy for

New!

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Liberty's tenth anniversary conference in Port Townsend, surrounded by marine vistas and 19th century charm, was a rousing success. We're sorry we can't send you the sun and sea breeze if you missed out — but we saved the best part for you. These forward-looking talks and panels from our most recent conference are provocative and entertaining.

Are We Winning the War of Ideas? • Times have changed, and liberty is no longer a notion that embarrasses the intelligentsia or is honored by voters and politicians only in the breach. **Bill Bradford, Harry Browne, Sandy Shaw, David Friedman, and Timothy Virkkala** explore what this change means for the future of freedom. (audio: A301; video: V301)

Liberty for Sale • How to sell the idea of freedom, in one quick, easy lesson. **Harry Browne** is at the top of his form here: clear, humorous, and insightful. (audio: A302; video: V302)

Will Technology Advance Liberty or the State? • For every glowing prediction of the liberating effects of technology, there is a clipper chip, a phone tap, or a spy satellite. **Harry Browne** presides while **Ross Overbeek, David Friedman, Bill Bradford** and **Sandy Shaw** measure the capabilities of Freedom and Leviathan. (audio: A303; video: V303)

The New Libertarianism • Something has changed in libertarian discourse over the last decade. **Bill Bradford** talks about this shift in the foundation of rights theory and exposes the nature of consequentialism and the consequences of natural rights. (audio: A304; video: V304)

A Positive Account of Property Rights • **David Friedman** takes an economist's-eye view of the question "what is a right?" and explains why certain rights keep on coming back to haunt those who would like to govern without constraint. (audio: A305; video: V305)

Paper Money, Gold, and Inflation • **Bruce Ramsey** makes a libertarian case for fiat paper money. Here we put him on the spot, with **Richard Timberlake, David Friedman, Bill Bradford, and Harry Browne** providing some free-market alternatives. (audio: A306; video: V306)

In-Group vs. Out-Group/New Frontiers in Biology • **Timothy Virkkala** explores the darker side of human nature: dumping on other people with self-righteous gusto. Also, **Ross Overbeek** explains what breakthrough discoveries in the life sciences will mean to us in the future — and what they should mean to us right now. (audio: A307; video: V307)

those who live in Wilsall or Two Dot, Montana, but it is much more costly near the city of Bozeman, with its university, shopping centers, large employment base and its airport with jet service. Lots of people want to live here in Bozeman, and undeveloped land has become scarce and expensive. People like me who have lived here a while have enjoyed it without paying for it, and we hate to see any of it disappear.

Of course, we can move to developments near town, which incorporate green space and wildlife habitat, guaranteeing residents that this open space will always be there. But such developments are quite expensive, since they incorporate space that could be used for more houses.

The city of Bozeman does the same thing as Eagle Rock, in a smaller way, when it buys land for public parks. Citizens gain enjoyment and scenery, and pay via property taxes. Most of us think that this is a good trade-off.

But there are other ways for the city government to preserve green space without paying a money price for it. One might be to simply take what it wants by zoning land as green space, forbidding development on it. That would be just as costly, but renters and a few landowners would bear the cost, and the larger voting public would reap the benefit. Housing and other building space in and around Bozeman would rise in price. Current owners would get a double windfall: more green space and higher property values.

Or the city might instead levy a high tax on the builder of new housing or business space. These "impact fees" take cash from owners of development land, from new buyers of space, and from renters, and give it to the city. Building costs more, and as a result, proceeds more slowly. And the city can use the money it took to purchase green space, or extensive planning services, or property tax reductions, or for any purpose the politically powerful interests in the city want.

The effect on owners of existing homes and business buildings is, again, a windfall gain. Their buildings are suddenly worth much more since they don't have to pay the large new "impact fee." Owners of new buildings will pay the impact fee tribute, in addition to normal property taxes, some of which will be used to pay off any bonds needed to finance any new infrastructure they require.

These forms of taking from landowners to benefit city coffers and owners of existing buildings conceal the costs of slowing growth and of preserving green space. It does not reduce those costs; it merely loads them onto a minority of the public. That minority consists of non-residents wanting to move to Bozeman, who are unable to vote, and renters, who pay

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higher rent as a result of a reduced supply of housing and business space.

As a homeowner, I personally stand to gain a windfall from these takings. But they offend my sense of justice. Who gives us (even if we are the voting majority) the right to take from the few to gain what we want without paying for it?

—*guest reflection by Richard Stroup*

Let those who can, teach — American public schools are a disaster. Far too many children can't read or do math or science, can't identify Ernest Hemingway or Aaron Copland, can't place the Civil War in the correct century, and have trouble finding the U.S. on a map of the world. Colleges, even rather selective ones, have to offer remedial courses in basic skills. What to do?

One answer is privatization. Public schools invariably perform at much lower levels than the private schools. I taught at a private school in Maryland. It was a great place, with terrific kids, all smart enough to have chosen rich white Christian parents. My own children attended a private school in North Carolina during a year I was a visiting professor at the law school there. Great school. So what if my kids had to pray to Jesus each morning? Kids today need all the help they can get, and my wife was invited in for an hour in December to talk about Chanukah.

Why are private schools better? Or, more generally, what makes a good school? The answer, of course, is: good teachers. Even in a God-forsaken slum, a good teacher can make all the difference: teach the kids to do calculus, play tournament chess, sing in a world-class chorus, care about themselves and believe they have a future.

Next question: why do private schools have better teachers than public schools? An innocent observer might think: by paying them more. Private school teachers would get a good laugh out of that one, for they are typically paid less — and parochial school teachers much less — than the public school teachers in their district. A mystery worthy of Sherlock Holmes, no?

Actually, no. Private schools can get better teachers than public schools for one simple reason: private school teachers don't have to be certified by an education establishment cloaked with the powers of government. An IBM engineer, laid off in mid-career, cannot teach science in any public high school in America unless she goes back to school to study "education." She can, however, teach in private high schools. A newly minted Ph.D. in math who'd like to come back home for a few years can't teach algebra and trig in his old public high school but a private school would grab him. The lawyer who finds the stress of private practice uncongenial can't teach civics in a public intermediate or high school but a private school might at least give him a try.

There is another vast untapped pedagogical resource in this country: people who have retired from their regular careers but have no desire to spend the next twenty or thirty years practicing their chip shots. Imagine a civics course taught by a retired judge or legislator, computer courses taught by the men and women who actually developed the software being used, biology and chemistry courses enlivened by teachers for whom such subjects are not abstract exoticia but working tools in real professions. Today, none of them would be allowed to enter the guild-restricted precincts

of the public school. Steve Jobs could not offer a computer course in any public school in the country.

So the answer to the problem of low standards in American public schools is simple and costless: abolish all certification requirements which do not address subject competence, and judge subject competence not solely by college credits, which for older teachers may be obsolete, but also by accomplishment. The result would be a renaissance of education in America, an explosion of interest and competence and earned self-esteem in our young people, and all without spending an extra penny of public funds.

—*guest reflection by George Goldberg*

Batman and Mises — Batman has been fighting evil for many years. There are probably few persons alive today who know that in 1938 he foiled Hitler's evil regime in its efforts to prevent free-market economist Ludwig von Mises from completing an anti-Nazi book.

Berlin Batman, extremely anti-Nazi, posed as a wealthy no-good wastrel to keep the Nazis from guessing his true thoughts. He learned that the Nazis had confiscated von Mises' papers from his apartment in Vienna and brought them by train to Berlin. Berlin Batman had met Mises, read his work, and considered him a brave man to oppose the Nazi regime. He determined to prevent the Mises papers from getting to the Nazis. He dons cloak and mask, goes to the train yard and surveys the scene. WHACK! He struck the watchman. BOUMM! He blows up the tracks.

In his biography of Batman, Robin wrote later that von Mises may have been slowed down, but the Nazis couldn't stop him. He escaped to the United States where he continued to work on his book, which was published in 1949 as *Human Action*, "now considered one of the great libertarian works of our times."

Robin continued, "Von Mises' anti-authoritarian ideas were first a threat to the Nazis, then to the Soviets, and to all increasingly regulatory governments of our own times . . . He [Mises] was against socialism in all its many forms. He was an advocate of individual liberty, free speech and free thinking — and so, I should add, was the Berlin Batman."

Anyone wanting to enjoy this dramatic tale in living color should ask for *Batman Chronicle #11* (Winter 1998), published by DC Comics. Paul Pope, whose drawings have appeared in *Liberty* in the past, was author of this work. —BBG

Willpower — Socrates, in at least some of Plato's dialogues, held that "virtue is knowledge": if you really knew what course of action was best for you, you would do it. Who after all would want to defeat his own ends?

People act badly because they are not omniscient: they can't foresee the long-term consequences of their own actions. They marry with eagerness and high hopes, but after a few months or years the marriage ends in bitterness and mutual recrimination. They didn't want it to end that way, of course; they just didn't know the other person well enough — they miscalculated. They want that new job to promote their career and their happiness — but they didn't foresee that the company was nearing bankruptcy and that the boss was an unappeasable martinet. Since people are not omniscient, they often make mistakes in deciding what they should do. If they knew more, they would do better. *Moral*

error is cognitive error.

Not all the ancient Greeks accepted this Socratic maxim. But it was the influence of Christianity more than anything else that replaced it. Even if I know what is best for me, I may not do it. St. Paul wrote, "The good that I would I do not, and the evil that I would not, that I do." St. Augustine wrote more eloquently than any other ancient author about weakness of will. He considered it the primary cause of wrong actions.

Weakness of will is not a favorite topic among libertarians. "If there were no drug laws (or gun laws, etc.), the results would be much better than the present system of prohibitions." Probably so — but such rhetoric may not sufficiently take into account weakness of will. It may be that without prohibitions millions of people would become addicted, and end up as a drain on society. I doubt it, but I don't see how we can be sure. Every year more designer drugs are being developed that are almost instantly addicting, and almost impossible to give up unless the users possess very strong wills. True, this may not count on the negative side of the ledger as strongly as other things on the positive side: more than a million Americans are in prison, more than half of them because of the war on drugs; because high risk makes the drugs expensive, people burglarize and even kill to get them — and with no war on drugs these bad consequences would not occur. Still, if one is trying to balance utilities against disutilities, how can one be sure how the calculation is going to come out? How many ruined lives would tip the balance in the issue of decriminalization?

Libertarians ought to argue that a person has a right to take drugs, to gamble, to own guns, and so on, not that the consequences would always be better. Utilitarian arguments are a slender reed on which to rest one's case: the utility may sometimes go the other way. We should own guns because we may be able to wound that aggressor; on the other hand, if we own them a child may get hold of them, or we may fire in haste without thinking (weakness of will), and so on; the utilitarian argument could go either way. We should marry whom we choose — but some say that arranged marriages turned out better on the average than voluntary ones (half the voluntary ones end in divorce).

David Ramsay Steele ("Yes, Gambling Is Productive and Rational," July 1997) says that gambling is a productive activity, highly subject to rational control — and sometimes it is. Still, the three American cities with the highest suicide rates are Las Vegas, Reno, and Atlantic City. And there are many people who can't stop when they're winning, and never stop until they've lost everything; gambling is an overpowering compulsion for them. When gambling became legal in South Dakota, many housewives became so addicted that they spent on gambling all the money they'd saved for their son's or daughter's education. True, there may not have been much to do during those long cold nights on the prairie. Wouldn't it have been better if they had never started?

Some people, in fact, appear to be motivated in the very opposite way from Socrates's maxim: far from desiring their own well-being, they seem bent on their own destruction. Every day requires of them some form of punishment. This tendency is sometimes called "psychic masochism." Psychiatrists find it much more prevalent than a cursory examination of human actions would lead us to expect. It

seems to embody a kind of death-wish (the "thanatos" half of Freud's *eros-thanatos* impulse). Dostoyevsky wrote about this in his story "The Gambler," which Freud praised for its clinical accuracy.

But one needn't go so far — there is after all no way to know how many people possess, unknown to others, these strong inner compulsions. But there is one thing that everyone has to some degree, and that is laziness. We know what great consequences doing X would have in our lives, but we don't get up the motivation to do it. Some libertarians appear to believe that if we only knew how wonderful the libertarian society would be, we would devote all our energies to working toward this goal. But they reckon without this most widespread of all forms of weakness of will — what David Hume considered the principal defect of human nature — "a strong disinclination toward industry and labor." —JH

Thickness: Left, Right, and Libertarian —

The easiest way to gauge the mental thickness of any political mind or movement is its susceptibility to positions that appeal to prejudices (aka "the heart") but are politically contrary to their core beliefs.

Among self-defined liberals in recent years a good example was their relentless advocacy of American "disinvestment" of pre-Mandela South Africa, supposedly to undermine thereby the pro-Apartheid economy. The trouble was that the immediate result of forcing American corporations out of South Africa was fire-selling their companies to local businessman, mostly pro-Apartheid, who felt less obliged than Americans to hire black South African workers. Quite simply, American economic boycotting hurt those it was meant to benefit while initially aiding those a boycott aimed to hurt, though success back home surely made the advocates of American boycotting feel better about themselves. (It helped their hearts to forget that Apartheid was initiated by white unions, otherwise leftist, to legally prohibit competition from black workers.)

My favorite example of conservative thickness is the effort to abolish the National Endowment for the Arts, a minor federal agency which spends in a year what the Defense Department spends in a few hours, sometimes along with abolishing the companion Endowment for the Humanities. Not only do anti-NEA/NEH conservatives forget that cultural patronage has always been conservative (because that is



S. H. Chambers

what aristocrats do not only to make themselves aristocratic but also to buy the loyalty of a society's intelligentsia) but that such shortsighted efforts undermine American culture in the world arena, where countries compete not only with money but art and ideas. The fact that support for both the NEA and the NEH cost less than the United States Information (i.e., propaganda) Agency would be lost on budget-minded conservatives blinded by their passions.

What makes killing the culture agencies anti-patriotic is that the principal beneficiaries of its demise would be those publicists who want to dismiss America for its philistinism. This means that anti-NEA conservatives are implicitly contributing to the European and South American left, the remnants of the KGB, and the like that no self-respecting conservative would sit beside on a crowded bus. When self-styled conservatives align themselves so eagerly with America's opponents, you rightly wonder about the influence of double-agents, which is precisely what came to mind whenever I saw black South African celebrities during the 1980s advocate that Western companies withdraw from South Africa. It is hard to understand Lynn Cheney's mismanagement of the NEH, along with her subsequent advocacy of its abolition, except in terms of subversion or stupidity. The fact that self-styled conservatives fail to recognize this subversion makes me think that they are no less vulnerable to anti-American chicanery than liberals.

Likewise I never understood how self-proclaimed liberals got conned into advocating tighter handgun regulation, since the group most disadvantaged is the law-abiding poor in areas where the police are insufficient — the poor whom liberals otherwise favor. And who would have the most to gain from tighter gun regulation? Obviously those desiring to monopolize weapons — the military and the police, whom liberals otherwise disfavor. Similarly, the higher minimum wage advocated by liberals aids not those who are unemployed, about whom liberals wring their hands, but the higher working class that is currently employed.

Any reader accompanying me so far is invited to suggest which favorite libertarian piety is similarly good for our hearts but bad for our politics. I could imagine some readers identifying the libertarian opposition to military incursions around the world. Others might pick the elimination of international barriers on trade and immigration, because of short-term economic problems that they create. My colleague Doug Puchowski is always surprised that some prominent libertarians oppose abortion — not only Congressman Ron Paul but Murray Sabrin who ran visibly for governor of New Jersey.

My own choice for libertarian thickness would be the assumption that supporting an avowedly libertarian candi-

date for public office would have much effect in making a more desirable society. The problem is not just that the libertarian is bound to lose or that such campaigns are a distraction, at their most "successful" taking votes from one or another leading candidate. (When I read about a libertarian who celebrates taking a single-digit per cent of a vote, I'm reminded of the joy I felt when my university's football team, during a 0-8 season, scored a lone touchdown in defeat.)

The truth is that what libertarians do in their professional lives and the power of their ideas over decisions made by others, persuading those not only in voting booths and in administrative power (say, with the imposition of term limitations or the decriminalization of marijuana) but individuals faced with crucial choices. This is how libertarians can best make their politics felt.

What politician has ever done as much for liberty as the people who invented the automobile, the birth control pill, or panty hose? or George Soros with his private philanthropy? or Adam Smith? or Ludwig von Mises? or Alex Comfort with *The Joy of Sex*? or Emma Goldman who in the early 1920s exposed the evils of Soviet Communism from a libertarian perspective? —RK

Into the wilderness — Seen in a recent issue of *Chronicles*: a call for evangelicals to abandon the Republican Party and form (get ready) A Third Political Party!

Never mind that ever since the mid-80s, evangelicals have cowed Republican politicians and alienated the GOP's few remaining small-r republicans. And it's not as though the evangelicals' influence has waned. Even now, they bend the spine of a certain presidential hopeful who once flirted with libertarianism. Yea, wickedness abides in the heart of the child (the child of Malcolm Forbes, that is) but the rod of fundamentalist ward heelers shall drive it far from him.

All right, I admit that an exodus to a third party is nowhere on the horizon. That's why the appeal for an anointed third party was written up in *Chronicles* instead of a zine that is closer to the pulse of modern conservatism. Like *The New Republic*. And that's too bad because I can see the perfect strategy for such a venture.

First, set up the headquarters of the Leviticus Party (LP) somewhere close to the nerve center of the national media. Why not Washington, D.C.? What a bargain! Property values are in the tank there, after all. Hook up a permanent feed to C-SPAN. Issue a press release a day on pressing national emergencies, such as the untoward fall in the number of illegitimate births and plummeting crime statistics that threaten the careers of professional casuists. That's how to get media exposure! And, above all, collect love offerings to get the message out and recruit, or rather, convert new members. Before you can break seven seals, we'll have the theocracy The Founding Fathers (who art in heaven . . .) intended. Maybe as soon as 2004.

Scoff if you will, but I think America is ready for the LP. After all, polls show that 90 percent of us agree that there is a God. —BB

Best of times, worst of times — The death of a dimwitted semi-attractive middle-aged woman who attained celebrity when she snared the Prince of Wales into a brief and loveless marriage was by all accounts the "biggest

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Proposal

The Predatory Bureau

by John Baden & Douglas Noonan

There's nothing wrong with government that couldn't be fixed by an efficient predator.

During the past century, the American West's largest and most efficient predator has been virtually eradicated as a matter of conscious government policy. Ranchers, government hunters, and trappers killed thousands upon thousands of wolves to protect livestock and to receive state and federal bounties.

But the West has suffered for this. Predators perform a necessary function in the natural world, "weeding out" populations of herbivores that, unchecked, overgraze vegetation and devastate the landscape. Not surprisingly, much of the west today is overrun with huge populations of ungulates like bison, deer and elk.

The situation is particularly acute in Yellowstone National Park, where bison herds are so overgrown that in the winter of 1996-97, nearly one-third of them were slaughtered when they left the park in search of winter forage. Absent predation, human or otherwise, the elk and bison herds are turning Yellowstone into a giant, overgrazed theme park. As Utah State University ecologist Frederic Wagner comments, "Anyone who militates against imposing artificial constraints implicitly advocates letting populations increase to the point of creating problems like the bison situation and letting animals severely impact the environment."

So today's government "wildlife stewards" are re-introducing the wolf that yesterday's bureaucrats removed, in hopes of restoring balance to the wildly imbalanced ecology.

The Changing Political Environment

During the same period in which Yellowstone changed from an equilibrating ecosystem of predators, ungulates and forage into an over-foraged environment, overrun with bison and free of predators, most Western democracies have been transformed from sentinels of rights and defenders of liberties into guarantors of entitlements and engines of plunder. The end result of this transformation is the Welfare

State. In this political economy, factions wrestle for control of the state's fundamental and unique characteristic: its power of legitimate use of coercive force. Capturing state power is their ultimate political goal, absolutely corrupting in its promise of absolute power (at least within the sovereign state).

James Madison clearly recognized this temptation of governance, and sought to inhibit the state's ability to carry out abusive actions for specialized factions. The American federal system incorporated two features to thwart the usurpation of the power for plunder: (1) the separation of powers, and (2) limited Constitutional governance. By fracturing the state into different but interdependent branches, the state's responsiveness to minority, specialized factions was indirectly curtailed. Moreover, by strictly delimiting the state's powers, especially in certain realms such as economic activity and individual liberty, the Constitution directly constrained the behavior of the federal government.

Because the Founders believed that people would not be paragons of civic virtue but would remain largely self-interested, they sought institutions that fostered wealth creation rather than redistributing wealth. Thus the stage was set for the grand experiment in the American political economy.

But the federal government in 1997 bears little resemblance to what it was 200 years ago. This is a natural result of two centuries of political, economic, and social change. Many of these changes have sprung from or been used to capture the power of the state apparatus for factional purposes. These efforts have placed the system under various pres-

asures. The safeguards built into the system have been tried and tested, and in some cases circumvented or outright changed.

In his insightful 1982 book, *The Rise and Decline of Nations*, Mancur Olson explains these powerful, underlying forces at work, which spell decay for advanced democratic nations. Consider four of his more perspicacious observations:

- Stable societies accumulate more organized factions over time.
- Small, specialized factions have disproportionate influence in politics compared to large ones.
- "On balance, special-interest organizations and collusions reduce efficiency and total income in the societies in which they operate and make political life more divisive."
- These coalitions tend to slow economic growth and technological advances, and increase regulatory complexity.

Olson describes an important pattern in the development of national political economies, one that seems particularly true of the United States. He concludes:

Throughout the postwar period, and especially since the early 1960s, there has been a strong and systematic relationship between the length of time a state has been settled and its rate of growth of both per capita and total income. The relationship is negative — the longer a state has been settled and the longer the time it has had to accumulate special-interest groups, the slower its rate of growth.

The experience of many Asian nations, and the struggles of older regimes, reflect this. America's continued economic success has come in spite of the increasing drain of factions.

Parasitic Bureaus

One aspect of the rise of factions in America's political economy is the rise of bureaucracy. The administrative agency forms one cornerstone of the iron triangle of political

Absent predation, human or otherwise, the elk and bison herds are turning Yellowstone into a giant, overgrazed theme park.

plunder. (The other two are the elected official and the organized special-interest group.) The bureaucracy is an especially pernicious accomplice in the rise of factionalism, not just because it begets more factionalism, but because its existence is predicated upon neither direct political will nor voluntary exchange. This is especially true of the federal public lands management agencies. Rather than steward our resources, they systematically advocate programs that are environmentally costly, are financially wasteful, and increase the scope of the federal government at the expense of voluntary exchange and coordination. In this sense, bureaucracies are parasitic.

The Welfare State's major function is to redistribute wealth and opportunities. Generally, government bureaucracies generate no wealth on their own. Unlike nongovernmental, independent actors who rely on voluntary agreements, federal bureaucracies depend on taxation and forced trans-

fers. Their very lifeblood (budget, authority) is siphoned from private individuals and firms. Parasitic bureaus transfer the costs of growth to their unwilling hosts, leading the bureaus to continually expand their activities.

This biological analogy is a telling one. In *Bionomics*, Michael Rothschild introduces the notion of economic parasites, the analog to biological parasites. These economic parasites survive and prosper by means of secrecy, deception, brute force, and legal authority. Government agencies are renowned for their use of all these tactics. The U.S. Forest Service quietly loses \$400 million dollars each year. Its operations rely on an oblivious public that loves Smokey the Bear but is largely ignorant of how Forest Service operations deplete our forests, divide our communities, and depreciate

Parasitic bureaus transfer the costs of growth to their unwilling hosts, leading the bureaus to continually expand their activities.

our economies. Federal subsidies to ethanol producers are predicated in part on the deceptive idea that they save energy and improve air quality. The Fish and Wildlife Service, one of many agencies that have legal authority as their hook, forces landowners to provide habitat for endangered species. These parasitic agencies drain their hosts (taxpayers, landowners, etc.), usually without their consent.

Budgetary Commons

Bureaucracies act as they do because of the information and incentives faced by their managers. Thus, bureaucracies tap into the Federal Treasury, a vast resource with common-pool characteristics. Essentially, the logic underlying a common treasury is identical to that of the "tragedy of the commons." In 1833, Oxford lecturer William Forster Lloyd asked his readers to "suppose two persons to have a common purse, to which each may freely resort." If a man takes a coin from his own purse, he knows that the remainder is his to spend later. Thus, he'll be likely to economize on spending. Not so for the common purse. Spending a coin impoverishes both men equally, while the person spending the coin keeps all the benefits. If there are a multitude of partners, "the motive for economy entirely vanishes."

Like the common purse, the U.S. Treasury encourages bureaucratic profligacy. Each bureaucrat with access to the Treasury seeks to maximize his discretionary budget. By capturing another increment of the Treasury, benefit goes to the successful bureaucrat, while the costs of a depleted Treasury are shared among all agencies and Americans. Thus, every bureaucrat is faced with a compelling incentive to find ways to increase his agency's scope and magnitude.

The beneficiaries of government programs like school lunches or timber sales vociferously defend their interests. An iron triangle of bureaucrats, legislators, and special interests have strong reasons to protect the pork barrel projects. The average citizen, on the other hand, has little incentive to resist expanding bureaucratic scope. The costs of each program are diffused among the broad population, while the

benefits are concentrated on small groups. Such a fate is the Founding Fathers' nightmare, and what Mancur Olson describes in *The Rise and Decline of Nations*.

More recently, Jonathan Rauch has authored *Demosclerosis: The Silent Killer of American Government*. Rauch, a leading thinker with modern liberal inclinations, points to the current problem of American politics and government: Government cannot be all things to all people, and the more we try to make it so, the less it becomes to all people. As he terms it:

The more responsive politics becomes, the more inert government grows. The more frantically one reacts, the less effectively the other adapts. And this counterpoint is no coincidence. Each begets the other.

Bureaucracies tend to grow and accumulate special interests at the expense of effective governance. Rauch's *demosclerosis* is evident in "government's gradual collapse into manic maladaptation." The problem isn't gridlock or excessive government intervention, he argues, it is a government compulsively doing more of the wrong things than ever before. Public servants too often "serve the public" by producing benefits for only concentrated groups and the bureaucrats who administer those benefits.

Many bureaucracies can be thought of as ungulates grazing a commons. Bureaus feed at the public trough, so to speak, much as cattle do. While there is competition among agencies for funding and authority, there is a conspicuous absence of constraints on their growth. They have open access to a rich environment (the Treasury), but nothing limits their consumption except, ultimately, the size of the Treasury. Like cattle, bureaucracies lack predators.

In the biological world, most organisms are subject to predation by others in the ecosystem. Predators serve the essential function of limiting prey populations. They balance the ecosystem by instituting competitive forces for scarce resources such that the fit are most likely to survive and the weakest will disappear.

There are many examples of ecosystems without predators. Livestock ranches are an obvious one. Ranch animals specialize in consuming more resources from the environment at the expense of any other development. They become efficient grazing machines, slothful, bloated, and completely dependent on the free provision of its resources. We would expect livestock, loose in the natural environment, to meet a very rapid demise at the hands of predators or other natural forces. The similarity between livestock and many government agencies is uncanny.

