

Liberty

November 1994

Vol. 8, No. 1

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Baseball Strikes Out!

Hail to the Wimp!

Bill Clinton's Foreign Policy Prowess

by Leon T. Hadar

Pornography as Liberator

by Wendy McElroy

The Free Trade Trojan Horse

by Fred L. Smith, Jr.

Beat the Press

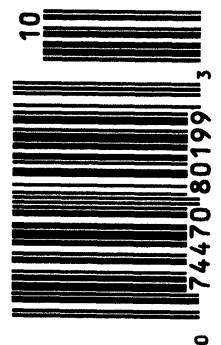
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Letters

Last Dispatch

It was a nice surprise to find out that R.K. Lamb is Bruce Ramsey ("An American Journalist in Asia," July 1994). Though Mr. Ramsey is kind enough not to name the publication he was working for, his colleagues like me know he is talking about *Asiaweek*. I was a staff writer at *Yazhou Zhoukan*, a Chinese-language sister publication; for ten months, Mr. Ramsey and I shared the same office floor.

I left the job in disgust in March 1993. What Mr. Ramsey says about *Asiaweek's* editorial policy is even worse at *Yazhou Zhoukan*. We dared not offend dictatorships like China, Singapore, or Malaysia. We were not doing a journalist's job, but a cultural hooker's. We were paid to write whatever our editors told us to.

This kind of self-censorship is getting more and more popular in Hong Kong's journalistic circles. Most newspapers and magazines will do anything to stay in business. If a story will upset China, they throw it out. Why rock the boat and obscure the smooth transition?

I am still working as a journalist, but I believe the battle for press freedom has already been lost, even before it starts. I congratulate Mr. Ramsey for leaving *Asiaweek* and wish him the best in the U.S. Just don't forget us here. Write more about Hong Kong, and speak for us when we can no longer do so.

Kin-ming Liu
Hong Kong

Vox Populiars

Bill Kauffman ("An Independent American," September 1994) displays a stunning ignorance of both George Wallace and populist ideology.

Wallace is hardly the man of principle Kauffman portrays. For Wallace, everything is politics. He was pro-civil rights until the day he was defeated for public office by an anti-civil rights politi-

cian. Then he was anti-civil rights until he learned that a Democrat had to have the African-American vote to win the governorship of Alabama. He fought big government in Washington but institutionalized it in Montgomery. He opposed LBJ's Great Society but defends FDR's New Deal to this day.

Without a doubt the most absurd part of Kauffman's review is the assertion that Wallace used a "libertarian, particularist, high-minded" vocabulary. Perhaps Kauffman cannot tell the difference between what a libertarian means by liberty and what a populist means by liberty, but the difference is profound.

Wallace's populist "liberty" is nothing more than unbridled majoritarianism. The right to self-determination Wallace invoked in that famous schoolhouse door said nothing about the right of individuals to live their lives as they please. It had to do with the right of a majority of Alabamians to vote whatever form of government into power they desire, even if such a government should oppress racial minorities.

When Wallace said we should trust "the people to make their own decisions," he meant that only as it refers to the ballot box. That is decidedly not a libertarian vision of freedom.

As an Alabamian, I've grown used to the thoughtless praise some heap upon Wallace, but I expect better from a thoughtful libertarian publication.

T. Franklin Harris, Jr.
Athens, Ala.

Recheck Your Premises

Bart Kosko ("Libertarian Pragmatism," September 1994) maintains the old saw that "No one has produced a true or false statement of value" because normative judgments "are not testable in principle."

Sorry, but it just isn't true.

Normative judgments are testable because they have empirical implications. Consider the normative statements "George Bush is a just and virtuous man" and "No just and virtuous man would order the bombing of unarmed civilians." These entail the conclusion that Bush would never bomb unarmed civilians. Once we find evidence that he has in fact ordered such a bombing, we are

forced to go back and revise our normative statements.

Kosko might object that in such a case we do not know which premise to reject; therefore, only *conjunctions* of normative judgments are empirically testable. This is true — but the same restriction applies to scientific judgments. If a liquid apparently fails to boil at 100° C, I can reject my belief that water boils at 100° C, that this liquid is water, that the thermometer is working correctly, that I am not hallucinating, etc. No belief can be tested in isolation — normative or descriptive. Kosko himself recognizes this when he describes what he calls the *web of belief*: "You test no strand or statement by itself. That is why we may not accept a new fact or theory [that] may uproot more strands than it is worth."

But this fact, while showing that moral beliefs are testable, should also make us question the sacrosanct epistemic status of empirical testability. Even if a moral belief does not conflict with the evidence of our senses, we may reject it once we discover it conflicts with a sufficient number of other moral beliefs. Hence, moral and scientific arguments are identical in structure, and have an equal claim to objectivity. All we have, in the end, are various beliefs of varying strength and their complex interconnections, each one's status depending on how it fits into the total scheme.

Nor do I follow Kosko in assigning some kinds of belief to the periphery of the web and other kinds to the core. Why should my perceptual belief that the dial on a scientific instrument points toward a certain number have an inherently more privileged epistemic status than my moral belief that slavery is wrong? Kosko should consider what finally turned the civilized world against slavery: not any empirical argument about its economic consequences, but its incompatibility with moral beliefs to which most people were more firmly committed than they were to slavery. *Slavery was philosophically falsified.*

Kosko proclaims that "Philosophy does not sit above science as some ultimate tribunal of thought." But it does, and it has to. Philosophy is the perspective from which we integrate our entire web of belief, adjudicating the competing claims of various semiautonomous sub-perspectives (including, but not

Letters Policy

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limited to, those of the sciences).

Kosko asks us to do without philosophy, but almost all his article is just that. *Bad philosophy, yes, but philosophy.*

Roderick T. Long
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Jes Grew

Jesse Walker ("Beating the rap," September 1994) unjustly equates rap's themes with those of other forms of music. If rap is so great, why not at least try to explain some of its values, or its excellence, rather than say other forms of music can sometimes be bad, too?

Music has four key elements — melody, harmony, meter, and (in popular song) lyrics. Overlaying these is a spiritual link to human emotion. Rap "music" has virtually no musical elements. It has no melody, no harmony, an uncertain meter (try laying rap "poetry" down on a page; it's illiterate and non-metric), and has an angry, destructive spirit.

Walker writes, "There is nothing uniquely offensive about this relatively new sort of music; country, blues, opera, and rock overflow with violence, sexism, and paeans to drunkenness and drugs." Really? Surely there is a vast gulf between a four-hour, in-depth psycho-spiritual examination of the motives of a doomed lover in, say, the operas of Wagner or Mozart or Verdi, and the three-minute "gangsta" rap, talkin' about rapin' a "ho" and wasting a cop. *Hamlet* is about death; so is *True Lies*. Topic alone does not determine artistic value, but the attitude toward the topic.

Violence was a rare theme in American popular music from 1930 to 1960. Walker cites an obscure song here and there ("Cocaine Blues" by Johnny Cash), but Cash now claims to be a born-again Christian and would decry that lyric. Look at all the popular songs of the 1930s. They were overflowing with love, hope, joy, caring. Call them naive or simplistic if you must, but not violent. You may find one or two obscure songs about violence, sexism, and drugs from 1930 to 1955, but they will be as rare as a positive rap song is now.

Walker continues: "'bitch' and 'ho' and 'nigger' can mean different things in different contexts." Really? Then where are those words used in any other context other than to denigrate women and races? You should see the look in the eye of a Nancy Wilson or Benny Carter when they hear their sisters called "ho"

and "bitch" by their own people.

I think liberty gets a bad name if we don't discriminate excellence and beauty (art) from crudity and evil. Musically, rap is elemental and atavistic, making jungle drums stand advanced. Rap is an amplified heartbeat set to the words of the dark side of the brain. There is little musical or mental content to it.

And yes, I've heard some of the best rap artists, I've read the apologies, and I am not convinced. I've also talked to several jazz veterans, as a jazz DJ in New Orleans. They say black kids growing up in the 1940s could hum Duke Ellington but today's kids are musically illiterate, largely due to rap music.

Gary Alexander
Reston, Va.

Walker responds: I don't have the space to list enough violent songs to convince Mr. Alexander that he is wrong. Nor is there room for a spirited defense of rap — which, despite Alexander's contention that I value Ice T as much as Verdi, is far from my favorite form of music. (There's no rap I'd prefer listening to over Duke Ellington's "Mood Indigo" or "Mount Harissa," and I've never yet had trouble humming either.)

So I'll correct just one error: Johnny Cash recorded the hardly obscure "Cocaine Blues" *after* he was born again, and has sung many violent songs since. And yet he remains a devout Christian. Readers who find this an unresolvable paradox will probably never understand the article that raised Alexander's ire.

Cast off Your Bridles

David Brin ("The Perennial Threat," May 1994) writes, "We have seen that unbridled capitalism has its dangers." Well, I haven't seen them — please, let me know what they are. Mischief and harm come from sanctions the "unbridled capitalists" can buy from the government, be it the stifling of competition or laws forbidding unionization. The danger lies not in the zeal of the entrepreneurs, but that it is possible to bribe the government to support such methods.

I have seen "unbridled capitalism" in 1948, when Ludwig Ehrhardt set Germany on its ears by declaring the black market legal. One week we couldn't live on what we could buy on our ration cards, the next week the shops were full of everything. Ration cards went into the garbage cans. This was later called

the "German economic miracle." It carried them a long way, even to the "bridled" system they have now.

Helmut Fritz Prochnow
Spring Hill, Fl.

Smells Like Pink Spirit

Maybe I'm wrong, but I detect the faint odor of a closet collectivist. David Brin's analogy of diamonds and pyramids seems based upon the idea that those at the "top" are not only rich, but also in control of "society." If he is talking about an "aristocracy" of management of free-market enterprises, then I have to disagree with his fuzzy ideas.

David Michael Myers
Martinsburg, W.Va.

The Passionate Jacobin

David Brin's claim that "Aristocracy is, after all, why we had a revolution in the first place, two centuries ago," is utterly false. America did not have a "revolution," but a war of independence against Britain, which imposed taxes on its colonies without popular consent. These taxes were imposed not by the king, but by Parliament, which had noble and popular chambers. In that war, America was led by George Washington (an aristocratic Virginia planter) and his aides, including the Marquis de Lafayette (a French aristocrat), Baron von Steuben (a Prussian Junker), and Thaddeus Kosciuszko (a Polish nobleman), not to mention Lord Peter Stirling.

Brin's other historical analogies are equally false. Ch'ing China was not an aristocracy, but a prototypical civil service bureaucracy. The patrician-plebian fights of ancient Rome were civil wars between two social classes with no real analog today, in which both sides' hands were equally bloody.

Frankly, it seems that Brin is so consumed with Jacobin passion that he just loves conjuring up the aristocratic bugaboo without citing any concrete examples. And it sounds like he supports confiscatory inheritance taxes. After all, he wants an "even playing field" for people to start off in life. How can you have that if A inherits a million and B nothing?

David Elving Schwartz
Springfield, N.J.

Objectivist Trekkie Alert

David Brin is an excellent science fiction writer. Unfortunately, his thoughts

continued on page 18

Reflections

Mugged by a metaphor — Someone once giped that a neoconservative was “a liberal who’s been mugged.” A neoconservative riposted that a neocon was “a liberal who’s been mugged by reality.” The metaphor snowballed in the early 1980s, when various Reagan administration figures started being prosecuted and someone sneered that “a civil libertarian is a conservative who’s been indicted.”

Now we can further prolong the game by noting that the lawyer for evangelist Jim Bakker, recently released from prison to a halfway house, says that Bakker’s future ministry “won’t be a right-wing Republican commitment. There will be a strong core of calling for justice and equality as part of the gospel. You’ll see a Bible-believing liberal Democrat.” A bleeding-heart liberal is a right-wing crank who’s spent three years in jail. —DB

Kim Il Abe — When Korean dictator Kim Il Sung bought the collective farm, Slick Willie sent the customary *pro forma* “condolences.” This prompted several conservative and Republican publicists to throw a public hissy-fit. *How dare Clinton honor the memory of the man to blame for U.S. casualties in the Korean War?*

Wait a minute. The U.S. intervenes in a civil war thousands of miles from our borders with no possible influence on our sovereignty or freedom and it’s some *Korean* guy’s fault? Then I suppose if the Koreans lost thousands of lives intervening in the War Between the States, those deaths could be blamed on Lincoln. —CS

Red carpet? — President Clinton has announced his intention to beef up U.S. sanctions against Cuba unless it makes progress toward reform. Earlier this year, Clinton said he was encouraging reform in Vietnam by *lifting* sanctions.

Ron Brown, call your office.

—JW

Conservatism über alles — Like most sensible people, I look forward to the day when modern liberalism, with its moral posturing, mendacity, and perverse policies, passes on to its just reward. But this is not to say that the conservative Republicans who will replace the likes of Bill Clinton, George Mitchell, and Lloyd Bentsen will likely be any better.

Those who pine for the conservative ascendancy should look to the United Kingdom, where conservatives have controlled both the executive and legislative branches of government for a decade and a half. What sort of improvements have they wrought?

Well, the conservative government of John Major has just introduced a measure that will virtually eliminate the right of people accused of crimes to remain silent and will authorize any police officer to search persons or vehicles without rea-

sonable cause if he or she happens to “fear violence.” No longer will a constable have to justify a search with a reason — merely asserting an emotional state will be justification enough!

But it is undermining the right to remain silent that is causing the most murmurs in Albion. Now, when an Englishman is arrested, he is advised, “You do not have to say anything unless you wish to do so, but what you say may be given in evidence.” Once the new rules are passed, the police will tell him, “You do not have to say anything. But if you do not mention now something which you later use in your defense, the court may decide that your failure to mention it now strengthens the case against you. A record will be made of anything you say, and it may be given in evidence if you are brought to trial.”

In other words, when a person is arrested, he must immediately provide the police with any evidence he has that might prove his innocence, or else that evidence might be disallowed at his trial. The police, meanwhile, need not reveal the evidence against him that they hold until they confront him in court.

Great Britain, it is worth noting, has neither a Constitution nor a Bill of Rights. But it has no shortage of political conservatives. —RWB

Market Stalinism, 101 — If Rudolph Giuliani, inquisitor, witch-hunter, persecutor of Michael Milken, and now supporter of New York’s rent controls — if this infamous man and abject politician is really, as the media describe him, a free-market apostle — then I am all by myself the IRS commissioner, the Man in the Moon, and the king of the Pleiades. —PL

The Whitewater tapes — While I was vacationing during the Whitewater hearings, my VCR mysteriously failed, thereby denying me the pleasure of watching 114 hours of administration officials trying to skate on the legal side of perjury without confessing to, or implicating the First Family in, any felonies. This was accomplished, it appears, by combining the favorite tactic of the lawyer-politician (rambling off on tangents) with the second-favorite tactic of the mobster (claiming lapses of memory).

Happily, others with stronger stomachs (or more reliable VCRs) have stepped into the breach. An especially pleasant surprise was Doug Ireland’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” in the September 5/12 issue of *The Nation*, which succinctly highlights the mendacity, evasions, and loathsomeness of the whole process.

Those who sat through the mini-filibusters proffered by the Clintonistas, overcoming the temptation to abandon C-SPAN for less somnolent entertainment, had an interesting

experience. The witnesses at the House Banking Committee hearings were aided and abetted by Chairman Gonzalez, who enthusiastically ruled out-of-order any question that had much prospect of getting at the truth. Gonzalez' services to Bill and Hillary will no doubt cost the taxpayers billions in the form of unneeded post offices and poverty-abatement programs for his district.

Fortunately, the head of the Senate committee, Don Reigle (D-Keating Five), had already announced he was retiring at the end of his term, and therefore had no need to bring more federal pork to his constituents. So the Senate hearings bore some fruit.

The first major fatality of the hearings was Roger Altman, the acting head of the Resolution Trust Corporation, who had admitted before Congress on February 24 that he had briefed the Clintons' staff on the status of the RTC investigation of the Madison Guaranty scandal. The RTC is supposedly a completely independent agency, and the fact that its head briefed the staff of individuals under investigation was such a blatant violation of the public trust that even the *New York Times* couldn't ignore it. Under questioning from senators, Altman had insisted that this was the only contact he had with administration officials on matters relating to Whitewater, except possibly for hallway encounters.

A few weeks later, he wrote Congress saying that his memory had improved and he could now recall a couple other meetings. Cynics suggested he was trying to protect himself against perjury charges. But even the cynics didn't anticipate what eventually came out in testimony: namely, that Altman had had more than 40 meetings with administration officials about Whitewater business. Altman lamely responded that he earlier had been talking about "substantial" meetings only, and offered, as proof that he had tried to tell the "whole truth," a videotape of him consulting with Treasury General Counsel Jean Hanson prior to answering questions in February. This may be the first time anyone has ever suggested that consulting an attorney is proof of innocence. No one bought this suggestion, and Clinton "regretfully" accepted the resignations of both Altman and Hanson a few days later.

So far, the victims of the Clintons' political corruption have been limited to their loyal supporters, individuals who so admire the First Family that they will break the law to protect the presidential couple. But with the dismissal of Special Counsel Robert Fiske, who the Clintons hand-picked to investigate them, and the appointment of Kenneth Starr to the inquisitorial chair, it is becoming more and more certain that enough details of the Clintons' we're-so-virtuous-in-our-politics-that-it's-okay-for-us-to-loot-the-public-treasury attitude will come out for them to be forced out of office fairly soon. How long will it be before the Clintons' conclude that their best hope is to pull a Nixon-Ford — that is, to resign from office in exchange for a pardon from Al Gore?

—CAA

This sceptred isle — Brenda Tatelbaum of Boston may soon be conducting what she hopes is not a one-woman crusade against British customs. Her sexually graphic

periodical, *EIDOS* ("Everyone Is Doing Outrageous Sex"), has been singled out for confiscation by the Brits, even though its contents would be legal if published domestically. When *Penthouse* faced the same repression in the '70s, it had the resources to fight in court and win. Brenda has to rely on persuasion.

The trouble began in September 1993, when a female subscriber sent *EIDOS* a notice she had received from British customs declaring the magazine obscene and confiscating it under an 1876 law. Brenda wrote a letter of appeal — the only official course open to her — and contacted such organizations as Feminists Against Censorship and the Libertarian Alliance, to no effect.

Then, midway through July, her distributor faxed a letter declaring his intention to refuse further shipments of *EIDOS*. Perhaps because the magazine is popular in Britain among those who pursue alternative lifestyles, it has been tagged for special treatment. The distributor feared that, if shipments of *EIDOS* slipped through customs, officials might raid his home and confiscate not just that periodical but his entire inventory.

Brenda called the British consulate only to learn that she would be liable for arrest if she flew to England and tried to transport *EIDOS* on her person. From former run-ins with U.S. mail tyrants, she knew that they often "misinterpret" the law to fit their own needs. Accordingly, she is planning to touch down on British soil with the offending material and hold what she hopes will be a reasonable conversation with the officials there. This, coupled with talk shows and a bit of picketing, might have some impact.

But only if she receives support from sane-minded Brits able to provide publicity and stand beside her at Heathrow. As a student of nonviolent strategy, I hope she does not decide to fly off without such a network in place. Free speech cannot afford to lose even one of its zealots.

—WM

From steel to stealing — I'm generally pro-robber-baron, but I'm beginning to think that Andrew Carnegie was a net loss to the country. Yes, he built the steel industry, but he also provided major funding for the New Class of intellectuals and social engineers that has plagued the twentieth century. Just before the 1992 vote on school choice in Colorado, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching published a strikingly shoddy critique of school choice that was headlined in newspapers across the country. Now the Carnegie Corp., a New York foundation, has produced a study of the risks faced by children under three in our society. The report, "Starting Points: Meeting the Needs of Our Youngest Children," is a classic illustration of the total and complete collapse of modern liberalism. It reports that demographic and social changes have left many small children in poverty, in single-parent homes, in low-quality day care, and victimized physically by adults.