The Predatory Bureau

It has been said that the best route to immortality is to become a government program. Federal programs are easily established but are dismantled only with great difficulty. Politicians come and go, but subsidies and bureaucracies remain. Subsidies routinely persist well after their initial justification. As many of the newly-elected Republicans in 1994 quickly realized, killing the bureaucracies that administer the wealth transfers is not politically feasible. The ethanol subsidy, for example, has withstood forceful and repeated attacks. After dropping a proposal to cut the subsidy in the 1996 budget, Newt Gingrich continues to fight off renewed

bipartisan attacks on this corporate welfare project, and the ethanol subsidy survives.

Overcoming the entrenched bureau, its ardent lobby, and the legislators who depend on the pork project for political support is nigh impossible. Clearly, change from within the system seems unlikely, much like asking cattle to restrict voluntarily their diet and develop survival instincts.

Yet the question remains, how can wasteful, dysfunctional bureaucracies be weeded out? We propose a *predatory bureau*.

First, establish a bureaucracy, the Agency of Budgetary Control (ABC), endowed with funds to carry it for two years only. This constraint is critical. After the first two years, its budget would come solely from the money it saves taxpayers by successfully eliminating waste inside other agencies' budgets. By structuring the ABC this way, we harness — for social benefit rather than just bureaucratic gain — the fundamental pathology of bureaucracies, that propensity toward self-perpetuation and growth. The ABC's continued funding, and hence its survival and growth, depends upon preying upon other agencies' budgetary requests. While individuals and the public have little incentive to oppose particular programs, this strategy provides compelling opportunities for the ABC to do so.

Suppose, for example, that the Bureau of Reclamation requests \$600 million for the Las Animas-La Plata dam-

How can wasteful, dysfunctional bureaucracies be weeded out? We propose a predatory bureau, whose funding would come solely from the money it saves eliminating waste in other agencies.

building project in Colorado. This project is estimated to produce just \$50 million of value to farmers. This dam's damaging ecological consequences and economic costs likely far outweigh its benefits.

The Agency of Budgetary Control would marshal evidence against the project, employing ecologists, economists, and local residents who prefer the river as it is. In this case they would likely work with groups like the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Taxpayers Union to advertise to Congress the dam's high costs. Their voices would directly oppose the testimony developed by the Bureau of Reclamation and its clientele groups, those who hope to benefit from subsidized irrigation. After weighing the testimony of both sides, Congress would either grant the budgetary request or uphold the ABC's challenge. In this hypothetical case, we would expect the ABC to triumph.

With the dam defeated, the ABC would receive, say, ten percent of the project's net expenses. That ten percent would be taken from the "prey" agency's operating budget. In this case, the Bureau of Reclamation would be punished \$55 million and the ABC would be \$55 million richer. (The ten percent figure is strictly arbitrary and would likely benefit from adjustment based on experience.) The predatory bureaucracy would thrive only if it were successful at eliminating pro-

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grams. The offending department, in this case the Bureau of Reclamation, would be punished not only by losing project funding, but also by losing an additional portion of its operating budget.

After receiving its budgetary windfall, the predatory bureaucracy would do what all bureaucracies do: add more staff, buy expensive office equipment, and diligently pursue a still bigger budget. Perhaps all those new staffers would then challenge certain U.S. Forest Service timber sales. Stopping below-cost timber sales is no easy feat, as some analysts have been arguing against them for 25 years. But if a predator bureaucracy stands to gain some of the \$195 million the Forest Service annually loses in such sales, we might expect it to invest millions in an unprecedented campaign to bring fiscal prudence to Forest Service management.

The major advantage of the ABC is that it counters the problem of political action that concentrates benefits while diffusing costs. Further, it builds into the appropriation process a spokesman for the public interest, who is, more importantly, a spokesman who does good while doing well. There are, of course, a few technical problems with this proposal, but they are likely to be minor when compared with the benefits.

Sooner than later, other bureaucracies in Washington, D.C., will wise up. After a few successful attacks, the various agencies will doubtlessly move up the learning curve. Agencies uncertain about which programs will be subject to predation will face strong incentives to avoid proposing projects of dubious value. They will, for the first time, face a systematic incentive to undertake only those programs whose costs do not clearly outweigh the benefits. Agencies will become more efficient and more productive, or else the predator will eat away at their budgets.

One predictable side effect is that the prey agency would spend more resources defending itself, where previously it never had to expend such efforts. While this does introduce a new cost to operating a bureaucracy, necessarily detracting from its ability to carry out its mission, such costs provide essential feedback mechanisms for bureaucracies. They will have a natural incentive to seek funding for those programs which require the least costly defense (presumably, those same programs will also have the most merit, or at least the most popular support). By establishing this internal calculus into agencies, budget maximizing bureaucrats will adapt their activities to their defensive requirements.

Many who favor smaller government

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The Coming War on the Automobile

by Randal O'Toole

If you drive to work, to shop, or anywhere at all, then watch out: The apostles of political correctness have declared that cars are evil and plan to fight them by increasing congestion and making driving as slow and uncomfortable as possible.

The first shots in the war were fired in the wake of Earth Day in the early 1970s. A spate of books with titles like *Road to Ruin*, *Highway to Nowhere*, and *Autokind vs. Mankind* declared that the automobile is one of the greatest horrors ever invented: Cars pollute; cars break apart communities; cars make people lazy; cars promote frivolous values and irresponsible behavior. Americans were victims of a dark conspiracy coming out of Flint, Michigan.

Though opponents of the automobile belittle and hound drivers regarding their "dangerous habit" in a thousand small ways, the war on the automobile has yet to turn into an *overt* social war on the order of the anti-tobacco crusade and the War on Drugs. The war on the auto is, so far, a *covert* one, waged by city planners and zoning commissions talking of quality of life, not by legislators and bureaucrats pledged to suppress Americans' "deadly addiction" to driving.

But this does not make the war any the less real. Early skirmishes in this war have been fought with increasing intensity since the 1960s. Major battlefronts are currently located in Oregon, Minnesota, Maryland, and Florida. Though these local efforts have only modest support from federal officials, the stage is set for the battles to spread across the country. And the stakes are enormous.

It Usually Begins with the Federal Government

The war can be traced, naturally enough, to a misbegotten and misguided federal program: the Interstate Highway System. As originally conceived by President Eisenhower, Interstates were to link cities but not pass through them. But in the 1950s, most Americans lived in the cities. City officials couldn't stand the thought of all that federal money being spent outside their borders, so they quickly transformed the program into one that mainly served commuters.

While freeways literally paved the way for urbanites' flight

to the suburbs — a flight motivated less by racial issues than by people's desire to live in pleasant neighborhoods on large houselots — they imposed costs on people in existing cities, by wiping out a wide swath of existing homes, businesses, and parks. Not surprisingly, urban residents often opposed freeway construction (at least through *their* neighborhood), sometimes delaying or even preventing freeway construction.

While the freeways transformed the American cityscape, and the automobile rose to ever-greater dominance, the anti-automobilists struck back, and achieved their first significant victory: the government takeover — usually with federal assistance — of virtually all of America's urban transit systems.

Mass transit had been in steady decline since 1920, when autos went from being toys for the rich to mobility for everyone.

Transit advocates persuasively argued that, due to youth, age, or disabilities, some people were simply unable to drive. Society owed these people as much mobility as the auto offered everyone else, so society should subsidize transit. But behind this argument lurked a belief that mass transit was better than personal autos and that we would all be better off if we could go back to the late-nineteenth century when most cities had streetcars but no one had cars.

The Public Trough

The next big goal of the anti-auto crowd was to "bust the

trust fund" — to open up highway funds for mass transit. Since around 1950, highway user fees in the form of gas taxes, vehicle registrations, and truck weight taxes had paid for nearly all road and highway construction in the U.S.

The federal government and most states dedicated these fees exclusively to roads. This, transit advocates argued, created a bias in the minds of transportation planners for more roads. Opening up the funds to all forms of transportation would supposedly allow planners to find the best way to spend the money, not just automatically spend it on more roads.

Transit advocates were unable to convince many states to go along with this logic. But in 1982 it convinced Congress to dedicate two cents of the federal gas tax to mass transit. Congress also agreed to allow cities that had approved but

More than four out of five American workers drive to their jobs, and more than 90 percent of all non-job-related trips are also by car. Yet auto drivers make no attempt to defend themselves in the political sphere and are easy prey for the anti-car coalition.

unbuilt interstate highways to convert the funds for those highways to funding for mass transit.

In almost every major American city, one of the best ways public transit agencies can improve transit is by acquiring more buses to add service to existing routes. Transit riders are frequency sensitive, and doubling frequencies can often lead to far more than double the ridership.

But there is a problem with this strategy: in most cities, buying more buses creates few local jobs and no profits for the construction companies that were expecting to build the cancelled interstates. The solution found by San Diego, Portland, Sacramento, and several other cities was to build a rail transit line. Rail advocates were fond of pointing out that a single rail line could carry as many people as a four-lane freeway. Planners predicted that a low-cost investment would reduce transit operating costs, boost ridership, and reduce congestion on nearby roads and streets.

It didn't work out that way, though you would never know it listening to the publicity generated by the transit agencies. Portland's light rail "was built on time and under budget and carries more riders than predicted," said G. B. Arrington, the head planner for Portland's transit agency.

In fact, Portland's light rail cost 55 percent more than was originally budgeted, took a year longer to build, and carries less than half the riders originally predicted. After funding was approved and construction began, planners revised their cost and time predictions upward and their ridership downward, enabling them to claim success despite the reality of failure.

Portland's light rail offers more frequent trains than the express bus system it replaced, but it averages less than 20 miles per hour from start to finish, less than half the speed of the previous express buses. Probably its failure to attract

commuters is the result of its slow speed.

Rail transit has been a failure in every American city where it has been built in the past several decades. Even Washington, D.C.'s extensive and expensive rail-and-bus system carries less than 14 percent of D.C. commuters — a smaller market share than the bus-and-streetcar system of 1960. Nevertheless, light rail is now touted as the solution for all sorts of cities, from Missoula, Montana, to northern New Jersey opposite Manhattan.

Designing Cities for the Nineteenth Century

To understand this growing campaign, we have to look at the work of a group of architects who call themselves "New Urbanists" or "neotraditionalists." New Urbanists subscribe to the idea that cars are destroying our communities and it is up to architects and planners to save cities by redesigning them so people can live without cars.

To accomplish that redesign, architects first looked for cities that lived without cars to see how they worked. The cities they chose were major U.S. cities from around the turn of the century. In those days, more people lived in apartments. Those who lived in single-family homes usually lived on tiny lots, often in row houses. Housing freely mingled with retail shops, professional offices, and other businesses. Few people drove because few had cars, and streetcars were the most modern transportation.

So New Urban design consists of high-density neighborhoods of apartments, row houses, homes on tiny lots, and mixed uses all built around a light-rail station or transit corridor. Neotraditionalists go further and build in wide front porches, bay windows, steeply pitched roofs, and put garages behind the house if they are included at all.

One of the first neotraditional communities was Seaside, Florida, planned by Florida husband-wife architect team

To planners, congestion is a worthwhile goal, not a bug in the system.

André Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Their strategy is not to design every building but to write a highly prescriptive zoning code. Seaside has narrow streets, Victorian-style homes with tiny yards, and pedestrian walkways between many yards. The resort community is pleasant to visit, but it is in no sense urban.

Laguna Beach, California, is more frequently celebrated in the lavish coffee table books praising New Urbanism. Designed by architect Peter Calthorpe, Laguna Beach was supposed to have a transit center surrounded by a core of high-density housing, which itself was surrounded by lower density housing. Shops and other businesses were to be scattered through the entire area. Residents, particularly in the high-density housing, were expected to walk to the transit center to get to work.

What the coffee table books don't say is that Laguna Beach didn't work out as Calthorpe planned. People didn't want to be crammed into high-density housing, and the original developer went bankrupt. A new developer put low-

density housing everywhere.

Since Calthorpe didn't design a parking area near the transit center, people parked their cars in front of other people's homes. The owners of those plush homes objected and convinced the transit agency to move the transit center outside of the development. The only commercial establishment in the entire development is a quick lube. So much for living without cars.

Leading the Charge in Oregon

The state of Oregon and city of Portland are leading the New Urban assault on the automobile. Oregon's land-use board has directed every city over 25,000 to force its residents to reduce their per-capita auto driving by 20 percent. This may seem a strange rule for a land-use board, but a major tenet of New Urbanism is that there is a strong link between land uses and automobile usage.

Following suit, Oregon's air pollution agency has ordered all employers of 50 or more people to induce their employees to reduce their auto commuting by 10 percent. Employers who fail to prepare and implement plans are subject to heavy fines.

Metro, Portland's regional planning agency, has dictatorial powers over twenty-four cities and three counties. Its elaborate anti-automobile campaign uses several coordinated tactics:

- Increasing highway capacities by no more than 13 percent even as the region's population grows by 75 percent;
- Spending most of the region's federal and local transportation dollars on light-rail transit, even though planners know that light rail will never carry more than 2 percent of the region's trips;
- Drawing an urban-growth boundary beyond which little or no development may take place;
- Highly prescriptive zoning within the boundary requiring restricting development to high residential densities designed to increase congestion;
- Requiring all owners of shopping and office complexes reduce available parking by 10 percent and eventually charge for their parking;
- "Traffic calming," a euphemism for actions that reduce roadway capacities, such as concrete barriers limiting the flow of traffic and reductions in the number of lanes on major streets;
- Banning new shopping malls and "big box" stores such as Costco or WalMarts;
- Promoting and subsidizing instead small shops in mixed-used areas.

Planners lovingly paint a picture of people living in high-density or mixed-use areas, walking to the grocery store and taking the train to work. The reality, planners quietly pre-

dict, is that no more than 12 percent of all trips in the Portland area will be on foot, bicycle, or mass transit. While this is a 50 percent increase from today's 8 percent, it means that the share of trips by auto decline by less than 5 percent from 92 to 88 percent.

With the expected 75 percent increase in population trying to drive at least 67 percent more miles per day on a road system that is just 13 percent larger, planners predict that their plan will lead congestion to at least triple. Portlanders will spend more time in traffic trying to get to and from work.

To planners, congestion is a worthwhile goal, not a bug in the system. They know that Americans respond to congestion by living closer to work. This means Portlanders will be

happy to live in the high-density housing that planners have assigned them to. Congestion, says Metro quietly, "signals positive urban development." As a report on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* observed forthrightly, Portland planners "are embracing congestion; they want to create more of it."

Planners proudly point to certain Portland neighborhoods that they consider to be their ideal: Northwest 23rd, Southeast Hawthorne. These

are relatively dense older neighborhoods with many apartments surrounding a busy street of small charming shops.

"People are learning to walk more in these neighborhoods," says Metro planner Mark Turpel. They have to: the areas are so crowded with cars that people often park many blocks away to get to the shops. The residential streets are lined with cars on both sides, and the busy streets are one continuous traffic jam. This, according to Portland's New Urban congressman, Earl Blumenauer, "is the kind of congestion that is exciting."

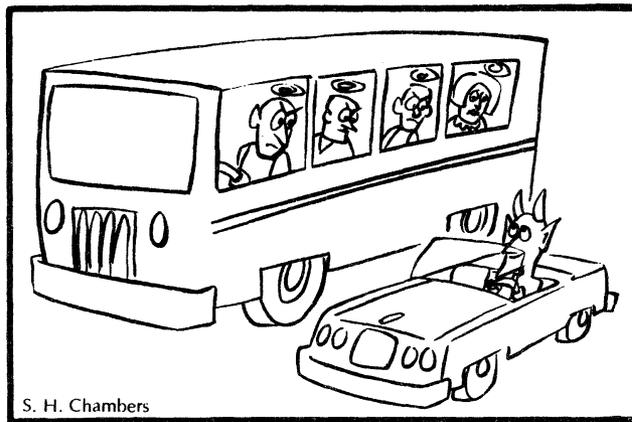
Metro convinced Portland-area voters to give it dictatorial planning powers in 1992 by promising to save Portland from turning into L.A. Two years later, Metro planners compared fifty American cities to see which one was most like its vision for Portland. They learned that a single American city simultaneously has the highest population density, the lowest number of miles of freeway per capita, and is spending the most on building a new rail system.

What city was it? Los Angeles. Metro planners concluded that L.A. "represents the investment pattern we desire to replicate." Of course, they don't mention that in any of the four-color brochures that they pass out to the public. This goal is reported only in a dry, data-crammed document available only to those willing to pay a \$10 fee.

The Case Against the Auto

What is the reasoning behind the campaign against the automobile? New Urbanists say that automobiles are evil because:

1. They impose huge hidden costs on society;



S. H. Chambers

2. They lead to sprawl;
3. They create ugly strip malls and sterile suburbs;
4. They are forced upon unwilling Americans who would rather rely on mass transit.

Let's examine these arguments.

1. Hidden Costs

Enemies of the automobile tote up a huge list of costs that cars impose on society and subsidies that society pays to support drivers. Taken together these subsidies and hidden

Enemies of the automobile tote up a huge list of costs that cars impose on society and subsidies that society pays to support drivers. Yet the vast majority of the costs that they count are neither hidden nor subsidies.

costs total billions of dollars each year, which averages out to several dollars of subsidy or social cost per mile driven.

Yet the vast majority of the costs that they count are neither hidden nor subsidies. They begin by identifying the entire federal highway trust fund as a subsidy. Transit advocates seeking to divert funds from it to transit, for example, argue that they are reducing the subsidy to highways.

But, as I noted above, the highway trust fund is composed entirely of revenue from motor fuel taxes, which finance the construction of virtually all freeways, highways, and roads. It is only ordinary city streets that are usually financed by other means: usually developers pay for construction and property owners pay for their maintenance (by means of local property taxes). If this is a subsidy, it isn't much of one: the main function of city streets is to provide access to property, so it isn't unreasonable to expect property owners to pay for them.

Auto opponents also include the cost of automobile insurance, highway and bridge tolls, and parking — even though these are all paid for by auto drivers or (in the case of some parking) people seeking the business of auto users. One anti-auto economist counts as subsidy the income taxes that states and the federal government would collect if employees had to count the value of parking provided by employers as taxable income. He figures that the government "loses" \$21 billion in taxes this way.

Rigorously applying this logic leads to some very strange conclusions. Should we, for example, count as subsidy the tax forgone on the value of drinking water that an employer provides his employee? the chair he provides? the background music? everything an employer provides for the convenience or comfort of an employee? How much does the government lose out on in taxes for these perks?

Auto opponents add in the cost of state highway patrols, highway administration, and interest on highway bonds — all of which are paid for out of vehicle fees, fuel taxes, etc. Then they add the costs of highway congestion, which again are paid for by users and which have increased in recent years mainly due to the efforts of the anti-auto lobbies.

One auto opponent counts half the cost of America's mili-

tary presence in the Persian Gulf as a subsidy to autos, on the theory that military intervention was necessitated by our need for automobile fuel. Yet the U.S. gets little oil from the Gulf — most goes to Europe and Japan — and the U.S. has military forces in many places with no oil.

It is obvious that opponents of the automobile will do almost anything with statistics to trump up the "costs" of automobile usage. About the only legitimate social cost that can be tallied against the auto is air pollution and associated health costs. But even the most virulent auto opponents agree that this totals to no more than a few cents per mile driven.

In contrast, the subsidies to transit are enormous. Farebox revenues typically cover less than a quarter of the cost of urban bus service, and often cover less than 5 percent of the cost of recently built rail lines. Most capital costs are paid for out of highway user fees, while operating costs are paid out of various local taxes, mostly paid by auto drivers.

The real subsidies are from autos to transit riders, not the other way around.

2. Sprawl

Everyone knows that American cities are sprawling across the countryside and that the U.S. is rapidly running out of prime farmland and open space. It is to prevent this sprawl that New Urban planners seek higher densities. Since the auto makes sprawl possible, anything that will discourage driving, including congestion and parking fees, helps to curb sprawl.

As usual, what "everybody knows" turns out to be wrong. Nationwide, America's urbanized areas cover only about 2.6 percent of the area of the lower 48 states. More than twice this amount of prime farmland isn't even used for

Buses are more flexible and cost much less to operate and maintain than rail, since they share the cost of roadbed maintenance with autos.

growing crops — it is used as pasture, forests, or is lying fallow. Total U.S. agricultural lands amount to nearly twenty times the area of our cities. Urban areas are growing, but when they start out at such a small proportion of the total land base that growth isn't having much of an impact on open space or farms.

What is happening is that urban areas are growing from a very tiny portion of total land to a tiny portion of land in the United States. It simply is not a problem. Of course, when a farm is subdivided into residential lots, there is an appearance of a loss of farmland. But at the same time, new farmland is being added elsewhere, relatively unproductive pastureland is converted to cropland, and existing farmland is becoming more productive. As a result, relative to other costs, the price of agricultural commodities are actually declining. If urban sprawl was consuming prime farmland at a dangerous rate, as the New Urbanists maintain, surely this would not be the case.

One of the things that bother New Urbanists is that suburbanites are choosing to live on larger lots. Average lot

sizes have grown from about 5,000 square feet in 1960 to 8,000 square feet in 1990. But residential land typically amounts to only about a third of urban areas. So doubling lot sizes does not automatically translate into double the total urban land area.

As eastern and midwestern cities decline, America's fastest growing cities are in the West and South. It is here where the concerns about sprawl are most frenzied. Yet if "sprawl" is defined as growth of urbanized land at a rate faster than the population growth, then few western cities are actually sprawling. Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Denver, Phoenix, and many other cities are growing in population faster than they are in land area.

Whatever sprawl that exists is primarily the product of population growth and the desire of people to have larger yards, bigger gardens, and more satisfying lives. The automobile plays little role in the process.

3. Ugly Strip Malls and Sterile Suburbs

As New Urbanists have noted, American cities in 1900 were characterized by high densities and mixtures of residential and commercial uses. But the leading thinkers of those days believed that crowding was unhealthy and mixed uses were dangerous and harmful to property values. So urban planners of the 1910s and 1920s developed zoning for the specific purpose of protecting low-density neighborhoods of single-family homes from the nuisances of apartments, offices, and stores.

Zoning codes typically limited commercial uses to busy streets. Single-family residential areas were set well back from such commercial areas. Apartments and other higher-density housing formed a buffer between the commercial areas and single-family neighborhoods.

One result was that the busy streets turned into strip developments. Another result was that wealthy homeowners in low-density suburbs sought increasingly low-density zones to protect their property values. In short, the planning ideals of the 1920s became the planning scourges of the 1990s.

Some cities, notably Houston, survive without zoning, relying instead on protective covenants and neighborhood associations to maintain property values. Such cities may still have strip malls, but to a considerable extent the things the New Urbanists object to are mistakes of past generations of planners, not the workings of free markets, which for the most part are not allowed to exist.

Strip malls and supposedly sterile suburbs may offend the esthetic sensibilities of New Urbanists, but they undeniably attract many people. Sociologist Herbert Gans spent two years living in a traditional, high-density urban neighborhood and another two years living in a tract suburb. He found that people in the suburbs were just as happy and had just as much of a sense of community as people in the central city.

As long ago as the 1960s, Gans noted that "hysterical mythmakers" complained "that individualism was dying, suburbanites were miserable, and the fault lay with the homogeneous suburban landscape and its population." Yet Gans found no evidence that this was true.

4. General Motors Made Us Do It

If autos are so bad, auto opponents explain their ubiquity by claiming that Americans have been forced to drive when

they would rather not. The most potent support for this is the case of Los Angeles, where the streetcar system was purchased by General Motors, Firestone Tire, and Standard Oil. These companies quickly scrapped the streetcars and replaced them with rubber-tired, oil-burning buses. Since New Urbanists claim that buses are less efficient than streetcars, they see this switch not just as a way to sell buses but as a dark plot to run the transit system into bankruptcy and force everyone to drive.

The simple fact is that virtually every rail transit system in the country lost money throughout the 1930s, late 1940s and 1950s. With three or four exceptions, they scrapped their streetcars and replaced them with buses. Buses are more flexible and cost much less to operate and maintain since they share the cost of roadbed maintenance with autos.

Numerous cities, including San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Chicago, have built or maintained extensive rail transit systems. Yet the auto has more than 80 percent of the market share of commuters in these cities, and transit's market share has generally declined. Only in New York has rail maintained a significant market share, yet transit carries just 25 percent of commuters in the New York metropolitan area, while cars have 65 percent.

Americans have shown that they are willing to put up with enormous amounts of congestion in order to avoid the inconveniences and indignities of mass transit. The typical response to increasing congestion is not to shift to transit but for employers and homeowners to move closer to one

From the Front

Portland, Jan. 14 — The central planners who run Metro, the regional planning agency for Portland, Oregon, approved their highly coercive plan for the Portland area in early December. But they may not get a chance to implement it.

The plan calls for (among other things) forcing high densities on dozens of neighborhoods, tripling traffic congestion, and requiring employers and shopping malls to charge for parking. Support for the plan is rapidly evaporating as people find out just what it involves.

A few days after Metro approved its plan, residents of the Portland suburb of Milwaukie recalled their mayor and two members of their city council for supporting Metro's plans. Just a month before, the suburb of West Linn voted four-to-one to oppose Metro's plan. West Linn's city council promptly adopted a zoning ordinance that would fail to meet Metro's density objectives.

After a year, Metro can force West Linn to revise its zoning ordinance. But Metro may not be around that long. Citizens will soon start collecting signatures to put a measure on the November, 1998, ballot to abolish Metro. Passing the measure won't end all of the coercive policies of Portland planners. But it will put a pretty big dent in them.

—Randal O'Toole

another — which explains why many businesses move to the suburbs.

New Urbanism's Backers

The ease with which the auto's enemies' arguments can be dismissed does little to dispel their persuasiveness. For one thing, many of their points resonate strongly with Americans, particularly with concerns about loss of farms and open space and the ugliness of strip developments. The idea that we could ride fast, convenient trains instead of sitting in traffic is also appealing — although it turns out most people hope that everyone else will take the train so they can drive without congestion.

New Urbanism's political support, however, comes not from people accepting these myths but from very real interest groups that will benefit from increasing urban congestion:

- Central city officials eager to maintain the prominence of their cities over the suburbs;
- Downtown interests desiring to reverse the "declines" of downtowns relative to suburban "edge cities";
- New Urban planners interested in trying their theories out on various cities;
- Urban environmentalists opposed to more freeways and the automobile in general; and
- Engineering and construction firms looking for federal dollars to spend on urban public works projects.

These groups have combined to increase the federal government's role in urban transportation. Even in the Interstate highway era, that role was a rather passive one, limited to doling out funds for projects designed primarily by state and local highway engineers. But with passage of the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) of 1991, the federal government now strongly promotes New Urbanism throughout the country.