Now what are those social changes that have led to such problems? How about the increase in illegitimacy and divorce, along with the fact that most mothers work now, so

Liberty's Editors *Reflect*

CAA	Chester Alan Arthur
DB	David Boaz
RWB	R.W. Bradford
SC	Stephen Cox
BK	Bart Kosko
RK	Richard Kostelanetz
PL	Pierre Lemieux
ML	Michael Levine
LEL	Loren E. Lomasky
WM	Wendy McElroy
JSS	Jane S. Shaw
CS	Clark Stooksbury
JW	Jesse Walker

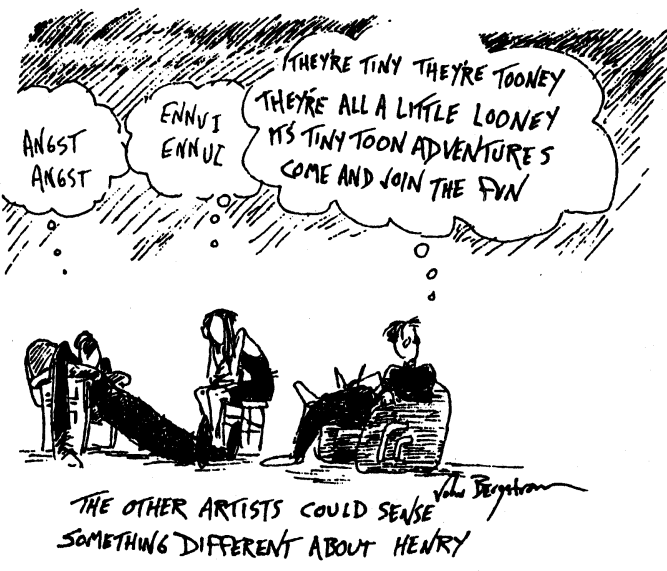
their children spend most of their time in day care? (As for physical abuse, it might be noted that child abuse is overwhelmingly committed by stepparents, not biological parents.) What do Carnegie's social engineers recommend to deal with such problems? You could write this part without reading the study: more money for Head Start, more money for child care, "parenting education," gun control (!), creation of family and child centers in communities, and stronger mandates for employers to provide paid leave for parents. In other words, rather than trying to change the policies that lead to illegitimacy, divorce, and widespread use of day care, the report proposes to further subsidize single-parent families. You don't need a Nobel Prize to realize that means *more* single-parent families.

A more sensible agenda to reduce the number of children who face poverty, abuse, and low-quality day care would include an end to the welfare system, which makes it possible for teenage girls and young women to bear children they're not equipped to care for; a reduction in taxes on the middle class, so mothers wouldn't have to work outside the home just to pay their taxes, which took 2% of the median family's income in 1950 and 25% today; and a changed social attitude toward divorce, so that people would think twice — or more — before having children without a firm commitment to give them two parents for 18 years. —DB

French fried potentates — What can create more havoc than a government carrying out its policies?

Give up? The answer is: a government angling to influence another government's policies. You say you don't find the riddle very amusing? I must agree. Indeed, it's the opposite of amusing — it's sub-Saharan Africa.

Over the past couple of months we have all learned that "Hutu" and "Tutsi" are not the names of a couple of endearing stuffed animals from the Disney assembly line. Rather, they are tribes contending for supremacy in Rwanda, and to date something on the order of a quarter million people have thereby perished from bullet and machete and cholera and other unnatural causes. We turn off the evening news and sigh: another desperately sad case of the ethnic violence that has become rampant since the expiration of the Cold War. Or



so it is tempting to pigeon-hole the Rwandan misery. But this is neither accurate nor complete. Hutu and Tutsi are distinct Rwandan groups, but the difference is not primarily ethnic. They descend from the same stock, are culturally similar, and speak a common language. The predominant differences are economic and political. During the prehistory of Rwanda its Belgian colonial master employed avowedly racist categories to single out the minority Tutsis as a "higher" group to be favored with political preferment. But more recently the French were a constant prop to the Hutu government that held power until President Habyarimana was deftly blown into a thousand pieces, thus setting off the latest round of massacre and revolt.

Now, with a United Nations chastened in its zeal to intervene in African vendettas by recent unhappy experiences in Somalia, Angola, and elsewhere, France has taken it upon itself to send an expeditionary force of over 2,000 men to Rwanda. They protect a small enclave within a country that has otherwise entirely fallen under the control of the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front. France was too late to avert the terrible internecine carnage, but it may have arrived in time to protect from reprisal, at least temporarily, the Hutu butchers who instigated it.

So, to summarize, the Belgians and then the French largely created internal divisions that were a fertile soil for animosities to take root. Then they nurtured those antipathies by politically elevating their favorites. In Rwanda, as in a half-dozen other African countries — the Central African Republic, Mauritania, Chad, Togo, and so on — France propped up, for its own pleasure and profit, incompetent and oft-times brutal governments. The French have been strongly identified for many years with the perpetrators of Rwandan genocide; now they offer "peace-making" services. This is something like the Menendez brothers pleading for mercy from the court because they have the misfortune to be orphans. For understandable reasons this is not taken with the best of graces by the new governing force, only a few months ago opposed by France. Further mischief is likely.

This is, then, if not a funny riddle, one with a moral. As you will read elsewhere in the pages of this magazine, it is the burden of citizens of the American Republic to be multiply accosted by the pestiferous Republicans and Democrats. But it could be worse. At least our potentates are spared being advised, supplied, coddled, and juggled by the minions of Mitterrand. —LEL

O.J. meets Linda Lovelace — I have been interviewing dozens of actresses in the porn industry, trying to track down all those women radical feminists assure us are coerced into performing sex acts. So far, I've turned up zilch, zip, zero. So I've started to ask about the most celebrated accusation of "coercion into pornography," namely Linda Lovelace's account in her autobiography, *Ordeal*.

Porn producer Candida Royale of Femme Distribution had a unique take on the book: "What is shocking to me is that it is not about pornography, but about domestic violence. In Lovelace's own words, the whole thing about a gun to her head came from her husband and never took place on the set [of *Deep Throat*]. In fact, she says that the movie was the first time she felt like she could smile, because people were so nice

to her. The reason she ended up with bruises was because Chuck Treyner [her husband] was jealous of how nice people in the industry were to her, so he beat her up that night in the hotel room. If it had happened on the set, the crew would have put the camera down and stopped it."

Candida insisted that the book showed how porn was Lovelace's salvation. "Getting involved in pornography and becoming a star is what enabled her to finally escape from domestic violence."

Playing devil's advocate, I asked whether the crew had a moral obligation to question the overnight bruising. Candida acknowledged that, perhaps, they did. But it is natural to consider what happens behind closed doors between married people to be private. Besides which, she retorted, the LAPD didn't take it seriously enough to arrest O.J.

It is downright depressing when even a conversation about pornography ends up discussing *The Juice*. —WM

The yellow goldbrick road — President Clinton calls the \$30 billion "anti-crime" bill "the toughest, largest, smartest federal attack on crime in the history of the country." After all these years in Washington, I still wonder: Does he *believe* that? Or do politicians spout nonsense in the full knowledge that they're spouting nonsense?

For the record, there's not a good thing to be said about the crime bill. In its essence, it federalizes many crimes that should be handled at the state or local level; there is no authority in the Constitution for a general federal criminal code. Its sweeping definitions of such terms as "gang activity" are a threat to civil liberties — by one critic's reading, the U.S. Senate qualifies as a gang under the bill. Its "three strikes, you're out" provision would include nonviolent crimes; surely life imprisonment should be reserved for violent criminals.

Finally, the bill is Clinton's failed economic stimulus package revived under a new name. It's a Christmas tree bill, with liberal boondoggles piled on top of conservative boondoggles: more prisons, \$6 billion; more police officers, \$9 billion; job training for disadvantaged youths, half a billion dollars; "model intensive prevention zones," \$1.5 billion; municipal education, health, and jobs programs, \$2 billion; an "Ounce of Prevention Fund," \$1.3 billion; and hundreds of millions more for a Police Corps, expanded drug treatment programs, better school safety, midnight basketball leagues, and more. As Rep. Henry J. Hyde said, "This is not a Christmas tree. This is the whole Emerald City of Oz." —DB

I'll take my stand — In their August primary, South Carolina Republicans considered a non-binding referendum on whether the Confederate battle flag should continue to fly atop the state capitol. Seventy-five percent said yes. I was heartened to find that in the South, even members of the Party of Lincoln are imbued with rebel pride.

Not everyone saw it that way. The editors of *USA Today*, for example, see the southern cross is little more than a symbol of bigotry: "Born during the Civil War as a symbol of the South's resolute insistence on enslaving blacks, it has persisted as a proclamation of racism — not simply southern pride." The professional illiterates at *USA Today* are apparently unaware that the Stars and Stripes flew over slavery much longer than any Confederate flag, and continued to do so even after

the Emancipation Proclamation was signed. If any flag should be banished as a symbol of racism and slavery, it is Old Glory. I don't deny that some of the people who use the Confederate battle flag are racist, but I don't care. Let Ku Kluxers fly whatever flags they choose. I won't let them or the forces of respectability do my thinking for me.

Some may wonder why I even care about the issue. I maintain certain irrational attitudes and attachments that developed in my youth. I have always been particularly proud of being from Tennessee, of being "Southern by the grace of God," though I was never particularly conscious of this chauvinistic attitude until I left Dixie. I associate the Confederate flag more with Ronnie Van Zandt and Richard Petty than Lee and Jackson, but I still revere it and would hate to see it driven into exile.

Actually, the best reason for taking down the flag is reverence for it. If it stands for anything, it is resistance to the federal tyranny. And unfortunately, I sense little meaningful opposition to the monster on the Potomac wafting from what a friend of mine used to call the "Sovereign State of South Carolina" — or any other part of the country, for that matter. So *USA Today* is partly right, but for the wrong reasons: until South Carolinians again have Sumter in their crosshairs, I suggest they furl that mighty banner and put it away. —CS

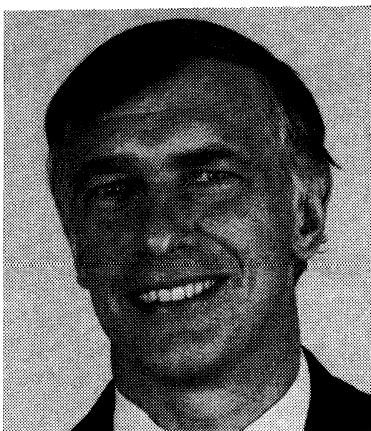
The northern peso, eh? — In the last year, the Canadian dollar has plummeted from 89 cents against the U.S. greenback to as low as 70. Meanwhile, the deficit-heavy feds are frantically trying to prop it up by selling off Canada's gold reserves at a breakneck pace. The reserves are at their lowest levels in 50 years and — at this rate — they'll be depleted sometime in 1995.

From some vantage points, the American dollar looks solid as a rock. Try the view from Canada. —WM

Send the Marines? — As I write, the U.S. is poised on the brink of invading Haiti. By the time you read this, we may already be at war, or that war may be over, or the standoff may continue, or peace may unexpectedly have broken out.

Libertarians and Old Right conservatives, like most Americans, are opposed to a Haitian war. Much of the radical Left, on the other hand, has dropped its usual anti-interventionist posture. This should not be a surprise to anybody — the Left showed itself willing to back U.S. intervention abroad in the 1980s, when it called for sanctions on South Africa. Deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide is a socialist; therefore, he has socialist support. Besides, as Christopher Hitchens has spent almost all of his recent columns in *The Nation* explaining, the Left is "anti-imperialist," not "isolationist," and should support "wars on fascism."

The more moderate, social-democratic Left threw in the pacifist towel long ago, to whatever extent they ever upheld its white banner. After backing World War II, the Cold War, the Korean War, and the Vietnam buildup, they turned on the latter bloodbath only when, in Nicholas von Hoffman's words, "Sen. Robert Kennedy, a man with an uncanny ability to flare his nostrils and smell a trend, jumped from asking President Johnson to send him to Vietnam to take command of winning the war to being an antiwar candidate." Some of them spoke out against Reagan's war on Central America, but few did



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October 1, 1993

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anything about it, and most either endorsed the Gulf War outright (like the repulsive Rep. Stephen Solarz) or called instead for "letting sanctions work," i.e., starving Iraqis instead of bombing them. They have since backed the Somalia caper and endorsed military action in Bosnia, especially since these incursions have taken place under the aegis of their beloved U.N. So it's no surprise that they generally support invading Haiti.

What's interesting is the stance of most neoconservatives: far from the usual saber-rattling, they *oppose* an invasion. This position is not so much antiwar as pro-junta — I have seen no Charles Krauthammer columns deploring the CIA's *anti-Aristide* operations. Still, when it comes to the question of whether to send the Marines to Haiti, I find myself shoulder-to-shoulder with the neocons on a foreign policy issue. Ye gods.

Or maybe not. In mid-July, Morton Kondracke told his fellow McLaughlin Groupies that, while he is opposed to an American invasion of Haiti, we may have to send the troops in anyway. After all, we've built this conflict up pretty far, and it might *hurt our prestige* if we backed down.

It's good to know that, while the rest of the political spectrum plays musical chairs, Kondracke can still be counted on to call for sacrificing innocent lives on the altar of trivia. Perhaps there is some permanence in the universe. —JW

Kill for peace — Nothing is more deeply inscribed on the American cranium than the left wing's arguments against war. Everyone who can read a picket sign, an editorial, or a bumper sticker knows these arguments by heart; and even veterans of public schools, who have never learned to read, can at least recite the pacifist mantras of their teachers — to wit:

1. Killing is always wrong.
2. War never accomplished anything.
3. No nation has the right to impose its system on another.
4. Every country has its own definition of such terms as "freedom" and "democracy," and America, with its history of imperialism, is in no position to set itself up as a judge of the definitions that prevail in other countries.

These are the principles that have led the American Left to denounce and attempt to frustrate every warlike act this country has engaged in during the past 30 years, from the war in Vietnam to the embargo on Cuba. Whatever one thought of these principles, they certainly appeared to have the status of passionately held convictions.

But now it appears that they weren't convictions after all, that they were nothing, in fact, but the biggest pile of hypocritical shit that ever dripped from the news and editorial columns of the *New York Times*.

This blinding realization came to me the other day while I was driving to work behind a vehicle that was not so much a car as a set of admonitions.

"Think Peace."

"Hands Off Nicaragua" (this Volvo had aged a bit).

"Arms Are for Hugging."

When I got to the third bumper sticker, I thought, "But what about Haiti?"

Haiti is a Third World country that the United States once invaded and ruled for 19 years. Notwithstanding this

benevolent intervention, Haiti retained a form of "democracy" that has always been somewhat different, to put it mildly, from that of the United States. Haiti has the kind of "democracy" that is frequently to be met with in Third World countries, only worse. Haiti is the kind of place where you can pretty easily get burned alive for questioning the "people's" latest whim. Right now, one set of Haitian "democrats" has expelled the "president" who was "elected" by another set of Haitian "democrats." Because this "president" is a man of the far Left, the far Left segment of the American Congress is demanding that he be forcibly restored to power. The United States has therefore clamped an economic blockade on Haiti and is threatening Haiti with invasion unless its high officials

Anyone who really Thinks Peace, believes that Arms Are for Hugging, and demands that we immediately Get Out of all Third World countries has had plenty of time to stir his convictions to the frothing point.

— whom our own officials publicly call "The Three Stooges" — surrender power and leave.

The United States has been on the brink of war for months. Anyone who really Thinks Peace, believes that Arms Are for Hugging, and demands that we immediately Get Out of all Third World countries has had plenty of time to stir his convictions to the frothing point.

But where is the antiwar movement? Where are the crowds of sun-worshippers camping outside the gates of military installations and the offices of college presidents? Where are the well-heeled clergymen courageously "speaking truth to power"? Where are the tax protestors? Where are the draft-card burners? (Yes, we still have draft registration, because our draft-dodging, left-wing president turned down the Pentagon's advice to end it.) Where are the New York schoolteachers and their air-conditioned buses to Washington protest marches? Where are Women Strike for Peace? Where are Veterans Against the War? Where is the American Friends Service Committee? Where are the ACLU lawyers, drumming up business among soldiers who have suddenly realized that they cannot bear to stain their consciences with acts of violence against innocent Third World people? Where are the white-haired eminences of the TV tube, and all their Probing Questions?

Well, they're no place. There's not a peep out of them, any of them. It's obvious that the antiwar Left doesn't have any convictions worth lugging from the last war to the next, at least when the next war is brought to us by their fellow "liberals." It's obvious that the only principle of importance to the whole highly principled group can be stated as:

Advancing the Left-wing Cause.

The Vietnam War, the Cuban embargo, the Gulf War, the Grenada incursion, and the Panama snatch were all directed at leftist targets. Therefore they were opposed, with whatever high-sounding arguments might be found. Whether these arguments were good or bad made no difference whatever.

Whether they resulted from a coherent view of the world made precisely the same amount of difference. Lyndon Johnson was regarded by the establishment Left as a liar, a sneak, and a power-crazed animal, because of his leadership in the War in Vietnam; he was regarded by the same people as a saint and seer, because of his leadership in War on Poverty.

When it comes to intervention in Haiti, however, there is apparently no cause for such divided judgments. The exiled "president" of Haiti is a leftist; therefore, it is our duty to put him back in power, no matter what the cost in lives and principles (and never fear, we won't be looking if he ends up destroying Haiti in order to save it).

People who sincerely hate war are often a besieged minority, looking desperately for allies. They often find such allies on the Left, and so much the better, I guess, if an alliance is helpful in reaching some worthwhile objective. But the ideal of a permanent alliance between libertarians and leftists, an ideal cherished by many libertarians who reached maturity (or something superficially resembling it) during the 1960s, seems more unrealistic with each passing day. You don't make friends with an actor because you like some lines he once recited.

—SC

Rent asunder — According to an investigation of corruption in the District of Columbia Subsidized Housing Administration, only ten of 400 rent vouchers given out by the SHA since 1990 were *not* awarded on the basis of a bribe. Apparently, a few good apples can't improve the whole bunch.

—DB

Court economist — On an Internet list recently, I read a post from a serious economics professor who always says "present" when state intervention is questioned.

Government intervention in education is necessary, he argued, because of the gap between "private benefits" and "social benefits." One problem with the notion of "social benefits" is that they are difficult to disentangle from benefits to special interest groups, or to the ruling government class. The whole notion of externalities is questionable: Who evaluates externalities? What about the PC groups who claim that "perfume pollutes" — i.e., imposes negative externalities on others — and that consequently wearing perfume should be forbidden or regulated? Actually, it is pretty difficult to find a single "public good" that is not a public bad for at least some individuals.

The guy also argued that parent empowerment "is a version of the *laissez-faire* doctrine." I replied that this argues much more in favor of *laissez faire* than against empowerment.

The expression "*laissez faire*," which means "let do," comes from French history. Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV, was asking a merchant named Legendre how the King could foster trade. Legendre replied, "*Laissez-nous faire*," let us do it alone.

Actually, there are two

different kinds of *laissez faire*. Either you let individuals do, or you let loose the bureaucratic and political processes. From Condorcet to Arrow, Buchanan, Ordeshook, and Schofield, we know how irrational and inefficient these processes are. From the whole history of mankind, we also know how dangerous they are.

The author of the message claimed that his critics must "take the view that economists should not be making cases for or against anything." But, he added, "the name of this list is 'political economy,' and political economy has always been about the rationalization of public policy, that is about sound rules (*nomos*) for the management of the common political (*polis*; political) household (*oikos*; thus *oikonomia*, economy)."

Indeed, the problem with a certain strand of political economy has been its constant "rationalization" of the Prince's activities. But this does not exhaust the role of political economy. As Robert Sudgen puts it (in *The Economics of Rights, Cooperation and Welfare*), why does the economist see himself on the throne of the tyrant, advising him against his subjects, instead of the other way around? Are we really members of the Prince's household?

Finally, our professional government defender wrote: "If we economists cannot make any distinctive contribution to that purpose, then we should give our salaries back and cease perpetrating the fraud on the body politic." There is something to this idea. The taxpayer could then spend his money as he sees fit. I suggest that he would not hire many economists to advise government as to what he should learn at school, what he should consume, what he should read, and how, from time to time, he should sacrifice his life for the state.

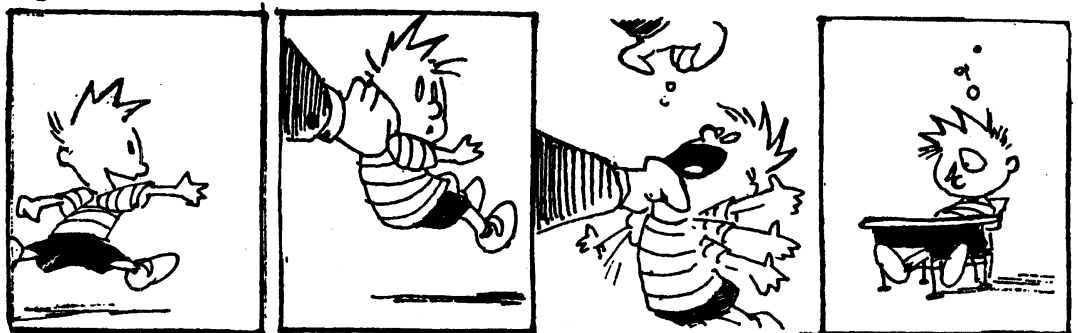
In *On Power*, French political scientist Bertrand de Jouvenal makes a historical observation about the absolute monarch that applies even better to the modern state: "He encourages the universities, which provide him with his most effective champions."

—PL

On being a widely published unpublished author — Ezra Pound once wrote, "I fail most lamentably at ten and five year intervals precisely when I attempt to say something of major interest or importance. Trifles or ideas of third or second line I can always offer in a manner acceptable to my editors." Pound wrote those words when he was 49; now, a few years older and likewise a full-time writer, I find them applicable to my own situation.