ISTEA requires cities to use a long-term planning process that is easily captured by New Urbanists. The law encourages cities to spend all available funds on rail projects that hardly anyone will use rather than build highways that will be used by almost everyone. In cities with air pollution problems, ISTEA actually forbids the use of federal funds for expanding road capacities, even though congestion is often the greatest cause of air pollution because slower cars pollute more.

ISTEA is up for reauthorization by the 105th Congress. Unfortunately, most of the debate inside the beltway is on which states are going to get the most highway funds, not whether those funds will be spent on highways or rail boondoggles or whether the federal government should even be in the urban transportation business.

Senator Connie Mack and Representative John Kasich have proposed to eliminate most federal gas taxes and let the states or cities fund and plan urban transport. But transportation funding has become an important form of pork, as indicated by the fact that the largest committee in Congress is the House Transportation Committee. No one on that committee wants to give up federal allocation of funds.

Fighting Back

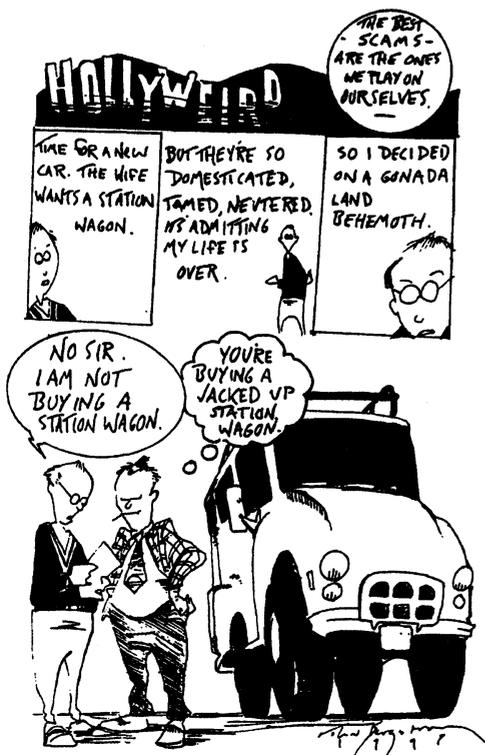
New Urbanism might be fine if it were optional. Developers could build towns or neighborhoods for those people who want to live in high-density, mixed-use communities without cars. But that isn't enough for the New Urban planners, who want to save our cities from the automobile by mandating New Urbanism everywhere. The mentality of city and regional planners is, of course, completely at odds with options and choice, and freedom is the last thing on their minds. This is no doubt one reason why they are so oblivious to the demonstrated preferences of the majority of commuters and city dwellers.

More than four out of five American workers drive to their jobs, and more than 90 percent of all non-job-related trips are also by car. Yet auto drivers make no attempt to defend themselves in the political sphere and are easy prey for the anti-car coalition.

Auto users have been made to feel so guilty about their desire for safe, efficient, and convenient transportation that they often accept the congestion offered by New Urbanists as their just deserts. Consequently, groups such as the American Automobile Association and National Motorists Association have paid scant attention to the anti-auto campaign.

The real opposition to the New Urbanists will likely come from the suburbs. People who have escaped the crowded cities don't want congestion and density imposed upon them by planners bedazzled by Manhattan's upper east side. But most suburbanites remain as politically unorganized as auto drivers.

So, if you live in a suburb, if you drive to work or anywhere else, if you like shopping at Costco or Sam's Club, then get ready for the next big social war. You will be the target of social engineers who want to control where you live, where you work, where you shop, and how you get from one place to another. If the New Urbanists win, the cities of the future will be more congested and polluted, have higher taxes and housing costs, and less open space within them than the cities you live in today. □



Report

The New Enemies of Evolutionary Science

by J. Philippe Rushton

The decencies and pieties of the age are at war with the pursuit of truth.

On January 19, 1989, in the Sausalito Room of the San Francisco Hilton Hotel, my life changed forever. I stood before a lectern speaking to a symposium of scientists belonging to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). The title of the brief paper I proceeded to present to the meeting was "Evolutionary Biology and Heritable Traits (With Reference to Oriental-White-Black Differences)."

I reviewed the international literature recently published in academic peer-reviewed journals. I summarized data about traits like brain size, temperament, speed of maturation, family structure, and reproductive variables. I tentatively concluded, roughly speaking, that East Asians, on average, were slower to mature, less fertile, less sexually active, with larger brains and higher IQ scores than Africans, who tended to the opposite in each of these areas. Whites, I found, fell between the other two groups.

I further contended that this orderly tri-level hierarchy of races in average tendency had its roots not only in economic, cultural, familial, and other environmental forces but also, to a far greater extent than mainstream social science would suggest, in ancient, gene-mediated evolutionary ones. Heredity, or nature — to use the term popularized by Francis Galton, Charles Darwin's younger cousin — was every bit as important as environment or nurture, often more so.

To account for the racial pattern in brain size and the other "life-history variables," I proposed a gene-based life-history theory familiar to evolutionary biologists as the r-K scale of reproductive strategy. At one end of this scale are r-strategies, which emphasize high reproductive rates, and, at the other, K-strategies, which emphasize high levels of parental investment. This scale is generally used to compare the life histories of widely disparate species but I used it to describe the immensely smaller variations within the human species. I hypothesized that Mongoloid people are, on average, more K-selected than Caucasoids, who in turn are more

K-selected than Negroids.

I also mapped this theory onto human evolution. Molecular genetic evidence shows that modern humans evolved in Africa sometime after 200,000 years ago, with an African/non-African split occurring about 110,000 years ago, and a Mongoloid/Caucasoid split about 41,000 years ago. The farther north the populations migrated, "out of Africa," the more they encountered the cognitively demanding problems of gathering and storing food, gaining shelter, making clothes, and raising children successfully during prolonged winters. As these populations evolved into present-day Europeans and East Asians, they did so by shifting toward larger brains, slower rates of maturation, and lower levels of sex hormone with concomitant reductions in sexual potency and aggression and increases in family stability and longevity.

I did not claim to have established the truth of these hypotheses. They may never be established in their entirety. But if they, or any part of them, or even any parallel hypotheses were eventually confirmed, we would have an explanation of why the measured traits are statistically distributed among racial groups in the distinct patterns evident in the data I had examined. The theories provided testable hypotheses and consequently complied with two fundamental goals of any science: the search to provide causal explanations of phenomena, and the search to unify separate fields of thought. These powerful incentives pulled me forward.

I emphasized two caveats in my presentation before the

AAAS. First, because there is enormous variability within each population and because the population distributions overlap, it is always problematic to generalize from a group average to any particular individual. Secondly, because genetic effects are necessarily mediated by neurohormonal and psychosocial mechanisms, many opportunities exist for intervention and the alleviation of suffering.

My hypothesis so stunned AAAS organizers that they quickly called a press conference to publicly dissociate themselves from my remarks. At the press conference, the president of the AAAS, Dr. Walter Massey, vice-president for research at the University of Chicago, told reporters that my credentials as a psychologist were good and that scholars

The scene was eerily reminiscent of the closing sequence of the film Rosemary's Baby with the media setting up to take pictures of the newborn devil, cloven hoofs and slit eyes, ready to raise hell on earth.

participating in the conference were free to draw any conclusions they chose. Massey affirmed that the AAAS would never consider muzzling any scholar because the free expression of views was the essence of academic discussion. He went on to say that I had made "quite a leap of faith from the data to the conclusions" and that he found the paper "personally disturbing" and its conclusions "highly suspect." The scene was eerily reminiscent of the closing sequence of the film *Rosemary's Baby* with the media setting up to take pictures of the newborn devil, cloven hoofs and slit eyes, ready to raise hell on earth. I was about to become an academic pariah.

By the time I returned from the conference to my home in London, Ontario, and my job as professor of psychology at the University of Western Ontario, the uproar was in full swing. "Canadian Professor Provokes Uproar With Racial Theories," proclaimed Canada's national newspaper, the venerable *Globe and Mail*. "Theory Racist: Prof Has Scholars Boiling," declared the influential *Toronto Star*. "UWO Professor Denies Study Was Racist," trumpeted the local *London Free Press*.

Newspapers took my views to hostile social activist groups and got their predictably hostile opinions. They said I should be fired for promoting hatred. The press then took this idea to the president of the university who upheld the principle of academic freedom. The ongoing conflict was serialized for weeks. Student activist groups soon entered the fray, demanding that I meet with them in a public forum.

TV coverage of my theories juxtaposed photos of me with footage of Nazi storm troops. Editing and voiceovers removed any mention of my qualification that the race differences I had identified were often quite small and could not be generalized to individuals and didn't mention that like any decent human being I abhor Nazi racial policies. Newspapers caricatured me as wearing a Ku Klux Klan hood or talking on the telephone to a delighted Adolf Hitler. The *Toronto Star* began a campaign to get me fired from my posi-

tion, chastising my university and stating "This protection of a charlatan on grounds of academic freedom is preposterous." Later, the same paper linked me to the Holocaust saying, "[Thus] there emerged the perverted 'master race' psychology of the 20th century, and the horror of the Holocaust. Oddly, the discredited theories of eugenic racism still are heard, most recently from an academic at an Ontario university." I had no choice but to hire a prestigious law firm and issue notices under the Libel and Slander Act against the newspaper. This brought the media campaign against me to a halt.

Hate Crime Laws

In the U.S. there is a First Amendment to protect the right of every citizen to free speech and there is not much the government can do to silence unpopular ideas. In Canada and many Western European countries, however, there are laws against free speech, ostensibly enacted to inhibit "hate" and the spreading of "false news."

Two weeks after my AAAS presentation, the premier of Ontario denounced my theories. My work was "highly questionable and destructive" and "morally offensive to the way Ontario thinks," he said. It "destroys the kind of work we are trying to do, to bring together a society based on equality of opportunity." The premier told reporters he had telephoned the university president and found him in a dilemma about how to handle the case. The premier said that he understood and supported the concept of academic freedom, but in this particular case dismissal should occur "to send a signal" to society that such views are "highly offensive."

When the university failed to fire me, the premier asked the Ontario Provincial Police to investigate whether I had violated the federal Criminal Code of Canada, Chapter 46, Section 319, Paragraph 2, which specifies: "Everyone who,

The premier of Ontario told reporters that he understood and supported the concept of academic freedom, but in this particular case dismissal should occur "to send a signal" to society that such views are "highly offensive."

by communicating statements, other than private conversation, willfully promotes hatred against any identifiable group is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years."

The police questioned my colleagues and members of the administration and professors at other universities, demanded tapes of media interviews, and sent a questionnaire to my attorney to which I was obliged to reply in detail. (There's no Fifth Amendment in Canada either.) After harassing me and dragging my name through the dirt for six months, the Attorney General of Ontario declined to prosecute me and dismissed my research as "loony, but not criminal."

This did not halt the legal action. Eighteen students, including seven black students, lodged a formal complaint

against me to the Ontario Human Rights Commission claiming that I had violated Sections 1, 8, and 10 of the 1981 Ontario Human Rights Code guaranteeing equality of treatment to all citizens of the province. In particular, I was charged with "infecting the learning environment with academic racism." As remedy, the complainants requested that my employment at the university be terminated and that an order be made requiring the university to "examine its curriculum so as to eliminate academic racism."

I was outraged. A more flagrant attack on the right to freedom of expression was difficult to imagine in a supposedly free country. "Human rights" tribunals were becoming a menace — a direct threat to the very human rights and fundamental freedoms they were supposed to protect. The Ontario Human Rights Commission could no more change the truth about human races than could the Christian Inquisition about the solar system or the KGB about the genetics of wheat. I found it difficult to accept the increasingly obvious fact that in the post-Soviet world, an academic was freer to say what he believed about some things in Russia, than in Canada.

Four long years after the complaint was lodged, the Ontario Human Rights Commission abandoned its case against me claiming it could no longer find the complainants to testify.

Events at the University

In its relations with the outside world the university administration stood firmly for academic freedom. The president gave a press conference to state categorically that there would be no investigation of me, that I would not be suspended, and that I was free to pursue any line of research I chose.

Behind the scenes, however, I became the target of a witch hunt by some of the administrators. Dismayingly, my dean, a physical anthropologist, publicly declared that I had lost my scientific credibility and spearheaded an attack on me in the newspapers. She issued a series of preemptive statements making plain her negative opinion of me and my work. "What evidence is there for this ranked ordering of the evolution of the human races?" she wrote. "None." Claiming that her views represented only her academic opinion she emphasized that she was not speaking in any administrative capacity. Her letter was nonetheless widely interpreted in the media as a refutation by my "boss." Henceforth, in order to support me, a person would now have to go up against the dean in addition to prevailing opinion. Next, the chair of my department gave me an annual performance rating of "unsatisfactory" citing my "insensitivity." This was a remarkable turnaround because it occurred for the same year in which I had been made a Fellow of the prestigious John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. My previous twelve years of annual ratings had been "good" or "excellent." Indeed, my earlier non-controversial work had made me one of the most cited scholars at my university.

Because unsatisfactory ratings can lead to dismissal, even for a tenured professor like me, I contested the rating through various levels of grievance, wasting an enormous amount of time and emotional energy. The proceedings that followed were Kafkaesque, terrifying when they weren't simply funny. For example, the grievance procedures

required that I first appeal the Chairman's negative assessment to the Dean. The Dean had already spoken out against me, so I asked the Dean to recuse herself from hearing the case. She refused. So I had to appear before her.

At my hearing, the Dean's folded arms and glowers of fury made her decision obvious, and six weeks later, she upheld the Department Chair's decision. In a seven-page letter justifying her decision, she cast aspersions at my "sensitivity" and my sense of "responsibility," and questioned whether there were, in fact, "any" papers that had ever been published that had supported my perspective other than those I had written myself.

I decided on a more drastic defense. I wrote to colleagues around the world and received over 50 strong letters of support, many endorsing the evidence I had presented. When

The Ontario Human Rights Commission could no more change the truth about human races than could the Christian Inquisition about the solar system or the KGB about the genetics of wheat.

the Dean found out about this she went absolutely ballistic, on one occasion screaming and spitting at me in fury.

I eventually won my appeal against the Dean and the Chair and two separate grievance committees chastised them for their actions against me. My annual performance ratings are back to receiving grades of "good" and "excellent."

Some radical and black students mobilized and held rallies, even bringing in a member of the African National Congress to denounce me. In one demonstration, a mob of 40 people stormed through the psychology department, banging on walls and doors, bellowing slogans through bull horns, drawing swastikas on the walls, and writing on my door "Racists Pig Live Here."

The administration responded by barring me from the classroom and ordering me to lecture by videotape on the pretext that they could not protect me from the lawlessness of students. Again I launched formal grievances. After a term of enforced teaching by videotape, I won the right to resume teaching in person, though then I was required to run a gauntlet of demonstrators shouting protests and threats. Only after several forced cancellations of my classes did the administration warn the demonstrators that further action would lead to suspension and legal action. That brought the protests to a halt.

De Facto Censorship and the Corruption of Scholarship

As a graduate student at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1973, I witnessed a physical assault on Hans Eysenck, who was studying the biological basis of intelligence and had recently published his book *Race, Intelligence, and Education* (1971). The slogan of that day was "Fascists Have No Right To Speak," and Eysenck became a target for attack. No legal charges were brought for the widely witnessed assault because another popular slogan of

the 1960s, for those who approved the message but disapproved the tactic, was "There are no Enemies on the Left." Stories of harassment and intimidation could be told by many others who have had the temerity to research topics that touch on the genetic or distributional basis of race differences.

Today, many campus radicals from the 1960s are the tenured radicals of the 1990s. They have become the chairs of departments, the deans, and the chancellors of the universities; senior political administrators in Congress and Houses of Parliament, and even the presidents and prime ministers of countries. The 1960s' mentality of peace, love, and above all, equality, now constitutes the intellectual dogma of the Western academic world. There are laws to prohibit platforms for those denounced as "fascists" and others deemed to be not politically correct.

In his book, *Kindly Inquisitors*, Jonathan Rauch showed that even in the U.S. with the First Amendment in place, many colleges and universities have set up "anti-harassment" rules prohibiting — and establishing punishments for — "speech or other expression" that is intended to "insult or stigmatize an individual or a small number of individuals in the basis of their sex, race, color, handicap, religion, sexual orientation or national and ethnic origin." (This is quoted from Stanford's policy, and is more or less typical.) One case at the University of Michigan became well known because it led a federal court to strike down the rule in question. A student claimed, in a classroom discussion, that he thought homosexuality was a disease treatable with therapy. He was formally disciplined by the university for violating the school's policy and victimizing people on the basis of sexual orientation.

In Canada and Western Europe, governments can and do prohibit speech on topics they consider obnoxious. In Denmark, a woman wrote a letter to a newspaper calling national domestic partner laws "ungodly" and homosexuality "the ugliest kind of adultery." She and the editor who published her letter were targeted for prosecution. In Great Britain, the Race Relations Act forbids speech that expresses racial hatred, "not only when it is likely to lead to violence, but generally, on the grounds that members of minority races should be protected from racial insults." In some parts of the world you can be jailed, exiled, or even executed for expressing forbidden opinions.

Irrespective of religious background, or political affiliation, virtually all American intellectuals adhere to what has



"I was hit by a falling moral standard."

been called "one party science." For example, only politically correct hypotheses centering on cultural disadvantage are postulated to explain the differential representation of minorities in science. Analyses of aptitude test scores and behavioral genetics are taboo. Cheap moralizing is so fierce that most people respect the taboo. This intellectual cowardice only encourages vicious attacks by activist groups on those who are engaged in legitimate scientific research showing that there is a genetic basis underlying individual and group differences.

The high-placed pervasiveness of the egalitarian orthodoxy is scary. Even more frightening than what happened to me is the experience of Christopher Brand, professor of psy-

Canada Customs seized a shipment of my book and held it for nine months while they tried to decide whether to condemn the book as "hate literature" and ban it from entering Canada.

chology at Edinburgh University. On February 29, 1996, Brand's book on intelligence, *The g Factor*, was published in the United Kingdom by the British subsidiary of John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. On April 14, newspaper reports of interviews with him began to appear saying that he thought black people had a lower IQ than did whites and that these were probably partly genetic. On April 17, Wiley's company in New York denounced Brand's views as "repellent" and withdrew the book from publication. U.K. Wiley promptly stopped distributing the book and withdrew copies from bookstores. A blizzard of "refutations" of Brand appeared in the U.K. media under outraged headlines. Protests from members of Parliament, student boycotts of his lectures, and calls for his resignation by faculty at the University of Edinburgh all predictably ensued. Brand's refusal to be silenced and his defense of free speech led him to be fired (on August 8, 1997) for bringing his university into disrepute. There but for the grace of God, go I.

In 1995, my monograph *Race, Evolution, and Behavior* was published by Transaction Publishers. Subsequently, the book was translated into Japanese (1996) and released as a soft-cover edition (1997) with an Afterword updating the science since the hardback went to press.

The book garnered a lead review in the *New York Times Book Review* (October 16, 1994) where Malcolm Browne, the *Times* science writer, discussed it along with Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve* and Seymour Itzkoff's *The Decline of Intelligence in America*. Browne concluded his analysis with the statement that "the government or society that persists in sweeping this topic under the rug will do so at its peril." Dozens of other journals, including the *National Review*, *Nature*, and *The Nation*, also reviewed it.

Its publication by an important academic press touched off a new round of hysteria. A lurid article screaming "Professors of HATE" (in five-inch letters!) appeared in *Rolling Stone* magazine (October 20, 1994). Taking up the entire next page was a photograph of my face, hideously

darkened, twisted into a ghoulish image, and superimposed on a Gothic university tower. In another long propaganda piece entitled "The Mentality Bunker" which appeared in *Gentleman's Quarterly* (November 1994), I was misrepresented as an outmoded eugenicist and pseudoscientific racist. A photograph of me was published in brown tint reminiscent of vintage photos from the Hitler era.

Incredibly, Canada Customs seized and withheld copies of one shipment of the book for nine months while they tried to decide whether to condemn the book as "hate literature" and ban it from entering Canada. The fact that an academic book was even the subject of an investigation stunned my publisher: "I've never heard of such a thing," said Mary Curtis, Chairman of the Board of Transaction. "This is not supposed to happen in Canada. The last time the company had trouble shipping scholarly works was in the mid-1980s, when some books shipped to the Moscow Fair didn't make it."

Michel Cl  roux, a spokesman for Canada Customs, said Customs were just following orders by investigating possible hate propaganda. A departmental policy prohibiting hate propaganda includes this definition: "Goods alleging that an identifiable group is racially inferior and/or weakens other segments of society to the detriment of society as a whole." After an "investigation" lasting nine months, Canada Customs relented.

Harassment continued at another meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The AAAS routinely allows the militantly disruptive International Committee Against Racism (INCAR) and Progressive Labor Party (PLP) to have official "Exhibitor" status, along with a booth, at its annual meeting. At the February 1996 meeting in Baltimore, INCAR and PLP festooned their booth with posters of Karl Marx and signs taking credit for interfering with the University of Maryland conference on "Genes and Crime" in September 1995.

At the AAAS meeting, INCAR targeted my poster presenting a review of the literature on brain size and cognitive ability. When INCAR encountered me the day before the poster presentation, they yelled so many death threats that the AAAS called in the Baltimore police, who dispatched an armed officer to stand by the presentation. Despite the

guard, INCAR continued to utter threats. One demonstrator took photographs of me saying they were for a "Wanted: Dead or Alive" poster. "You won't be living much longer," he said. Incredibly, instead of canceling the Exhibitor Status of organizations that threaten violence, the program director of the AAAS's annual meeting said, in an interview published in *The Scientist* (March 4, 1996), that AAAS would tighten up the screening process to make it more difficult for posters like mine to get on the program!

As Charles Murray has observed in the aftermath to *The Bell Curve*, social science is corrupt on the topic of race. Yet, the genetic hypothesis for the pervasiveness of the three-way racial pattern across so many traits, and which calls into question simple explanations based only on social factors like discrimination and poverty, needs to be discussed.

In his commencement address to the graduating class of 1997 at the University of California (San Diego), U.S. President Bill Clinton called for a new dialogue on race and for "deepening our understanding of human nature and human differences." But apparently there are some aspects of human nature and human differences he'd rather leave unexplored.

I've learned a great deal since that day in 1989 when I stood before that meeting of scientists and presented a summary of my research, thereby making myself the target of harassment by the politically correct and the object of intimidation by the government of Canada. Despite the vicious campaign against investigation of the possible genetic basis of group differences, my interest has never wavered. Work on other topics seemed shallow by comparison. Spurred by attacks and aided by colleagues, I have sought out more definitive tests of the genetic hypothesis and continue to publish my research.

I've also learned how important freedom of inquiry is to science, which must always remain to pursue truth without regard for where that pursuit leads. I've learned to treasure such remnants of freedom of speech as I enjoy as a citizen of Canada, and remain more committed than ever to the search for truth. As Benjamin Franklin observed more than two centuries ago, "Without freedom of thought, there can be no such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as public liberty, without freedom of speech." □

Baden & Noonan, "The Predatory Bureau," *continued from page 24*

would understandably fear the creation of another bureaucracy. A bureau, however, is merely a tool of social organization and not, therefore, bad *a priori*. A bureau must be evaluated in terms of its output, rather than its mere existence. Clearly an agency such as the ABC would prey upon programs that are the most vulnerable to attack: those that do the most harm and least good, or enjoy little public support. The size of the ABC is, to put it crudely, a function of the stupidity of the prey agencies. Its size would vary just as predator numbers follow the size of prey populations. The old and bloated bureaucracies are easy prey for the ABC. The output we expect would be, at the very least, a leaner and more productive bureaucratic community.

Government would begin to police itself against waste

and pork barrel projects. The predator, obviously, would be a primary threat to those wasteful enterprises. Additionally, prey agencies would begin to eliminate improvident programs in anticipation of attack by the predator agency. As the "easy pickin's" are eliminated (directly or indirectly) by the ABC, the costs of predation upon the remaining programs would rise. Eventually, we would expect a dynamic equilibrium to evolve, where ABC predation would be balanced with Treasury waste.

In the same way that wolves force competition for scarce resources, and eliminate the weakest prey, the predator bureau would discipline the herd of prey bureaus and restore the political economy. A wolf in bureaucrat's clothing, the predatory bureau is an idea whose time has come. □

I Run for President

by Russell Means

What happens when a celebrated Indian activist is recruited by the nation's "third largest political party"?

After returning from South Korea in 1986, I got a phone call from Honey Lanham, a woman with a drawl who sounded somewhat like Dolly Parton. When we first met in Denver a few years earlier, she had introduced me to the founder and national officers of the Libertarian Party. What the party stood for — free-market economics and no government interference in people's lives — sounded just right to me. Libertarian thinking closely parallels that of my culture. Libertarians are limited by their linear, Eurocentric male mind set, and they are 99 percent middle-class whites, but taken as a whole, they are the best political group of people in the United States. I was thrilled to learn that it is a party of principle; the platform does not change from year to year. Libertarians do not compromise. They do not sell out. In contrast, Demopublicans insist that politics is the art of compromise. I believe politics should be the art of principles. Then it wouldn't be filled with the likes of Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and Bob Dole and others in Congress. We would have few problems as a nation if our principled politicians never compromised on the principles of liberty and justice for all.

Not long after I met the Libertarians, Congressman Thomas Daschle ran for the U.S. Senate from South Dakota. I told the Libertarians I had a candidate I wanted to run against him. I knew Daschle from the time he had been an aide to Senator Jim Abourezk. I didn't want him to get George McGovern's seat because I knew him to be a less-than-honorable man who held strong racist views toward Indian people. I was getting sick and tired of people such as Daschle. I wanted to send a message to all South Dakota politicians that Indians *do* count, and that they ignore us at their peril. I also wanted to show the power of the swing vote, mostly to Indian people themselves, who still don't know how to use it. Since Indians always support Democrats, state Republican political strategy never includes them. I called Roland Ryan, a good friend and AIM supporter from

Sisseton. His wife, Barbara, is a poised, articulate, intelligent Dakota who had a successful career as a paralegal. I believed that if my name were kept out of it and she ran against Daschle as a Libertarian, she would get enough of the Indian vote to ensure a Republican victory. After that, no South Dakota politician would ever neglect his Indian constituents.

A few weeks after speaking to Ryan, I drove through a blizzard to meet the Ryans for lunch in Watertown, South Dakota. When I told them about the Libertarian Party and laid out my strategy, Barbara was very receptive. I also explained in detail why we wanted to defeat Tom Daschle: He had consistently opposed bills related to every issue important to South Dakota Indians, including the Black Hills, water, and treaty rights. He had supported bills favoring the state's robber-baron mining interests and corporate agribusiness. Barbara seemed willing, even eager, to run, but at the last minute her husband, for reasons never clear to me, squelched her intention. I had no one else to take her place on such short notice, so my plans to defeat Daschle came to nothing. Today, he's a power in the Senate — and still, judging by his voting record, a racist.

I was totally surprised, however, when Honey Lanham called after I returned from Korea in 1986. At first I thought some crackpot or drunk was trying to imitate her voice.

She said, "Hi, y'all. Would you consider running for the presidency of the U.S.?"