Though I've published a lot — thankfully — much remains needlessly unpublished, and much remains unwritten

CALVIN + RITALIN



because the obstacles to publishing it seem so great.

An example of the last is anything like the critiques of literary granting I used to write. The same editors who seemed eager to expose Jesse Helms's dangerous but ultimately ineffective incursions have no interest in documenting abuses within the granting organizations. When I like a new book, as I often do, it is almost impossible for me to place a review of it. It's not worth trying, let alone writing, because the only magazines publishing my critical pieces are backed up with me, while others, alas, aren't interested at all. The difficulties with magazines, with all their smelly orthodoxies, drove me long ago to focus on books. Nonetheless, these too are hard to place, even when they are finished. Too many end up being released by publishers other than those who commissioned them. Others aren't published at all. Just recently, *Twenty-Five Years After: Recollections of Rock Theater* came back from a publisher that had announced it in *Publisher's Weekly*.

Where some see too many books being published, I see too few. I've stopped reading manuscripts submitted to me for publishing advice, not because I don't want to help out, but because I can't stand the fakery of bogus enthusiasm or the frustration of not seeing my own predicament in someone else.

It's a marvel any writing ever appears publicly at all. —RK

Population erosion — The U.N.'s September population conference in Cairo will bring out the usual hand-wringing about the Earth having too many people. But the population pessimists are not the monolith they used to be.

Some Third World countries have been showing fairly significant declines in their birth rates. For example, in Thailand the fertility rate fell from 4.6 children per woman in 1975 to 2.3 children in 1987; in Colombia, it fell from 4.7 in 1976 to 2.8 in 1990. Such declines are widespread, and are not limited to any one geographic region.

This change has splintered the population control movement. At first glance, it suggests that the Third World's long-awaited "demographic transition" — the drop in fertility that came along with economic growth in the West — has come. If so, perhaps everyone can just go home and stop worrying about population. But now some people doubt the relevance of the demographic transition.

Virginia Abernathy of Vanderbilt Medical School, for example, has found that when people's well-being improves above their expectations, they have more children, not fewer; similarly, an unexpected decline in income leads to fewer children. This may simply reflect a temporary adjustment as people boost their family goals when incomes rise unexpectedly and reduce them when they fall. But it will keep tongues wagging over champagne and caviar at the Nile Hilton.

Then there's the question of whether fertility rates are reduced by availability and knowledge of contraceptives or by changes in people's preferences. Last September, three scholars — Bryant Robey, Shea O. Rutstein, and Leo Morris — stated flatly in *Scientific American* that a "country's contraceptive rate . . . largely determines its total fertility rate. Indeed, the data reveal that differences in contraceptive prevalence explain about 90% of the variation in fertility rates."

Not so, responded Lant H. Pritchett in the March 1994 *Population and Development Review*. Pritchett argued that causation mostly runs the other way — from changes in the desire

for children to the use of contraceptives (or other ways of controlling births, such as late marriages). If so, this means the "challenge of reducing fertility is the challenge of reducing people's fertility desires, not reducing 'unwanted' fertility" through contraception.

This fundamental debate is not easily resolved. Many factors enter into decisions about having children, and a lot of them can't be quantified, or even identified, in the surveys conducted by the Agency for International Development. For example, no one knows why "desired fertility" differs between nations, yet these differences are generally greater than the difference between desired and actual fertility within any one country. And despite their conviction that contraception is the major cause of the declines, the *Scientific American* writers also report independent changes, such as the rise in the age of marriage in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of Asia and the fact that more women are telling surveyors that they don't want more children.

My impression is that the available information is diverse enough to support almost any interpretation or ideology. In that light, the draft program for the Cairo gathering makes it look more like a conference on improving the status of women than one on population. And that could be a good thing, if improving the status of women means increasing their freedom. Emancipating women is a far more worthy goal than trying to discourage them from having more children. The two may be correlated, but until now, the latter seems to have been all that these people have wanted to do. —JSS

If at first you don't succeed — When the Bill of Rights says "nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb," its meaning is as plain as the principle that underlies it. If government can keep trying a person until it finds a jury willing to convict, none of us is safe.

So I was naturally upset by the Bush administration's decision to retry the L.A. cops who beat up Rodney King for a "civil rights" violation after a jury had found them not guilty. Appalling though that verdict surely was, trying the cops again was more appalling. Worse still was the semantic sleight-of-hand used to justify the second trial: the rubric of "civil rights" gave the false impression that the new trial was for a different offense than the first. But it was obviously held to remedy the previous trial's "incorrect" verdict. The cops' second trial was precisely what the double jeopardy clause was intended to protect against.

The effect is to politicize the process of selecting cases for retrial, with the determining factor being the public mood or (more likely) whether influential pressure groups are sufficiently pissed off to whine loudly enough to the feds. A new case demonstrates this point, further entrenching the practice of double jeopardy. A few years back, a Jewish man was beaten to death by 13 black men, apparently acting in angry response to the death of a young black girl hit by a car driven by a Jew. Only one of the men was put on trial for murder, and in 1992 he was found not guilty.

Had the victim been, say, a white supremacist, it is unlikely that anyone would've called for a federal trial. But the victim was a Jew, and Jewish pressure groups were not satisfied with the verdict of the first trial. Taking advantage of the

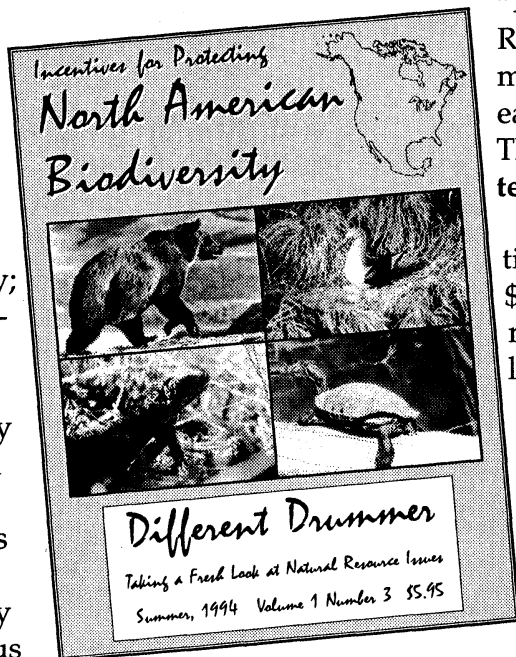
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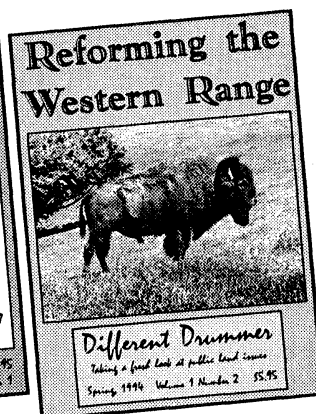
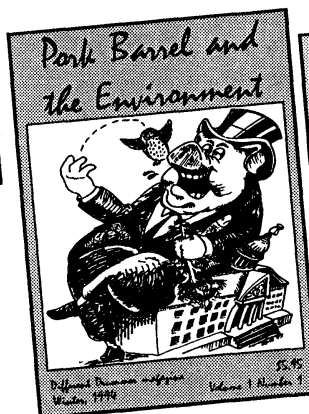
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King precedent, they demanded that the Clinton administration bring "civil rights" charges against the exonerated man. The Justice Department has obliged, and the second trial is now underway.

To my knowledge, no self-styled civil rights advocates have complained about the double jeopardy involved in the present case. Paradoxically, they cannot be counted on to defend the accused's constitutional *civil right* to be protected from a government hell-bent on getting a "satisfactory" verdict. The present trial goes on without much protest, the precedent for double jeopardy further affirmed, the judicial system further politicized, the Bill of Rights that much more ignored — and freedom that much more eroded. —ML

To dream the impossible dream — Am I the only one hoping that Paula Jones's sexual harassment case against Bill Clinton goes all the way to the Supreme Court, and that Clarence Thomas writes the decision? —WM

Saturday night holocaust — The oldest principle of war is that it costs more to attack than to defend. The Trojans sat behind their walls while the Greeks had to launch a thousand ships. Afghan rebels fired cheap Stinger missiles from their shoulder to shoot down Soviet helicopters. And Patriot missiles cost a fraction of what large lumbering SCUDs cost.

Cruise missiles may soon defy this ancient and stabilizing principle. Today, they cost over \$1 million apiece. *Aviation Week* and other sources report that the price is falling to about \$100,000 apiece. That's one reason the Pentagon now ranks cruise missiles the number one proliferation threat.

Meanwhile, no one knows how to shoot the things down. Cruise missiles fly too low for most radar systems and they can maneuver in flight at high speeds. Knocking out or evading a smart cruise missile is a lot like trying to dodge a bullet — except these bullets can track you when you move. No proposed Star Wars shield ever had the means to protect against such "air-breathing" threats.

The free market in computer modules may well bring the real cost of cruise missiles down to about \$10,000 apiece — less than a car. All countries — and some non-countries — will have them in great stockpiles, and their machine IQs will rise as chip densities keep doubling every 18 months.

Then it will be cheaper to attack than to defend. This will no doubt help start some of the "smart wars" of the next few decades. Imagine Israel trying to fend off swarms of Arab smart cruise missiles tipped with DNA gas.

Most countries will try to enforce some form of missile control as they now enforce gun control. The problem is, you can buy most of the computer and guidance modules off the shelf for a few dollars. These modules account for the most lethality, because they account for the machine IQ. Right now you can build your own cruise missile with a Cessna, a handheld GPS navigator, a video camera, and some TNT.

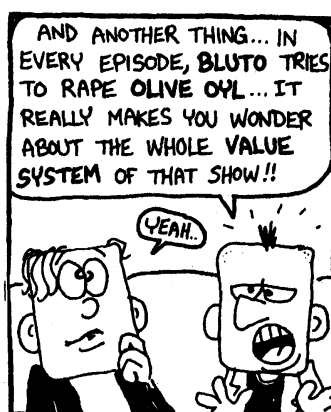
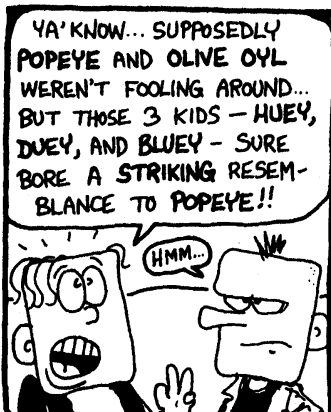
The market question is whether some form of private defense will emerge and make a killing in the Mideast or Africa or South America. The U.N. might hire them to provide the service. Or, more optimistically, they might compete with the U.N. outright. —BK

Poor man's burden — "Aspen is a great place," my friend explained. "It has the culture and amenities of New York — opera, great restaurants, wonderful shopping — without the street crime." It is a place where locals worry about real estate prices — land is getting so expensive that there's no place for their servants to live, which has resulted in congestion on the road down the valley to less chi-chi towns like Basalt and Carbondale, where modest homes can be found for less than a half-million and apartments can be had for less than \$1,500 per month.

This playground of the superrich is also the place in America where property rights are respected least, if reports in the local press are any indication. Take the case of Stefan Albuoy, who ended a land-use dispute with the Pitkin County by committing suicide. Albuoy is not the only casualty in the war on property: the *Aspen Daily News* also noted, "Locals will recall just last week the bizarre spectacle of Jim Blanning perched in the eaves of the county courthouse roof with a rope around his neck, threatening to hang himself from the rafters."

The problem these poor landowners face in Aspen is that, well, they're poor. As county executive Reid Haughey explained to the *Aspen Daily News*: "The people who get frustrated are the ones who try to do it on their own. They try to make a multi-million dollar deal out of the back seat of their

TWISTED IMAGE by Ace Backwords



truck. They need to get professional help from private planners and land-use attorneys."

In other words, when a landowner trying to build a home on his own property gets frustrated to the point of suicide, it's his own damn fault because he doesn't have "multi-million" dollars to handle the legal hassles and pay off public officials and the county and support the members of the *nomenklatura* who have the right connections to get permits.

Now the planning department is concerned that another local might get "frustrated." In a memo leaked to the press, Public Works Director Stan Berryman predicted that the demolition of Wilk Wilkerson's home "ought to be a lot of fun." The home was built on land for which local authorities refused to issue any building permits. Berryman also suggested in his July 26 memo that "no one go onto his property without a sheriff's deputy," and requested Haughey to suggest "other precautions that ought to be taken."

Aspen residents are subject to zoning regulations that give the city total control. At least that's the inference I drew from a small item in the *Aspen Times*, which reported that a local man had "asked the city council to allow him to rent out the second story [of his building] as offices instead of the nine-room lodge that currently is the only allowable use."

Even if you have the "multi-millions" needed to get permission to build — and to use your building for the purpose you desire — you will soon have to comply with mandatory "design guidelines," which require all new structures to "mimic the old Victorian cottages and sheds in style, balance, and character."

Nor is this sort of idiotic government activity limited to control of private property: The county is currently considering a plan to turn a local road over to the government-owned transit company and buy high-tech buses for the short run at a cost of \$384 million. Does the project's \$30,000-per-resident price tag faze the county? Not at all. Aspenites will use the new buses for free. Taking a page from the book of medieval land barons, the county proposes to finance the project by charging a toll on all motor vehicles that enter the county.

These stories, gleaned from a casual perusal of two days of Aspen's newspapers, were reported without a hint of criticism, except for one letter to the editor and a comment from Wilk Wilkerson, whose home the county proposes to have "fun" demolishing.

To paraphrase Abe Lincoln, God must have really loved fascism, else why would he have spread so much of it among the elite residents of Aspen?
—RWB

Browneing in — Harry Browne's announcement that he will seek the Libertarian Party's presidential nomination comes as great news for those like me who still harbor hopes for the LP.

The move came as a surprise to many in the LP. Browne had been a prominent and eloquent critic of political activism, his most thorough statement being the passionate plea for self-liberation, *How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World*. But it was a welcome surprise: Browne offers the party an articulateness and credibility lacking in the pathetic characters who have sought its nomination in recent years. An active li-

bertarian since the early '60s — long before his 1969 bestseller *How You Can Profit From the Coming Devaluation* practically invented the hard money movement and brought him fame and fortune — Browne is a superb communicator, as anyone who has seen him on talk shows can attest.

The LP has shown signs of maturity during the past few years, as its bureaucracy has become more professional and its fundraising more lucrative. But for all the best efforts of its members, the party has been steadily moving toward the irrelevant periphery of American politics. If its slide into obscurity isn't stopped, the LP might find itself in the position of the Socialist Labor Party — a party of aging true believers talking to themselves.

To reverse this process, the party needs to mount a visible presidential campaign that raises important issues. This is a tough and expensive task, one beyond the resources of its members, who simply cannot afford the \$10 million price tag of a credible campaign. Furthermore, the party needs real growth beyond the 10,000-member level at which it has stagnated for the past decade. Whether Browne can succeed remains to be seen.

For this growth, Browne will need to reach out to new people, lots of new people. Browne's experience with the hard money community and with the media uniquely qualify him for the challenge. If anyone can save the LP from obscurity, Harry Browne can.
—CAA

Shock jock drop out — Two media outlets correctly predicted not only that Howard Stern would withdraw from the New York gubernatorial race, but why: Comedy Central and *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*. Does this mean that you have to be a comedian to understand Stern, or that you have to be a comedian to understand New York politics?
—ML

The Nixon difference — In his eulogy for President Richard Nixon, the Rev. Billy Graham said, "A few months ago [Nixon] was asked in a television interview, 'How would you like to be remembered?' He thought a moment, and then he replied, 'I would like to be remembered as one who made a difference.' And he did make a difference in our world and in our lives."

As I listened, I wondered just what difference Nixon ultimately made in our world. He "opened China," but that surely would have happened soon. He pursued détente with the Soviet Union, and that might have been an accomplishment that only a confirmed anti-Communist could pull off. In domestic policy, he dramatically increased the size of the state — through a determined inflation followed by wage and price controls, along with the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, affirmative action, and a host of other costly regulations — enough that Jonathan Rauch in *The New Republic* called him the worst president of the century. But he was neither the first nor the last president to ratchet up the federal government.

Finally, of course, he presided over the Watergate scandal. His defenders say, *Nobody's perfect, lay Watergate aside, look at China and his progressive domestic policy*. But ultimately, I believe that the most important way in which Nixon "made a difference in our world and in our lives" was to remind

Americans of what government is really like and thus to send distrust of government skyrocketing. And for that I thank him. —DB

The Hess conspiracy — A bizarre sidebar to the tributes paid to Karl Hess in *The New Republic*, *National Review*, and *Liberty* was published in the August issue of the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report*. Hess, you will recall, was a journalist whose intellectual odyssey led him from far Right to far Left to libertarianism. According to RRR's designated hitman, Justin Raimondo, the Hess obituaries all shared a salient characteristic: "hatred of Murray N. Rothbard." This pervasive hatred of RRR's coeditor, Raimondo explained, can be discerned even in the case of Charles Murray's obit in *National Review*, which Raimondo acknowledges "does not mention Rothbard by name."

Raimondo takes my own essay on Hess, published in the July issue of *Liberty*, to task for "blaming" Rothbard "for Hess's quixotic and misguided decision to become a tax resister." As evidence that he did no such thing, Raimondo asserts that "Rothbard has always opposed tax resistance as utopian and counterproductive and has never endorsed it, in private or in public." Raimondo didn't explain how he came to know this. Had he examined Rothbard's writing on the topic, he would surely have come across the April 15, 1969 issue of *The Libertarian*, dated the very day Hess began his tax resistance. Rothbard concluded his lead editorial, titled "Tax Day," with these stirring words:

This issue of *The Libertarian* is dedicated to that growing legion of Americans who are engaging in various forms of that one weapon, that one act of the public which our rulers fear the most: tax rebellion, the cutting off the funds by which the host public is sapped to maintain the parasitic ruling classes. Here is a burning issue which could appeal to everyone, young and old, poor and wealthy, "working class" and middle class, regardless of race, color, or creed. Here is an issue which everyone understands, only too well. Taxation.

I suppose that Rothbard might argue that tax resistance is not among the "various forms" of "tax rebellion, the cutting off the funds" to the state, that he endorses. But if Rothbard "always opposed tax resistance," why did he publish Hess's eloquent declaration of tax resistance in the following issue

of *The Libertarian* without taking an opportunity to criticize it?

In my defense, I should mention that I got the story from a good source which I cited in my article, verified it with a mutual acquaintance of Rothbard and Hess, and checked it against Rothbard's writing on the subject. I also attempted to verify the story with Rothbard, who told me he was "too busy" to talk about Hess and later bragged to friends that he had hung up on me.

Raimondo concludes his piece by addressing the burning question of what could motivate the panegyrics to Hess in *The New Republic* and *National Review*:

... [B]oth magazines fear and despise the rising Hard Right populism that culminated around the Buchanan for Presidential campaign [which combined] both populist and libertarian themes. Splitting these elements would stop the movement dead in its tracks. One way of engineering a split would be to substitute a placebo for one of the key elements, a phony left-libertarianism far too exotic to be compatible with populism of any sort . . . the strategy here is to construct a substitute libertarianism, a left-libertarian golem. This is the real meaning of the movement to canonize Karl Hess.

There you have it. Motivated by a hatred of Murray Rothbard and hoping to split the Buchanan for President campaign asunder, the editors of *National Review*, *The New Republic*, and *Liberty* conspired to publish favorable obituaries of Karl Hess.

I suppose I may as well confess. On April 23, I got a call from John O'Sullivan, editor of *National Review*. "I've got Andy Sullivan on line," he said. "With Karl Hess passed on to his heavenly reward, we've been thinking—"

Andrew Sullivan of *The New Republic* interrupted. "This offers us a golden opportunity to heap scorn on Murray N. Rothbard, and to split the Buchanan campaign," he said.

"All we have to do," O'Sullivan added, "is publish obituaries that portray Karl in a favorable light. It'll be a stake into the heart of the Buchanan movement!"

Andy chimed in again. "It'll be easy. I'll get John Judis to do a paean to Karl, and he'll be glad to dump on Rothbard. John can get Charles Murray to do the same. All we need is for you to come up with someone."

The rest is history.

—RWB

Letters, continued from page 6

about capitalism demonstrate a grave error. He believes that *laissez-faire* capitalism is morally justifiable insofar as it produces an "American Dream" society with a vast and prosperous middle class, a small elite class, and an even smaller lower class. Regretfully, Gary Alexander (Letters, July 1994) only debates Brin's statistics and not his logic.

Although Brin is correct in asserting that capitalism has created the first civilization in which the rich outnumber the poor, it is possible that if Brin were convinced that socialism represented a better vehicle for achieving the "American

Dream," he would be a socialist. But *laissez-faire* capitalism does not draw its moral justification from any utilitarian-collectivist premise. Its purpose is not to bankroll the largest middle class in history or eliminate poverty. It is not a "golden goose" to be spared death for the sake of its golden eggs.

Laissez-faire capitalism is a necessary corollary to a philosophy that holds the individual human life as its highest value. It completely repudiates Mr. Spock's Vulcan credo: "The needs of the many outweigh the needs of the few — or the one." Even if capitalism benefitted only

666,000 people, it would still be the most moral system of government the world has seen to date.

If Brin is so concerned with aristocrats rearing their ugly heads and keeping down worthy competitors, the solution is to dismantle anti-competitive laws and abolish all government handouts to both rich and poor.

David Marhoffer
Tempe, Ariz.

Brin responds: These letters show what excellent service *Liberty* provides. Most political journals, Left or Right, seek

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Letter from Washington

Hail to the Wimp!

by Leon T. Hadar

Every clouded presidency has a silver lining.

Many of my friends envy me for being a "Washington-based journalist." It sounds so romantic, so important! Sure, everyone knows reporters don't make much money, but working in the U.S. capital means the opportunity to mingle with the famous and powerful. People are always asking me questions: "Can you

go to those White House press conferences? Do you get to see Clinton? How does Sam Donaldson look in person? Does he really wear a toupee?"

Well, to be honest with you, the last time I saw Donaldson was on ABC's *This Week*, and I prefer to watch White House press conferences from the comfort of my air-conditioned bedroom. In fact, *most* of my Washington reporting is done from the comfort of my air-conditioned bedroom. I begin my day reading the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. Then I watch a bit of CNN and C-SPAN (and my favorite soap). I do some jogging, read the news wire reports on my on-line service, glance at the news releases I receive on my fax machine, or skim through the World Bank or Commerce Department reports delivered to me with your tax money (sucker!). And maybe, if I really feel in the mood, I make a few phone calls to my "sources." Then I recycle all the info I've collected over the day into a news story or "analysis" and wire it to my newspaper.

That's how I make my living. Really!

Okay — sometimes, when the weather is good or the illegal immi-

grant who cleans my apartment shows up, I go out and do some "reporting." This consists mainly of attending boring press conferences, think-tank "briefings," and embassy receptions. The rewards come in the form of free lunches, *hors d'oeuvres*, and other refreshments. I also get to "network" with colleagues, hoping to find a job that pays even more for this parasitic existence, and to flirt with some of the young chicks who flock to Washington.

One Friday, in the last week of July, I decided that it was time for me to take advantage of my press credentials and do some honest reporting. It was hot and humid in Washington, with very high levels of pollen, and the idea of having to wear a tie and jacket didn't seem very enticing. But when I heard that the diplomatic and national-security biggies of the Republican Party — former Secretary of State James "Jim" Baker, former Defense Secretary Richard "Dick" Cheney, former U.N. Ambassador Jeane "Jeane" Kirkpatrick, all-around statesman Henry "Doctor" Kissinger — would all be bashing Clinton at a foreign policy forum organized by the Republican National Committee, I just

couldn't resist the temptation.

So I hopped into a non-air-conditioned cab, whose Nigerian driver took me to a K Street hotel. There I found one of those stuffy Washington foreign policy events where pompous media and think-tank types socialize and exchange ideas (and business cards).

I recalled attending similar gatherings in the glorious Reagan years, at the peak of the Cold War and the struggle against Soviet-sponsored terrorism, or during the video-game days of Desert Storm, as Bush's New World Order was evolving. Back then, there was a sense of excitement in the air. Here we were in the capital of the Free World, the New Rome, where Global History was being shaped, where the balance of power in "Euro-Asia" was being rearranged by the competent managers of Empire. And we were all part of it, extras in the great motion picture. It was a world where powerful and virile men of action, diplomats, strategists, and the female TV reporters who slept with them could make one hell of a global difference. Yeah! Those were the days.

Now, as I entered the hotel hall and observed the GOP contributors

chewing the last morsels of their disgusting lunch and waiting for the proceedings to begin, I felt a sense of emptiness in the air. *Things ain't what they used to be*, I told myself. One look at the unemployed beltway bandits, causeless neocon writers, and retired global crusaders around me said it all. Here we are, close to the mid-term point of the Clinton presidency, and America has yet to be engaged in any hot, luke-

It was a world where powerful and virile men of action, diplomats, strategists, and the female TV reporters who slept with them could make one hell of a global difference. Yeah! Those were the days.

warm, or cold wars. Peace is breaking out all over. There's no Evil Empire to push around anymore, no anti-Communist military despots to prop up, no "freedom fighters" to support. Even the Israelis and Yasser Arafat are making peace — a major blow to the neocons, who are now trying to out-Zionize the Israeli government.

And the American people don't give a hoot about foreign policy. It's one of the last items on the list of concerns in the average American's mind, sandwiched somewhere between the fate of the spotted owl and the whereabouts of the space station. Typist-turned-CNN-correspondent Christina Amampour broadcasts from the roof of a bombarded Sarajevo building every night, trying to convince Americans to fight in Bosnia. To no avail. Despite all the efforts of U.S. television's British stringers to bombard us with horrible images of tortured, wounded, and dying Bosnians/Somalis/Azeris/Haitians, public support for sending troops to any of these hot spots is next to nil. Isolationism, bless it, is alive and well in our beloved post-Cold War America.

And who knows better than that infamous draft dodger, the wimp himself, Bill "Don't Get Killed, Get a Blow Job" Clinton? When it comes to foreign policy, this president is just my kind of guy.

Yes, I know he made all those

promises during the campaign about how he was going to spread democracy around the globe, save the Bosnian Muslims, punish the tyrants in Beijing, and cleanse the Third World of nuclear weapons. Plus, he committed himself to the principles of "assertive multilateralism" — that is, following the U.N. to fight for democracy anywhere and anyplace on the planet.

We thought we were getting a new Woodrow Wilson, a moralist interventionist, an idealist statesman who would try to make the world safe for democracy. Instead, we got a Warren Harding, a pragmatic neo-isolationist, a corrupt politician who wants to make the world safe for business — kind of a global Arkansas.

I suspected all along that Clinton's internationalist rhetoric was little more than campaign baloney for the columnists and foreign policy "insiders." But it wasn't until I saw Clinton's foreign policy team on television that I knew that the Republic was safe. Did anyone seriously think that aging Warren Christopher, bookish Anthony Lake, and eccentric Les Aspin were going to lead America into war?

Now, even with the more energized William Perry at Defense, the foreign policy team looks and sounds like it's OD'd on Prozac. It's true, the president and his aides keep espousing that crap about the U.S. being the only remaining superpower in the world. But they've been generally faithful to their commitment to cut the defense budget, making it harder to achieve that sacred Pentagon goal, to fight on two fronts (say, in Korea and the Persian Gulf). And they seem to be making the right moves so as to make NATO and all the other Cold War dinosaurs obsolete.

Now imagine a Jack Kemp presidency, with its expanding military budgets and crusades for global democracy. See what I'm getting at?

In Somalia, the Clintonites, following their U.N. lead, invited a bloody shootout. But then they cut their losses and authored a new policy directive that forbids Washington to back up a new interventionist U.N. adventure. They even refused to characterize the slaughter in Rwanda as "genocide," so as not to create the legal basis for a major U.S. military intervention there.

Bosnia? As Pat Buchanan recently

noted, the president "has threatened Bosnia's Serbs more times than Jackie Gleason's bus driver Ralph Kramden shook his fist in the face of wife Alice shouting, 'One of these days, Alice! Pow! Right on the kisser!'" But despite the pressure from the Left and the Right, from Bill Safire and Jim Hoagland and *The New Republic*, Clinton and his aides were able to brilliantly rationalize their more-or-less non-interventionist posture in the Balkans. Good for them!

I loved the way Clinton climbed down from a threat to impose sanctions on China and the way he reestablished trade ties with Hanoi. Did you notice how he had to go through all that agony of surrendering to the butchers of Tiananmen Square and giving up the idea of sending Rambo to find those missing servicemen in the Vietnam jungle? In the end — as always with this president — money talks. And thanks to this unprincipled White House steward, trade will flow more freely across the Pacific, making the Chinese, Vietnamese, and American people happier and more prosperous.

I'll admit I was a little concerned in Clinton's early days. I was afraid all the

If it were up to the Republican crazies, we would already be in the middle of Korean War II, with Seoul nuked and tens of thousands dead.

criticism coming from the foreign policy insiders ("Draft-dodger!" "Inexperienced!" "Wimp!") would force Clinton to get macho, to follow his predecessor's path to proving his manhood by bombing some Middle Eastern country into the stone age. Instead, our young president, in what seemed to be a mild form of ejaculation, dropped a few bombs on an "intelligence center" in Baghdad and left Saddam alone most of the time. I didn't care for that, but it's better than what Bush did.

Actually, Clinton's entire "Middle East policy" seems to consist of inviting leaders from the region to shake hands on the White House lawn and serving as an effective master of ceremonies. (I

did attend Clinton's Arafat-Rabin handshake performance, and I can tell you: the guy is smooth.)

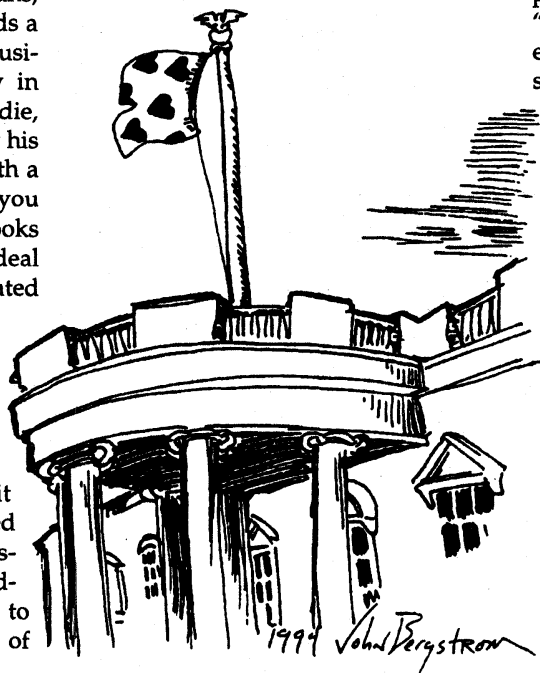
And Clinton was certainly a master strategist in the "North Korean crisis," sending Jimmy Carter to Pyongyang to buy some time and ignoring the advice of the Republican crazies. If it were up to *them*, we would already be in the middle of Korean War II, with Seoul nuked and tens of thousands of Americans and Koreans dead. Instead, Clinton took the advice of the Asians, which, more or less, was "Who needs a war now? We're doing so much business and making so much money in Asia. Let's wait for Kim Il Sung to die, and then maybe we'll be able to buy his playboy-midget son Kim Jong Il with a few bucks and yen." And what do you know? Kim Senior is dead, and it looks like Junior may be ready to cut a deal in return for a fresh supply of X-rated Swedish videos.

I'll admit I don't like Clinton's policies toward Haiti. As far as I'm concerned, it doesn't matter whether it's "Father" Aristide or bloody General Cedras who's leading the killing spree in Port-Au-Prince. If it were up to me, I would have lifted the embargo on that poor island yesterday and allowed all those hard-working Haitians to immigrate to Miami, thereby diluting the power of the Cuba lobby.

Still, isn't it refreshing to see a president making it clear to everyone that he's ready to send American soldiers to their deaths in Haiti, not to preserve Western civilization and the Judeo-Christian way of life, but to maintain the Congressional Black Caucus' support for his health package? (Public Choice economists could come up with an interesting model correlating the number of American war casualties and Congressional votes on the health-care bill, graphed nicely as indifference curves.)

So, since it looks like the only major foreign policy excitement we're apt to get during the Clinton term is a splendid little war in Haiti, it is not surprising that Washington's internationalist set is so depressed — which brings me back to that Republican foreign policy forum in Washington. As I mentioned before, that event forced me to leave my cool apartment on a muggy July

day. You are all probably asking: *Was it worth it, Leon?* I could've spent that time at the pool, or taking a long afternoon nap, or watching *Sonya Live* or *Oprah*. Instead, I had to sit through frustrated right-wing Cold Warriors explaining why they should be back in power, so they can make American foreign policy "credible" again and turn Washington back into a safe sanctuary for the veteran managers of the Nation-



al Security State, for the Global Democracy buffs, for the demented unipolarists.

I certainly didn't get any story from the event, unless you want to count this one. My newspaper doesn't even come out on Saturday. But I did learn a lot, and came to some provocative conclusions.

When "Jim" and "Dick" and "Jeane" and "Dr. Kissinger" say it isn't in America's "national interest" to invade Haiti, the not-so-subtle message to the white middle-class voters is, *Do you really want to see American boys (and girls — sorry!) die for the sake of a bunch of AIDS-stricken niggers?* I believe that fighting a war in Haiti is not in anyone's interest. But Kirkpatrick and her neocon buddies tell us that it is in America's "national interest" to help the westernized yuppies of Sarajevo. Cheney and his Pentagon pals explain that it is in our "national interest" to

send more money to the military, the CIA, and the rest of the National Security State apparatus. Baker wants to see a rerun of the Gulf War on the Korean Peninsula — again, that "national interest."

Kissinger believes that we should be doing our best to expand NATO and prepare it to deal with the new "threats": Islamic fundamentalism, Russian nationalism, etc., etc. And of course, all the great Republican foreign policy strategists think it's in America's "national interest" to continue its huge entitlement program for Israel and its security services for the Saudi royal family, and to prepare for a great war against the ayatollahs in Teheran, who they see as a threat to Israel and the oil sheiks. (In other words, what's good for Israel and the oil lobby is good for America.)

Which leads me to the following question, which I'd like to pose to you, the thinking libertarian: Who would you really prefer to see presiding in Washington after 1996? Hilarious Hillary and Horny Bill, trying (unsuccessfully) to get all their big government domestic programs passed by Congress, visiting our vacationing troops in sunny Haiti, drowning in the Whitewater, and constantly providing us with ammunition to use against the political class? Or deadly serious President Dick Cheney, his "virtuous" wife Lynn, and their company of wild-eyed spooks, military adventurers, and neocon *Commentary* propagandists, presiding over Gulf War II, Korean War III, Cold War IV, Iran-Contra V, and Watergate VI — while being forced by a Democratic Congress to pass all those big government programs anyway? Well?

Contrary to Republican propaganda, Clinton's poll ratings are falling, not because of his inability to handle foreign policy, but because he is incompetent, sleazy, and corrupt. In fact, the only reason he's still a serious contender for 1996 may be that he's kept the country at peace for close to two years. So I hope that Clinton will adopt Ron Paul's proposal to run under the "He Kept Us Out of War" banner in '96. And that he wins.

He may not get our votes, but he does deserve our sympathy. □

Trading Away Free Trade

by Fred L. Smith, Jr.

The creation of the World Trade Organization was supposed to be a landmark victory for free trade. But was it?

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has lowered the world's tariff barriers fairly well. Its proponents — including the Cato Institute and other libertarian groups — argue that the latest modification to GATT, the World Trade Organization, will advance free trade even further.

So does the Clinton administration, which negotiated the final agreement, and so have most large businesses. It is opposed by a handful of populists like Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan, with environmental and labor groups withholding support until further "protections" are added.

The WTO builds on GATT's base, adding trade in services and intellectual property to the trade in goods already covered by GATT. It is being sold as a global equivalent of the interstate commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution, as a guarantee of the right to buy and sell goods throughout the world. But it may prove instead to be more like the Interstate Commerce Commission — a tool for the cartelization of economic activity, the exploitation of consumers, and the suppression of economic liberty.

Revamping GATT

Free trade needn't involve foreign entanglements. It only requires removing a nation's own barriers to international exchange. But protectionism is a powerful force, and few legislators are eager to confront special interests out to escape foreign competition. So they pander to producers whose goods are blocked from other countries' markets.

Usually, they try to open those markets with "retaliation": "if you don't open your borders to my goods, I'll block your goods from my markets." This strategy rarely works even on its own terms; as Jim Powell has pointed out, "it is hard to find a single significant case in which trade retaliation or retaliatory threats have forced open a foreign market" ("Why Trade Retaliation Closes Markets and Impoverishes People," *Cato Policy Analysis* #143).

GATT also relies on trade retaliation. Nations bring disputes before GATT, and a panel is convened to judge the merits of the charges. If a country is found guilty of blocking trade, the offended nation is entitled to impose penalties against the offender's imports. Despite its authorization of this dubious practice, GATT seems to have worked fairly well: tariffs have been gradually reduced and world trade has increased. It is important to remember, though, that the system was never intended to promote free trade *per se*. Lower tariffs and increased trade may have occurred despite GATT as much as because of it.

At the same time, lower tariffs have increased the importance of other

forms of protectionism. These new restraints are inherently more difficult to resolve — or detect. Unmodified cars are difficult to sell in England or Japan, where people drive on the left side of the road. Is this a trade barrier? Aggressive exporters convinced of the superiority of their products and selling abilities are too quick to see non-tariff barriers where brand loyalty, price or quality differences, lack of repair facilities, or already well-established trading patterns are to blame for their problems. To hear some firms tell it, *any* lack of sales is a result of foreign protectionism.

Will the WTO erase real impediments to free trade, or will it pander to fears of pantomime protectionism? You have to wonder.

For one thing, by widening the range of products covered by GATT, the WTO widens the scope of cross-retaliation against products not involved in the original dispute. Thus, the WTO sharpens the sting of trade sanctions by allowing governments to punish each other in ways that cause the most pain, dragging unrelated businesses into a trade dispute: an American software firm, for example,

might be punished in retaliation for an American agricultural firm selling rice too cheaply in Japan.

Clinton's negotiators, not known for their staunch free trade principles, incorporated some troublesome aspects of U.S. anti-dumping and countervailing duties laws into the GATT agreement, legitimizing the protectionist rules of the U.S. International Trade Commission and the Department of Commerce. European nations, in turn, insisted on explicitly defining their industrial-policy subsidies as acceptable trading practices. The Clintonites accepted these changes, which allow them to expand the domestic subsidies *they* wish to pursue. Combined with the European demand to allow export rebates for energy taxes, GATT's subsidy provisions could encourage European-style industrial policy in the U.S. and other nations.

Because the Uruguay Round of international tariff-reduction negotiations must be ratified as a trade agreement, the WTO will enjoy an enhanced status as its global enforcement arm. The voting rules of this bureaucracy are different from those of the old GATT, where decisions were made by consensus and voting procedures were rarely invoked. Like the United Nations General Assembly, every nation, regardless of size, will have an equal vote in the WTO. Larger nations will receive no Security Council-style veto, nor will they benefit from weighted voting, as in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Moreover, unlike the old GATT, the WTO envisions incremental, one-at-a-time modifications in trade rules, each voted on separately. GATT rounds, by contrast, were package deals — complex sets of negotiated tariff reductions across a wide array of goods traded by many nations.

The United States found it much easier to close unnecessary military bases with a GATT-style package deal than with the WTO's incremental approach. Will similar incentive problems hamper efforts to reduce trade barriers?

Moreover, the WTO rules encourage "public participation," ensuring a change in the forces influencing future trade disputes. Mickey Kantor's claims that these rules will make it easier for citizens' interests to be represented are not to be believed. In the U.S., "public

participation" has become a code phrase for granting extraordinary powers to narrow pressure groups. The all-too-likely beneficiaries of the public-participation provisions will be the "progressive" activist groups that have done so much to politicize the U.S. economy.

One danger inherent in an unweighted, veto-free voting system is that such groups could work with foreign protectionists to advance the ideologies' domestic agendas. For example, a German firm might argue that America's lower rates of recycling or higher rates of energy consumption are "non-sustainable," and thus constitute an un-

Will the WTO pander to fears of pantomime protectionism?

fair trading practice. The EC has already effectively excluded Spanish beer from German markets by requiring that all beer be sold in reusable bottles.

Deceptive Greenspeak

The Clinton Administration, supported by France and other nations, has pushed for a commission to consider how the WTO system should be modified to advance "fair," "sustainable," and "socially just" trade. The dominant multinational corporations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), environmental activist groups, and government elites seem in general agreement that a more tightly managed world trading system is preferable to a free one. In this context, one has to wonder whether the WTO will advance or retard economic liberty.

The WTO's preamble already incorporates hortatory requirements that trade be compatible with government-defined environmental goals and that it encourage "sustainable development." America's experience with environmental laws provide good reasons to take such rhetoric seriously. The 1972 Clean Water Act gives the federal government regulatory authority over the navigable waters of the United States. Who could have dreamt that "navigable waters" would one day be interpreted so broadly as to allow the EPA and Army Corps

of Engineers to impose land use controls on hundreds of millions of acres of private property under the guise of protecting "wetlands"?