I said, "Wait a minute. Who is this?"

She said, "I'm serious, child." I put my hand over the mouthpiece and turned to Gloria. "You aren't going to

believe this, but I've just been asked to run for president! What do you think?"

Gloria said, "That decision will rest entirely with you." I told Honey I needed a little time to consider it. When I called her back, I said I hadn't made up my mind, but was inclined to give it a shot.

Honey reached Larry Dodge, a Montana Libertarian, on a conference call. We talked about how I might make a run for the party's nomination. They explained that although actual selection would be done at a convention, the Libertarian hierarchy had anointed former Republican Congressman Ron Paul, a gynecologist and gold investor from the Houston area, as the standard-bearer. Honey and Larry were unhappy with him. They felt that Paul was a Republican masquerading as a Libertarian, and was generally intolerant of women's rights. That was why they wanted me to run against him. They suggested that I come down and speak to Texas Libertarians to see if I could attract any serious support in Paul's own backyard.

I asked myself, why me? If the idea was to broaden the party's appeal with a minority candidate, there were a few black Libertarians who would undoubtedly bring in more support from America's thirty million blacks than I could from a mere million Indians. Then I learned that one of Honey's associates in Dallas had explored my past, including my TREATY election platform at Pine Ridge. This person had examined my principles to see where I stood on individual liberty and self-determination. He could find nothing to show I had ever been anything except an unannounced Libertarian. He concluded that I came closer to the party's ideal than anyone else they knew, so they wanted me for who I was and what I stood for.

I flew to Texas. Honey, Larry, and I toured the state in Honey's car, visiting Libertarian strongholds, sometimes making two speeches a day to gatherings ranging from a few dozen to more than a hundred. At each, I discussed my prin-

What the Libertarian Party stood for — free-market economics and no government interference in people's lives — sounded just right to me. Libertarian thinking closely parallels that of my culture.

ciples. I said I believed in individual liberty and free-market economics. I stated that I favored the decriminalization of drugs and prostitution because I believed people should be free to do anything as long as they don't harm others. Talk-show hosts like to ridicule that point, but we believe people should have total freedom of choice. On the same ground, I opposed mandatory use of auto seat belts and motorcycle helmets. That, of course, would be tempered by laws enforcing unlimited liability. If someone injured another person, the offending party would not be able to hide behind anything or anyone. He would be held personally responsible for all damage.

Ron Paul's supporters were in every audience, easy to spot because they were the buttoned-down, suit-and-tie

crowd. They fired some hard questions, such as the economic theories of Ludwig von Mises, or Milton Friedman's latest proposal about free-market economics. I was a political novice. When I was asked about things such as how to improve productivity in America, all I could do was rely on the teachings of my ancestors. What I said always seemed to make sense to most people in my audience, who were, with few exceptions, highly educated. They responded so positively to my talks that by the time we reached San Antonio, on about our third stop, I had made up my mind to run. A militant American Indian running for president! The story made all the wires.

When I returned to Porcupine, Gloria and I got ready to kick off my campaign at the party's San Francisco convention, in February 1987. Ron Paul still had the party elite in his corner, so I knew it would be an uphill battle. I figured that once

I really wanted the party's nomination. I was blown away when I realized that those backing me did so out of respect for the beliefs I had defended as a member of the American Indian Movement and as an Oglala Lakota.

word got around that the majority of his own state was against him, it would send a message to the rank and file.

Besides having a lot of money behind him, Paul had been chosen largely because of a letter of resignation he wrote after losing his seat in Congress through reapportionment. Repudiating and condemning the Republican Party, he said Reagan wasn't really a conservative and didn't represent conservative Republicans. That happens to be true. Reagan has been anything but an FDR Democrat. Just look at how he expanded the size of the federal government, tripled the national debt, and raised taxes on the middle class. By sounding like a Mussolini Fascist, he persuaded many conservatives to delude themselves. Paul's letter had convinced many important Libertarians that he was the embodiment of their politics.

After my campaign started, I spent only twelve days of the next six months in Porcupine. My campaign managers, Honey and Larry, encouraged me to use my credit cards for travel expenses and promised that the campaign would raise the money to pay me back. I traveled across America, concentrating on state conventions. The fact that I visited every one of them impressed many Libertarians. I took all but one delegate in Michigan and a majority in most of the smaller states. I visited forty-six states, including a few where groups from neighboring states joined together. In Hawaii, I introduced the Libertarian Party to the American Indian community and to the real Hawaiians. Until then, those people had known nothing about Libertarians or their political philosophy. Many found that the party offered ideas they could embrace. My only bad experience was in Massachusetts, where the Libertarians were as cold as the fish in their bay. Perhaps that was because of my striking resemblance to Chief Massasoit — or because I had demonstrated at Plymouth Rock against the Pilgrim Fathers.

Ron Paul, who hadn't planned to campaign much, got scared because the press followed me everywhere I went. He began to hit almost every spot I had visited. He was mostly ignored by the media, who seemed quite interested not just in me but in the Libertarian platform. I'm sure that the ability to generate headlines was one of the reasons I had been asked to run. Another was that I could open doors that Paul couldn't. In Atlanta, Coretta Scott King held my hand during a ceremony to commemorate her late husband's birthday. That led to an invitation to speak at a welfare-rights convention, where I explained why Libertarians are against welfare and public schools — anything that destroys the family or undermines personal responsibility. My message was different from Paul's because it was sincere, delivered in plain English and without resorting to the euphemisms and false facades of white man's politics, or the dull, dry rhetoric of economics.

I really wanted the party's nomination. I was blown away when I realized that those backing me did so out of respect for the beliefs I had defended as a member of the American Indian Movement and as an Oglala Lakota. They saw through the media hype surrounding my public persona as a violence-prone Indian desperado, and chose instead someone who lived by his principles. In selecting me as their candidate, they honored my culture as a tested value system that they felt was their country's best hope for the future.

Even if I won the Libertarian nomination, I would, of course, still have to run against the Republican and

In running for president, I came to realize that for Indian people to be free, all Americans must be free.

Democratic candidates. I knew the odds against winning were infinitesimally small but even in losing, I could count on the press to report what I said about Libertarian concepts. We believe that the U.S. Constitution can and should evolve to keep pace with the times, but what it says at any given time is inviolate. We believe in self-defense, but we're the most peace-loving people in America. Our country doesn't need an enormous, costly military establishment, because most of our "foes" would be friends if we stopped treating them like enemies. The National Guard should return to its original mission — militias assembled in time of need to protect states against incursions by the federal government. If we honored the Second Amendment, which guarantees us the right to bear arms, we the citizens would be better armed than our government. It could never *force* us to do anything.

A Libertarian administration would be a minimalist one. We wouldn't have an FDA, an FCC, an IRS, an INS, or any of the other regulatory agencies. Instead, everyone and every entity who wronged another person would be personally liable, because only people free to be responsible can build a responsible society. Our present society reflects everything that is antithetical to these views and the situation is getting worse every day. Generations of children have never been taught to take responsibility for their lives. The result is a

country speeding toward right-wing socialism, its corporations in collusion with government to dictate economic policy and protect their own interests by eliminating opportunity. Few Americans believe that, and they won't until they are destitute or imprisoned — but Congress is spending billions to build new prisons. Soon there will be enough cells for everyone who refuses to obey new laws that restrict individual liberties. Just one example — owning property on which a few wild marijuana plants grow can cost you the land and everything on it, and bring as much as a decade in prison.

By the time that I got to the national convention in Seattle, I thought we had waged a successful campaign. It had perked up the party; many inactive members and people who had drifted away rejoined because of my candidacy. I went to the assembly with a majority of the delegate votes and confident of winning. Unfortunately, the party has a few rules I didn't know about. Not every delegate selected by state conventions was able to come to Seattle, and those who couldn't were replaced according to each state's party rules. Since the party is committed to individual liberty, those replacements could vote for any candidate. That cost me many delegates. In Michigan, where I had won all but one, there were so many alternates that I wound up with only three votes. Despite all I had done for Libertarians in Hawaii, I didn't get a single Hawaiian vote, because all the Hawaiian delegates I had won were replaced. South Dakota was allocated three delegates, but none came to Seattle, so Paul got the national party leaders to appoint three Texans: his wife and two sons. When the first ballot was counted, he won by three votes.

Ironically, while his national campaign was under way, somebody absconded with a big chunk of Paul's campaign funds. Things went downhill from there. He failed to mount a national television advertising campaign and ignored most of his convention promises. Paul and the other national and state Libertarian candidates went down to ignoble defeat. I had spent nearly fifteen thousand dollars of my own money in pursuit of the nomination — an enormous sum to me. Larry and Honey, who had promised to raise money to pay me back, didn't mention that it would take years. Eventually, Honey kept her promise. In the meantime, I was unable to pay my credit-card bills, and ruined my credit rating forever.

I would, however, do it all over again. By becoming the first Indian ever to run for president of the United States on the principles of my culture and in trying to get justice for my people, I had enlarged the Libertarians' scope and sphere. In running for president, I came to realize that for Indian people to be free, *all* Americans must be free. Using policies perfected in the colonization of my people, the government is now trying to turn the whole country into one huge Indian reservation. Land policies mirroring those developed by the BIA have been applied to family farmers and ranchers to squeeze them out. With people no longer needed on the land, food production has been taken over by corporate agribusiness, the beneficiary of enormous government subsidies that place them among America's biggest welfare recipients. In education, colonial policies developed for Indians have proven so effective in creating a generation of docile automatons that federal funding has systematically

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Lies, Damn Lies, and the Census Bureau

by *Durk Pearson & Sandy Shaw*

History is written by the victors. If the Democrats have their way, so too will the next political map of the United States.

The problems involved in the next census are far worse than most people realize. As a result of this census and, more importantly, the methods used to produce it, the federal government faces a serious problem of legitimacy.

Even now, as a result of events such as Waco and Ruby Ridge — not to speak of questionable foreign “contributions” to political campaigns, seizure by the Bureau of Land Management and Forest Service of land in the West, and so forth — the federal government has experienced serious bouts of illegitimacy. But the problems with the census reach to the heart of the democratic process, a process that has become the touchstone for government legitimacy in the present age.

It is impossible to make a perfectly accurate count of the population because some people can't or won't be found and others don't bother to fill in their census forms. For years, Democrats have argued that “sampling” the population, rather than doing an “actual enumeration,” as the Constitution requires, would be both cheaper and more accurate. Not entirely incidentally, Democrats have argued that the “actual enumeration” method underreports the population of mostly-Democratic urban areas, resulting in underrepresentation for Democrats in Congress and state legislature.

The U.S. Census Bureau has proposed to dispense with actual enumeration and opt for sampling for the next census. Not surprisingly, this has resulted in considerable criticism, much of which comes from Republicans.

Recently, the National Press Foundation in Washington, D.C., presented a panel discussion on the topic, “Sampling & the 2000 Census” (which aired on C-SPAN November 17, 1997). The panel included Martha Farnsworth Riche, Director of the U.S. Census Bureau, and David Murray, Research Director of the Statistical Assessment Service (SAS), a professional and highly respected organization that publishes soft-

ware used to statistically analyze the data of scientific papers, providing advice as to which statistical techniques are most appropriate for analyzing the data to test particular hypotheses. SAS software is used for the evaluation of data in hundreds of thousands of papers. SAS is not political.

Murray expressed concern about the accuracy of sampling. Any statistical analysis must necessarily be based on a model — explicit or implicit — about the expected characteristics of the data and the sampling error. A model will give you a count for the population. But it is a number that cannot stand alone; you have to provide a confidence interval that gives the number within a range that has, say, a 95 percent likelihood of containing the actual population count. So far, the Bureau of the Census has said nothing about providing such a confidence interval.

And it's pretty easy to see why. If the Census Bureau reports its confidence level, people are likely to be highly suspicious of the legitimacy of the count. After all, it is only the population figures, not their confidence intervals, that are used to reapportion congress — and therefore to reapportion political power. If the Bureau used proper statistical methods, its conclusions would have to take the form of: There is a 95 percent probability that such-and-such a state contains $21,001,089 \pm 785,000$ residents. Presumably, that state would be apportioned something like 35.6 ± 1.33 members in Congress, or rounding to the nearest whole numbers 34 to 37 Congresscritters.

The Census commissioner said that the Census Bureau was testing the two techniques, comparing actual counting

against sampling. But the tests were not being conducted in the same area! This is no "test" at all, since no real comparison of results can be made. Perhaps it is simply window dressing to fool the public.

Murray noted an additional problem: the feds are constitutionally required to actually count the number of people in the United States, not the number of taxpayers or voters or citizens. Thus, we have the problem that noncitizens and illegal aliens will be counted as people for the purposes of the census and of reapportionment (just what Clinton wants). One shudders to think what effect this will have on the anti-immigrant sentiment loose in the land.

Murray brought up the issue of legitimacy several times with respect to the varying results of different methods of handling the census sampling. He even mentioned that a friend of

his had developed a sampling model that would benefit the Republicans. These references to "legitimacy" resulted in grimaces on Martha Farnsworth Riche's face. She scurried out of the room a few moments before the panel discussion actually ended, perhaps to avoid further questions.

The census will be taken in 2000 and the numbers revealed around 2002. The first reapportionment based on it will apply to the election of 2004. Clinton appointees will control the mathematical models used to direct the sampling process. The winner of the 2000 presidential election will appoint the people who control the models that interpret these data samples. But if American citizens come to understand the issue here, that President may be handicapped by the schemes of his predecessors, even if he is a Republican who really tries to correct them and produce more honest numbers. □

Letters, continued from page 8

coverage was/is incessant. But at least when Diana was on she was pleasant to look at, and was usually being gracious to other people in a natural, unforced way, so unlike most of the rest of her in-laws.

Two small incidents also brought her humanity home to me. In one, she was strolling alone in the bee tent at an agricultural show when a friend of mine and his eight-year-old daughter came across her. She smiled, slightly wryly, and said to them "Buzz, buzz, buzz, all those bees!" She was as bored as most of us would be by being forced to look at millions of identical insects and, of course, the little girl was over the moon at being spoken to by this famous person. Diana, with easy generosity, knew full well she would be.

The second incident occurred when Diana was being filmed during her mine clearing efforts, I think it was in Angola. A TV reporter asked if she had heard that a British government minister had dismissed her, in her attempts to bring about a ban on anti-personnel mines, as "a loose cannon." She could not hide her shock and hurt, nor could she keep back her tears as she turned away from the camera. After all she had been through in dealing with her husband's betrayal, and having now found what she thought was a worthwhile and praiseworthy role, her anguished reaction was plain to see: "Just what do I have to do?"

It is true that Diana was not very intelligent, but she knew that — and acknowledged it publicly: "I have a brain the size of a pea" she once famously said. However (perhaps like

Marilyn Monroe, too) at least she tried. She had limited talents, but she devoted them to what she had been raised to believe, or herself came to see, were good causes, and did a difficult job cheerfully and, insofar as I'm a judge, well.

I have no respect for any aristocratic or altruistic values she may have represented, but I shed a tear for Diana.

Nicholas Dykes
Ledbury, U.K.

Bamboo Curtain

"America's China, China's America" (September 1997), by Gary Alexander, is perhaps the most egregious example of Chinese Communist propaganda that I have ever read. It is especially disconcerting that it comes from someone who is an American citizen who should know better.

Let me begin by pointing out that I have taken several trips to China. I have traveled alone as well as having taken part in two congressional delegations. I have met with China's Premier Li Peng and other high ranking officials. I have also met with student leaders and many Christian leaders of "illegal" house churches. For more than a decade, I have been involved in researching, observing and advocating on behalf of the Chinese people who have suffered from a long list of brutal human rights abuses in China.

And from what I read in Mr. Alexander's article, I would have thought that I was once again being presented the typical Party line that I became accustomed to hearing from Chinese government officials. I would

expect to hear from Chinese government officials propaganda that paints an intentionally rose-colored picture that in reality is nothing more than a facade, an overlay hiding the real picture. But to read such rubbish in a magazine that proposes to propagate "liberty" while mimicking communist propaganda, without conducting thorough research before publishing such an article, is totally unacceptable and unconscionable.

I have no argument with Mr. Alexander and what he says he saw during his travels in rural China. Nonetheless, I am amused at how naive he is in believing that his "independent" Chinese guide was qualified to provide him with a complete picture of life in China. What his guide did not show him was what the government did not want him to see, such as the countless number of victims of brutal Chinese policies. He most certainly did not meet these people who have and continue to suffer terribly because of the practices of an oppressive, totalitarian regime.

Mr. Alexander claims that China "has opened the door so wide, it will never be shut." I would ask, to whom is this door open? What "door" is he referring to? Trade opportunities? If so, it is still a small percentage of Chinese who benefit economically from trade, and most of them are the elitists of the Communist Party. The door is certainly not open to those who are free thinkers or the estimated 40 million house-church Christians.

Rev. Steven L. Snyder
Washington, D.C.

Liberty Mired in Corruption

by Aviezer Tucker

The rule of law is the foundation of a free society. But try telling that to corrupt politicians.

Perhaps the most damaging lasting legacy of former Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus is the association in popular Czech consciousness of liberty with corruption. Libertarianism is the political philosophy of the minimal state, of a government limited by the liberties of its citizens and held accountable for its actions. Yet Klaus used libertarianism as an ideology to legitimize his policy of transition that not merely allowed, but feasted on, the wide practice of corruption. Apparently, Klaus's well-known appreciation of Hayek has been selective. He read the parts about markets, but skipped the parts about the rule of law.

While allegations about wide-spread corruption have been exposed in the media for over a year, the final straw to break the camel's back came only this year. Klaus's party, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS in Czech acronym) sought to acquire a palace in the older part of Prague as its headquarters. But what about the cost? No problem, said party insiders: we have more than five million dollars in a Swiss numbered bank account.

How did the ODS get such a fortune in an illegal bank account? (The law requires Czechs to get permission from the central bank to hold foreign bank accounts.) The ODS account was filled with the proceeds of privatization: kick-backs paid to Klaus's party for transferring former state property to the "right" owners and the sharing of *tunnelling* (theft of firms' financial assets by their managers) with the ruling party. In many cases the funds embezzled through tunnelling originated as unofficial subsidies in the form of state bank loans that were not paid back. These tunnelled funds may be shared with the managers of the banks who approved the "loans" and their political masters. Another source of party funds is *greasing* or *juicing*, the contributions of companies to political parties to smooth the purchase of businesses. (For example, the Japanese Nomura bank is interested in buying the Czech state-owned Investment and Postal Bank. To facilitate the purchase and protect itself from

future nationalization it has been greasing all the major parties, in and out of government.)

These charges were not new, but until ODS tried to buy its palace with its illegal slush fund, there had been scant proof. The Czech police and judicial system remains too incompetent, too timid, or too corrupt to investigate the government. The Czech media, on the other hand, is private, competent and aggressive. It has been exposing cases of government corruption on a weekly basis for over a year. But lacking an effective police force and prosecution service, the revelations went nowhere.

Now, however, the ODS managers themselves admitted to the corruption. Josef Zieleniec, the avuncular and popular foreign minister, and Jan Ruml, the Interior Minister and a former Charter 77 dissident, resigned. Then, on a weekend when Klaus was in Sarajevo on a conference, they leaked the existence of the bank account to the media. In addition, TV Nova, the largest private TV network, claimed that Klaus, who has relatives in Switzerland, bought himself a villa there. Klaus responded immediately, denying the allegation and suing Nova for libel.

Another story suddenly emerged: the embezzlement of funds from a charitable fund for asthmatic children that Klaus organized back in 1991. Ruml, together with Ivan Pilip, the young finance minister, demanded the resignation of Klaus. The junior parties in the coalition government declared their lack of confidence in the government, and Klaus was forced to go to President Havel and hand in his resignation.

How could the government with the most libertarian declared policy in Europe end like this?

Half of the story is the stagnation in the process of transition to democracy. Klaus's government has not reformed the law enforcement and juridical systems. Consequently there is no rule of law in the Western sense in the Czech Republic. The police force hunts down small criminals, but does not confront the government. Nor does it have specialized experts and resources for investigating financial crimes. The judiciary continues the communist tradition of deference to the government when it comes to adjudicating civic law.

The other half is the failure of Czech large privatization. While the privatization of small properties was successful,

In an economy in which theft is safer and more profitable than productivity, productivity does not grow. When people are stealing wealth from each other, no new wealth is being created.

the privatization of large properties created vagueness of ownership. The managers who have not changed significantly since 1989 have no clear owners to supervise their activities. The legal owners are usually privatization investment funds, which are owned by the largest banks, which are in turn owned by the government. When firms are unprofitable, the banks that own them lend them more money and the government looks the other way.

Thus managers have incentives, not to earn honest profits, but to tunnel out the financial assets of the firms they manage and share the proceeds with the managers of the investment funds that own them, the bank that lends them the money and the political parties who control that section of the economy.

The biggest privatization investment fund was Harvard Capital. It was managed by Victor Koreny. Koreny became the richest man in the Czech Republic when he was about 30 years old, by obtaining the most profitable (and tunnelling) enterprises from the government. Among his well-remunerated employees were former members of the communist *nomenklatura* including the Communist secret police, the StB. He also apparently shared his loot with the ODS: the Czech media have reported that it was Koreny who deposited the ODS millions in Switzerland. The Czech media have claimed in the last few weeks that some senior members of ODS have actually been Koreny's employees (and presented receipts to support those claims at least in the case of one senior member of ODS). Koreny is currently a resident of the Bahamas. There is no indictment against him, reputedly because if he starts talking, too many members of the governing coalition would be implicated.

During the last two decades of Communism, terror was replaced by widespread corruption. As the popular Czech epigram went: "He who does not steal, steals from his family." In other words, virtually all Czechs were living from theft. Professors stole office materials, builders stole building materials, doctors stole medicine, etc. Eventually it all ended

being exchanged in the underground economy and everybody survived somehow.

These practices do not end just because political communism ended. The only way to stop them is to clarify property relations. Then people are stealing from a clear owner who has an interest in stopping them. Klaus failed to do that.

Instead, he accused his critics of misunderstanding the free market and the genius of Czech privatization. Consequently, Czechs who have never experienced a free market associate the corruption of ODS, Koreny, and Klaus's pseudo-privatization with the free market, libertarianism, F. A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, et al.

Klaus apparently assumed that as long as the economy grows, unemployment is low, and citizens feel secure, a certain degree of corruption is acceptable. He also assumed that during transition he could neglect reforming and restructuring the civil services: the military, the police, the juridical system, and the education system. Eventually reality caught up with him. In an economy in which theft is safer and more profitable than productivity, productivity does not grow. When people are stealing wealth from each other, no new wealth is being created. Then, old peasant egalitarian resentment of wealth and the wealthy can be legitimized through the association of wealth with corruption. Socialist commentators claim today that the current situation is the product of "neo-liberalism" and the solution is "European"-style social democracy.

No wonder that if elections were to take place today, the Social Democrats would win the elections with a landslide. President Vaclav Havel echoed to a large extent popular sen-

Re-establishing the credibility of free market forces in the Czech Republic is going to be a serious and difficult task.

timent in his December 9 address to members of parliament. It is worth quoting a few paragraphs from this speech:

Many people — the opinion polls corroborate this — are disturbed, disappointed or even disgusted by the general condition of society in our country. Many believe that — democracy or no democracy — power is again in the hands of untrustworthy figures whose primary concern is their personal advancement instead of the interests of the people. Many are convinced that honest business people fare badly while fraudulent *nouveaux riches* get the green light. The prevalent opinion is that it pays off in this country to lie and to steal; that many politicians and civil servants are corruptible; that political parties — though they all declare honest intentions in lofty words — are covertly manipulated by suspicious financial groupings. . . .

Fascinated by our macro-economic data, we disregarded the fact that this data, sooner or later, reveals also that which lies beyond the macro-economic or technocratic perception of the world; . . . things like rules of the game; the rule of law; the moral order behind that system of rules, that is essential for making the rules work. . . . The declared ideal of success and profit was turned to ridicule because we allowed a situation in which the biggest success could be

achieved by the most immoral ones, and the biggest profits could go to unpunishable thieves. Paradoxically, the cloak of liberalism without adjectives, which regarded many things as leftist aberrations, concealed the Marxist conception about a fundament and a superstructure: morality, decency, humility . . . respect for law, a culture of human relations . . . were relegated to the realm of the superstructure, and slightly derided as a mere 'seasoning' of life — until we found there was nothing to season: the fundament had been tunnelled. . . . many began — in an environment that took the law so lightly — to turn a blind eye to this and that, until they were faced with scandals casting doubts on the principal reason for our pride — on our privatization. . . . the transformation process stopped half way, which is possibly the worst thing that could have happened to it. Many businesses have been formally privatized, but how many have concrete visible owners who seek increasing affectivity and who care about the long-term prospects of their companies? It is no exception to see companies whose executives are unable to say who their owners are, or how they are supposed to account to the owners for their managerial performance. But how can we expect the desired restructuring of companies, and of whole branches of our economy, when there are so few clear owners, and when so many of those who represent the owners see their role not as a task, mission or commitment but simply as an opportunity to transfer the entrusted money somewhere else and get out?

A rather strange role, to my mind, is often played by our banks: they indirectly own companies that are operating at a loss, and the more the companies lose the more money the banks lend them. A small businessman is refused half a million crowns [about \$15,000] for a sound and specific investment project, while a dubious big businessman, or rather pseudo-businessman, is granted a loan of a billion Crowns [about \$30,000,000] without proper investigation of what he needs it for. The legal framework of privatization, as well as of the capital market, is being perfected only now. Is it not rather late?

Yes, it is rather late. Rather late for Havel to protest (many accuse him now of being hypocritical since he was also involved in some shady businesses with Chemapol, the largest inefficient StB controlled concern), and rather late for pro-freedom Czechs to dissociate themselves from Klaus and the unsavory group of opportunists that gathered around him.

In mid-December, Klaus's party re-elected him as its chairperson. The majority of the ODS resemble now lemmings in the spring. Klaus wishes to hold on to power at all

costs, to the country, to his party, to the Czech right. Opinion polls show that three quarters of Czechs think that Klaus should step out of politics. Most of his party members either still believe in him out of a kind of mental conservatism that accepts a degree of corruption from a paternalistic leadership as was the case since the old days of the Habsburgs, or are corrupt themselves and want to continue with the tunnelling away until the Social Democrats replace them in the next elections and start partying themselves at the expense of the taxpayers (as has been the case in countries like Italy or Austria for 50 years after the Second World War).

It looks now that the next elections will be declared for June or November 1998. The Social Democrats will likely win. They are likely to continue the stagnation in the process of transformation and privatization, though they may revive (with or without reform) the civil service and perhaps introduce a greater measure of the rule of law. Their policy promises to create a deficit in the government budget to be financed by international loans. This would be a case of turning from bad to worse. They are likely to rule for only a single term.

ODS will split and some former ODS members together with former dissidents and others will create a "clean" market-oriented party. It is far from clear whether they have enough time to regroup and become a viable alternative for the coming or next elections. Considering the serious problem of credibility for the Czech right, they may not even pass the 5 percent necessary to enter parliament.