Radical reinterpretations of such clear language have characterized most domestic environmental statutes — the Endangered Species Act, various hazardous waste laws, recycling mandates, etc. Why should we believe that free marketeers will be any better at stopping encroachments on "clear language" in the future than they have been in the past?

Our past experience with multinational agreements is cause for pessimism. When George Bush signed the Global Climate Convention in Rio, he assured us that it would be non-binding. Now the Clinton-Gore administration has informed us that it *is* binding, committing the U.S. to reducing carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. This administration has also suggested that the treaty may be used to raise fuel economy standards, extending a deadly regulation that already causes thousands of highway fatalities each year. George Bush also signed Agenda 21, the Earth Summit's blueprint for "sustainable development" policies, including new restrictions on global commerce rationalized on environmental grounds. The U.N. Development Programme proposes a global trade levy as an initial means to that end.

The WTO's preamble, along with Keynesian goals of "effective demand" and "full employment," affirms the need for a greening of trade:

- It asserts the importance of "allowing for the optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, seeking both to protect and preserve the environment and enhance the means for doing so. . . ."
- WTO nations are committed to "harmonize" their technical regulations and sanitary standards. Provision is made for nations to adopt measures different from international standards, but only if they are more stringent. Downward harmonization is officially discouraged, though not prohibited — yet.
- The dispute settlement under-

standing allows nations and arbitration panels to seek scientific and technical advice from any individual or organization. NGOs will enjoy more "public participation" rights under these procedures.

- The Clinton administration fought to establish a WTO Committee on Trade and the Environment at the insistence of Sen. Max Baucus (D-MT) and other congressional environmentalists. It will develop modifications to WTO policies in order to support "sustainable development," including economic instruments, pollution charges and environmental taxes, compulsory recycling, regulation of processes and production methods, packaging and labelling requirements, and "public participation" rights. It may review any trade-related issue, including carbon taxes, levies on fossil fuels, and transportation restrictions.
- Thanks to French and American pressure, a general committee will address how the WTO can ensure "basic rights" for workers — i.e., labor laws that produce unemployment.

Some analysts assert that such managed trade policies merely represent a desirable extension of the Hayekian rule of law. That is nonsense. Hayek saw no virtue in harmonization or standardization for its own sake. He reminded us that legislation works best where customs, values, and language are already shared. This world is not such a place. Attempting to impose a "rule of law" on the international trading system via the WTO, or any other centralized organization, will be a com-

plex and most likely ill-fated enterprise. Uniform rules that evolve through voluntary arrangements are beneficial; those imposed by some exogenous authority are not.

The New World Trading Order

The WTO's political centralization could come at the expense of our decentralized federal-state-local relationships. Writing in *Commentary*, Jeremy Rabkin effectively describes what is at stake:

Sovereignty is not a matter of legal formalities . . . [The] erosion of sovereignty entails a blurring of the lines of accountability. . . . [T]he internationalization of our domestic policy disputes adds one more — and potentially much larger and more intricate — layer of technical confusion between public preferences and the excuses of politicians not to respond to them. It makes government that much more obscure, remote, and inaccessible to ordinary citizens.

Consider our disastrous experiences with other global bureaucracies. GATT worked fairly well under its consensus rules, but it is an exception. More common is the phenomenal mischief-making of the World Bank and IMF, which have repeatedly destroyed economies, bailed out state socialism, and — despite their newfound environmentalist rhetoric — wreaked enormous ecological damage. Recent internal audits of the World Bank revealed a 37.5% failure rate on its lending projects. Few IMF loan recipients have become economically self-sufficient, and IMF conditionality arrangements have led to increased taxation, "balanced" trade policies, and other destructive statist programs.

Institutions are shaped by the incentives they create. GATT's focus on reducing tariffs encouraged a pro-trade bureaucracy. By contrast, the U.S. International Trade Commission, the Commerce Department, and the U.S. Trade Representative are charged with ensuring "fair" trade; for that reason,

they have never been proponents of free trade, even under the nominally anti-protectionist Reagan administration

At the WTO, U.S. economic interests are all too likely to promote a quota approach to trade policy, to find "unfairness" in any lack of market penetration, to see the use of a language other than English as a non-tariff barrier. And U.S. ideological interests are all too likely to use the WTO to promote a "social trade" agenda.

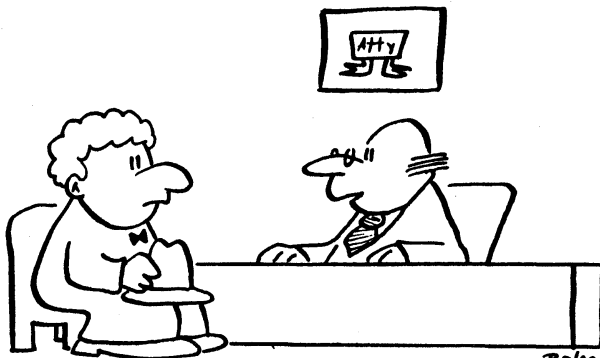
Exploiting the Third World

Some WTO proponents have seen virtue in the power the one-nation-one-vote system gives to smaller nations, arguing that the Third World has a strong stake in free trade and will counterbalance the regulatory demands of the U.S., Europe, and Japan. But experience with existing environmental treaties suggests they are wrong.

The International Whaling Commission was intended to ensure sustainable harvesting of whales, but has been transformed into an anti-development, pro-animal-rights statute. Even Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, the Joan of Arc of the Earth Summit, cannot control this process; recently, she charged the Clinton-Gore administration with caring more about whales than about people. Yet few of the world's nations care enough to oppose the movement to ban whaling — and those that do were outvoted by the NGO-influenced majority of nations.

Much of the Third World supported the Basel Convention, an agreement based on the premise that trade in hazardous waste services should be avoided wherever possible. Likewise, developing countries signed on to the Convention on Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), pushed by European and American environmental establishment groups seeking publicity and funding. The effect of CITES is to punish nations with sound conservation programs. A handful of African nations are beginning to have second thoughts about CITES, but so far too few to yet have an impact.

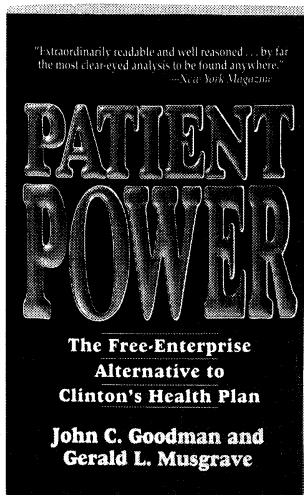
These experiences illustrate that developing nations are an ineffective force for free trade. Worse, they demonstrate that Third World elites have no compunction against betraying



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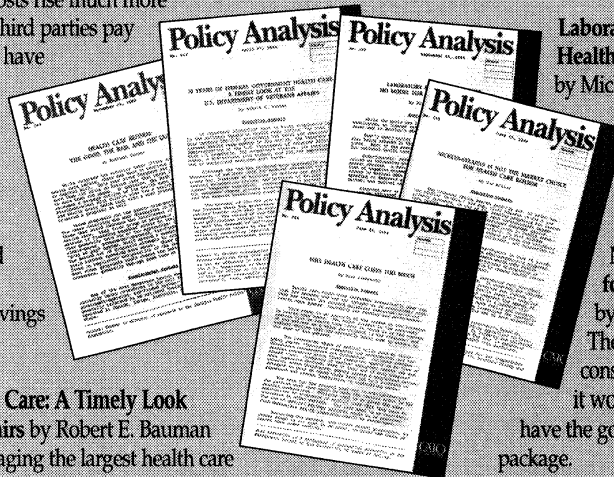
system in the nation should caution us about the dangers of turning more health care over to government management.

Laboratory Failure: States Are No Model for Health Care Reform by Michael Tanner

The reforms implemented by Hawaii, Oregon, New York, and other states should not be a model for national health care reform.

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their own people for personal gain. Foreign aid cannot compensate the world for the damage done by protectionism and regulation, but it can buy a lot of environmentalist Uncle Toms ready to sell their fellow citizens down the river. Will the Third World be crucified on a cross of green?

Global Cartels

The late nineteenth century was the era of robber-baron capitalism and rapid economic growth. For the first time, many firms were operating at a national level. The interstate commerce clause prevented Balkanization, while the lack of any federal political entity able to protect a specific firm, to "regu-

late" commerce, made cartelization impossible. Competition was inevitable and the nation prospered.

Neither business nor politicians nor the "public interest" community were happy about this. In the late nineteenth century, economic interests (railroads out to suppress competition) and ideological interests (anti-market Progressives) pushed for a federal body able to restrain competition. Together, this Baptist-Bootlegger coalition succeeded in creating the Interstate Commerce Commission, which suppressed transportation competition for almost 100 years under the guise of harmonizing and ordering the patchwork of state and local regulatory regimes.

In the late twentieth century, firms operate in a global economy. Without a global political entity to restrain trade, to "harmonize" regulations, to create a "level playing field," special interests and ideological groups lack the means of restricting competition. The value of trade and the mobility of capital create the functional equivalent of the interstate commerce clause that protected internal trade in the United States before the railroads and Progressives managed to establish the ICC.

Today, economic interests (major multinational corporations) stressed by global competition join with ideological interests (a powerful environmental movement) to create the global equivalent of the Interstate Commerce Commission — an agency that could restrain trade to ensure that it is "sustainable."

None of the other Bretton Woods institutions — the World Bank, the IMF, the old GATT — can play this global cartelization role. Nor could the U.N. But the WTO might.

Like NAFTA, the WTO's merits will be determined by seemingly marginal details — in particular, the actions of its Committee on Trade and the Environment. Disturbing trends have already begun to emerge from NAFTA's side agreements. The Mexican operations of General Electric and Honeywell have been charged with violating NAFTA's labor laws, and both companies are now under investigation. Even if no formal disciplinary action is taken, these companies will have been forced to spend substantial sums in their defense, setting a grim example for other businesses. Mexico has already been pressured into adopting U.S.-style laws regarding food inspection and the transportation of hazardous wastes. And U.S. firms are being pressured to comply with U.S. toxic release inventory laws in Mexico, even though no law requires this as such.

If NAFTA could already do so much damage, do we really have nothing to fear from the WTO?

But even without these complexities, the WTO deserves scrutiny. It is a GATT with teeth, and those teeth can enable it to discipline protectionism. They can also enable it to enforce protectionism more effectively than ever before. □

Academic Style¹

An interesting question which has received comparatively little attention in the academic literature is whether somebody prosecuted for tax evasion can be said to be prosecuted in any meaningful sense of the word.² Indeed, the student of state persecution is faced with a difficult task because so little research has been done, and the literature on this topic is polemical rather than analytical, and must therefore be treated with caution.³

Professor John Kenneth Galbraith (Galbraith [1954], p. 295), in a carefully-reasoned argument, explicitly recognizes that "The more comprehensive the tax system — the fewer the loopholes — the better it serves both equality and stabilization."⁴ Although it is not clear what Galbraith means by "loopholes"⁵ (and although I am not a brain surgeon), it appears that broad historical trends support his argument.^{6,7} But the reader must be careful (Himself [1996]) in interpreting this evidence.⁸ Obviously, more research is needed before a definitive conclusion can be drawn.⁹ —*Pierre Lemieux*¹⁰

Notes:

1. I would like to thank my wife, Nancy, and my secretary, Pam, without the support of whom (including the latter's old IBM Selectric) this article could not have been written. I am also grateful to an anonymous referee from this journal. Of course, any remaining error is entirely mine. NSF Grant #192-370-568-5666780.
2. I am not concerned here with the moral aspects of the question. On this, see Rawls [1971].
3. A good example is, of course, the little book by Frank Chodorov [1954], where the author argues in a somewhat anecdotal fashion that the income tax breeds state persecution.
4. Emphasis mine.
5. Recent reports (see the *New York Times*, June 3, 1994) of trouble with "potholes" may provide a clue.
6. See also Zauberman ([1967], p. 291): "... the Soviet model was designed in the Central Economic Mathematical Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences (denoted thereafter as 'Ts'). Neither its numerical solutions nor its fate have been revealed. Nevertheless, it deserves our attention as an important stage in the history of formalized planning techniques."
7. If I understand Galbraith's argument correctly, it implies that the tax evader is a criminal.
8. I choose to avoid here the argument raised by Lysander Spooner (Spooner [1870]) to the effect that resisting robbery is legitimate.
9. Perhaps a little anecdote will help the reader understand the main thrust of the argument here. A friend of mine who was mugged said that, on the other hand, he has never been prosecuted for tax evasion.
10. Not the author. Article quoted from the *Old England Journal of Medicine*.

Sources:

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Diagnosis

The Distended Public Sector

by David Boaz

Our political leaders say the health care system is suffering from Baumol's Disease. As usual, they've got it wrong.

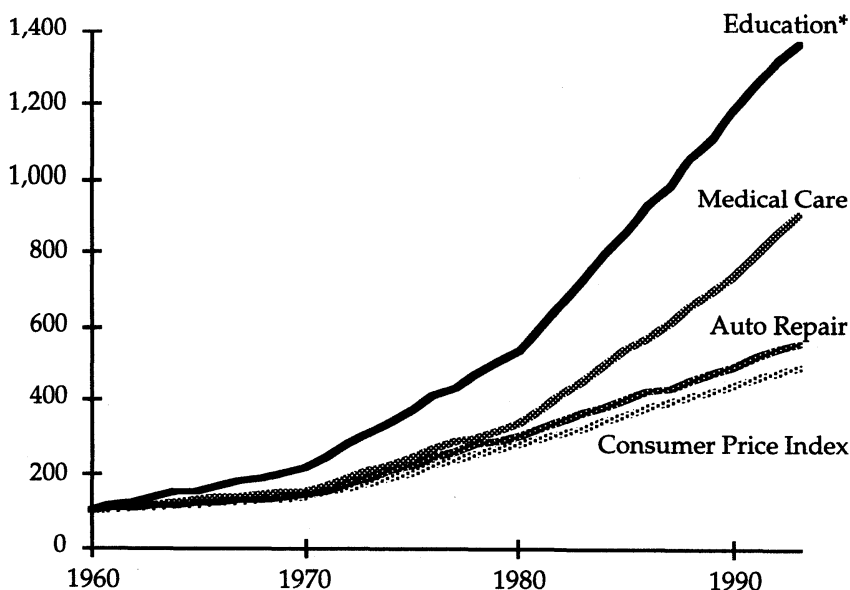
The United States has the highest quality health care in the world. At no previous time in history, and in no other country in the world, have we been able to cure as many people of as many injuries and diseases.

But our medical triumphs have had side effects, one of the most obvious of which is rising costs. Medical costs have increased for many reasons, including new technology and our ability to keep very sick people alive much longer.

Another reason was identified in 1966 by economists William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen. They called it "the cost disease of the personal services," but most economists call it Baumol's disease. The thesis that productivity in personal services does not improve has recently been forcefully advanced in the health care debate by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who argues, "Productivity in most sectors has improved dramatically in the past 200 years, but not in jobs such as the arts, teaching, law, and health care, which require a high level of personal input."

He offers a persuasive example of how personal services resist productivity improvement: "In 1793 to 'produce' a Mozart quartet required four persons, four stringed instruments, and, say, 35 minutes. To produce a Mozart quartet today requires — four persons, four stringed instruments, 35 minutes." Yet many more of us can hear a Mozart quartet today than in

Price Trends: Health Care and Other Services *vs* the CPI (1960=100)



* per-pupil education spending

1793. Why? In 1793 perhaps a few hundred people could hear each performance, and it was difficult and expensive for the players to move on to the next town where several hundred more people might gather. Today, however, the musicians can travel by bus, train, or airplane and reach many more audiences. Even

more dramatically, the performance can be broadcast over radio and television to reach millions of listeners at once. Or it can be recorded and distributed worldwide on records, tapes, or compact discs. Thus, despite the apparent lack of any change in musical productivity, people today have the output of dozens of musical

groups at their fingertips.

Moynihan identifies a number of services afflicted with Baumol's disease: "The services in question, which I call The Stagnant Services, included, most notably, health care, education, legal services, welfare programs for the poor, postal service, police protection, sanitation services, repair services . . . and others." He points out that many of those are provided by government and posits that "activities with cost disease migrate to the public sector."

But maybe he has it backwards. Maybe activities that migrate to the public sector become afflicted with cost disease. The conservative magazine *National Review* — which, surprisingly, seems to accept Moynihan's thesis — has inadvertently supplied us with some evidence on this point.

Ed Rubinstein, *National Review's* economic analyst, writes, "For more than three decades health-care spending has grown faster than national income. . . . The trend in health-care costs is no different from that of other services." He cites education and auto repair as examples. However, the numbers Rubin-

stein provides don't support his — or Moynihan's — point. Look at the accompanying figure (preceding page).

The cost of auto repair, a service provided almost entirely in the private sector, has barely outpaced inflation. The cost of medical care increased twice as fast as inflation. Government's share of medical spending increased from 33% in 1960 to 53% in 1990. Meanwhile, the cost of education, almost entirely provided by government, increased three times as fast as inflation — despite the constant complaints about underfunded schools.

The lesson seems plain: Services provided by government are afflicted with Baumol's disease in spades. Services provided in the private sector, where people spend their own money, are much less likely to soar in cost.

Medical care is a good area in which to test this theory because over the past 30 years it has been paid for in three different ways: out-of-pocket spending by consumers; insurance payments, mostly provided by employers; and government payments. As out-of-pocket spending declines in impor-

tance, medical inflation heats up. And private-sector spending on medical care rose only 1.3% a year between 1960 and 1990, while government spending rose more than three times as fast — 4.3% a year.

When services are provided privately, and consumers can decide whether to purchase them or choose another provider or do without, there's a powerful incentive to improve productivity and keep costs down. Stagnant productivity in government-run services reflects not so much Baumol's disease as what we might call Clinton's disease: the notion — even now, in 1994 — that government can provide services more efficiently and cost-effectively than can the marketplace.

Senator Moynihan says the lesson of all this is that health care costs will keep rising as a percentage of our national income no matter how we pay for medical care. But the evidence points to a different lesson: that people spend their own money more carefully than any senator or bureaucrat can. To keep costs down, bring health care back into the competitive marketplace. □

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Synthesis

Deep Ecology Meets the Market

by Gus diZerega

Could the next step in libertarian evolution be radical environmentalism?

Classical liberalism upholds the ideal of mutually beneficial voluntary relationships. It also recognizes that, in dealing with people we do not know well, we are more likely to enter into such relationships when their boundaries and conditions are clearly defined. From these insights arises the case for property rights, contract, and other procedural rules that promote cooperation.

Environmental issues pose a sharp challenge to libertarian and classical liberal thought. Ecological problems are usually characterized by permeable boundaries and by the unexpected negative consequences of even voluntary relationships. The environment complicates and challenges traditional libertarian conceptions of the social and natural worlds.

This challenge is particularly pointed in "deep ecology," the view that the nonhuman world has value and claims to our regard whether or not we find it useful for our own ends.¹ Deep ecologists argue that there is an ethical dimension to our dealings with nature, even when the interests of other human beings are not involved.

Two Classical Liberalisms

The modern libertarian and classical liberal community contains two basic intellectual orientations, *individualist liberalism* and *evolutionary liberalism*. Both evince a commitment to voluntary agreement as the social ideal, a belief in the virtues of the market, a suspicion of political coercion, a dis-

like of collectivist thought, and an admiration for the principles of the American Revolution. But their differences are as important as their similarities, particularly where the questions raised by ecology are concerned.

Individualist classical liberalism has been expounded by John Locke and Tom Paine; contemporary representatives include Murray Rothbard, Ayn Rand, and Milton Friedman. The individualist approach dominates the contemporary classical liberal intellectual world. Though its adherents differ on many issues, they all share a common focus on the individual as the basic and irreducible unit of society. And they all employ boundaries and/or rights as the fundamental components of their worldview and the basic analytical tools for describing the good society.

A useful way to determine whether a thinker is an individualist (as I use the term) is to ask whether his or her analytical individual had a childhood. John Galt had no childhood that anyone ever noticed; he sprang forth full-grown as a force of nature (or, perhaps, of rationality). Neither did Locke's man in the state of nature,

who existed fully formed, the product of his Creator. Economic Man is also an abstraction without a past.

This theoretical timelessness of individualist liberal models is important, because when we conceive of people as having childhoods, pasts, important formative experiences, different issues and questions are raised. In particular, we become sensitive to the fact that actual individuals exist in time, changing as they grow up, in part because of their socialization. Even our minds are embedded inextricably in society, as F.A. Hayek pointed out. Individualist libertarians would not deny that real people have pasts, of course, but they do not treat this fact as theoretically important.

Evolutionary liberals have included David Hume, Adam Smith, James Madison, and Alexis de Tocqueville. Perhaps the most important contemporary evolutionary liberal has been Hayek, but Alfred Schütz and Peter Berger also deserve mention. This group emphasizes the insight that individuals are members of societies that powerfully mold and influence them, that they are products of social institutions even as they simultane-

ously create and uphold those institutions. The evolutionary liberals recognize that social institutions evolve over time, often in ways that those whose actions maintain those institutions cannot foresee.