In the meanwhile, President Havel will appoint a government of experts, headed by the former director of the Czech national bank, Tosovsky. This government will last until the elections and not beyond. It does not have a clear mandate to reform anything, beyond attempting as far as possible to limit corruption.

Re-establishing the credibility of free market forces in the Czech Republic is going to be a serious and difficult task. During Christmas, the new popular greeting was: "I wish you good health for the new year. Everything else, you can steal . . ." A new market-oriented movement will have to dissociate itself from the Klaus legacy and differentiate libertarianism as a political philosophy from its cynical use as an ideology by Klaus and his cronies. A good place to start would be Hayek's classic argument that a free market is impossible without the rule of law. □

Means, "I Run for President," *continued from page 38*

eliminated local control in most school districts. Nearly all Americans are now educated in government schools, with curricula and schedules dictated by bureaucrats in state capitals and in Washington, D.C. Just as the BIA did with reservation Indians, government policies polarize communities and races across America — a way of controlling nearly every aspect of people's lives. Indian economic policy, proven again as an agent of subjugation and exploitation in the Third World, has been returned to the United States through laws enabling state and regional direction of what used to be private enterprise.

When the government chose the military option to eliminate a dissident religious group in Waco in 1993, death

squads such as those first developed on Pine Ridge Reservation were used.

Now the government wants to turn all Americans into welfare recipients by taking control of health care because, as demonstrated with my people, long-term welfare destroys families and creates a pliant, easily manipulated society. As an Indian and a Libertarian, I saw that unless something was done to awaken the people, as William Shirer wrote in the 1950s, America will be the first country to become fascist democratically — a process that has begun. □

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Weakly, Standard

by Clark Stooksbury

Conservatism collapses into narrow partisanship, in full view of the reading public.

In the January 1998 *Liberty*, Ralph Raico described *The Weekly Standard* as "boring." Alas, the term only begins to do the magazine justice. To analyze *The Weekly Standard*, the reader must overcome two problems. He must read enough of it to have an informed opinion and he must also carefully hoard his supply of adjectives (banal, egregious, Neo-conservative) lest they be depleted too soon. I have taken up this burden so that others do not have to suffer.

When *National Review* was first published in 1955, William F. Buckley spelled out the magazine's purpose with a statement that it was "standing athwart history, yelling stop." *Weekly Standard*, in contrast, began *in media res*. Its first editorial was the prediction a Republican victory in the 1995 budget talks (the negotiations that Clinton used to revive his presidency), proclaiming that "*The Weekly Standard* . . . is born in the aftermath of a national election the significance of which cannot be overestimated . . . led by the Republican party, there has been a conservative realignment . . . *The Weekly Standard* intends to speak for, interpret, and guide this realignment." The realignment that they refer to was remarkably shallow, based on an election which looks more insignificant everyday. It is appropriate that its intellectual guides and interpreters be so shallow as well.

God Bless America

Fearing that isolationism might rear its ugly head, *WS* is prone to the type of rhetoric that has kept Uncle Sam's nose in everyone else's business for a half a century. One particularly noxious cover posed the question, "Is this any way to run the planet?" Inside Michael Ledeen called for a "GOP Contract with the World." As the title suggests, Ledeen took a rather expansive view of America's role in the world.

We are the embodiment of an idea: the sovereignty of a free people defined by a commitment to the rights and obligations embodied in the written law rather than by a shared ancestry. Our national interests cannot be defined in purely

geopolitical terms because we seek to advance ideals. Therefore, our foreign policy must be ideological — must be designed to advance freedom. . . . In these days of multicultural relativism, it is unfashionable to state openly what the rest of the world takes for granted: the superiority of American civilization.

This pious cant is historically questionable at best. Ledeen did not bother to explain how a country that is "the embodiment" of rights and law can have a history of genocide against the native population, race-based chattel slavery and immigration quotas.

Ledeen might have problems reconciling conservative skepticism about the U.S. government's competence at performing simple tasks with his desire to see it run the world. Conservatives allegedly doubt the competence of government to successfully deliver the mail between Spartanburg, South Carolina and Gastonia, North Carolina, but those of the "neo" variety at *WS* seem not to harbor the slightest doubt about government's ability to spread "democracy" from South Africa to North Korea.

This would be much easier to swallow if editor William Kristol, *et alia*, would drop this pretense that they are "conservative." *WS*'s views amount to a sort of low-tax internationalism. They occasionally throw the rubes a bone with an article about abortion or gun control, but these issues are of value mostly as means to advance the Republican party.

The Weekly Standard's major contribution to the abortion debate was a ponderous December 1995 cover essay by Noemie Emery. Page after page of hand-wringing over the

Equations of State

by Bart Kosko

Government growth hasn't been reduced, but it can be reduced to an equation.

Is government destiny?

There are many ways to explore this key question of how the state evolves in time. One of the simplest ways is to model the state as a dynamical system. The model might show that the state will bounce around in chaos or will fall into a cycle that bounces between patterns of high and low government. Or it might show that the system converges to a fixed level of government in steady state.

I will now derive and discuss such a model with a minimum of mathematics. Other assumptions will lead to other dynamical models. But most models should contain this minimal model as at least a special case. The model captures David Hume's insight that government rests on opinion.

The model shows that the amount of government we tend to get depends on the balance between pro-government and anti-government sentiment. It does not show how to change these sentiments or how to measure them. It shows only how these sentiments drive the size of government through a transient stage and lands it in steady state. We can test this steady-state prediction if we can measure or estimate the pro- and anti-government sentiment in a governed society.

Let $S(t)$ measure the fuzzy degree to which the state controls society in some region. Let this continuous variable range between all ($S = 1$) and none ($S = 0$): $0 \leq S(t) \leq 1$. The extreme case $S = 0$ can define a Lockean state of nature or a political anarchy. It can also define the collapse of a government. The other extreme case $S = 1$ can define complete government control or totalitarianism.

We can compute a state's S value if we know where the state falls on a Nolan chart. David Nolan's political chart is a fuzzy cube in two dimensions — a unit square $[0,1]^2$. The horizontal axis measures the fuzzy degree $e(t)$ of economic freedom in the state at time t . The vertical axis measures the

fuzzy degree $p(t)$ of political freedom. Both fuzzy degrees take values in the unit interval $[0, 1]$. Then we can compute $S(t)$ as the additive inverse of the average of the state's liberty scores:

$$S(t) = 1 - \frac{e(t) + p(t)}{2} .$$

A more general measure would use the weighted average:

$$S(t) = 1 - \frac{w_e e(t) + w_p p(t)}{w_e + w_p}$$

for positive weights w_e and w_p . Note that the weighted average reduces to the unweighted average if $w_e = w_p = 1$. (We can add more orthogonal axes and thus extend such a political fuzzy cube to higher dimensions. Then

$$S(t) = 1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i x_i(t)}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i} .$$

Each year Freedom House compiles its *Freedom in the World* survey of political and civil liberties in most of the world's 193 countries. Such data could help test any math model of state control.

A dynamical model shows how the state variable $S(t)$ changes in time. The simplest model would be first-order or linear growth:

$$\dot{S} = S$$

where the overdot stands for velocity or time differentiation:

“decaying cultural context” and “novacaine for the ethical sense of the Nation” obscure the fact the “strategy” the author called for to battle abortion amounted to tepid Republican platform language: “We urge abortion and adoption services to join forces to match parents and children. . . . We ask Democrats to join us in this voluntary, non-coercive effort to save and enrich human lives.” Implausibly, on this basis the Democratic party is supposed to collapse into warring factions leaving the field open for Republicans.

Lest readers worry that Standardites are of a bunch of self-important types concerned only with determining the fate of Western Civilization, each issue includes a “Casual” column, whose writer is supposed to loosen his tie and get, well, casual. The problem is that when you have taken up the burden of saving humanity, it is difficult to relax. Robert Kagan, for example, got “casual” by writing about the proclivity of young Republicans to go work among Nicaraguan *campesinos* to help establish democracy, and how American leftists are nowhere to be found in Central America.

WS writers are stiff even when treating a casual topic such as sports. Daniel McKivergan just has to inject Cold War politics in the form of Russian immigrants playing in the National Hockey League. Fred Barnes intones that “conservative” sports are “rough, individualistic, obsessed with

winning, just as Newt Gingrich is in politics.” He offers no explanation of how the pear-shaped House Speaker who has spent virtually his entire adult life in the confines of a college campus or the House of Representatives qualifies as either “rough” or “individualistic.”

Republican Party Reptiles

But mostly, WS attends to serious matters. That includes a lot of Republican party politics. As I read the commentary in its May 27, 1996, issue about Bob Dole’s resignation from the Senate, one thought kept creeping into my mind: *they really believe that all of this tripe is important*. The editorial in that issue (signed as always, “David Tell, for the Editors”) bears the imprint of political spin artistry, not journalism. They were not analyzing Bob Dole, they were positioning him as someone supposedly awkward, genuine, not slick: “Dole is not naturally a man of words. He is fundamentally private, diffident, suspicious of the show-bizzier aspects of public life, smooth speechmaking most prominently among them. . . . It does Dole honor that he would attempt this one final public task with such apparent determination. And with so few illusions.” The editorial went so far as to mimic the tone of Dole’s speech with its talk about Dole running as

continued on page 52

Saving Capitalism — Capitalism is suffering under a crushing load of confiscatory taxes, regulation that runs up the price of everything we buy and holds down the wages we earn, discrimination police who force companies to man customer phone lines with people the customers can’t understand, and a thousand other intrusions by government.

So how does Irving Stelzer in *The Weekly Standard* propose to save capitalism? By having the government beat up on Microsoft (“Why Janet Reno vs. Bill Gates is Good for Capitalism,” December 1, 1997). After professing his love for free markets and competition, Mr. Stelzer goes on to recite all the anti-market clichés that have flooded welfare-statementality economics textbooks for decades. And he praises anti-trust laws as the protectors of competition — as though they’ve ever been used for any purpose other than to beat down successful competitors.

Mr. Stelzer repeats the old canard that a company like Microsoft can eliminate all its competition through low prices and giveaways — and then raise its prices to the sky after the competition is gone. This is the standard argument for anti-trust law, and yet no one has ever cited a real-life example of a company that was able to do this. The day a company tries to abuse its customers, new competition suddenly springs out of the bushes — except when anti-trust laws prevent companies from entering a market to compete.

Stelzer seems afraid that Microsoft’s “sheer market power” enables it “to bar entry to competitors or squeeze them out.” Has he ever visited a computer store? Has he seen the row upon row of software products that compete with Microsoft — word processors, spreadsheets, databases, email programs, accounting programs, and on and on and on. Obviously Microsoft’s success hasn’t created a “stifling of innovation.” Quite the opposite, Microsoft has opened the doors of opportunity to thousands of up-and-coming companies.

The computer business is the freest industry in America today. But Stelzer wants to bring the government in to make it better somehow — not to run it, just to be the fair, benevolent, impartial referee that he sees in his imagination. But what he wants wouldn’t just nudge the computer industry down a slippery slope; it would send it over a cliff. Bring the government in, and within a few years we’ll see no more of the breathtaking price cuts and performance gains that have marked the industry for the past 15 years.

Instead, every new computer product will have to jump through the government’s hoops — sitting in a lab for years while it’s tested for efficiency, safety, and any conceivable side effects, while companies fill out endless forms to prove they aren’t upsetting the delicate balance of government-enforced competition. The computer revolution will be finished.

Like other conservative publications, *The Weekly Standard* has been trying to pump some life back into a conservative movement that has failed to improve the lives of everyday Americans in any tangible, substantial way. But lacking a consistent, straightforward philosophy, conservative writers and politicians have had to try to devise some kind of noble mission to champion. They have succeeded only in turning conservatism — which once sought to roll back the tyranny of the New Deal — into an embarrassing imitation of liberalism, professing to use the tyranny of government for “good” purposes instead of “bad” ones. Libertarians, on the other hand, know that government doesn’t work. So they side with individual liberty and personal responsibility — not the force of government — on all issues at all times. They know that anything you turn over to the government will be transformed into a political issue — to be decided by the likes of Bill Clinton, Teddy Kennedy, Janet Reno, Newt Gingrich, and Arlen Specter . . . and the contributors to *The Weekly Standard*.

—Harry Browne

$\dot{S} = \frac{dS}{dt}$. But this model is too simple. The state would grow infinitely large (well beyond the upper bound of $S = 1$) exponentially fast because then $S(t) = S_0 e^t$ for a positive initial condition $S_0 = S(0)$.

The state creates its own limits to growth and diminishes returns. The simplest and classic way to model this is with nonlinear logistic growth:

$$\dot{S} = S(1 - S) .$$

The new square term S^2 slows the growth. It measures in effect how much the state bumps into itself. The logistic model grows exponentially fast at first and then tapers off as it heads for the totalitarian outcome $S = 1$ in steady state. Note that the state would not change if there were no government at first — if $S_0 = 0$. But it takes off for any initial amount of government $S_0 > 0$.

Now let g stand for the pro-government sentiment in a governed society: $0 \leq g \leq 1$.

The society maximally loves the state if $g = 1$ and maximally hates it if $g = 0$. Then $1 - g$ measures the degree of anti-government sentiment. The number g can depend on many things: cultural values, subsidy dependence, constitutional limits, etc. A pollster could get a crude estimate of g by asking enough people a battery of questions.

The pro-government term g makes the state grow ($\frac{\partial \dot{S}}{\partial g} > 0$) while the anti-government term $1 - g$ makes it shrink ($\frac{\partial \dot{S}}{\partial (1-g)} < 0$). This leads to a simple nonlinear model of how the state evolves in time:

$$\dot{S} = gS(1 - S) - (1 - g)S .$$

This differential equation is simple enough that we can solve it to get the final equation of state at any point in time:

$$S(t) = \frac{(2g - 1)S_0}{gS_0 + [2g - 1 - gS_0]e^{-(2g-1)t}} .$$

This is a robust solution. It shows that the state will not wander in chaos or bounce in limit cycle. The state will tend to converge exponentially quickly to one of two outcomes that depend on g no matter what the initial amount of government $S_0 > 0$.

The two outcomes depend on whether the amount of pro-government sentiment g exceeds or is less than the amount of anti-government sentiment $1 - g$.

Suppose first that $g < 1/2$. Then $g < 1 - g$ and so anti-government sentiment outweighs pro-government sentiment. This may not happen often in practice. But the result is stark when it does: The government collapses. The amount of state $S(t)$ races to zero exponentially quickly. So the equilibrium value is $S_e = 0$.

Now suppose that $g > 1/2$. (The rare case $g = 1/2$ is an unstable dividing line between the two outcomes.) Then the exponential term in the solution quickly vanishes:

$$S(t) \rightarrow \frac{(2g - 1)S_0}{gS_0} = \frac{2g - 1}{g} .$$

This shows that the system converges to the same equilibrium for *all* initial conditions $S_0 > 0$. This gives the final steady-state outcome in simple form:

$$S_e = 1 - \frac{1 - g}{g} .$$

The level of government depends on just the balance of pro- and anti-state sentiment in the society. The equilibrium value S_e approaches 1 as the pro-state sentiment g approaches 1. It approaches 0 as g approaches the amount of anti-state sentiment $1 - g$. This model predicts that government rests on the ratio of opinion.

So is government destiny? The answer is yes if pro-state opinion exceeds anti-state opinion. The answer is no if it does not. The trouble is that there is no easy way to measure these social opinions. Perhaps the most we can do is argue whether given events or changes increase or decrease them.

Consider how the rise of the Internet affects states around the world. We can add up the 193 state measures $S_1(t), \dots, S_{193}(t)$ for all 193 countries today and divide by 193 to get a measure $S(t)$ of average world government. We can do the same to get global measures of pro-state sentiment g and anti-state sentiment $1 - g$.

The Internet favors the free exchange of ideas. So we might expect the pro-state sentiment g to fall in time as people who live under more totalitarian governments like those in Burma and China talk with people who live under less totalitarian governments. But the effect may fade or even reverse as the same people learn of the easy benefits found in many welfare states. □

Terra Incognita

Paris, France

How France promotes cross-cultural amity, as reported by *The Plain Dealer* of Cleveland:

The French government has charged former film star Brigitte Bardot with "inciting racial hatred." Bardot faces up to a year in prison if she is convicted on charges stemming from a letter she wrote to a newspaper in which she denounced Islamic ritual sacrifice of sheep.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The frontiers of educational reform, as expressed by a Heartland school district and reported by the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*:

Milwaukee Public Schools ran a newspaper ad that promised citizens that "High standards start here" with "rigorous" graduation requirements and "proficiency" exams.

(Readers are invited to forward newspaper clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*.)

AnOther E. E. Cummings

by Richard Kostelanetz

Nothing is quite as easy as using words like somebody else. We all of us do exactly this nearly all the time — and when we do it we are not poets. —E. E. Cummings

No one would dispute the opinion that E. E. Cummings (1894–1962) ranks among the prominent American poets. Yet no other major American poet of his generation remains so neglected and misunderstood. Even when Cummings is acknowledged, it is usually for his more conventional lyric poems.

Cummings's plays are generally neglected in histories of American theater; his critical essays, though often original, remain hard to find. Only one scholar, Milton A. Cohen, has written a book about another dimension of his creativity — the paintings and drawings, on which he worked most of his daytimes and which have never been satisfactorily exhibited or completely examined. Nonetheless, now that the reputations of both Eliot and Pound are receding, it is time to reconsider Cummings's career and to concentrate upon what makes him different from his contemporaries — his more inventive writings and larger artistic interests.

Unlike his predecessors Eliot or Williams, Cummings was always a full-time writer-artist whose life should be valued only for his contributions to the arts. His social philosophy was a visceral libertarianism, more agreeable than profound — invariably relevant to political situations immediately at hand, but scarcely rich enough to establish a substantial political position. His criticisms of technology and of urban life were more successfully elaborated by others. His esthetics were largely anti-high-cult. In contrast to Eliot and Pound, Cummings, fortunately, had neither economic ideas nor a philosophy of history.

As the epigraph to this essay suggests, Cummings observed a clear distinction between ordinary speech and poetry. The former was common language; the latter, exceptional language. Thus, contrary to current fashion, he enthusiastically used such traditional devices as meter, alliteration, and even rhyme. As late as 1957, in the wake of America's inaction in the 1956 Hungarian revolution, he produced a poem, "Thanksgiving (1956)," that closed with this biting satirical ditty:

So rah-rah-rah democracy
let's all be thankful as hell
and bury the statue of liberty
(because it begins to smell)

However, what distinguished Cummings from the other rhyming poets was his sense that traditional devices hardly sufficed; so he created new ones that would permanently enhance poetic language. From his first book to his last, he was an incomparably inventive poet.

New Poetic Geometries

One of his fundamental motifs was formats that broke apart the traditionally geometric layout of poetry. Instead of always using rectangular blocks of type with left margins flush and right margins ragged, Cummings often placed his poems on the page in a rich variety of alternative shapes — like these, among others:

The diagram shows three columns of text represented by horizontal lines of varying lengths and positions, demonstrating non-rectangular shapes. The first column has lines of varying lengths starting from the left margin. The second column has lines of varying lengths starting from a consistent left margin but ending at different points. The third column has lines of varying lengths starting from different left margins and ending at different points.

The point of these experiments was not just to create attractive designs but to vary the reader's perception of printed language. More than any of his major contemporaries, Cummings knew what could be gained by enlarging or reducing or even eliminating the horizontal spacing between consecutive words. He saw that the vertically rectangular page of the book was itself a poetic field that could be filled variously and that a distinctive image on the page could in itself enhance a poem. It is amazing how many designs he created that are, even now, unique to his work.

A second Cummings device was the use of one part of speech to function in place of another. Thus, verbs sometimes appear as nouns:

my father moved through dooms of love
through sames of am through haves of give

As Malcolm Cowley carefully observed, nouns also "become verbs ('but if a look should april me') or they become adverbs by adding 'ly,' or superlative adjectives by adding '-est' (thus, instead of writing 'most like a girl,' Cummings has 'girlest'). Adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions, too, become participles by adding '-ing' ('onlying,' 'softlying,' 'whying'); participles become adverbs by adding '-ly' ('kneelingly')" (*The New Republic*, January 27, 1932).

Phonetic spellings could be poetically used not only for wit, as in "the hoe tell days are teased" for a classy Manhattan residence known as the Hotel des Artistes or "Gay-Pay-Oo" for the Soviet secret police (G. P. U.). Phonetic spellings also represent spoken dialect:

oil tel duh woil doi sez
dooyuh unners tanmih eesez pullih nizmus tash, oi*

On more accessible levels, Cummings doubled words for emphasis, much as Malaysians do—"slowlyslow." He used prefixes such as "un-," "im-," or "not-," and suffixes such as "-ing" and "-ingly" to modify their root word in various subtle ways. A favorite epithet, "unalive," is not synonymous with dead.

He recognized that individual words could be expressively taken apart:

r-p-o-p-h-e-s-s-a-g-r
who

a)s w(e loo)k
upnowgath
PPEGORHRASS
eringint(o)

aThe) :1
eA
:

S a

(r

rIVInG
gRrEaPsPh0s0

to

rea(be)rran(eom)gi(e)ngly
,grasshopper;

rendering not only a distinct visual image (especially on a vertically rectangular page), but visually enhancing the connotations of the key word. As Harvey Gross noted in *Sound*

*"I'll tell the world, I says. Do you understand me, he says, pulling his moustache, I"

and *Form in Modern Poetry* (1969), "Actually, the poem does not so much look like the grasshopper's action as give the feel of action. Cummings uses an elaborate technique of synaesthesia, a complex visual and aural derangement to signify emotional meaning." Here he is less a painter than a choreographer portraying movement in design, and in the process reflecting the temporal revolution implicit in Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase* (1911). Incidentally, Cummings may have been the first American writer to discover a truth initially familiar to modernist architects — that less could be more.

He who had taken words apart could also combine them ingeniously, telescoping language and gaining resonance by omitting spaces — creating in English a reasonable ersatz German with such conjunctions as "bookofpoems," "curse-laughgroping," "driftwhirlfully," "thankyouverymuch," and "truebeautifully." Cummings found expressive possibilities even in punctuation marks; no one before or since has used hyphens and semi-colons so resonantly. The single word "taps" is considerably different when punctuated, as Cummings did, "t,a,p,s." In the middle of a poem about acrobats, he writes:

hes shes

&meet&

swoop

The ampersands add effects that would otherwise be lost. In a comparative sense, some of his discoveries are incredibly, perhaps dubiously, simple; but the point is that no poet before him dared use such elementary enhancements. The refusal to give titles to most of his poems represents evasion to some but integrity to me. Compared to his more pretentious contemporaries, Cummings had a casual sense of poetry that remains attractive.

Cummings was probably aware of Apollinaire's forays into representational visual poetry — for example, stringing handwritten letters in the shape of rain in "Il Pleut" ("The Rain"). Cummings knew he had to create something else. He discovered that properties of written language, such as capitalization, could contribute to poetic communication (and that a Greenwich Village neighbor, S.A. Jacobs, could be his loyal typesetter). "SpRiN,k,LiNG" has ideographic connotations that "sprinkling" lacks; "mOOn" is more evocative than "moon." Cummings's recorded declamations of his work demonstrate how unusual typography prompts spoken rhythms that are quite different from those engendered by conventional poetic scoring.

The placement of words in space could also introduce kinetic qualities that would be impossible to achieve in conventional poetic design. The theme of his "grasshopper" poem, quoted before, is a certain kind of insect movement. The point of the following passage from number XIII in "Portraits" is a representation of a change in pace:

pho

nographisrunn

ingd o w, n phonograph
stopS.

In the foreword to *Is 5* (1926), one of his few statements on his purposes, Cummings spoke specifically of creating "that precision which creates movement." To put it differently, typography could function like musical notation.

The opening poem in *1 x 1* (1944) presages the current interest in poetic abstraction, its words and phrases cohering in terms not of syntax or semantics but of diction, meter, and other qualities indigenous to poetry. Cummings also wrote pure *sound* poetry, in which acoustic qualities become the principal elements of both coherence and enhancement. In *W[ViVa]* (1931) is a poem prefaced "from the cognoscenti," which opens:

bingbongwhom chewchoo
laugh dingle nails personally
bung loamhome picpac
obviously scratches tomorrowlobs

and continues in a similar style. Though Cummings was nearly an exact contemporary of Vladimir Mayakovsky (1893–1930), the two never met and probably had no effect upon each other; nonetheless, Cummings illustrates Mayakovsky's dictum: "Neologisms are obligatory in writing poetry."

Despite all of his formalist ambitions, Cummings was also a personal poet whose ideas on everything from sex to politics were based upon his own experience. As his first major American critic, Norman Friedman, observed back in 1960, the "five major forms" of his poetry are:

the description, that locates its speaker in the presence of some sensory stimulus and represents him as perceiving; praise and eulogy, that place him in relation to some person, type, or idea, and represent him as admiring; the satire, that places him in relation to society and that represents him as its critic; reflection, that places him before scenes and people and represents him as interpreting and commenting; and persuasion, that places him in the presence of someone else and represents him as speaking to him or her.

In most cases, the first-person voice represents Cummings himself.

At his Harvard commencement in 1915, Cummings delivered a prophetic lecture on "The New Art" that featured a

Cummings's social philosophy was a visceral libertarianism, more agreeable than profound.

sensitive appreciation of Gertrude Stein. Perhaps it was from her that he learned about the esthetic advantages of an intentionally limited vocabulary. In his collection *No Thanks* (1938) is an extraordinary poem beginning "brIght" that contains only eleven discrete words, all six letters or less in length. The eleven words are successfully broken apart and nonsyntactically recombined to form 15 lines of 44 words — all three-letter words appearing thrice, all four letter words four times, etc. With this rigorous design and other structures Cummings presaged several formal innovations that have since become more prominent in contemporary avant-garde poetry. The fact that Cummings discovered these present

possibilities several decades ago should contribute to his current stature.

While the lyrics remain familiar, Cummings's other artistic activities are less well known. He wrote plays as well as formally dramatic sketches meant to be read, rather than performed; he was among the first American literary artists to script a film scenario ("A Pair of Jacks," 1925) and a ballet (*Tom*, 1935). Among his works are innovative masterpieces of experimental prose. He wrote important criticism, not only of poetry but of theater, and was perhaps the first American drama critic to concentrate not upon the work of legitimate theaters but upon vaudeville, burlesque, animated films — even upon the informal theatricals available at the Coney

Some pundits could never excuse Cummings for failing to write the kind of pretentious long poem they had come to identify with modern masterhood.

Island amusement park. Some of his literary translations are still used. Even his correspondence is distinctive.

One reason why our understanding of Cummings has been so deficient is that his work has never been fully available. His *Complete Poems 1904–1962* did not appear until 1991. His major text of innovative prose, *Eimi* (1933), has been out of print for years, as have his two shorter plays and the ballet *Tom* and George Firmage's *A Miscellany* (1958, 1965), which reprints previously uncollected prose. Only a small percentage of his visual art has ever been reproduced.

Cummings probably worked as hard at his paintings and drawings as he did at his writing, the former being done by day and the latter at night. More than 2,000 completed paintings exist; the Houghton Library at Harvard reportedly has over 10,000 sheets of drawings. His literary eminence notwithstanding, Cummings had remarkably few exhibitions and scarce dealer representation. It is hard for most of us to know the quality of this visual work, not to mention how it looks. Some early pieces were reproduced in *CIOPW* (1931), a limited 9-1/2"-by-12-1/2" clothbound whose title is an acronym for the painterly media in which Cummings worked: charcoal, ink, oil, pencil, and watercolor. However, this scarce book has never been reissued, though he produced three decades more of visual work. The absence of at least a "Selected Drawings and Paintings" raises questions about Cummings's other work. Was he like Wyndham Lewis — a literary polyartist who excelled at both visual and verbal arts? Or was he a Henry David Thoreau, whose drawings were merely curious? Or should his mix of art and writing be placed somewhere in between?

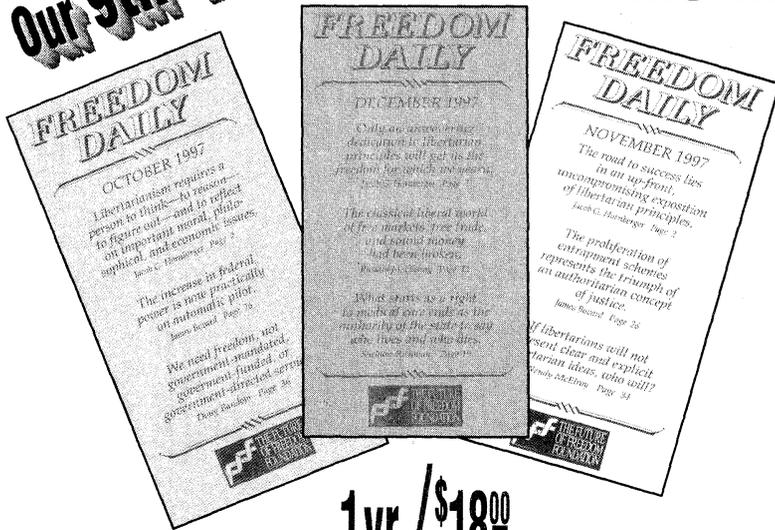
Regardless, his career showed that one could spend a lifetime earnestly practicing more than one art, in spite of gross discrepancies in recognition.

Even though Cummings insisted upon living entirely off his writings, readings, and art (and compromised only once, when he became the Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry for a year at Harvard), he received remarkably few

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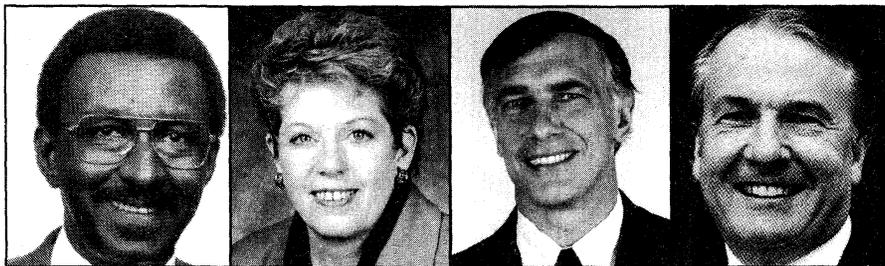
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awards and even fewer fellowships. For much of his life, Cummings lacked a regular publisher, and two of his collections were initially self-published. (One, in 1935, was pointedly entitled *No Thanks* and audaciously dedicated to the fourteen publishers who had previously refused it!) The literary powermen of his time tended to regard him as an inconsequential eccentric — an agreeable lyric poet whose disagreeably “gimmicky” experiments undermined his reputation. They inevitably preferred his aphorisms to his inventions, though aphorisms do not a major poet make. (Some of his affectations were disaffecting, such as sometimes spelling his name only in lower-case letters, even though samples of his handwritten signature show his honoring conventions of capitalization.) Like Stein (who also studied at Harvard), he had to publish conventional poems for his more radical work to be considered seriously. Some pundits could never excuse Cummings for failing to write the kind of pretentious long poem they had come to identify with modern masterhood; he was to the end a sprinter more comfortable with short poems and small paintings.

Though academics could not forgive Cummings for failing to pass through distinct stages, what is really more extraordinary is how much of his mature poetic style was

fully present in his first book — including his radical renovations of traditional poetic forms (especially the sonnet) as well as his more experimental directions. In other words, the more avant-garde work of Cummings comes not from a single period of his writings but from every decade of his career.

Let me suggest the opposite of the conventional view. If you favor the lyric verse (“my father moved,” etc.), while excluding the radical poetry, Cummings is indeed a minor figure. However, there is another, better Cummings — the most inventive American poet of his time, the truest successor to Whitman, and the peer of his contemporaries Charles Ives and Gertrude Stein. If you focus upon his integrities, beginning with his refusal to title most of his poems and his creation of works that were (and still are) so easily identifiable as his (and could thus be feasibly published without his name), and consider his full-time devotion to the arts (in contrast to poets who have been publishers, professors, and doctors), he becomes a persuasive professional model. And if you focus upon Cummings’s more extraordinary poems — those that distinguish him from everyone else, before or since — you are more likely to consider him, as I do, the major American poet of the mid-twentieth century. □

Stooksbury, “Weakly, Standard,” *continued from page 45*

a “citizen, a Kansan, just a man.” It is embarrassing nonsense when you consider that it is describing a man who has spent the last two decades running for president (recently seen in magazine ads, sporting a milk mustache) and refers to a speech that *was calculated* to make Dole seem “fundamentally private, diffident, suspicious of the show-bizzier aspects of public life.” Only when you consider that William Kristol and his cohorts may have been thinking of Dole as a future employer does this start to make sense.

WS writers focus much of their energy on political positioning and tactical matters because they want to affect the means more than the ends. Most opinion magazines are conceived with the purpose of advancing a particular set of ideas. Sometimes they might stray from their original mission and one might question whether *National Review* or *The American Spectator* has become too wedded to the fate of the Republican party but that would be an absurd question in the case of *The Weekly Standard*, since it, as Eric Alterman put it in *The Nation*

“would have no earthly reason to exist without a Republican Congressional majority to boss around.” This is a publication that is totally hitched to the fortunes of the Republican party. Take for example an editorial on the subject of a Republican sponsored immigration bill last year. It asked the question, high-lighted as a pull-quote, “will passing this immigration bill help the Republican Party?” The editorial featured valid arguments against aspects of the bill before getting down to brass tacks. “Asians and Hispanics have increasingly Republican partisan inclinations. Three-fourths of all current immigrants come from Asia and Latin America. An equal proportion of them arrive and stay in some of the biggest electoral college states.” Probably no statement that I have seen in *The Weekly Standard* better captures the essence of this publication than the last quoted sentence: the editors’ opinion on a critical issue that will affect the future of the country is based on its effect on the performance of the Republican ticket in key states. □

Reflections, *continued from page 20*

news story of 1997.” This offers powerful evidence that the world is in a happy state.

Yes, the stock market collapsed, but it only lasted a day, and yuppies are again enjoying their risk-free 20 percent annual gains.

Yes, Clinton rattled his sabers in the Gulf. But his allies, to his relief, wouldn’t go along; Clinton understands that while occasional fits of public bellicosity might help dispel his reputation as a weenie, going to war is another matter.

Yes, a serious recession has engulfed much of Asia, but

who cares, anyway? What’s it mean? My next computer will cost a few bucks less?

Yes, civil wars and mass carnage persist in Africa, and billions of people denied property rights are consequently mired in poverty. But what else is new?

It was a tough year for pundits, a fact evident to anyone reading the pathetic op-ed pages of the nation’s papers or watching the lame repartee on *Crossfire*. But, as is always the case, what’s bad for the punditry industry is good for ordinary human beings.

—RWB

Reviews

The Secret Life of Bill Clinton: The Unreported Stories, by Ambrose Evans-Pritchard. Regnery, 1997, 460 pages.

The Strange Death of Vincent Foster: An Investigation, by Chris Ruddy. The Free Press, 1997, 316 pages.

Speaking Truth to Clinton

Alan W. Bock

The phenomenon of the courtier press, however uniquely of our time it might seem, is not new in America, nor was there a golden age when we had a plethora of "real" journalists, flinty and independent. In the 1920s — before the New Deal, before television, almost before radio — H.L. Mencken made these observations about Washington correspondents:

The average Washington correspondent, I believe, is honest enough, as honesty goes in the United States . . . What ails him mainly is that he is a man without sufficient force of character to resist the blandishments that surround him the moment he sets foot in Washington. A few men, true enough, resist, and their papers, getting the benefit of it, become notable for their independence and intelligence, but the great majority succumb almost at once. A few months of associating with the gaudy magnificoes of the town, and they pick up its meretricious values, and are unable to distinguish men of sense and dignity from mountebanks. A few clumsy overtures from the White House, and they are rattled and undone. They come in as newspaper men, trained to get the news and eager to get it; they end as tin-horn

statesmen, full of dark secrets and unable to write the truth if they tried. Here I spread no scandal and violate no confidence. The facts are familiar to every newspaper man in the United States.

Now as then, the vast bulk of journalism, especially from Washington and on national affairs, is unimaginative pack journalism, and it was quite likely ever thus. We remember the Clark Mollenhoffs, the Bob Woodwards (formerly a pretty fair journalist, now one of Mencken's tin-horn statesmen), the Nick Von Hoffmans and Bill Greiders because they are so unusual, because they stand out from the crowd of press-event stenographers who are more concerned about respectability and keeping their useless and manipulative sources pleased than getting to the truth or trying to dig out a scandal nobody else cares to cover. In each generation we can expect only a few journalists to demonstrate more than a smidgeon of independence, in part because it's hard work, but also because the payoff is so distant: though you might get some recognition eventually, while you're actually doing it you can expect mostly scorn from your colleagues and befuddlement and pressure to conform from your editors.

Two of the journalists who have bucked the trend during the last several

years, mainly by going out and reporting stories for themselves rather than living on spin and handouts, have books out on various aspects of the Clinton administration. Ambrose Evans-Pritchard has done most of his work for the *London Sunday Telegraph*, for whom he has been Washington bureau chief since the end of 1992. *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton* touches on aspects of the Oklahoma City bombing, Whitewater, Mena, the Lasater drug smuggling operation and much more. Chris Ruddy, in *The Strange Death of Vincent Foster*, offers the results of years of work. He began looking into Vince Foster's death when he was with Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*, and then with the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review*, owned by Richard Mellon Scaife.

Mr. Evans-Pritchard is at pains to remind us that the *Telegraph* is not a tabloid, but a broadsheet paper with a circulation of 1.2 million daily and around 800,000 on Sunday, the highest circulation "quality" newspaper in western Europe, founded in 1855 and eminently respectable. The *Tribune-Review*, on the other hand, was a suburban paper that moved into Pittsburgh during a newspaper strike, and is try-

So far Bill Clinton has laughed at all his would-be impeachers with the insouciance of a practiced scoundrel who enjoys living on the edge.

ing to maintain a metropolitan foothold. Thanks to the Internet and fax circulation, both Evans-Pritchard and Ruddy have achieved circulation and notoriety beyond their immediate circulation areas, but they and their papers are viewed as somewhat outside the mainstream of the American press. That's not surprising. Except for Watergate, the establishment press hasn't gone in for earthshaking investi-

gative reporting very much, though more good work is done on particular agencies and programs or on local scandals than is generally recognized.

The most interesting new material in *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton* concerns the bombing of the Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. There have always been good reason to believe that the government was probably lying about important aspects of the case, but so many theories and conspiracies grew up so quickly that it was and is difficult to get a handle on something like the truth without doing your

The crime scene displayed none of the telltale signs of a suicide, but the Park Police and FBI treated Vince Foster's death as a suicide from the get-go, ignoring and sometimes even covering up contravening evidence.

own first-hand reporting. That is what Evans-Pritchard has done.

He has listened to and checked out Glenn and Kathy Wilburn, grandparents of two young boys killed in the explosion who became disillusioned with the government's lack of interest in any evidence that didn't fit the easy picture of Tim McVeigh as the mastermind and Terry Nichols as the assistant. Glenn Wilburn, an accountant who had little interest in politics before the bombing, was first upset by improvised answers to the question of why nobody from the Bureau of Alcohol Tobacco and Firearms was in the office when the bomb went off, and continued to dig doggedly from there. Freelance reporter John "J.D." Cash wrote stories about the militia-like encampment at Elohim City, with which McVeigh was in contact. Pritchard talked with him and with Carol Howe, who had been an undercover informant for the ATF in Elohim City and uncovered apparently serious planning for bombing the Murrah building, led by Andreas Strassmeier (Andy the German), about which the federal government seemed to have little curiosity.

It's a colorful story with wacky char-

acters and Evans-Pritchard tells it well. I don't know if he's gotten to the bottom of it, but he has documented planning trips and evidence that John Doe II, for whom the feds originally did a manhunt, then announced that he was a figment, does exist. What emerges is powerful evidence that quite a few more people were involved than McVeigh and Nichols, that "Andy the German" is Lt. Andreas Strassmeier of the Panzer Grenadiers. "If I had to bet," writes Evans-Pritchard, "I would hazard that Andreas Strassmeier's real purpose at Elohim City was to find out whether the U.S. neo-Nazi movement had the capability and intent to graduate to weapons of mass destruction, particularly biological and chemical devices. A high-level counterintelligence operation of this kind would explain why Elohim City was being protected, even though it was engaged in every weapons violation in the U.S. code, not to mention manifest sedition."

Evans-Pritchard also has fun with the White House spinmeisters who concocted the "Communication Stream of Conspiracy Commerce," which reported that questions about Vince Foster's death came about only through an elaborate network masterminded by Richard Scaife, who had somehow duped the respectable press into investigating his fantasies — a conspiracy theory worthy of the fever-swamps. He writes about the murder of security executive Jerry Parks, the drug smuggling of the "Dixie Mafia" and Dan Lasater, Barry Seal, Mena Airport and the Contra resupply operation, and a bit about Paula Jones.

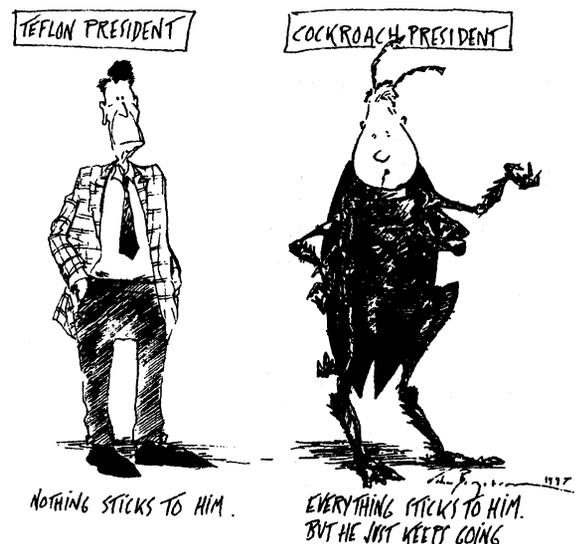
If you ever doubted that Bill Clinton is notably sleazier even than most politicians, that he has made a career of being involved with dubious people, that his own actions may have gone beyond the line of criminality more than once, this book will alleviate most of your doubts. And it's done in elegant, intelligent prose, with duly responsible discussion of the relative reliability of the sources Evans-Pritchard uses.

Evans-Pritchard has a section on the Vince Foster death, but the reporter who

has stayed with this story like a terrier is Chris Ruddy. Since his first stories for the *New York Post*, which cast legitimate doubt on the likelihood that Vince Foster killed himself in Fort Marcy Park, based on the arrangement of the body and other crime-scene and forensic evidence, backed up by long discussions and interviews with experienced homicide investigators, Ruddy has immersed himself in Foster arcana. His interest apparently became too intense for the *Post*, but fortunately he landed at Mr. Scaife's paper with a license to continue. And the Western Journalism Center, run by veteran newspaper editor (*L.A. Herald, Glendale News-Press, Sacramento Union*) Joe Farah, helped him, published his stories, and financed ventures like having three world-renowned handwriting experts examine Foster's "suicide" note and declare it an obvious forgery.

Undue White House influence was present from the beginning, and few of the official stories have much credibility. The crime scene displayed none of the telltale signs of a suicide, but the Park Police and FBI treated it as a suicide from the get-go, ignoring and sometimes even covering up contravening evidence. The autopsy was a joke, crime-scene photographs came up missing, important witnesses were not interviewed. The only federal official who seems to have made a serious effort to dig into the actual facts and evidence, prosecutor Miquel Rodriguez from Sacramento, who came to work for Kenneth Starr, left in discouragement.

The Strange Death of Vincent Foster offers the best summary of current



knowledge about the Confidential Witness's testimony, what the pair who might or might not have been a couple said they saw, the deficiencies of the Fiske report, who said what about the position of the body and when there was a gun in Foster's hand, who rifled through Foster's office and when, who lied about it, the inconsistencies in the various White House versions of events, who probably knew what at which hour, and a great deal more.

Ruddy refuses to speculate about what really happened, responsible almost to a fault — though he will no doubt be called a conspiracist, a sensationalist and much more. But he documents persuasively that the official story — that Vincent Foster sat on a slope in Fort Marcy Park on the Virginia side of the Potomac and shot himself with the pistol that was later found in his hand — simply cannot be true.

The lack of curiosity in most of the rest of the media, the eagerness to accept the official version rather than checking it out independently is a story all its own. The book includes useful photographs (I used to visit the park occasionally when I lived in the area in the 1970s and it's still recognizable), copies of documents and valuable appendices.

The fact that these books were published by mainline commercial publish-

The lack of curiosity in most of the media, the eagerness to accept the official version rather than checking it out independently is a story all its own.

ers at least indicates an awareness of a market for documented material on the misdeeds of the Clinton White House. Whether it presages much beyond the more widespread dissemination of information through talk radio, the Internet and the like is another question. So far Bill Clinton has laughed at all his would-be impeachers with the insouciance of a practiced scoundrel who enjoys living on the edge and is much better at it than most of us are at the simple responsibilities of workaday life. □

The Economic Laws of Scientific Research, by Terence Kealey. St. Martin's Press, 1995, 396 pages.

The Invisible Hand and Pure Research

Ross Overbeek

We live in a world of scientific marvels. In biochemistry, computer science, and applied physics, huge industries have grown out of the modest expenditures represented by the National Science Foundation, National Institute of Health, Department of Energy, and Department of Defense budgets. Perhaps we should increase them a bit.

That seems to summarize the position of almost all scientists and a large majority of the general population. And this view is not entirely unreasonable — the world has been changed profoundly by science, and many of the critical advances occurred in labs funded by the government. But there is another point of view, one that is almost never heard: that government funding of science doesn't really work. Terence Kealey's *The Economic Laws of Scientific Research* is a unique and vigorous argument for this novel proposition.

In Kealey's view, there are two basic models of how science changes society.

The first model, which Sir Francis Bacon first elaborated, is that government funds pure science, which is applied to specific problems, resulting in better technology and economic growth. This view is the dominant view among scientists, intellectuals and ordinary citizens.

The second was developed by Adam Smith, and has since been pretty much forgotten:

Smith did not believe that applied science flowed very much from pure science; indeed, he believed the opposite was as likely to be true. Moreover, he believed that applied science or technology sprang from

the marketplace spawned by individuals or companies competing for profits.

Kealey argues that the first model gives far too much credit to the role of academic research. Pure science occasionally makes significant breakthroughs which sometimes have a profound impact on products that reach the market. But these breakthroughs are few and far between. The overwhelming majority of the advances that improve our lives are the result of incremental improvements generated by people outside the academic world. Kealey believes that roughly 90% of new technology is built directly on old technology. I think that most scientists would, upon reflection, concede this point. However, that still leaves the remaining 10% and the question "Without those key breakthroughs by the academics, where would we be?"

This brings us to Kealey's three basic laws of civil research and development:

1) "The First Law of Funding for Civil R&D [research and development] states that the percentage of national GDP spent increases with national GDP per capita."

2) "The Second Law of Funding for Civil R&D states that the public and private funding displace each other."

3) "The Third Law of Funding for Civil R&D states that the public and private displacements are not equal: public funds displace more than they do themselves provide."

This is the core of Kealey's position: a society that is relatively wealthy will invest a higher percentage of its assets in basic research, and laissez faire capitalism is what produces wealthy societies:

If this book has a message it is this:

relax. Economic, technical and scientific growth are free lunches. Under *laissez faire* they just emerge, like grass after the rain, through the efforts of individual entrepreneurs and philanthropists. Once the State has initiated the rule of law and sensible commercial legislation, the goodies will flow — and *laissez faire* is morally superior to *dirigisme* as it maximizes the freedoms and responsibilities of the individual.

Basic research itself, Kealey argues, would be better off, and better funded, if there were no government funding. Kealey's argument turns on the incentives in free markets for commercial firms to support basic research. Kealey notes that studies have shown that investments in basic research correlate with overall profits. Actual advances in basic research occasionally bring huge

Basic research itself, Kealey argues, would be better off, and better funded, if there were no government funding.

profits to a company, but more often competitors reap almost as much benefit with no expenditure. So why would a profit-driven company fund basic research, rather than simply take advantage of the research of others?

The answer, Kealey argues, lies in the fact that those scientists who are best able to assess and correlate advances produced elsewhere are precisely those individuals for whom the pursuit of basic research is important. The result is that companies fund basic research teams in order to attract and maintain internal competence levels, and profit from the ability of its scientists to comprehend significant developments within the field and to offer expert advice to those elements within the company that are more directly involved in product development.

In a career as a scientist working within both the academic and corporate world, I've never before encountered this argument — but it matches my experience with the corporate culture quite well.

But there are problems.

First, there is that "Third Law of

Funding for Civil R&D." It is inadequately developed, and almost certainly glosses over some extremely serious issues. The most obvious is that "basic research" is a very vague term lumping together widely disparate activities. Turning the funding of basic research over to market forces may or may not increase either the total number of dollars spent or the rate of progress (defined however you like), but it cannot help but dramatically shift funding among communities. Does anyone think that the huge capital expenditures made in areas of high-energy physics would be sustained by market institutions? The physicists' quest for deeper insights into the fundamental laws of nature would be curtailed. It is no use saying to these people "look, the public expenditure of funds displaces larger amounts of private investment; you can expect more and better toys from a market approach." What we are really saying is that "you cannot justify your pursuit of truth with an economic basis, so you should not be pursuing those questions; they are out of reach given our current level of wealth and scientific context. Your funding is going to be reallocated to other goals."

This may appear to be a reasonable position to the average fellow who meets the demands of the market on a daily basis. To those who hold the pursuit of specific "truths" to be an end in itself, the argument appears less than compelling.

A related point arises in a very telling passage:

The Greek scientists' disdain for any possible economic benefit from science is well illustrated by the famous story about Euclid. When one of his pupils, who correctly answered one of his questions on geometry, asked what use it might be, Euclid tossed him a drachma, saying "he wants science to be profitable." But Euclid did not disdain his own salary: like Ctesibius of Chalcis, who, on being asked what he had gained from philosophy, had replied "free dinners," Euclid and his fellow academics were happy to be paid by the state — but they were not concerned with being useful — nor were they. Neither of the useful technological innovations of the Hellenistic or later Roman periods, the harnessing of water power to grind corn and the employ-

ment of harvesting machines for corn, emerged from the State's science; each was the fruit of private enterprise.

If Kealey's goal were to convince scientists, a passage like this has no place in the work. Seriously asserting that Euclid's work was not useful simply undermines any effort to convince anyone who is not already a true believer in market forces. It is one thing to assert that society should not subsidize scientists or artists, but quite another to assert that their products are inferior to, say MS-DOS, because they command a lower price in the marketplace. Most scientists believe that Euclid's development of geometry completely eclipses "the harnessing of water power to grind corn" — that is, they regard geometry as extraordinarily "useful" — and if what it took to produce such an achievement was government subsidy, well then subsidy is a good thing. And I suspect they would read no further.

Although a few artists and scientists pursue their own objectives, more or less independently of the prevailing

Reading this book is like seeing an unusual chess opening for the first time: there are clearly new ideas and themes to explore, even though many issues need further development.

reward mechanism, most artists and scientists take their cues from the incentives they face.* The fact that society should not subsidize these geniuses does not diminish their achievements. The notion that one must pursue truth, irrespective of perceived practical distractions, is one that I understand; I have worked with geniuses who hold precisely that view. I also believe that, as in the case of Euclid, the payouts on their efforts (in a practical sense) have been partly a function of their holding these explicitly impractical views.

Curiously, there is no discussion of the Internet within this work, an omis-

*See Ludwig von Mises' brief description of the situation in the section "The Creative Genius" of *Human Action*.

sion that is really fairly serious. The World Wide Web is clearly a product of highly-subsidized science, it may well impact the general public more than any other technological development of the last few decades, and it is viewed by many libertarians as a wonderfully liberating technology. As such, it warrants an extensive discussion in any argument against government funding of science. I suspect this omission occurred because Kealey wrote the book prior to the spectacular popularity of the Internet. The significance of the Web became apparent just as the book was being completed. I make this comment not so much as a criticism of the author, but more as a note to any who decide to pick up the baton and carry this effort further.

Kealey's work is really a personal statement by a scientist who has "often felt lonely ploughing my laissez faire science furrow," rather than an attempt to sway the scientific community. He allows himself the luxury of "occasional peevishness." This is neither right nor wrong — just a fact; but, it does make the book less persuasive. *The Economic Laws of Scientific Research* is a wide-ranging exposition, reflecting on both the history of science and Kealey's own experiences, rather than a tightly knit argument against government funding of science. So it is not surprising that it includes some questionable and debatable points that distract from its core argument. His defense of the Dark Ages, his argument that war created capitalism, his digressions into everything from salt smuggling to philanthropy for the poor, and the broad brush painting of the big picture make the work diffuse enough to be less than convincing to anyone not already sympathetic with most of the arguments.

For me, reading this book is like seeing an unusual chess opening for the first time: there are clearly new ideas and themes to explore, even though many issues need further development. It requires a number of iterations and analyses of specific issues before one can feel real confidence in many of its arguments. *The Economic Laws of Scientific Research* exposes new and provocative lines of thought that should provoke healthy discussion. It took courage to write it, and Kealey has my sincere applause. □

American Academia and the Survival of Marxist Ideas. by Darío Fernández-Morera. Praeger, 1996, 213 pages.

The God That Got Tenure

Stephen Cox

Long after definitive proof of its bankruptcy, both as a social theory and as a guide to political practice, Marxism continues to occupy the commanding ideological heights of American universities. How can this be? What can this mean? In *American Academia and the Survival of Marxist Ideas*, Darío Fernández-Morera sets out to answer these questions.