Consequently, evolutionary liberals focus on the *relationships* that generate, maintain, and alter the social web. To the extent that a society is free, procedural rules channel human action to facilitate voluntary cooperation. Evolutionary liberals are sparing in their theoretical use of abstract individuals,

The ecological community, like the market, is a spontaneous order.

because for them the concrete particularity of real individuals is at least as important in understanding society.

The Environmental Challenge

Sometimes the individualist answer to environmental questions is extreme, even silly. A good example is Murray Rothbard's argument for an absolute prohibition on pollution, on the grounds that pollution constitutes trespass (expounded in "Law, Property Rights, and Air Pollution," *The Cato Journal* 2:1, Spring 1982). Confronted with the observation that this would prevent even a single internal combustion engine — one would inevitably produce *some* pollution that can blow *somewhere* — Rothbard shifts to saying that to be prohibited, boundary-crossings must interfere with a person's "use and enjoyment." This sounds reasonable at first — but what about the production of noxious photons?

In fact, the "use and enjoyment" criteria is weaker than it seems. Rothbard demands such rigorous standards of evidence to prove "aggression" that just about any pollution arising from many independent sources cannot even be reduced, because the aggressor responsible for each particular injury cannot be determined. Because of his focus on inviolate boundaries, Rothbard fails to confront the fact that no boundary is perfectly inviolate. We are in a world of more and less, not of sim-

ple black-and-white categories.

This is not an environmental strategy. This is a muddle.²

Other individualist liberals confronted with this problem have agreed that trade-offs must be made. But on what basis? The individualist framework offers no very helpful standard for balancing the sanctity of the body and the inevitability of pollution. In the absence of a workable system of inviolable rights, individualist liberalism tends to opt for the vague platitudes of utilitarianism. And over time, utilitarian logic takes the individualist liberal position ever farther from respect for the market and limited government.

I am not arguing that individualist liberals have nothing of value to say about environmental issues. Indeed, some problems can be dealt with very effectively within their framework. But overall, the ecological insight that boundaries cannot be clearly and unambiguously defined presents the individualist liberal with intractable, and ultimately fatal, problems.

Deep ecology poses a different challenge to evolutionary liberalism. The deep ecologists argue that it is not only our relationships with one another that carry moral weight, but also our relations with the natural world. Though this dimension has been largely unexplored by evolutionary liberals, insights the evolutionists have developed to address other questions can be put to powerful and sometimes surprising use when applied to environmental issues, as we shall see.

Interestingly, the core strengths of individualist liberalism can also be preserved in the process, particularly its emphasis on human rights that transcend mere custom. But these rights are derived from an ethical insight more basic than the one the individualists have offered.

Sympathy

While the early evolutionary liberals put little faith in a Biblical derivation of rights (*à la* Locke) or equally abstract formulations from non-theological sources, they did have an alternative — and, in my view, more defensible — foundation for ethics, developed by David Hume and Adam Smith. This was the theory of moral

sentiments — in particular, the central role played in human affairs by *sympathy*. By "sympathy," Hume and Smith meant a quality more like what we would now call "empathy": our capacity for fellow feeling, for putting ourselves in the place of another.

In this view, sympathy and self-interest are deeply and inextricably linked. When a person acts in what we today call one's rational self-interest, one acts for one's long-term well-being, overriding the impulse for immediate gratification. How is this possible? Only through the human capacity for sympathetic identification.

The future self one imagines and toward whose good one is devoted *does not exist yet*. It is a hypothetical construct. We imagine our present self in the place of that future self and ask ourselves what we can do today to improve that future self's well-being. Often, when the future arrives, we find that we were wrong; what we thought we wanted no longer meets our expectations or desires. But even more often, we find that we were at least partially right.

This argument leads directly to a novel critique of ethical egoism. In order to act in our long-term self-

Sometimes the individualist answer to environmental questions is silly. A good example is Rothbard's argument for an absolute prohibition on pollution.

interest, we must have the capacity to act in the interests of others. Imagining the circumstances of our future self is no less an act of empathetic identification than acting to help another person in need right now. Concern for others and concern for our future self are two sides of the same coin.

Sympathy is partly a rational faculty, but it is not reducible to reason. Our care for a concrete other's well-being is not derivable from abstract reason. It is, however, fundamental to our capacity as a human being. We can develop or stifle our capacity for sympathy, as with many other traits, but without it we would not be fully human.

Sociopaths, bereft of this quality, seem somehow inhuman; significantly, they are rarely able to act in their own long-term well-being. Instrumental reason alone is unable to take one very far or very enjoyably in life.

Human Uniqueness

Sympathy does not stop at the species boundary. As Hume observed, we also sympathize with animals. The more akin an animal seems to ourselves, the more easily we can sympathize with it. It is easier to sympathize with a cat or dog than with a lizard, and easier to sympathize with a lizard than a worm. This judgment of similarity is no more a subjective fantasy than is our capacity to understand other people, including our future selves. Nor is it "anthropomorphizing," for we do not regard cats and lizards as little men and women.³

This sympathetic capacity of ours carries an unexpected implication. As Aldo Leopold once noted, if human beings were to go extinct, no other form of life would give it a moment's notice. But plenty of people cared when passenger pigeons died out, and all felt it was a shame. Here, Leopold wrote, was "something new under the sun." Our capacity to care about the well-being of forms of life of no instrumental use to us, species many of us have never seen, seems truly unique.

This carries an interesting message for those who emphasize human uniqueness. Our capacity to care for others whom we have never met and who can be of no conceivable use to us, other than to provide the reassurance that yes, they exist, is our most unique human trait. Far from evidencing a lack of concern for human well-being, deep ecology rests on the most purely human quality we can exhibit.⁴ We care about passenger pigeons because at some level we realize it is good to be alive, and that this goodness is not applicable only to ourselves. Life may not be the ultimate goodness, but it is an important value nonetheless. This insight leads to *respect* for other living beings, human and otherwise.

Respect

Respect, at this level of discussion, is too abstract to provide us much guidance. It means, minimally, that

what is respected can never appropriately be treated purely as a means to an end. Something respected never counts for nothing. Its interests carry weight when we make a decision, and if they are overridden, they are overridden with genuine and thoughtful regret. At a minimum, respect means that the vital interests of one community member will not be sacrificed to the minor interests of another.

We participate in many communities. Some are specific to us as individuals with particular interests. Others

In order to act in our long-term self-interest, we must have the capacity to act in the interests of others.

apply to all human beings, in the sense that if someone does not participate in one, we regard that condition as unfortunate. These basic, universal levels of association — family, neighborhood, polity, planet — are nested within one another. And though respect is a constant, its form is community-specific.

For example, within the community of equal human beings, respect means recognizing the rights of abstract individuals — the individualist liberal's ideal. Within the intimate community of the family, it takes a much different form. If you are having a disagreement with your spouse, one comment it is most definitely not wise to make is, "I have the right to say whatever I please!" That may be a right of citizens, but it is not a prerogative of lovers.

A third community encompasses the village, neighborhood, or immediate geographical area we are most likely to call "home." It includes far more people than a family, and we will be familiar with a great many of them, at least by sight. But most will not be personally close to us. Jefferson and de Tocqueville both emphasized the importance of this level of community in maintaining the fabric of a free society. In it, our relationships are neither deeply personal nor completely impersonal. People's individual preferences matter to us in a way that is not true

for the larger society, but we are not intimate with them. Respect manifests here as being a "good neighbor."

This is why theories of rights seem so useless in real-world situations that do not involve impersonal relationships among equals — that is to say, with most moral dilemmas we encounter. It is also why attempts to convincingly derive rights from our fundamental qualities of humanness are so unconvincing. Liberal rights to freedom of speech and the rest are not fundamental terms, but secondary concepts, derived from respect for others in the context of a large community. Respect also carries potent environmental implications. Unlike a free human society, the natural community rests on a base of mutual predation; this is the fundamental truth that renders animal rights theories absurd. But the necessity to eat or otherwise consume others does not mean that they are without moral value.

Respect in the natural world exists at two levels. First, there is respect for other forms of life, so that we are mindful of our impact on them.⁵ Second, there is respect for the grand ecological community within which all forms of life live. There is an interesting parallel here between the form respect for others takes when we deal with people personally, and the form it takes when we consider the rules appropriate to abstract relationships within the larger human society.

Principles Over Expediency

The ecological community, like the market, is a spontaneous order. In both ecosystems and markets, you cannot do just one thing; each is ordered by a process of mutual adjustment among its components. Most environmentalists forget this truth about the market and most market advocates forget this truth about the environment.

Hayek observed that the gains from any particular intervention within the market process will usually *appear* to outweigh the losses. The gain is visible; the losses frequently aren't. To a significant extent, we do not know what the losses are. This is why Hayek said that principle rather than expediency must be our guide in public policy. Expediency is irreducibly myopic.

This guideline — principle over expediency — is equally applicable to the ecological community, for exactly the same reasons.

In the economic realm, following principle means not subjecting the market process to rules that contradict the procedural rules establishing the market order in the first place. In the environmental arena, we should not override basic rules or principles that are necessary for maintaining the environmental community.

So long as human numbers were relatively small and society's impact on its environment relatively mild, these issues would not assume central importance. Nature is resilient. But there are limits to this resilience, and as they are approached we need to take these issues into account. The analogous principle in the market is that when interventions are small and intermittent — e.g., isolated minor theft — the impact on the market order is tiny.

The basic principle for maintaining an ecological community is to do nothing that will undermine its long-term

viability. Because of our necessarily consumptive relationship with other forms of life, no environmental rules can have the absolute character of those that underly liberal society. But neither are they merely matters of personal taste. They are best conceived as basic orientations that can be occasionally overridden — but with the burden of justification always resting on those who would override.

It seems to me that there are three such principles:

1. *A strong presumption against non-recyclable and non-biodegradable products.*

2. *No prolonged degradation of renewable resources, such as soil, water, fisheries, and (when they are being used in their resource capacity) forests.*

3. *A diverse flora and fauna. No extinctions of life forms not actively injurious to humans.*

Ecological communities are sustained by processes that continually recycle resources throughout the web of life. The wastes of one life form are the nutrients of another. To remove a resource from an ecosystem is to change

that system irrevocably — and, frequently, to reduce its capacity to support life. On a small scale, this is not a significant problem. On a large scale, it is. It becomes the ecological equivalent of capital consumption.

Farming should not degrade farm land. Fisheries should not be rendered unviable. Forests should not be destroyed. The purity of surface and ground water should not be seriously degraded. Of course, we can convert one resource into another — turning forest into farmland, for example, and vice versa. But in those cases the basic fertility of soil and water should not be injured. No ecologically significant community should be completely destroyed, and given the complexity of ecologies, the presumption should be in favor of maintaining communities. For example, many crops depend upon wild relatives for genes essential to repelling insects and disease. When those relatives are gone, the safety of our own agriculture is imperiled.

Human population has expanded to a point where few ecosystems re-

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main uninfluenced by our needs. Even wilderness can no longer simply be left alone: it now covers so little area that once-minor local fluctuations can today be devastating. This does not mean that humanity should be excluded from the natural world. But it does argue for maximizing co-existence, limited only by the need to control injurious disease organisms and their vectors.

History provides many examples of societies seriously injured by their failure to observe such rules. To destroy a naturally replenishing process and substitute an artificial method based on non-renewable resources is the height of short-term thinking, even if the day of reckoning lies 100 years in the future. Destroying topsoil and relying on chemical fertilizer instead is an excellent example of such foolishness, however great the short-term gain.

In short: the time-frame of individual human beings is different from the time-frame of restorative processes. Market economists are fond of reminding us that Keynes' "long run" does ar-

rive finally. They should realize that it also arrives for environmental degradation.

To be sure, there is always a certain base rate of extinction. But this does not carry the implications that those who cite it usually intend. The base rate of extinction is extremely low — at a human scale, essentially zero. Over the past 600 million years, the extinction rate has averaged .25% per 10,000 years. This average includes rare large extinctions such as that caused by the meteorite that wiped out the dinosaurs and 65% of all species worldwide. Unless first stressed by a catastrophic event that reduces their numbers and range, most species are very resilient. Only when numbers and range are radically reduced can the many local events that cut into a species' numbers actually extinguish it.⁶

In human terms, the base rate of extinction over the past few centuries should have been almost nothing. It has been vastly greater than that, and has concentrated on the larger forms of life: mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish.

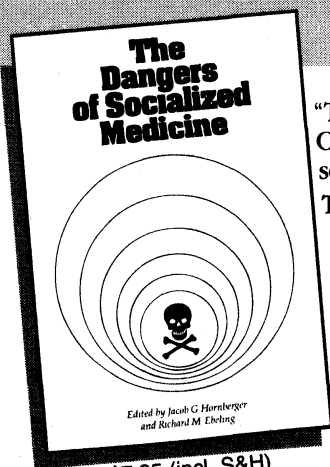
In 1600 there were about 9,000 species of bird alive. Eighty-eight are proven to be extinct beyond all shadow of doubt, 1,029 are at severe risk of extinction, and 637 are close to that point. Many birds ranked at "severe risk" have not been seen for years. The threat is increasing with the growing human impact upon the natural world. The mammals, fish, and birds that survived often have their numbers and range greatly reduced — again, leaving them vulnerable to chance events that earlier would have had no major impact on the species as a whole.⁷

It is no exaggeration to say that human action has had a catastrophic impact upon the variety of life on Earth. It is hard to imagine a more destructive flouting of the principles that maintain an ecological community than the extermination of large portions of the community.

There is a fourth principle — one that grows from the implications of being human, rather than from the need to maintain a viable ecological community:

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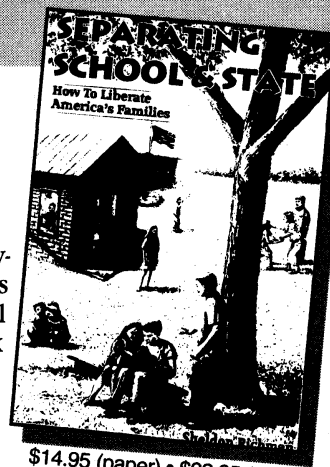
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WE DON'T COMPROMISE!

4. *Nothing living can be appropriately treated as a pure means.*

This is a rejection of the despotic notion of property rights as applied to living beings. Interestingly, this idea — "It is mine to do with as I will" — is central to individualist liberalism. An ideology devoted to fighting against despotism carries at its very core a commitment to despotism in another context. Much more appropriate is the idea of stewardship, where ownership implies responsibilities as well as rights, and not unlimited arbitrary power.

Environment and State

Whether these principles should have the force of law is not a moral issue, but a practical one. For the most part, I believe that they should not.

For one thing, there is not yet a substantial social consensus in favor of them. If there were, there would be a stronger case for applying legal sanc-

exhibit decent behavior.

Nonetheless, a case can be made for action more vigorous than simple persuasion, particularly where preventing extinctions is concerned. The reason is obvious. Once a form of life is gone, it's gone for good. Even in *Jurassic Park*, the dinosaurs were part frog. Still, even here, the traditional approach of "passing a law" is usually unwise, save perhaps for prohibiting acts of deliberate destruction. The "takings" clause in the Endangered Species Act, for example, is certainly far too vague. Indeed, the Act has created a severe backlash when applied to private land, because it pits species against landowners in a zero-sum contest. If it is not amended intelligently, it may actually undermine species recovery.

Environmental intervention might best be compared to wartime. Occasionally, defense against a serious threat to the free human community is necessary. In my opinion, World War II was such a case, particularly the European theater; so was strengthening Western Europe against a Soviet invasion. But using government to repel a threat is not costless. The state grows, and no one has yet managed to shrink it back to a safer level. Further, maintaining a permanent wartime footing is very dangerous for a free society. In an emergency, the state should get in — and then get out. When it does not get out, it inevitably does serious damage.

The same principle holds for those very rare cases where there may be a case for political protection of a rare form of life or other vital environmental value. At best, government is a stopgap, a dangerous and unreliable one. We have seen the ways our national parks have been damaged by political control and the distorted priorities it brings.⁸ Once established, such parks should have been depoliticized. The same principle holds for emergency species protection.

When collective action is necessary, it should harmonize private interests with other communities' needs, not put the two at odds. Positive incentives are always better than punitive ones.

Toward Dialogue

In my own experience, I have found environmentalists more open to

reconsidering their views than libertarians. That's not to say that they're easy sells. It's just that environmentalists (many of them, anyway) are concerned more with outcomes than with ideological purity. And the state is lousy at producing good outcomes.

The heated division between environmentalists and market advocates does neither side any good. Any consistent libertarian philosophical position must accord legitimacy to the concerns and principles of the deep ecologists. Serious dialogue is needed.

Seeing how their views can fit together does not require either side to convert *in toto* to the other's point of view. But both must change. Both must listen to what the best representatives of the other position are saying, rather than simply reading publicists and allowing the popular press's penchant for sound bites, extreme statements, and short paragraphs to stand in understanding's way. □

At best, government is a stopgap, a dangerous and unreliable one.

tions to those who flout them. Even then, the principles would be far better enforced by common law, deposit legislation, and the like than by stringent legal action. Serious transgressions aside, many of these precepts are more akin to moral principles which, while necessary for a decent society, are inappropriate for legal intervention. An analogous case is preventing sexual harassment.

In addition, there is another institution standing between the individual and the state that is far more suited for enforcement of moral norms: the community, in de Tocqueville and Jefferson's sense. It is in this intermediate realm that mores that aren't appropriate for the legal system to enforce are best maintained. Why give yet another task to the state, which already does much too much, much too badly? We would be better off strengthening local associations, so that they can apply social pressures against those who fail to

1. Prominent deep ecologists include the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, who coined the term; the poet Gary Snyder; Aldo Leopold, the founder of wildlife management and the most influential American ecological writer of the century; the impossible-to-categorize Dolores LaChapelle; and a handful of other philosophers, including the Americans Michael Zimmerman, Holmes Rolston III, J. Baird Callicott, and Joanna Macy; the Canadian Alan Drengson; and the Australian Warwick Fox.
2. I am indebted to Jeffrey Friedman for the basic details of this critique of Rothbard's position. See Friedman, "Politics or Scholarship?" *Critical Review* 6:2-3, pp. 432-437.
3. Mary Midgley, *Animals and Why They Matter*, (University of Georgia Press, 1983) pp. 125-133.
4. Scott McVay, "Prelude: A Siamese Connexion with a Plurality of Other Mortals," *The Biophilia Hypothesis*, Stephen Kellert and Edward O. Wilson, eds. (Island Press, 1993) pp. 6-7.
5. An excellent discussion of this can be found in Richard Nelson's *The Island Within* (North Point Press, 1989).
6. David M. Raup, *Extinction: Bad Genes or Bad Luck?* (Norton, 1991).
7. Colin Tudge, *Last Animals at the Zoo: How Mass Extinction Can Be Stopped*, (Island Press, 1992), pp. 33-34.
8. For one example, see Karl Hess, Jr., *Rocky Times in Rocky Mountain National Park: An Unnatural History*, (University of Colorado Press, 1993).

Debunking

Talking Sex, Not Gender

by Wendy McElroy

Too many feminists have turned their backs on the body's politics.

Today's allegedly fresh, radical perspectives on sex usually turn out to be little more than stale gender-politics postures. Everything you hear, everywhere you look, women are presented only as *victims* of sex. Rape, prostitution, pornography, domestic violence, sexual harassment — the list of sexual oppressions scrolls on.

There is no question: it is a dangerous world. But it is also a world of possibilities and pleasures. As a feminist who remembers "women's liberation" and the "sexual revolution," I have been left dazed, wondering where the joy in feminism has gone. I miss the open, rollicking attitude of the '60s and early '70s, that brief, happy period when women were encouraged to enjoy — to demand! — the bounty of pleasure within their own bodies. AIDS and a constellation of other dangers have changed sexual mores for us all, but AIDS cannot explain the "feminist" backlash against the safest sort of safe sex: consuming pornography.

A shift has occurred in the movement's approach to sex, and it is a change in kind, not degree. All humor and joy in women's sexual power seems to have deserted feminism. No longer a source of pleasure for women, sex (we are told) has become a key to their oppression. This shift has been ideological; it has come from the increasing prevalence of "gender politics," from the increasing prevalence of radical feminist ideas. Although radical feminists are only one

faction within feminism, their ideology has had an impact on the entire movement, like a truck.