As a professor of Comparative Literature and Hispanic Studies at Northwestern University, Fernández-Morera knows that few academics actually call themselves Marxists or give total assent to Marx's ideology. What survives and flourishes in the American university is the vital core of Marxist assumptions, assumptions about classes and collectivities and economic exploitation and social dominance and material forces and the historical malleability of every conception of "truth" except the relativist and collectivist kind.

These assumptions were shaped and sponsored by Marx, but they have since traveled far in all directions. They have survived, in large part, because of their skill at packing their bags and moving to nicer neighborhoods. They are willing to travel almost anywhere where they can find a friendly (or just a trendy) environment, or evade an unfriendly fact.

Few ideas are better equipped for evasive maneuvers. One of Marxism's most significant intellectual legacies is the assumption that what counts as truth is always relative to one's social class and historical situation. If this idea is (somewhat paradoxically) *true*, then

any seemingly objective empirical evidence that tells against Marxist theory can be dismissed as just one more "fetish" of Late-Capitalist mentality.

This suggests another useful legacy of Marxism, which is its preference for highly abstract theory. A theory that can be rendered sufficiently abstract can never really die. American Marxism once spent a good deal of its time in sociology departments, where it concerned itself principally with speculations about the proletariat's struggle to better its condition. But the goals and motives of the proletariat turned out to be embarrassingly concrete. What the workers wanted could be understood by even the most bourgeois thinker; it could be provided by even the most

Collectivist theory went in search of new frontiers. Its migrations ultimately led it to the department of literature, a place where people almost never think in concrete terms or accept any limits to their demands on reality.

bourgeois social system. So collectivist theory went in search of new frontiers. Its migrations ultimately led it to the department of literature, a place where people almost never think in concrete terms or accept any limits to their demands on reality. Here is a place that was simply made for abstract theory. Stimulated by the new arrival of some old ideas, the inhabitants of Literature

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were soon spending all their time in speculation about "cultural production," "subaltern peoples," and a strange, all-purpose something for which no name could be found but "the Other."

From its beginning, Marxism had been the kind of ideology that appeals to a self-conscious intellectual elite. That appeal was now sharpened to an exquisitely fine point. Workers of the 1850s could well understand what intellectuals meant by "workers" and even "the proletariat," but it is very doubtful that anyone except an academic theorist can understand such key contemporary concepts as "the politics of gender" — or would want to try. The essentially literary Marxism of the present day has freed itself from the *mass* while retaining its sense of *class*, in both meanings of that term. As Fernández-Morera aptly comments, today's intellectual collectivists believe that because "one can no longer count on the workers, human liberation must now depend on the heroic efforts of politically correct educators" (113).

Liberation, progress, a radical reinvention of the whole of life . . . that is the promise of all collectivisms that descend from Marx. And a radical reinvention has actually happened, at least on the conceptual level, with the movement of Marxist ideas from a context where they appeared to be outmoded and false to a context where they seem, to some influential people, very new and challenging.

Fernández-Morera is particularly good at tracking that movement. He shows, for instance, that even such apparently new ideas as affirmative action — the central political program of the academic left — have been tried before, many times, whenever a collectivist emphasis on class origins has been allowed to take precedence over judgments of individual merit.

Fernández-Morera's work is a rich source of suggestive parallels between antique misconceptions and postmodern inspirations. Consider the supposedly cutting-edge idea that works of literary art ("texts") are just fabrics of "language," which is created by "communities" rather than individuals, who therefore deserve none of the respect ("privileging") that creative "genius" has traditionally received. This is a remarkable theory, to be sure; but the

assumptions that support it are not new at all. The same collectivist ideas about "language" can be discovered in (of all embarrassing places) the dialectical speculations of Giovanni Gentile, the most distinguished intellectual supporter of Mussolini's "socialrepublic." According to Gentile, in his salient work *Genesis and Structure of Society* (1943),

the language that every man uses is that of his fathers, the language of his tribe or of his clan, of his city or his nation. It is his and yet not his; and he cannot use it to say "This is my view" unless at the same time he can say "This is our view." For at the root of the "I" there is a "We." The community to which an individual belongs is the basis of his spiritual existence; it speaks through his mouth, feels with his heart, and thinks with his brain. (Fernández-Morera, 25)

This passage could be inserted into any currently fashionable account of literary "textuality," and almost no one would be the wiser. The last sentence provides the only discordant note: it's far too well written to be a product of the present day.

Fernández-Morera clearly sees the "reactionary" nature of the purportedly

Jefferson once remarked to John Adams that few people "have occasion to revise their college opinions," and professionally successful academics have less occasion than most.

advanced trends he studies (18). Mimicking the geriatric style of Marxist literary critics, who smugly refer to eras of Early Capitalism, Advanced Capitalism, and Late Capitalism, as if they knew that capitalism were just about to die, Fernández-Morera discusses eras of Early Marxism, Advanced Marxism, and Late Marxism (6, 101). His own views are influenced by classical-liberal theories of human action that are aspects (if you want to put it that way) of a very Advanced Capitalism indeed. He is one of the handful of literary intellectuals who have fully assimilated the individualist

praxeology of the Austrian school of economics, the school of Friedrich Hayek and Ludwig von Mises.

He has made a good choice of theories. Austrian ideas are useful to any scholar of the humanities who is concerned with the delicate variations among individual talents and interests that give richness and scope to human

I don't want to wait for a new generation. Generations, in any case, are hard to define; they seldom burst out all at once, and every one of them has been trained by a preceding generation — yet intellectual change somehow happens, and it sometimes happens very fast.

culture. Fernández-Morera's classical liberal perspective enables him to show why the goals of "diversity" that are uniformly cherished by contemporary intellectuals are grossly incompatible with their quest for "an egalitarian culture of 'common' interests, sentiments, and experiences" (84).

This perspective also enables him to discuss certain structural similarities that exist among Marxist, modern-liberal, and yes, conservative approaches to culture and society. Those similarities are one explanation for the ease with which collectivist programs have penetrated so apparently liberal (and so fundamentally conservative) an environment as the American university.

Fernández-Morera brings forward other explanations as well. Quoting Vilfredo Pareto, he argues that egalitarian sentiment is often "related to the direct interests of individuals who are bent on escaping certain inequalities not in their favor, and setting up new inequalities that will be in their favor, this latter being their chief concern" (86). To put the idea more bluntly: A professor of literature can very lightly enjoy all the privileges of his own position — tenured security, intellectual leadership, the leisure to read and speculate — without wishing that any of these advantages were shared by

those unfortunate people who have to scramble for a buck. But he is free to resent the superior advantages possessed by anyone who actually catches that buck, or secures that political office, or wins that award from the National Science Foundation. And he may be very hospitable to the kind of political and economic theory that demonstrates the irrationality, the injustice, and best of all, the impermanence of such advantages as other people may happen to enjoy.

This explanation has a great deal to recommend it. It helps us understand why Marxism, which began as "scientific materialism," now attacks science as an oppressive "social practice." Scientists have captured much of the prestige formerly possessed by poets, critics, and philosophers; and the temptation of the disgruntled losers is to believe that science would be a lot less venerated if it were better understood. They know that science is respected because its findings appear to be *true* and therefore useful. But they are prepared to claim, on the basis of collectivist and social-relativist assumptions, that science has no more title to objectivity than any other discipline. Like all the rest, it is a "socially-constructed" house of "rhetoric," a system of "signs" and an expression of "ideology."

Quite a number of academic humanists have taken the advancement of this thesis as the principal business of their professional lives. It's not surprising that they find it congenial. As Fernández-Morera observes,

the effect of "debunking" in *this* particular direction is that scientific activity is thus immediately associated with what most professors in the humanities typically do for a living (using words) rather than what professors in the sciences typically do for a living (using mathematical language and precision instruments and working in laboratories). Not too subtly, the presumably demythologizing maneuver, allegedly intended to undermine the power of a "dominant" group or institution (scientists and science) thus serves to "empower" a different group and institution (literature professors and university literature departments): It makes them hegemonic over so-called science and scientists — now reduced by the other professors

***The Stance Of Atlas* by Peter F. Erickson Examines Ayn Rand's Philosophy of Objectivism**

Ayn Rand's major teachings are considered in detail. In addition to this, special attention is given to the relation of her philosophy of Objectivism to Einstein's theory of relativity and also to Dialectical Materialism (the intellectual basis of Marxism).

Ayn Rand's rejection of collectivism is not disputed. Her position on the efficacy of reason remains—also her acceptance of freewill.

Ayn Rand's epistemological and metaphysical teachings are subjected to extensive criticism. Her attempt to solve the problem of universals is shown to be a failure. *The Stance Of Atlas* actually provides the correct solution. She believed, incorrectly, that Objectivism has the key to answering the problem of induction. *The Stance Of Atlas* shows that this problem was basically solved by a forgotten English logician early in this century. Contrary to Rand's Objectivism, it is established that reason is open to the possibility of God's existence.

Ayn Rand's attempt to found a new morality is shown to be less than what she took it to be. The defense of fractional reserve banking made by Alan Greenspan in Rand's book on capitalism is refuted. Other important issues are discussed.

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to a mere or at best just another set of academic rhetoricians — *yet of course at a disadvantage*, since the literature professors, unlike the scientists, are masters of the rhetorical trade. (144)

To all this sort of thing, Fernández-Morera brings a precise and devastating judgment: "Truth is not socially constructed. . . . But lies can be" (165). The worst lies, of course, are the lies that people tell themselves.

What prospects exist for a healthy change? I must confess that my own predictions have been sadly fallible. I used to believe that soon, very soon, my colleagues in the humanities would begin to echo the poet who said that he could no longer bring himself to be interested in ideas that weren't true. Ten years ago, I thought that the long, long run of Marxist assumptions was about to end. Well, it didn't.

Fernández-Morera seems to be about as pessimistic as I was optimistic, and he has good reason to be. He calls attention to the fact that academics are employed to *think* about the world, and not to *manage* it. If their theories don't work, they will not be "thrown out of office or sued for malpractice," nor should they be (180). But their isolation from this kind of responsibility doesn't help them see the flaws in their theories. The peer-review system may not give them much help, either. Fernández-Morera is right in suggesting that it often "weed[s] in unsound, cranky, and even fraudulent research not only in the 'softer' realms of the humanities and the social sciences, but even, though less often, in the case of the 'hard' sciences" (175).

He brings up a still more unfortunate fact: there are heavy costs associated with abandoning a theory, whether or not it's right. Jefferson once remarked to John Adams that few people "have occasion to revise their college opinions," and professionally successful academics have less occasion than most. If you spend five or six years in graduate school listening to dreary lectures about the "social analysis" of English literature, and if you follow this with another five or six years writing a book and ten articles in which you demonstrate the oppressive effects of capitalist hegemony on the works of, say, Richard Harding Davis, you are not about to celebrate the attainment of tenure by writing another book and ten

articles in which you demonstrate that everything you said before was wrong. Before you even think of doing that, you will probably have invested your all — your little all — in the notions you learned in college; and if that is so, you will need some very strong and shocking stimulus, such as a voice from the clouds or a fit of near-fatal boredom, to make you declare intellectual bankruptcy and start all over again.

Isabel Paterson made that observation about the collectivist thinkers of her own era, the 1930s; and Fernández-Morera makes it about the current generation:

Having become institutionalized, materialist discourse is now the bread and butter of so many professors that it would take a revolution like those that occurred in some socialist countries for them to give it up. (170)

He concludes by saying, "One can only hope that a new generation of academicians will someday emerge, who will decide, with genuine authenticity,

Intellectual change begins when a number of individuals decide to consult their interests as thinking individuals, and discover that some currently fashionable theory isn't really worth their time.

that the scholarly rhetoric bequeathed to them by an earlier academic establishment is inadequate for the post-Marxist Age" (187).

To this I reply with my own hope that for once Fernández-Morera is wrong. I don't want to wait for a new generation. Generations, in any case, are hard to define; they seldom burst out all at once, and every one of them has been trained by a preceding generation — yet intellectual change somehow happens, and it sometimes happens very fast. It begins when a number of individuals decide to consult their interests *as thinking individuals*, and discover that some currently fashionable theory isn't really worth their time. At that point, they may

decide that what *is* worth their time is the effort to create a climate for new ideas.

That certainly was the decision of

Professor Fernández-Morera, the existence of whose book is one of the best arguments against any pessimism it may contain. □

Free Space, Brad Linaweaver & Edward E. Kramer, eds. Tor, 1997, 352 pages.

Libertarians in Space

Martin Morse Wooster

Study the science fiction field in any depth and you will find that a surprising number of sf's leading writers believe in free markets. Some make no secret of their political sympathies. Poul Anderson, whose career as an sf writer has lasted over fifty years, has long referred to himself as a "small-l libertarian." Gregory Benford often writes for *Reason*, while David Brin, award-winning author of *Startide Rising* and *The Postman*, has written for *Liberty*.

Yet more sf writers are sympathetic towards free markets than you might expect. For example, in his latest non-fiction collection, *Reflections and Refractions*, Robert Silverberg writes that "my basic attitude in these essays, I suppose, can be called libertarian/conservative." While no systematic census of sf writers' political views exists, it's probable that a substantial minority (perhaps as many as a quarter) of all sf writers are either libertarians or libertarian sympathizers, including many of the most successful and respected members of the field.

But within the sf community, there is a harder core of writers who explicitly define themselves as "libertarian science fiction writers." Clustered around the Libertarian Futurist Society (LFS) and the various organizations of anarcho-capitalist entrepreneur Samuel Edward Konkin III, these writers include Brad Linaweaver, Victor

Koman, J. Neil Schulman, L. Neil Smith, and James P. Hogan.

Some of these writers have produced fine work. J. Neil Schulman's *The Rainbow Cadenza* (1983), for example, is a subtle and underrated dystopia that deserves to be better known. Yet other libertarian sf writers are little more than hacks. I've tried to read the novels of L. Neil Smith, for example, but have found them to be unreadable formulaic space operas that provide little pleasure.

Moreover, there are few reliable guides to determining which libertarian sf writers are worth reading. Read the publications of the LFS or go to "frefan" parties at conventions and you'll come across readers who rate novels based on a perverse sort of political correctness. Kick a bureaucrat in the butt in your novel, and the frefans will give you a lusty cheer. Name some minor characters "Spooner," "Mises," or "Nock" and you'll get a standing ovation. Use praxeology correctly in a sentence, and you're likely to win the LFS's Prometheus Award for best sf novel.

One way to determine what the best liberty-minded sf writers are is to read *Free Space*, a showcase of 17 stories and three poems by most of the leading sf writers who are sympathetic to libertarianism. While *Free Space* is a severely flawed book, it nonetheless is an accurate reflection of the strengths and weaknesses of libertarian sf.

After a short, and forgettable, reprint by William F. Buckley, Jr. about

the Apollo-Soyuz mission of 1975, *Free Space's* first story is "Nerfworld," by Dafydd ab Hugh, a contemporary story about an entrepreneur whose innovative ideas about propulsion could lead to the first successful starship. Unfortunately, Janna Wylie's laser launcher has been developed under a Defense Department contract, which means lots of bureaucrats are eager to stop her from launching a laser into space. The Environmental Protection Agency wants her to revise the existing environmental impact statement. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration needs to know whether her workers meet safety standards. The Department of Energy is struggling to figure out if it has oversight. So Wylie has to go to Washington to defend her grant and pave the way for space.

Ab Hugh's story is ludicrous. All of the bureaucrats who confront Wylie are flawed — they're either drunks, fatties, or failures. The story is constructed as a libertarian fantasy, concluding with Wylie delivering an obscenity-laced monologue in praise of entrepreneur-

Their failures will not be the work of nasty liberal editors in New York, but their inability to please the vast majority of readers.

ship before a Congressional committee. By the time ab Hugh writes how his heroine "shoved some homeless leeches out of the way with a lusty curse favoring the free market," you wonder if he's taking his assignment seriously.

Nor are the next few stories successful. J. Neil Schulman's "Day of Atonement" is set in a future where right-wing religious parties have seized control of Israel and turned that nation into a theocracy, complete with a king who routinely conducts animal sacrifices, a rebuilt Temple of Solomon, and a new Ark of the Covenant. But Schulman does not (and probably cannot) explain why Israelis chose this wildly implausible future. Editor Linaweaver's story, "No Market for Justice," is a gassy monologue in which

a heroic entrepreneur (who is of course named Howard Nock) warns people that freedom is Good and government is Bad. It's so cliché-ridden that Linaweaver has to keep inserting phrases ("all libertarians know this stuff," "for those of you have heard all of this before") to keep reminding his readers that he's not saying anything new.

It's only with Gregory Benford's "Early Bird" that *Free Space* becomes interesting. Benford tells the story of a renegade spaceship who manages to steal a wormhole and sell it. While the

Too often, libertarian writers consider their politics more important than their art, resulting in cartoonish morality plays where the bureaucrats are always wrong and the capitalist heroes always win.

story is market-oriented, since it's about Claire Ambrase, an entrepreneur who takes a major risk for a considerable profit, Benford spends most of the story on science rather than politics. In fact, in many ways "Early Bird" is an anti-political story. Though Claire "cared about politics, she wouldn't let it override more important things." When making her sale, Claire learns that her client "had the wrong kind of politics, but to let that dictate everything was as dumb as politics itself."

Poul Anderson's "Tyranny" starts in

a familiar matter. A planet decides to turn over control of its government to the Cyberon, an all-powerful computer. The Freedom League decides to smash the computer and free the planet, replacing the machine with people who understand "the common good" — namely the Freedom League and its allies.

Anderson then takes his story into a new direction. Would destroying the Cyberon be wrong? What is better — to be controlled by a machine that ensures increasing prosperity, or to be free and poor? Anderson fairly debates these questions, and his story is thought-provoking and not predictable.

Victor Koman's "Demokratus" explores the dark side of participatory democracy. Welder Volnos, on the run from his creditors, lands on a planet where everyone is polled on everything, including whether the morning will be good or bad and what the people will eat for breakfast. The ballot boxes, installed in everyone's homes, also act as alarm clocks, since the people vote on what time the nation of Demokratus will rise. And all minorities can do is hope for another vote; if the majority rules that the people will eat "blen flakes" and "sneft milk" for breakfast, well, then that's what you will eat.

Koman's story is a satire, as well as a good-humored warning that much of life should not be subject to politics. Unlike most of the tales in *Free Space*, Koman's story is very witty.

Not all of the stories in *Free Space* are by libertarians. Arthur Byron Cover's "The Performance of a Lifetime" is meant to be a critique of libertarian ideas. Harry C. Barbusse is

Cover's idea of a libertarian hero, since he's a self-created, independent entrepreneur. Unfortunately, Barbusse is also a mass murderer. How can a libertarian society ensure that people like Barbusse be properly punished?

Cover is not subtle. His characters all have eccentric names that are supposed to be funny ("Zachary Greenstreet," "Smiley Verboten"). He also tries to put his implausible characters in implausible situations; at Barbusse's trial, for example, the judge is comatose, because Barbusse's crimes were "so unspeakably heinous, so monstrously inhuman, that only a jurist whose connection to humanity was tenuous at best could adjudicate the case fairly." By the time Barbusse receives his not-terribly-just punishment, you realize that Cover's story — meant to be a comic inferno — never catches on fire.

A more subtle critique is provided by the concluding story, John Barnes's "Between Shepherds and Kings." Barnes, a rising hard sf writer who has called himself a "Marxian" (whatever that means), provides a self-referential story about a drunken hack writer named Ray Terani who is long overdue with a story for *Free Space*. "Nothing could be as embarrassing as having a story in a book like this in the first place," Terani muses, "and the whole reason I want a story in it is because it's embarrassing. Because it will make all my left-wing friends go, 'Yuck, how could you be published in this?'"

But what sort of story will Terani write? He argues that his hero has to be the "usual muscular white American male," or "UMWAM." He'll have to conquer space, although space is "99.999... percent empty." Perhaps he should be a privateer, who will steal from merchant ships to force people to be free. But how can you have capitalism between worlds that are light-years apart?

Barnes's story is the best in the book, because he forces his readers to check their premises. Barnes also shows liberty-minded sf writers the right way to proceed if they want to advance.

Libertarian science fiction often fails because of its predictability. Too often, libertarian writers consider their politics more important than their art, resulting in cartoonish morality plays where the bureaucrats are always wrong and the capitalist heroes always

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win. Moreover, many libertarian sf writers stop their plots for long speeches on the virtues of the free market and the wickedness of the state.

If libertarians continue to produce such didactic and predictable works, they will become marginalized. And their failures will not be the work of nasty liberal sf editors in New York, but their inability to please the vast majority of sf readers, who choose

what to buy based on an author's storytelling ability and not on his politics. Very few sf readers choose authors solely because of their ability to quote Rand, Rothbard, or Nock.

There's certainly room for sf novels with confident, heroic protagonists whom libertarians would find inspiring. But novelists who insist on preaching about the virtues of the market are doomed to failure. □

Booknotes

Down on the Farm — Catherine McNicol Stock's *Rural Radicals: From Bacon's Rebellion to the Oklahoma City Bombing* (Penguin, 1997, 219 pages) is not, the authors demurs, "an investigation as such but an extended interpretive essay." And it seems to be her interpretation of rural radicalism that is the problem.

The first two-thirds of the book is devoted to rural misbehavior from before the revolution to the turn of the century: tax protests, private wars, lynchings, pogroms against the Native Americans, blacks, Catholics, Chinese, and Jews. Stock brings into focus movements and personalities that frequently get lost in the jumble of frontier history. The passing comments on voluntary associations, such as the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias, the Grange movement, and the persecution of the Mormons seem to make for an adequate introductory sketch.

But her treatment of recent rural radicalism — everything from farmer activism during the foreclosures of the 1980s, to the John Birch Society and the American Nazi Party — is riven with error and leave me wondering how much she distorted the history of the previous centuries.

There is a distinct difference in the level of respect Stock accords to a particular rural faction, based on whether the faction turned to the "politics of hope," or to the "politics of hate." The politics of hate are vigilantism, racism, union busting, and other dark impulses. The politics of hope, if I read her correctly, has something to do with "grass-roots collectivism, racial harmony, and gender inclusiveness."

The Weaver family, whose confron-

tation with federal agents Stock blames for spawning the militia movement, gets particularly contemptuous treatment. The fact that Randy Weaver was prosecuted for the "crime" of falling prey to a federal agent's inducements to produce a nominally illegal firearm does not spare him from being labeled "violent" and "linked to rural America's culture of vigilantism," though Stock does mention that there were many rural badmen "who made Weaver seem almost benign."

Stock's stock morality is painfully obvious as she considers the Ruby Ridge incident: "But if Randy and Vicki Weaver had grown up in the traditional seedbed of rural producer [farmer] radicalism, why did they choose hatred and violence over collective protest for democratic change? Instead of attending Family Day at the Aryan Nations compound why weren't they singing at a Farm Aid concert or trying to stop a local farm foreclosure?" Why indeed? For heaven's sake, if only Vicki Weaver had turned to the politics of hope, like respectable womyn, no one from the government would ever have tried to harm her or her son.

Whether Stock's ignorance of even the simplest economics has its origin in lack of interest or political dogmatism I do not know. But I do know that no serious book gains credibility when it makes assertions like her claim that the weakness of the Articles of Confederation lay in its not authorizing the central government to "print paper currency to stop inflation."

Stock's demand for conformity, combined with an unrelenting ignor-

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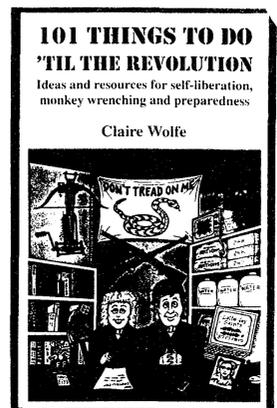
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ance of economics, ruins *Rural Radicals*. Bias and confused analysis have once again short-circuited a serious study of the rugged right wing. —Brien Bartels

Dispirit of '68 — Paul Berman's first book, *A Tale of Two Utopias: The Political Journey of the Generation of 1968* (W. W. Norton, & Co., 1996, 351pages), comes not in the 6" x 9" size typical of trade hardbacks, but in a

smaller format of 4 3/4" x 7 5/8", an idiosyncrasy favored by the cultural commentator Edmund Wilson. How clever of the publisher to enhance an author's first book with a format peculiar to a distinguished writer — like using a Coca-Cola bottle to sell fizzy tap water. If only to reinforce this pretense of Berman as Wilson, the philosophy professor Richard Rorty, as reliable a flack as any, provides the blurb he must

have known the publisher would feature: Berman offers "the same sensitivity to moral needs of the participants, and the same lucid evaluative balance, as did Edmund Wilson's accounts of earlier periods in our political history." (How many advance "comments" had to be solicited to get this one?)

A Tale of Two Utopias opens with this personal sentence: "In the years around 1968, a utopian exhilaration swept across the student universe and across several adult universes as well, and almost everyone in my own circle of friends and classmates was caught up in it." This prompted me to wonder exactly how old the author is, remembering as I do that the events of the late 1960s had a different impact upon those born in 1948 than upon those, like myself, several years older. So I looked first for a biographical note within the book's pages; no luck. For criticism that depends so much upon the pretense of personal authority, *Utopias* contains remarkably little personal information. On page 89 I found that Berman was at "Columbia University" in the late 1960s and so expected him to explain whether the revolution that began within the smaller, more selective Columbia College affected the larger student community. Again, no luck.

The lack of personal reference perhaps accounts for the absence of focus, as the book's dense commentary jumps from one subject to another. The copyright page says that some of the material previously appeared in *The New Republic* and the *Village Voice*, two magazines so over-edited that whatever writing "fits neatly" into their pages looks peculiarly diffuse when standing alone, as in a book. As in this book.

Otherwise, *A Tale of Two Utopias* is a dense and haughty commentary in the tradition not of Edmund Wilson, whose style was clearer, but of Garry Wills and Theodore Draper, authors who stand above their material, look at the recent past with Monday-morning intelligence, display confusions meant to signify complexity, and invite the reader to share this sense of superiority. Some of Berman's remarks — say, about gay activism, or the high proportion of Jewish participants in 1960s revolutions around the western world — are valuable; others are trivial. One persistent problem is that Berman is writing about radicals who had a lot more

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Literature

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more courage than Berman himself.

As a conventional lefty, writing for self-consciously lefty magazines, Berman has a limited sense of the late 1960s. One thing he doesn't know is that the libertarian movement as we know it also began at that time. I wasn't there, but I've heard about the 1969 convention of the Young Americans for Freedom, at which someone ignited his draft card, only to be mugged by more conservative YAFers. This provocative act obviously took as much moral courage as many of the events described in *A Tale of Two Utopia's* pages; but since it happened in a context customarily classified as "right-wing," though transcending that category precisely in its anti-statism, Berman and his editors probably know nothing about it. I for one am willing to measure any book purportedly about the radical 1960s solely by whether it acknowledges this crucial episode. —Richard Kostelanetz

The Straight Dope — Much of what passes for drug education material in government schools incorporates palpable junk-science reports that have been discredited among knowledgeable scientists for years, even decades. In the 1970s a small company got contracts to do drug education in a few New England schools and had better results (fewer kids trying grass) with accurate discussion of the costs and benefits of marijuana. But bad curricula often drive out the good ones in monopoly institutions with a captive customer base, and most schools prefer sensational exaggerations even if (or because?) they are not very effective, even counterproductive, at discouraging kids from experimenting with the illicit weed.