The extremes of gender politics and analysis can be found in the works of such radical theorists as Andrea Dworkin. Dworkin's view of heterosexual intercourse, as expressed in her book *Pornography: Men Possessing Women*, is typical:

Force — the violence of the male confirming his masculinity — is seen as the essential purpose of the penis, its animating principle as it were, just as sperm ideally impregnates the woman either without reference to or against her will. This penis must embody the violence of the male in order for him to be male. Violence is male; the male is the penis; violence is the penis or the sperm ejaculated from it. What the penis can do it must do forcibly for a man to be a man. (p. 55)

Dworkin and her cohorts are often dismissed as an extremist minority, the gender guerrillas of the movement. But radical feminist ideas have increased in popularity over the last two decades, in the process redefining

feminism's entire approach to sex. Modern feminism has drifted so far from its '60s roots that sexual liberation is often viewed as a mere pretext to exploit women.

In 1971, "J" published a bestselling book entitled *The Sensuous Woman*, in which she urged women to break down inner barriers to the panoramic pleasures of sex:

Does the idea of putting a man's penis in your mouth revolt you? If so, you are probably a typical product of current taboos against oral gratification. . . . Actually, kissing a man's penis is a lot less insatiable [sic] than kissing him on the mouth. . . . It never occurred to me that I would ever find oral sex fulfilling, but thanks to an explosive experience with a wildly uninhibited man, I finally tuned into the joys of oral gratification. (pp. 78-9)

Today, radical feminists would roast *The Sensuous Woman* over a conflagration of gender outrage. Or they would dismiss the author with an *ad hominem* argument: "J," they would say, has been so damaged by white male culture that she has lost all true

sense of gender identity. For a growing number of feminists, sex is now acceptable only when the right attitudes or politics are attached to it.

Unfortunately, one of the first casualties of the gender war was the sexual liberalism of the feminists of the 1960s. Their libertarian goals were freedom and choice: "a woman's body, a woman's right." Radical feminists, by contrast, seek to restrict individual choice, through (for example) laws that

Modern feminism has drifted so far from its '60s roots that sexual liberation is often viewed as a mere pretext to exploit women.

limit pornography and the ability of women to participate in or consume it. In Catharine MacKinnon's words: "If pornography is part of your sexuality, then you have no right to your sexuality."

This is political correctness pushed one step further: a regime of *sexual correctness*.

Radical feminists have re-examined virtually every sexual issue, each time employing a similar process. First they define the nature and effects of a sexual activity. Then it is explained how suppressing this activity supposedly expands the true range of women's choices.

Methodology of Marginalization

As an illustration, consider how radical feminists typically address two issues: pornography and prostitution.

The "radical" perspective on the nature of pornography is well expressed by Susan Brownmiller in her pivotal work, *Against Our Will*:

Pornography, like rape, is a male invention, designed to dehumanize women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access, not to free sensuality from moralistic or parental inhibition. The staple of porn will always be the naked body, breasts and genital exposed, because as man devised it, her naked body is the female's "shame," her private parts

the private property of man, while his are the ancient, holy, universal, patriarchal instrument of his power, his rule by force over her. Pornography is the undiluted essence of anti-female propaganda. (p. 201)

Pornography is the policy, rape is the practice. A cause-and-effect relationship is drawn between viewing pornographic material and raping women. Often, pornography is considered an act of violence in and of itself.

By restricting a woman's ability to consume or otherwise participate in pornography, radical feminists claim to be expanding her options. Why? Because, by definition, no woman willingly engages in pornography. Any woman who believes she has consented — by signing a contract or renting a video, for example — has been psychologically damaged and must be rescued. Minneapolis' anti-pornography ordinance, drafted with radical feminist support, was crystal-clear about the mental competence of women who choose to work in pornography: they are in the same category as children. To quote from the law itself:

Children are incapable of consenting to engage in pornographic conduct, even absent physical coercion, and therefore require special protection. By the same token, the physical and psychological well-being of women ought to be afforded comparable protection, for the coercive environment in which most pornographic models work vitiates any notion that they consent or "choose" to perform in pornography.

This patronizing attitude is what the more individualistic feminist Camille Paglia has called "coercive compassion."

Prostitutes are censured by a similar means. First, prostitution is defined as a form of sexual exploitation and sexual coercion. The effect of prostitution is to damage the prostitute — and, less directly, all other women, since it is allegedly one of the props supporting patriarchal capitalism. In L. Schrage's words, "Because of the cultural context in which prostitution operates, it epitomizes and perpetuates pernicious patriarchal beliefs and values and, therefore, is both damaging to the women who sell sex and, as an organized social

practice, to all women in our society." ("Should Feminists Oppose Prostitution?," *Ethics* 99:349).

And what about the prostitute's right to choose? What about "a woman's body, a woman's right"? The radical feminists give it a pass. "By acknowledging the social context of choice in which some women decide to prostitute," writes Jo Ann Miller in *Sexual Coercion*, "we can understand how prostitution is exploitation and an act of coercion. It cannot be viewed simply as a voluntary decision" (p. 50).

The very possibility of choice within prostitution is defined away by the concept of "economic coercion." Because capitalism badly undervalues the labor of women, the argument goes, they have little choice but to sell their bodies. By this standard, of course, all forms of wage-labor could be (and often are) viewed as economic coercion.

Other theories that purport to explain away prostitutes' apparent consent are more sophisticated. In *Sexual Contract*, Carole Pateman argues that the very concept of contract is itself a part of patriarchy. She contrasts the "social contract," by which rights are defined, with what she calls the "sexu-

AIDS cannot explain the "feminist" backlash against the safest sort of safe sex: consuming pornography.

al contract," by which roles were set. Pateman contends that while the social contract gave freedom to males, the sexual contract insured the oppression of women:

The social contract is a story of freedom; the sexual contract is a story of subjugation. The original contract constitutes both freedom and domination. Men's freedom and women's subjection are created. . . . The original contract creates what I shall call, following Adrienne Rich, "the law of male sex-right." Contract is far from being opposed to patriarchy; contract is the means through which modern patriarchy is constituted.

Despite such explanations, the issue of sexual choice refuses to die,

largely for two reasons. The first is simply a gut reaction: if a coherent adult willingly performs an act, especially over time, it is only common sense to assume that there is consent. In fact, the foregoing description is almost a definition of consent.

The second reason is that, for decades, sexual choice was *the* feminist issue. As decaying cultural walls crumbled, women demanded reproductive freedom, revealed themselves as lesbians, took courses on masturbation, demanded sexual pleasure from their partners. The unorthodox Ti Atkinson declared prostitutes the best role-models for women seeking liberation. Germaine Greer illustrated the sexual independence of women by posing with a banana. Pillars of puritan culture were swept away and replaced by joyous rebellion.

But modern radical feminism is an ideology of sexual oppression, not sexual liberation. As such, it has little room for celebration. Voices for sexual diversity have been largely silenced. Voices from the past have even been re-interpreted to become more sexually correct.

In *Against Our Will*, for example, Brownmiller offers heartbreaking accounts of rape and other brutalities committed against women, largely during times of war and other crises. This is valuable scholarship — especially now, when rape is being used as a self-conscious policy of war and “ethnic cleansing.”

But Brownmiller’s methodology is badly skewed toward the conclusion she wants to reach: that rape is the major weapon by which white male culture oppresses women. Nowhere does Brownmiller question the horror stories of rape, except perhaps to speculate about whether an account was understated. Yet when it comes to dealing with an “incorrect” sexual confession — one of sexual excitement at the possible dangers of sex — Brownmiller is willing to discount the testimony of no less august a figure than Anaïs Nin.

She quotes a passage from Nin’s diary (Summer 1937):

Sometimes in the street, or in a cafe, I am hypnotized by the “pimp” face of a man, by a big workman with

knee-high boots, by a brutal criminal head. I feel a sensual tremble of fear, an obscure attraction. The female in me trembles and is fascinated. . . . A desire to feel the brutality of man, the force which can violate? To be violated is perhaps a need in women, a secret erotic need.

After validating the voice of every woman who supports her contentions,

Radical feminists’ definition of pornography precludes the possibility that the women participating consent. Their view of sex borders on this assumption as well.

Brownmiller now tersely comments: “How much these thoughts reflect Nin and how much they reflect a dutiful parroting of Otto Rank, her former mentor, remains uncertain” (p. 363).

The sexually incorrect words and demonstrated choices of women are not to be taken seriously, you see, because such women have been warped by male culture. The insights of women such as Anaïs Nin may be disregarded at will, like the statements of children or the insane. If a particular woman enjoys pornography, it is not because she is a unique human being with different perspectives, reactions, and needs. If she has fantasies of being dominated or even raped, it is not that she enjoys the contemplation of dangerous sex within the complete safety of her own mind. No. It is because she is pathetically warped and not to be taken seriously, except as an object of political philanthropy.

Suppression of Fantasy

Consider the radical feminist reaction to female fantasies of domination and rape. These are not uncommon, yet women who experience such fantasies are being dealt unnecessary grief and self-doubt. They are being told that their healthy curiosity is evidence of psychological damage and political oppression.

But rape fantasies can serve a healthy and natural function. The crucial factor in such fantasies is the fact

that they are *fantasies*. The woman is in control of the slightest detail of every act, of the setting, and of her reaction. In its essence, the fantasy has no connection with genuine rape, which would strip control and consent away from her. Fantasies of rape are the opposite of actual rape; they express nothing more than a sexually curious nature.

In her book *Rape: The Bait and the Trap*, Jean MacKellar comments on women’s fantasies of being taken:

[T]hey serve practical and healthy functions in humane experience; they add *change*. And they do this without shattering the pattern of reality. This is important, for often a real change is neither desirable nor possible. . . .

The most important difference between a fantasy of rape and a desire for the real experience is the element of control. In the fantasy . . . the helpless victim actually controls the acts of the offender. . . . Real terror and uncontrolled pain are not experienced in these fantasies. (p. 47)

Yet most women are made to feel ashamed. The shame becomes even greater for women who enjoy and consume pornography. In “Talk Dirty to Me: A Woman’s Taste for Pornography,” Sally Tisdale makes a courageous confession: she enjoys and regularly consumes many forms of pornography. To feminists, this pleasure makes Tisdale — in her own words — “a damaged woman, a heretic”:

Perhaps, as one school of feminist thought says, we’ve simply “erotized our oppression.” I know I berated myself a long while for that very thing, and tried to make the fantasies go away. But doing so denies the fact of my experience, which includes oppression and dominance, fear and guilt, and a hunger for surrender. (p. 46)

Having come out of the closet, Tisdale offers a fascinating glimpse of how even disturbing pornographic images can have a healing effect:

There are examples of pornography, films and stories both, that genuinely scare me. They are no more bizarre or extreme than books or movies that may simply excite or interest me, but the details affect me

in certain specific ways. The content touches me just there, and I'm scared. . . . And I want to keep watching those films, reading those books; when I engage in my own fears, I learn about them. I may someday master a few.

What does Tisdale think of "radical" feminists who oppose pornogra-

Pornography is the genre of art that focuses on men and women as sexual beings.

phy — feminists who she, perhaps accurately, calls "conservative"? She comments:

I take this personally, the effort to repress material I enjoy — to tell me how wrong it is for me to enjoy it. Anti-pornography legislation is directed at me: as a user, as a writer. Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin — a feminist who has developed a new sexual orthodoxy in which the male erection is itself oppressive — are the new censors. . . . They look down on me and shake a finger: *Bad girl. Mustn't touch.*

Contrast Tisdale's attitude with a more typical feminist approach and the depth of her disenfranchisement from the movement becomes apparent. Consider Jillian Ridington's statements in *Confronting Pornography: A Feminist on the Front Lines*:

For any feminist, focusing on pornography is painful. Pornographic values are antithetical to feminist values. By its very nature, pornography is hard for us to understand, and hard to deal with. It forces us to confront very deep feelings about sex, about freedom, about love, and about the way human beings relate to each other opposed to how we would relate to each other in a non-sexist, egalitarian world. In viewing pornography, we view a world in which all women are whores, a world in which it is impossible for women to be sexual and whole. (p. 23-24)

In Praise of Porn

It is time for women to start talking about sex instead of gender. It is time for feminists to become "improper"

again, to be so outrageous as to suggest that sex, in its vast range of expressions, is fun. And the place to begin this renewal is with a defense of pornography, because this is the literature of sexual alternatives. Pornography is the life-flow of information on one of the most important areas of human psychology: sex and its banquet of possibilities. It is also the frontlines of the battle between sexual correctness and sexual liberation.

It is true that women can already discuss any sexual theme with impunity — so long as it qualifies as an "idea." That is, so long as the sexual theme is part of an argument. A woman can announce, "I am into bondage (or lesbianism) and you should be as well, because it is the purest expression of human nature." But when bondage is portrayed in art, when it is translated into graphic fantasy meant primarily to excite rather than to inform, the legal system begins to take note.

Some believe that open discussion should be enough to provide all the information about sexual choices. But a crucial element is missing: the reader's or viewer's vicarious involvement and reaction. And sex, after all, is not so much about outside information as it is about inside awareness. Tisdale's article on pornography details self-discoveries that could only have come from a graphic portrayal of sex. She describes one scene from a film she viewed:

Two men are variously bound, chained, laced, gagged, spanked, and ridden like horses by a Nordic woman. "Nein!" she shouts. "Nicht so schnell!" The men lick her boots, accept the bridle in cringing obeisance. I found it laughably solemn, a Nazi farce, and then I caught myself laughing. . . .

Then, with amazing sensitivity, Tisdale reflects:

I never want to laugh at the desires of another. A lot of people take what I consider trifling or silly to be terribly important. I want never to forget the bell curve of human desire, or that few of us have much say about where on the curve we land. I've learned this from watching porn: By letting go of judgments I hold

against myself, and my desires, I let go of judgments about the desires and the acts of others.

Tisdale is making two points. First, that pornography helped her to understand her own sexual nature and needs. Second, that in accepting herself, she felt a benevolent desire to extend that same, increasingly rare courtesy to others. Tisdale provides a virtual blueprint for tolerance. And tolerance, as much as law and order, is what ensures a peaceful society.

Pornography, the "Hitchhiker's Guide to the Sexual Galaxy," can provide an invaluable education. It can also provide reassurance and validation. Viewing it, women realize that they are not alone in their fantasies and deepest desires. In this way, pornography can play an integral role in the liberation of women.

But before investigating further how pornography can benefit women, I should define what I mean by the word. In doing so, I want to avoid ideological or normative definitions, which usually tell more about the definer than it does about the object being viewed. This is the type of definition that Kathleen Barry offers in her book *Human Sexual Slavery*:

Pornography . . . is the principal medium through which cultural sadism becomes a part of the sexual practices of individuals. The most prevalent theme in pornography is one of utter contempt for women. In movie after movie women are raped, ejaculated on, urinated on, anally penetrated, beaten, and, with the advent of snuff films, murdered in an orgy of sexual pleasure. Women are the objects of pornography, men its largest consumers, and sexual degradation its theme. (p. 206)

Nor does a purely semantic definition — an examination of the derivation of the word — seem to offer much useful information. D.H. Lawrence, in *Pornography and Obscenity*, dismisses this approach:

The word itself, we are told, means "pertaining to the harlots" — the graph of the harlot. But nowadays, what is a harlot? . . . Why be so cut and dried? The law is a dreary thing, and its judgments have nothing to do with life. The same with the word

obscene: nobody knows what it means. Suppose it were derived from *obscena*: that which might not be represented on the stage; how much further are you? (p. 1-2)

Perhaps the easiest way to define pornography is to eliminate what it is *not*. Porn *qua* porn is not an expression of any one cultural or political system, although it inevitably contains the cultural/political assumptions in which it is born. It has existed, in some form, within virtually every society and under every political system. And this universal presence suggests that pornography springs from an inherent need within human beings. It seems to flow from a natural curiosity about sex, a hunger for information and experience, and a burning drive for gratification.

Nor can pornography be defined as violence against women. Even the statistics provided by radical feminists fail to support this claim. For example, one feminist study of "adults only" paperbacks showed that one-fifth of all the sex scenes depicted rape. A necessary corollary of this is that 80% of the sex scenes did *not* depict rape. Assum-

Yes: some pornography treats women with contempt, even brutality. But other pornography tells women that the conventional morality that restricts them is hypocritical and wrong.

ing that the sado-masochism section of the store accounted for the vast majority of rape scenes, the percentage of books without them undoubtedly rises substantially.

Only by dwelling exclusively on the subgenre of sado-masochism, only by ignoring such other subgenres as fetishism, can radical feminists credibly claim that pornography depicts violence. In doing so, they must ignore pornography made by women for other women or pornography made for couples. They must skim right over gay pornography, which doesn't depict women at all. Lesbian pornogra-

phy is frequently exempted altogether.

Yet even granting radical feminists a generous latitude, sado-masochistic material is not violent in one crucial sense: everyone involved in its production has said "yes." They have signed contracts and releases; they have shown up at sessions and willingly posed. If this is not true — if anyone is coerced — the activity ceases to be mere pornography and becomes kidnapping, assault, and battery: crimes in which any decent third party should intercede. In the absence of force — or, more accurately, in the presence of consent — what is being portrayed is a fantasy.

Radical feminists deny this because their definition of pornography precludes the possibility that the women participating consent. Their view of sex borders on this assumption as well. Andrea Dworkin's comments in *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* are barely short of hate-mongering: "Men develop a strong loyalty to violence. Men must come to terms with violence because it is the prime component of male identity" (p. 51); "The immutable self of the male boils down to an utterly unself-conscious parasitism" (p. 13); "Men are distinguished from women by their commitment to do violence rather than to be victimized by it" (p. 53); "Men want women to be objects, controllable as objects are controllable" (p. 65).

Confronted with pornography that seems nonviolent toward women (e.g., where women are shown as dominant), Dworkin becomes dismissive: "The portrayal of men as sexual victims is distinctly unreal, ludicrous in part because it scarcely has an analog in the real world" (p. 34).

This is Dworkin's interpretation. And the simple fact is that she may be right. Certainly, this is the truth of pornography for her. But almost every message within pornography is a matter of interpretation. Even those pornographic acts some consider to be indisputable examples of sexist humiliation are wide open to interpretation. Take the classic "come-shot," in which a man ejaculates onto some part of a woman's body, usually her face. This is typically described as an archetypal act of gender contempt. But is it? In the

introduction to *Perspectives on Pornography: Sexuality in Film and Literature*, Gary Day offers a more Freudian analysis:

A feminist interpretation of this might be that it shows the subordination of a woman to a man's pleasure, thereby presenting him in a dominant role. However, if . . . pornography in part involves a realization of the incestuous phantasy, then the "come" shot takes on a very different meaning. For what the man does in ejaculating over the woman is in a sense to replicate the role of the mother giving milk to the infant. . . . If this analysis is accepted, then pornography does not show, as some feminists have claimed, a hatred of women but rather a desire to become like them. (p. 5)

Others, more attuned to the commercial aspects of pornography, claim

Modern radical feminism is an ideology of sexual oppression, not sexual liberation.

that come-shots are there purely and simply to prove that the male did ejaculate, that he really was into the action. The woman's response of smearing or tasting the sperm is nothing more than proof that she enjoyed and approved of the sexual act.

Still others observe that women are particularly interested in seeing come-shots because men's ejaculations are generally hidden from them. In "normal" sex, women never see men come; to them, it is as elusive as a glimpse of breast or lace panty must be to a pubescent boy. In this context, the come-shot can be interpreted in an almost romantic way: the woman wishes to share as much as possible in her lover's orgasm.

The point is not that any one interpretation is "correct." The point is that the delightful diversity of human nature allows for many interpretations of pornographic material. None are inherently right or wrong. All contain implicit, underlying assumptions and preferences regarding sex.

Just one of the assumptions underlying the belief that come-shots

degrade women is that there is something degrading about semen. But as Beatrice Faust pointed out in her book, *Women, Sex, and Pornography*, "Logically, if sex is natural and wholesome and semen is as healthy as sweat, there is no reason to interpret ejaculation as a hostile gesture. Healthy semen is not like feces, which may smell offensive, dirty the sheets, and carry germs. . . ." (p. 18).

Having discussed what porn is not, the question remains: What is it? For the purposes of this article, I propose a descriptive, not a normative, definition. In common life, outside the heady world of political analysis, pornography is often called "sex films" or "sex books." I think this comes closer to the truth than any elaborate gender theory.

To state this definition with more formality: pornography is the genre of art that focuses on men and women as sexual beings. Just as mystery novels focus on the criminal nature of human beings and westerns describe humans in relation to a certain period of American history, so too does pornography specialize. Pornography presents human sexuality, with the entire spectrum of activities implied by that statement.

Most pornography, like most of any category of art, is poorly executed. In fact, current pornography probably contains less artistic value than any other genre. Whenever a genre is stigmatized (or criminalized), the best minds tend to abandon it. The D.H. Lawrences and James Branch Cabells who persist in bringing their genius to bear are persecuted without mercy. In this, our attitudes have not evolved far beyond the fourth century B.C., when Socrates was condemned to death for corrupting the youth of Athens. No wonder the industry is dominated by those who rush to make a quick profit rather than a profound insight.