Lynn Zimmer and John Morgan have provided a valuable corrective with *Marijuana Myths, Marijuana Facts: A Review of the Scientific Evidence* (The Lindesmith Center, 241 pages). Zimmer teaches sociology at Queens College, CUNY, and Morgan is Professor of Pharmacology at the City University of New York Medical School. They have studied and assessed virtually every report on marijuana done in the last several decades.

They demonstrate why the British medical journal *Lancet* was not on the edge but in the mainstream when it concluded in 1995 that "the smoking of

cannabis, even long term, is not harmful to health." After all, every major government study, from the 1894 Indian Hemp Commission British report to the 1972 Shafer Commission to the 1982 National Academy of Sciences report, has concluded roughly the same thing. But the prohibitionists have been nothing if not imaginative in financing and citing studies that purport to prove some new and dangerous effect — often with a surface plausibility — that those old reports missed because they didn't have science as modern as ours.

Zimmer and Morgan sift through the evidence responsibly. They acknowledge, for example, that "like tobacco smoke, marijuana smoke contains a number of irritants and carcinogens," and that precancerous cells have been found in the lungs of marijuana smokers. But they point out that to date, no reports have attributed lung cancer solely to marijuana, and note that most people who smoke marijuana smoke much less of it than do tobacco smokers indulging in their vice.

A similar concern for context and an acknowledgment of where the scientific evidence is sketchy or inconclusive informs short chapters on marijuana as medicine, addiction, the gateway

theory, motivation and performance, memory, cognition, effects on the immune system, sex hormones, pregnancy, potency, and other topics. After they have guided us through the scientific evidence, their conclusion seems rather modest and obvious:

More than seventy million Americans — 35 percent of those age twenty-six and older — have now used marijuana; one-fifth still smoke marijuana, at least occasionally. Marijuana is the most widely used illicit drug in America. Indeed, it is the only illicit drug that is used widely. Its use occurs in all regions of the country, among people of all social classes, all ethnicities, all occupations, all religions, and all political persuasions. In an important sense, marijuana use is already a 'normal' part of the culture. What most makes marijuana deviant is its continued criminalization.

Marijuana Myths, Marijuana Facts is an accessible summary of what is known and not known about marijuana on the basis of scientifically respectable studies. In some sections, it is perhaps too brief, but Zimmer and Morgan footnote thoroughly, allowing the reader to sample the primary scientific sources in

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—Alan W. Bock

Consigned to a Lowly Place in the Canon —

Terry Pratchett's recent fantasy novel, *Feet of Clay* (HarperPrism, 1996, 320 pages), is another flawed romp through Douglas Adams territory. Literally, Pratchett's territory is his own, of course: he sets most of his novels on a flat planet ("Discworld") resting on the back of four elephants marching atop a turtle that swims the heavens — and where magic exists, and color is not limited to red, yellow, orange, green, blue, indigo, violet and the permutations thereof.

But Pratchett is gaining a moral sense and now flashes a bit of a political edge. *Feet of Clay* develops the theme of self-ownership, a theme not often broached in novels of any kind. Amidst the drolleries and excitements, clever sentences pop up: "Probably no other species in the world would demand a receipt with their freedom." But Pratchett's best lines remain in his footnotes.*

Feet of Clay is nowhere near as good as *Mort*, his best effort so far; but it is not as bad as many another book in the popular series that began with *The Color of Magic*. Pratchett's unending quest to maintain a steady stream of comedy — and money; green is surely the color he likes best — has not produced masterworks, but they are not uniformly embarrassing, either.

—Timothy Virkkala

Missing History —

Found while browsing in Borders, it looked like just what I wanted for the plane ride home. It was a paperback book about the conjunction of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, written by William Manchester. What appealed to me was the chance to see how an accomplished

* For example: "It is a pervasive and beguiling myth that the people who design instruments of death end up being killed by them. There is almost no foundation in fact. Colonel Shrapnel wasn't blown up, M. Guillotine died with his head on, Colonel Gatling wasn't shot. If it hadn't been for the murder of cosh and black-jack maker Sir William Blunt-Instrument in an alleyway, the rumor would never have got started." Should those who live by the footnote die by the footnote?

historian would write about this era when it was not his specialty. Presumably Manchester would look at this period with fresh eyes. The book had started out as a preface to someone else's book, but it kept growing. Manchester was fascinated by what he learned, and I expected to be, too. The cover said that the book was a "national bestseller."

It did not take me long however, to realize that *A World Lit Only By Fire: The Medieval Mind and the Renaissance* (Little, Brown and Company, 1992) isn't fresh at all. It is a re-telling of the old "liberal history lesson" that Stan Evans decries in *The Theme Is Freedom*. This is the history lesson that most of us were taught, the story that everything was grand under the Greeks and Romans, but after the fall of Rome, Europe entered into a thousand years of "slumber" until it was reawakened by the Renaissance rediscovery of classical knowledge.

Manchester tells us about the Romans and their "towering pinnacles of artistic and intellectual achievement," which were followed by the "Stygian murk of the Dark Ages" and "ten centuries of immobility." Europeans on the eve of the Renaissance were "shackled in ignorance, disciplined by fear, and sheathed in superstition, they trudged into the 16th century in the clumsy, hunched, pigeon-toed gait of rickets victims, their vacant faces, pocked by smallpox, turned blindly toward the future they thought they knew — gullible, pitiful innocents who were about to be swept up in the most powerful, incomprehensible, irresistible vortex since Alaric had led his Visigoths and Huns across the Alps, fallen on Rome, and extinguished the lamps of learning, a thousand years before."

Christians were so superstitious as to be "indistinguishable from pagans," we have the "shadowy disciplines" of animism and Scholasticism; and we have the "medieval ashes" from which Europe will "phoenix-like" eventually arise, all in contrast to the days when "Greece and Rome shimmered in their glory."

Vivid and fascinating. But is this history as we understand it today?

Where is the tremendous vitality that characterized much of the Middle Ages? We now know (don't we?) that freedom was fostered by competition

among kings, popes and medieval cities. These alternative domains gave ordinary people a chance to migrate to other places to live and work. We now know that the crucial institution of the common law developed step-by-step as feudalism shifted to a society based on voluntary contract.

We now know that the slow accumulation over centuries of institutions, rules, customs, and technological improvements made the West unique — changes outlined by economists Douglass North, Robert Thomas, and Nathan Rosenberg, and legal scholars Arthur Hogue and L.E. Birdzell. We know, as exhaustively detailed by Fernand Braudel, the role of trade and commerce in bringing about a modern European civilization.

Oh, well. In my eagerness to read the book, I had skipped over Manchester's upfront admission that few of his sources are new. Indeed, out of some 265 bibliographic references, only eight were written after 1979 (and one of these appears to be a book for which he was writing a preface). I shouldn't have expected more.

A World Lit Only By Fire is a good read. Unfortunately, if it truly was a "national bestseller" it will be a supplemental college history text for years, and even more generations of students will miss important points about the growth of Western civilization and human freedom. —Jane S. Shaw

Scot in a Web of Words —

To anyone who loves words, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) is a treasure trove. The original aim was to list every word that had appeared in English, provide definitions, and cite the date of its earliest appearance in print and offer a quotation that used the word well. It was conceived — and nearly half of it edited — by a single man, James K. Murray, a modest Scot with little formal education.

K. M. Elisabeth Murray's *Caught in the Web of Words* (Yale University Press, 1995, 386 pp.) tells the tale of her grandfather and the OED. James Murray grew up in a Britain with limited opportunities for the formal education of a poor boy, but with boundless opportunities for informal education and self-education. In the 19th century, Britain had thousands of voluntary associations dedicated to the study of

various subjects in which anyone with interest was welcome. Murray joined more than one (he was, for instance, fascinated with botany as well as words). His method of learning other languages was unique: his knowledge of the Bible was so definitive that he could learn a new language by reading the Bible in translation — without the aid of a bilingual dictionary.

In these days of licensing and accreditation, a person with so little formal education would likely be flipping burgers instead of undertaking a project such as the OED. But the lack of academic credentials didn't keep Murray from pursuing his almost unbelievably ambitious goal. The expanse of the task is dizzying: The reading necessary to find quotes, keeping the volunteers motivated, finding volunteers who were competent, maintaining funding from Oxford, the number of slips with quotations that were created (eventually five million) and the physical handling of these slips was daunting. He recruited his children to alphabetize, and they volunteered for other tasks willingly when they wanted extra money.

In the end Murray completed A, B, C, D, H, I, J, K, O, P, T. Of the OED's 15,487 pages, Murray edited 7,207.

—Kathleen Bradford

Final Form — During his creative years, the great American innovator Charles Ives composed symphonies, sonatas, choral works, and program music in relative obscurity, while amassing a fortune in the insurance business. Health problems led to an early retirement from much of his art, though he still continued to revise a few of his pieces, notably the great Piano Sonata No. 2, "Concord, Mass., 1840–60" (which he never really intended to put into a "final form"). Long after he gave up serious composition, however, he used his fortune to subsidize the work of similarly inclined American composers.

In *Charles Ives: A Life With Music* (W. W. Norton, 1996, 525 + xvii pp.), Jan Swafford fills in important details of the fascinating story, and sorts through the thorny briarpatch of Ives studies. Swafford not only gets the scholarly issues right, but he tells the tale deftly — and at the end the reader is apt to shed a tear as the cranky composer and his wife Harmony listen to

the world premiere of his Second Symphony on the radio . . . and the audience actually applauds as the final,

jubilant, nose-thumbing dissonant chord brings the work to its raucous end.
—Timothy Virkkala

***Titanic*. Written and directed by James Cameron. Paramount, 1997.**

The Iceberg Cometh

Stephen Cox

The opening of this film was greeted by nearly unanimous applause. Hollywood observers had grown tired of laughing at *Titanic*'s long delays and enormous costs; they now felt relieved that the world's most expensive movie had finally staggered into port.

During the week before the debut, friends who read my history of the original *Titanic* in the May issue of *Liberty* deluged me with reassuring messages. They had seen the advance reviews, and they believed that this was a Hollywood movie that even a *Titanic* crank could force himself to like. During the film's long gestation, I had visited the set, an enormous model — 90 percent as large as *Titanic* herself — foundering in a water tank on a Mexican beach. I was impressed. This movie might not be good, but there would certainly be a lot of it.

And there is. It's three hours long, and it has something to offer everyone. Well, almost everyone. To wit:

1. Teenagers, of all ages. They are the largest audience for movies, so it is obvious, is it not, that the largest share of every movie should be devoted to things that turn them on. Accordingly, the largest share of *Titanic* is devoted to a love affair between two mythical teenagers, Rose (Kate Winslet) and Jack (Leonardo DiCaprio). As in every other teenage movie, the girl is rich and bored, the boy is poor and wild, and they wind up having sex in the back

seat of an automobile. You might think it would be hard to arrange for this to happen in a movie about an ocean liner that sank in 1912. But the solution was simple. Part of *Titanic*'s freight consisted of . . . automobiles! It really did. So it was easy to have Rose and Jack stroll down to the cargo hold, find a back seat, and start going at it. I hope I'm not spoiling the plot for you.

Naturally, the girl's rich acquaintances — including and especially her pompous, stuck-up fiancé — spend all their time rubbing it in about how rich they are, and she retaliates by spending all her time being obnoxious. When Mr. J. Bruce Ismay, Managing Director of the steamship line (a real person, but not in this movie), innocently boasts about the *Titanic*'s titanic qualities, young Rose lets him know what Freud has to say about the human male's fixation with *size*. She expresses her unhappiness in a still more definite way by trying to jump off the ship. Unfortunately for all concerned, Jack turns up to save her. Thus begins a series of adventures that is sure to entertain not only teenagers but also that closely related audience,

2. Lovers of situation comedies. These folks will enjoy seeing all the wacky things that our cute young couple finds to do. The boy teaches the girl how to spit, and (imagine!) they both get caught at it! Then they run up and down the ship, and the grownups try to chase them! Hilarious fun, and exactly like TV, right down to the boy's puppydog panache and the girl's glori-

ous freedom from any appearance of depth or consistency: it can truly be said that she succeeds as a character where Lisa Simpson fails. The camera also does its best to maintain that made-for-TV feel. Its default mode is always the closeup, and it even manages to provide some MTV-style strobe effects with deck lights that keep flickering on and off. And what could be more telefriendly than a good, old-fashioned appeal to

3. Lovers of afternoon talk shows. Here is the film's great innovation.

As in every other teenage movie, the girl is rich and bored, the boy is poor and wild, and they wind up having sex in the back seat of an automobile.

Instead of making a movie about what happened to the *Titanic*, which after all is merely one of the world's greatest stories, the people responsible for this production made a movie about an old woman (Rose, now 101 years of age) who suddenly decides to share her feelings about herself and the way she lost her virginity, eight decades before. Oprah Winfrey, are you with us? What Rose has to share must surely be more important than anything not directly connected to meditations on adolescent sex. It is so important, indeed, that as far as possible, everything else is excluded.

Oh, there are a few exceptions, a few outbreaks of adult reality, but they're kept firmly in line. They're taught their place. One of the most famous *Titanic* anecdotes involves Benjamin Guggenheim, a wealthy passenger who appeared on deck while the lifeboats were being loaded, accompanied by his secretary, Victor Giglio. Both of them were wearing evening clothes. Mr. Guggenheim said, "We've dressed up in our best and are prepared to go down like gentlemen." Of course, such a mysteriously moving remark is not the sort of emotional sharing that television viewers understand. So the script turns Mr. Guggenheim's moment of glory into a TV giggle. He makes his remark, then

he adds a properly self-deflating kicker: "But we would like a brandy." So much for him! It's the job of mythic Rose to come up with the really deep stuff, like her concluding message: "A woman's heart is a deep ocean of secrets." That'll give you something to mull over. But if you're not a particularly good muller, you may be part of yet another target audience. You may be one of those

4. Lovers of action films. These people required some special attention. They could not be expected to dote on Rose's memories of romance — while they're waiting impatiently for the iceberg to come along. And it doesn't come along for the first two hours. *After* it does, the action guys could be fobbed off with standard variations on a theme: Jack saves Rose from danger; Rose saves Jack from danger; repeat this about 900 times. But what to do with that long beginning? Once more, a simple solution was found: have the film start with an exciting episode from . . . modern life! Start off with a gang of hearty, bawdy he-males rodding around the ocean floor in big humungous machines with lights and prongs and levers and metal things all over, trying to find this big humungous diamond that's kept in a safe down there in this big humungous old-time ship. But these guys don't find it, see, at least not right away, so this old dame Rose gets into the act because she claims to know about that diamond, see? And that makes you wonder, will anybody ever find that diamond? If you want to know, just watch this movie.

And that's how you hook the action guys. Also, these guys are known to be suckers for special effects, and *Titanic* has some pretty good ones. Granted, they have their limitations: the skies aren't realistic, and some good ideas for effects (such as the distress rockets, which should look wonderful but don't) fall victim to the prevailing close-up method. But most of the effects are convincing, and a few are startling.

Success in this line helps to mollify both the action guys and a radically different group of people, a group that is less important (because less numerous) and yet could conceivably have some impact on the film's publicity and drawing power. These are the unlikely souls who actually know something about the ostensible subject of this work of art and can therefore attest (or

not) to its credibility. I refer to the small but growing army of

5. *Titanic* fanatics. These folks are sticklers for accuracy; and by God! they get some. True, most of the film is about fictitious people who would be just as happy in *The Towering Inferno* or *Little Orphan Annie*, but to make up for that tiny deficit in the fact department, almost all of *Titanic*'s real passengers and crew are omitted, so that no falsehoods are told about *them*. And the nonhuman aspects of the disaster are reproduced with some fidelity. The filmic ship usually looks about as large (though not nearly as complicated) as the real ship, and the individual sets are usually very good replicas of the real ship's stairways, staterooms, decks, and so on. It's fun to see good color footage of scenes that you've only witnessed before in black and white stills. It's also fun to hear, from time to time, some bits of dialogue that were actually spoken on *Titanic*.

But the moviemakers' crowning touch is the inclusion of just enough mistakes to allow anyone who's ever

Instead of making a movie about what happened to the Titanic — merely one of the world's greatest stories — they made a movie about an old woman who suddenly decides to share her feelings about the way she lost her virginity.

read a book about *Titanic* to feel absolutely swell because he can point them out. I feel swell because I can tell you that the hymn sung by the actors contains a verse that didn't exist in *Titanic*'s time. I can also testify that steam came out of only three of *Titanic*'s smokestacks, not out of four, as it does in the movie; and that the broken stern section of the ship didn't behave quite as theatrically as the movie makes you think it did. And it's good to be able to say that the people on *Titanic* weren't quite the one-dimensional weaklings, bullies, and hypocrites whom the film's revisionist history portrays. Whatever the film

may show to the contrary, it's not true that any officer accepted a bribe to let someone into a lifeboat. It's not true that any passengers ran about the decks shooting pistols. It's not true that there was any serious violence, let alone any gunfire, at the barriers that temporarily separated some third-class passengers from the boat deck. It's not true that Managing Director Ismay, in a fit of commercial competitiveness, bullied Captain Smith into speeding up while *Titanic* was heading toward dan-

ger. It's not true that after *Titanic* sank, only one lifeboat tried to rescue people who were freezing in the water: some boats couldn't, and some boats didn't, but more than one boat tried.

Well, so what? Those are just some isolated facts. Yes, a number of them are associated with human stories that might have added a certain interest to the film, but so might a lot of other things that got left out. And what's the point? Do we have to have good stories? □

defend themselves once those neighbors — with more than acquiescence on the part of the local sheriff — begin their murderous assault.

Rosewood probably is not intended as a brief for the right to bear arms; yet one is reminded that attempts to disarm the freedmen played a salient role in the South's post-Civil War effort to sustain the economic, civil, and political subordination of blacks. —Eric Mack

Ken and Barbie vs. The Bugs

— I just saw *Starship Troopers*, a movie I swore I would never see, and I am a convert. It is amazingly faithful to Robert Heinlein's vision.

One character even gets to speak a line that is right out of the anarchist playbook: "When you vote you are using force . . ." At the same time the filmmakers get to satirize, amusingly if heavy-handedly, the fascism that Heinlein seemed to be advocating.

The film is also technically brilliant. Not just the special effects, but the film editing as well. A miracle of concision. The murmuring of the audience (especially the many teenagers) seemed to indicate they thought the movie was stupid, with good fight scenes. Well, who expects anything of the proletariat anymore? —Brien Bartels

Breaking Into the Genetocracy

— Film makers seldom make movies about intelligence. In recent years films

Filmnotes

Southern Discomfort — *Rosewood* (directed by John Singleton and available at your local video outlet) is set in rural Florida in 1923. It is "based on a true story" of the destruction of a relatively prosperous black community at the hands of its white neighbors. Many of the plot elements here — hordes of small town southern white thugs, a white woman's false claim to have been raped by a black man, the long-suffering blacks' resistance to oppression and violence, the appearance on horseback of a black war veteran, Mr. Mann (played by Ving Rhames) — invite a bromidic treatment. Yet the film rises well above this.

The civil society of Rosewood is strikingly different from the neighboring white town of Sumner. Sarah (played by Esther Roll), who is the matriarch of the Carrier family of Rosewood, explains to Mann that "colored folks own all the land around here, and most of the businesses too." While the blacks of Rosewood are farmers and artisans, the envious whites of Sumner seem not to have risen above the hunter-gatherer stage.

The pivotal figure in the film is Mr. Wright (played by Jon Voigt), the white owner of the general store in Rosewood. Wright is hardly an exemplar of racial enlightenment. He's getting it on with his not-so-willing black shop assistant. He expects special deference from his black customers. And he is indignant when the newly arrived Mann outbids him for a prime piece of agricultural land. Yet he knows his customers; he recognizes their humanity and decency. What may have begun as a purely arm's-length commercial relationship

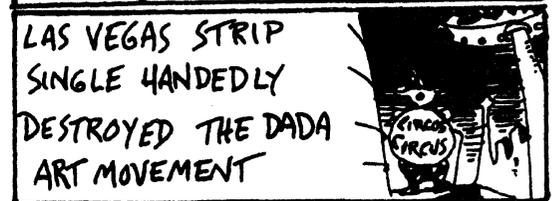
has evolved into an appreciation of the worth and moral standing of his clientele.

Wright is horrified by the escalating mob savagery against the people of Rosewood — and not merely because their destruction will be a financial disaster for him. Hesitantly, Wright comes to the aid of the beleaguered blacks — as does his wife. For this, the leader of the mob hurls the ultimate insult at Wright; he is denounced as a "shopkeeper."

This contrast between benevolent commercial order and pre-commercial savagery appears again when the only people to assist Mann and Wright in their rescue of the remnant of Rosewood are the local railroad's conductor and engineer — the only other white representatives of the commercial order to appear in the film.

The blacks of Rosewood are armed — probably in violation of local statutes. Early in the film, Sarah's son Sylvester (played by Don Cheadle) brings along his shotgun when he "requests" that a number of Sumner's whites stop their harassment of his younger sister. The possession of firearms provides the inhabitants of Rosewood with their only alternative to total servility to their white neighbors. Moreover, only their possession of firearms provides them with some capacity to

BENEFITS OF GAMBLING



1997 John Singleton

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such as *Little Man Tate* (1991), *Searching for Bobby Fischer* (1993), and *Phenomenon* (1996) have targeted genius, but this fall's *Gattaca* is the most ambitious exploration of intelligence yet in film.

It immerses its story in the philosophical problem of nature vs. nurture, factoring in something that may be more important than genius and good breeding: exceptional desire and exceptional ambition.

The future, according *Gattaca*, is one

of precise genetic engineering. Parents go to medical technicians to conceive a child; each egg is carefully matched with each sperm, and the resulting zygote is then operated on. Bad genes taken out, good genes put in. In this world, all the things that natural selection is supposed to remove over generations, are removed artificially. Indeed, one can select I.Q., eye color, or body type; or deselect heart disease, a propensity to alcoholism, or . . . resistance

to regimentation, apparently.

Gattaca's hero, played by Ethan Hawke, is a "non-valid" member of society, someone who was conceived naturally, was diagnosed with heart disease and an average I.Q., and doomed by the technocracy to a life of menial labor.

He does not accept this fate. Despite his weak heart and his lackluster test scores, he yearns to travel in space, so he becomes a "borrowed ladder," a person who takes on the identity of a "valid" member of society, sneaking in urine samples, concealing packets of blood under false fingertips, carefully vacuuming up his dried skin from his computer keyboard, greasing down his own hair and leaving samples of his alter ego's hair in the comb in his desk. He attains his heart's desire. He is hired by *Gattaca*, a space exploration company, to plot trajectories for a deep space mission dear to his office supervisor (played by Gore Vidal, an unexpected, but perfect, casting choice). And he turns the eye — and eventually the mind — of a co-worker, played by Uma Thurman.

But there is a murder in the office, and although the viewer is pretty sure that our hero didn't do it, the ensuing investigation could easily uncover his secret. The mystery is bigger than a mere whodunit. The nature of humanity is at stake.

There is but one flaw in this film. Near the very end there is a suicide, but though the film conspires to make this event seem both heroic and sublime, the more one thinks about the suicide, the less heroic and sublime it seems to be.

Andrew M. Niccol, the writer and director, has previously made commercials, not feature films. His experience has not influenced the film's pace (which is elegantly slow), but it does seem to have influenced the staging and framing of each shot; one could take a still almost at random and place it on the wall.

It would be hard to ask for more in a film. *Gattaca* turns out to be an inspirational answer to *The Bell Curve*, a book whose influence surely has not yet peaked. It takes its place alongside *2001: A Space Odyssey* and *Brazil* as one of the most "valid" examples of filmed science fiction. —Timothy Virkkala

What makes a bank... a bank?

Isn't it something to do with fractional reserve? Accepting deposits and making loans?

Not exactly. Anyone may borrow money from someone and lend some of it to someone else. If A loans 100 bucks to B, and B loans 80 bucks of it to C, and C loans 60 bucks of it to D – now there are 240 bucks worth of loans outstanding, backed by a fractional reserve of 100 bucks of base money.

B and C have engaged in financial intermediation; credit allocation and amplification. They accepted deposits and made loans. But they haven't committed banking.

If money lending isn't the *sine qua non* of banking, what is?

Here's a hint. In our example, after these various loans, who can spend how much?

A can spend nothing until B repays some money. B can spend 20 bucks, C, 20 bucks, and D, 60 bucks.

But what would you call it if B leads A to believe she can still spend her 100 bucks, as readily as if B was safeguarding it for that purpose?

The defining act of banking is to circulate more demand-claims to cash than there is cash to back the claims. Bankers apply fractional reserve practices to the payments system*.

So what's the problem? After all, hasn't this been going on for hundreds of years?

Yes, and the historic result has been a ratcheting debasement of the very substance of cash money: the gold which depositors entrusted to the safekeeping of bankers was taken and coercively replaced with government debt instruments.

Who cares? Almost everyone is conditioned to think of gold as barbarous relic or speculative commodity, unfit for service as a monetary medium in a modern integrated economy. Granted, multiple generations of creditors past may have been fleeced by broken promises, devaluations, and repudiation. But the process is now complete, and legal tender backed by perpetual debt comprises a stable paradigm, right?

If you are content that the 'figment standard' provides an adequate store of value for you and your family, confident that the bank-administered payments system is sufficiently robust to weather any and all market squalls, and convinced that politicians' promises are 'as good as gold' – be merry. Remain utterly dependent on the banking system and the kind of money they traffic in.

Alternatively — just in case the music eventually stops and a frenzied scramble for seats ensues — perhaps you should look into **e-gold[™]**

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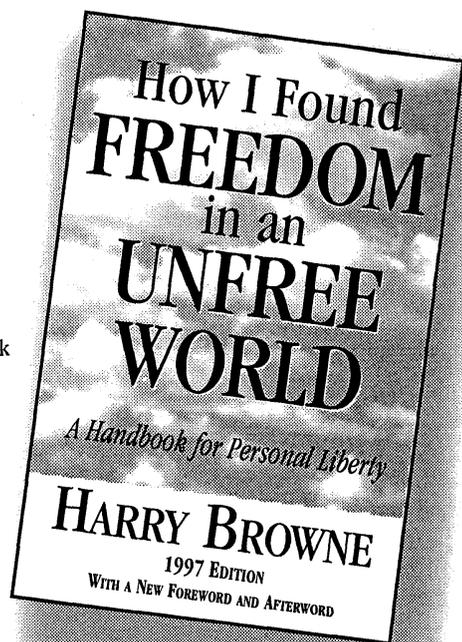
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