Yet there is no area of human psychology that so badly needs exploration and understanding as sexuality. At the turn of the century, Freud changed the world's view of sex. No longer a need that women shut away in the attic like an idiot child, sex became popular; it became almost a moral duty to discuss and examine it.

Through such examinations, pornography brought a benign and liberating message to women: sex need not be attached to domesticity or reproduction — or even to men, for that matter.

Yes: some pornography treats women with contempt, even brutality. But other pornography tells women that the conventional morality that restricts them is hypocritical and wrong. Porn encourages them to be full sexual beings, with revealed needs and hungers. It offers a panorama of sexual

It is time for feminists to become "improper" again, to be so outrageous as to suggest that sex is fun.

possibilities beyond the old roles of madonna, wife, and whore: sex as an adventure, sex with strangers, sex in unusual environments, sex as an expression of anger, sex as voyeurism, and more.

Those who want a traditional marriage can also benefit considerably from pornography. In *Freedom, Rights, and Pornography*, the classical liberal Fred Berger offers an interesting view of how pornography can enhance a marriage:

The fact is that most sex is routinized, dull, unfulfilling, a source of neurosis, precisely because its practice is governed by the restraints the conservatives insist on. Those constraints dictate with *whom* one has sex, *when* one has sex, *how often* one has sex, *where* one has sex, and so on. Moreover, the web of shame and guilt which is spun around sex tends to destroy its enjoyment, and thus to stunt our sexual natures — our capacity for joy and pleasure through sex. (p. 138)

Even those of us who rarely find sex "dull" often seek variety — not by cheating or lying to a loved one, but by sharing new experiences with him or her. It is no easy matter to keep sex fresh and playful throughout a marriage that may last for 60 years. Even strong marriages have crumbled when confronted by affairs or one-night stands that served no purpose but to

satisfy a hunger for variety.

Despite these myriad advantages, pornography has fallen on hard times. No other issue seems to so capture Americans' schizophrenic attitude toward sex. Berger observes:

An observer of American attitudes toward pornography faces a bewildering duality: on the one hand, we buy and read and view more of it than just about anyone else, while, on the other hand, we seek to suppress it as hard as anybody else. . . . I believe, in fact, that this state of things reflects aspects of our attitudes toward sex, and much of the current controversy has tended to obscure this fact, and to ignore important issues concerning sex and freedom to which the pornography issue points. (p. 132)

Gender politics has made the issue even more hopelessly tangled. Fortunately, there is a bright light in the dark tunnel that has engulfed sexuality. And it too comes from feminist ranks. Elizabeth Carols described a growing phenomena in her essay, *Women, Erotica, Pornography — Learning to Play the Game?*:

If you go into almost any women's or gay bookstore in the United States, you'll be confronted with an array of new publications and audio-visuals. This material is not the latest in feminist/alternative thought. No, it's pornography produced by women, and ostensibly "about" and "for" women. . . . [T]he issue of the lesbian sex revolution and more generally, of the trend towards sexual libertarianism in the women's movement . . . is what, more than any other arena in alternative publishing, is being marketed. (p. 168)

This trend should be nurtured. Pornography needs to be legitimized. The quality and diversity of pornography needs to be expanded. By doing so — by making pornography go public — we will improve the working conditions of all women in the sex industry. And the possibilities of good sex — of human happiness itself — will increase.

More feminists have to follow the brave example of Emma Goldman and declare, in her paraphrased words: "If I can't enjoy sex, I don't want to be part of your revolution." □

Scorecard

One Strike, You're Out!

by R. W. Bradford

If baseball is to live again, it may first have to wither away.

Television newscasters have finally come up with a story as good as the Iranian hostage crisis, one that they can report in every single newscast, despite the absolute absence of news. "Today is the seventeenth day of the baseball strike," the anchor intones. "So far, 178 games have been missed. There is no progress in the talks."

I am a serious baseball fan. By that I mean, I consider baseball to be more important than life and death. In 1956, when I was seven years old, I witnessed every single Detroit Tigers game, either on the radio, on television, or at the ballpark. In 1993, I signed up for CNN solely so I could get baseball scores. I keep voluminous statistics, many of my own device. I am a long-time member of the Society for American Baseball Research. I read perhaps 15 different baseball magazines and scholarly journals. Baseball is an integral part of the rhythm of my life.

Once at a Valentine's Day party, the guests were asked to write on a slip of paper the happiest day of their lives. Most couples were picking the day they met or the day they got married. Without hesitation my wife and I both wrote down the same day — October 14, 1984, the day the Tigers won the World Series. (A chill goes down my spine as I write these words, and recall that day.)

So it is not surprising that many of my friends have asked me whether I side with the players or the owners. My answer is always the same: nei-

ther. My friends also ask how long I think the strike will last. A long time, I answer, and maybe it's for the better.

Yes, it doesn't seem like summer without seeing the Tigers play, without the diurnal ceremony of figuring the pennant race and refiguring my heroes' runs-created-per-game stats. But the fact is that baseball has changed over the past decade or two, and not for the better. Not caring a whit for the integrity of the game, the owners have introduced changes that destroy the game I love. I can tolerate some changes — night baseball, the designated hitter — but not those that strike at the heart of the game.

I speak of the introduction of artificial turf, which changes singles into doubles, and doubles into triples, forcing outfielders to play deeper to prevent the disaster of a ball bouncing off the hopped-up turf and over their heads.

And I speak of the replacement of pennant races with an annual tournament. Historically, baseball was the one sport where the playing season actually counted. Prior to 1969, each team played a season of more than

150 games. Only the best team from each league entered post-season play. This is a very wise practice. An inferior team can easily beat a better team in a short series in a sport where random events — bad bounces, unexpected slumps, etc. — play an important role. The best team in baseball typically wins about 65% of its games; the worst about 35%. A team that is good enough to win 65% of its games against another team, will win a best-of-seven series only about 75% of the time.

By limiting entry into the championship series to the best team from each of two leagues, the chances that a genuinely bad team would win the championship was eliminated. By expanding playoffs to eight teams — more than a quarter of all big league teams — the owners have increased the likelihood that a genuinely bad team will one day be world champions.

The chance that a so-so team would win the World Series was created by the owners in 1969, when they split each league into two divisions and introduced a playoff between the leaders of each division to

determine the league championship. There was a close call in 1973, when the New York Mets won a weak eastern division in the National League after winning just three games more than they lost in the course of a 162-game season. The Mets lost the World Series. But 14 years later, the inevitable ascendancy of a mediocre team to the championship happened.

The 1987 Minnesota Twins were a so-so team by any measure: of the 14 teams in the league, they finished eighth in hitting (measured by runs scored) and ninth in pitching (meas-

I am a serious baseball fan. By that I mean, I consider baseball to be more important than life and death.

ured by runs given up). In fact, their pitchers gave up more runs than their hitters scored. Four teams in the league won more games than the Twins. But in a game like baseball where the "breaks" make a big difference, the Twins managed to beat clearly superior teams both in the league championship series and the World Series.

The 1987 Twins were not a genuinely bad team. Depending on how you figure it, they were somewhere around the middle of the pack. The same cannot be said for the Texas Rangers, the team that stood atop the western division of the American League when the 1994 season ended on August 12. The Rangers had lost ten games more than it had won; it was the 4th worst team in the 14-team league.

Now it may not be likely that a team of the quality of the Rangers would survive the playoffs. But the chaotic effects of random events in baseball make it inevitable that, under the current setup, a team of its quality will eventually win a championship. The frequency of this event is further increased by the owner's decision to

goose the artificial "playoff position race" by establishing rules that don't even put the best eight teams into the playoffs.

Why would the owners make such a decision? For only one reason, the same reason that the owners decided to allow imitation grass: money.

I never begrudge anyone's efforts to make an honest buck, and I am not about to suggest that some sort of government intervention is needed to correct these problems. But I am convinced that the new profits the owners covet will be relatively short-lived, that in the long run, the expansion of the playoff to include eight teams will mean less fan interest in baseball's regular season, from which it earns most of its profits — and, eventually, less interest in the playoffs themselves. The use of counterfeit grass is arguably already hurting the bottom line. In a sport where the average performer is paid more than \$1,000,000 per year, the extra cost that would be incurred by using real grass is trivial, and fans clearly show a preference for baseball played on real grass.

Of course, the strike isn't about important issues like the baroque playoff system or fake grass. It's about money. The owners note that many of the teams are losing money, and want to solve this problem by limiting the aggregate players' salaries to a fixed percentage of total revenue.

The players fear this might mean less money for them. They suggest that the reason some owners are losing money is that the small markets (e.g. Seattle, San Diego) simply will never be able to produce as much revenue as the large markets (e.g. New York, Los Angeles). They propose solving the problem of unprofitable teams by redistributing profits from the wealthy teams to the poor ones.

The obvious solution for the teams losing money would be to cut back salaries, and to some extent, the money-losing teams have done so. But players

are free, within limits, to sell their services to the highest bidders. So the teams in poorer markets are not as good. The Seattle Mariners, for example, have had only one season in their 21-year history in which they won as many games as they lost. The only way a team in a small market can draw big crowds is to win. But they cannot afford to pay competitive salaries. Last I checked, the New York Yankees take in more cash from their local television sales than the Mariners take in from all sources combined, so it's pretty clear that the Mariners can never put a competitive team on the field.

Furthermore, the salary cap (as it's called) has worked very well in professional basketball. In fact, since the cap was instituted, both profits and player salaries have risen substantially. And revenue-sharing (as redistribution of profits is called) has worked very well in professional football, though in general it has not helped football players close the gap between their relative paltry earnings and the lucre taken home by their baseball and basketball brethren.

It's hard to be sympathetic with the multi-millionaire owners, even if they are losing money. Most can easily af-

The strike isn't about important issues like the baroque playoff system or fake grass. It's about money.

ford to do so, and even those that cannot and are forced to sell their teams typically manage to find buyers at such inflated prices that they make back their losses. The Seattle Mariners, for example, sustained losses for several years after Los Angeles businessman George Agyros bought the team, but Agyros managed to get back his losses when he sold the team to Jeff Smullyan. Losses increased under Smullyan, who was nearly forced into bankruptcy. But he managed to sell the team for \$125,000,000 — a sum big enough to cover all his losses. (How an enterprise that loses money every year and whose only assets are contracts requiring it to pay millions of dollars to

Erratum

In the September *Liberty*, we incorrectly listed the address of *The Guillotine: A Slice of Reality*, the libertarian student paper R.W. Bradford wrote about in his medianote, "A slice of enthusiasm." The correct address is *Guillotine*, P.O. Box 6000, Binghamton, N.Y. 13902-6000. We apologize for any problems caused by this typographical error.

athletes can be sold for \$125,000,000 is another story.)

But it's not much easier to be sympathetic with the players. It's hard to see workers earning \$1,000,000+ for seven months of part-time work as being downtrodden. It's hard to see that a contract that might limit their average wage to, say, only \$950,000 is some sort of disaster.

Both the players and owners are determined not to give an inch. They have extraordinarily deep pockets and can afford to sit out a long strike. Neither gives a rat's ass about the fans who pay their salaries.

I say a pox on both their houses. I hope the strike lasts a long time.

For one thing, despite the huge salaries baseball performers earn and the huge profits owners make, both insist on government subsidies in the form of taxpayer-funded playing fields. From coast to coast, taxpayers have ponied up \$100,000,000 or more to build ballparks designed, not to maximize the playing of the game or the enjoyment of the game by fans, but revenue for owners and players.

Government subsidy of major league baseball is based on idiotic economics. We've heard it a million times. Having a team means people go to ball games, eat hot dogs at the game, go to dinner before the game, and visit to a bar after the game. People from out of town stay in hotels. All this adds money to the local economy. And every dollar added has the effect of seven dollars because the waiter at the restaurant where the fan buys dinner spends his tip at a local hardware store, whose owner is therefore able to hire more employees, who spend their wages going to movies, whose ticket-takers spend their salaries and ball

games. . . . Then there's the well-known "multiplier effect," which says that every dollar spent is spent again several times, so \$10,000,000 spent on ball games, beer, and hot dogs has the effect of increasing local business by \$50,000,000 or \$70,000,000.

All this is nonsense, of course. It's based on the notion that the money spent attending baseball games would not be spent if it weren't for baseball.

By the year 2001, there will be 72 teams in the major leagues, of which 64 will make the playoffs.

The possibility that people would still eat out and still be entertained without major league baseball apparently never occurred to its purveyors. Nor has the possibility that if the money were not spent on entertainment, it might be saved or invested. They apparently assume that if the money weren't spent on baseball, it would simply be destroyed.

But when the public is threatened with the loss of their beloved team (or face the prospect of attracting a team to their non-big-league city) they are willing to believe any rationale that justifies what they want to do. Residents of St. Petersburg, Florida, went so far as to build a megamillion-dollar domed stadium in the *hope* that a big league team would move there. So far, the main effect of the St. Peter's Basilica, or whatever it's called, has been to increase the subsidy received by the Chicago White Sox, who told the voters of the Windy City that unless they were given a new ballpark at a cost of hundreds of millions, they would split to St. Pete.

Here's my hope. The strike will last and last and last, neither side willing to budge. Gradually, it will dawn on the fans that the players and owners are short-sighted blockheads who cannot see beyond their next paycheck or dividend. They'll start watching local baseball, played by kids and young men and women for the sheer pleasure of the sport. They'll rediscover the beauty of baseball played on real grass by peo-

ple trying to win, not to maximize their statistics so they will qualify for a bigger year-end bonus. Voters will lose interest and voters will decide maybe it isn't worth coughing \$200,000,000 to keep the local collection of overpaid bozos and bloated plutocrats around. Taxpayer subsidy of baseball will be a thing of the past.

In other words, baseball will be reborn as the great American game.

That is my hope, but it probably won't happen. More likely, by the year 2001, there will be 72 teams in the major leagues, of which 64 will make the playoffs. To reduce expenses, so they can afford to pay players an average wage of \$50,000,000 a year, owners will change the rules to allow aluminum bats and plastic baseballs. The game will be played entirely indoors, so there won't be any more messy rain delays. The average game will take five hours to complete, to enable telecasts of games to include even more commercials between innings. In the ballparks, now all domed and without a single speck of living vegetation, the fans will take Disney-style rides to while away the time between innings.

But somewhere in this nation, there will be kids playing ball. And watching them will be a middle-aged man who realizes those kids don't have the superb skills that he has seen in other, older, better ballplayers, the men who interrupt the television commercials to play a little baseball. Batted balls will sometimes bounce crazily, because the field is rough. But the field will be made of grass. The fans will be few, seated on wooden bleachers or in lawn chairs brought from home. But they will appreciate the game in a way the businessmen in their \$200,000 special boxes in the taxpayer-subsidized indoor playing fields never could.

In those kids and that rough field, the middle-aged man will see the game he loves. He will cheer and shout and drink a beer and talk to the other fans, people he doesn't know but with whom he feels a kinship based on shared love and respect for the game they watch. He will be happy if his team wins and sad if it loses. And he will forget the plastic baseballs and the aluminum bats and the fake grass and the Pharaonic domes. □

Ayn Rand and Her Movement

In this exclusive interview, Barbara Branden reveals intimate details of life inside Rand's New York circle. Topics include: the weird psychological manipulations, the expulsion of members in kangaroo courts, the glaring errors in Nathaniel Branden's memoir about Rand, and Rand's fight in a posh Manhattan restaurant with Alan Greenspan.

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The Logic of the Toxic

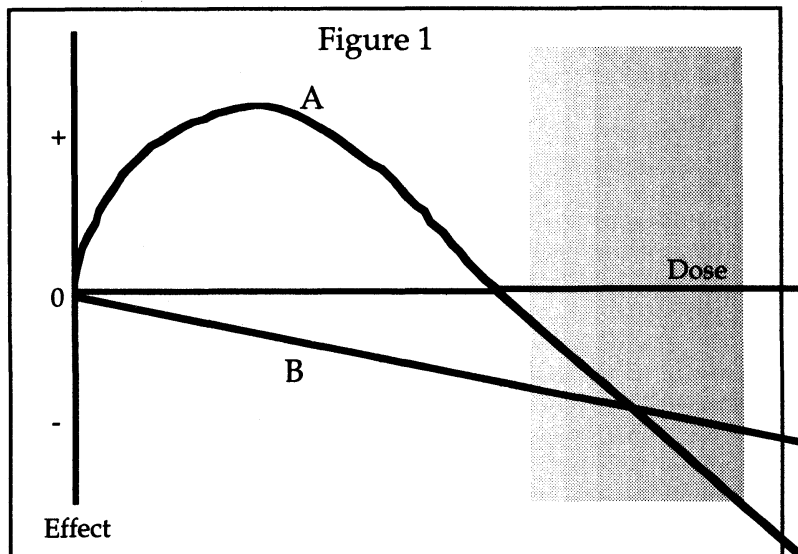
by Ben Bolch and Harold Lyons

Some regulations are healthiest in small doses.

The sixteenth-century Swiss physician Paracelsus, the father of chemotherapy, pointed out that a poison is only made by its dose. Indeed, it has been known since antiquity that certain toxic substances can actually be beneficial in low doses: many medicines in common use today (arsenic, lithium, and selenium, for example) are very poisonous in high doses, as are many, perhaps most, essential nutrients, such as table salt. The phenomenon by which a toxic substance becomes beneficial in low doses is called *hormesis*, and a substance that exhibits this property is said to be *hormetic*.

Figure 1 illustrates hormesis. The vertical axis measures some desirable biological effect so that on this axis large values are more desirable than small ones. The horizontal axis measures the dose of some hypothetical substance. A horizontal line is also drawn at the point of zero biological effect. Points above this horizontal line indicate that the effect of the dose is beneficial; at points below this line the effect is detrimental. An inverted U-shaped response curve such as the one labeled A indicates hormesis: at low-dose levels, the desirable effects of the substance can be increased by increasing the dosage. On this curve a dose smaller than some minimal level has an effect that is insignificantly different from zero, and the substance becomes toxic only at reasonably high doses. According to Edward Calabrese and Linda Baldwin, writing in 1993 in the *Journal of Applied Toxicology*, it is curves like A that are most often encountered in the actual evaluation of toxic substances.

Line B shows a linear relationship between dose and biological response.



This represents the zero-threshold model of toxic substances in that any dose above zero is detrimental. This linear relationship is the one most often advanced by environmental alarmists, usually without scientific basis, and is generally defended on conservative grounds: when in doubt, presume that a high-dose toxin is also a low-dose toxin. Scientists are often in doubt about the low-level toxic effects of many of the most sensationalized high-level toxins because their low-dose toxicity has never been observed, much less measured.

In Figure 2, we see that in many cases actual detrimental effects have only been observed when doses are

very high; i.e. toward the right end of the graph.

What can we conclude from these data? What is the effect of the as-yet-unmeasured smaller doses? Should we conclude that the relationship between dose and effect is linear, like Line B in Figure 1? Or should we conclude that the relationship is hormetic, like Line A?

The assumption that the high-level response curve should be extrapolated into the zone of ignorance as a straight line is conservative, but only in one sense: it assumes the worst case. It is quite radical on two other counts: it flies in the face of data for most toxic substances that have actual-

ly been measured at low doses, and it leads to public policy decisions that are incredibly expensive, are detrimental to economic growth, and may even be detrimental to public health.

Under a blanket acceptance of the linear model, society will become obsessed with rooting out every vestige of high-dose toxins at ever-increasing cost; people will find themselves besieged with warnings about the carcinogenic effects of common, even natural, substances; useful products will be banned; innovation and experimentation with substances that might be toxic will be outlawed, and a general condition of fear and dread will pervade the social order. In short, the presumption of linearity will lead to precisely the kind of chemophobic society in which we live today.

Like many other scientific concepts, the idea of hormesis has become politicized, and those who mention its prevalence are

often characterized as lackeys of industry, proponents of junk science, or worse. The leading program in the United States to give serious scientific attention to hormesis is BELLE (Biological Effects of Low Level Exposures), located in the School of Public Health at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Yet in their newsletter of November 1992, BELLE is quick to point out that such "value judgment" phrases as "beneficial effects" or "hormesis" should be replaced by more acceptable phrases, such as "adaptive response" or "stimulatory response." The newsletter also mentions a publication bias that hampers publication of findings of hormesis. Political correctness, it would seem, is now well ensconced in science.

Radiation

The general public now widely believes that exposure to ionizing radiation at any level is harmful. This belief has supplanted an earlier one which considered bathing in mildly radioactive springs, the drinking of radioactive waters, and similar activities beneficial to health. A recent book by Jay Gould

and Benjamin Goldman with Kate Millpointer (*Deadly Deceit: Low Level Radiation, High Level Coverup*) is typical of the scare literature that has brought this attitude change. At one point, it alleges that there have been 40,000 deaths in the United States from fallout from the Chernobyl accident alone. Although the book received scathing reviews in both the scientific press (*Nature*) and the popular media (the *New York Times*), it con-

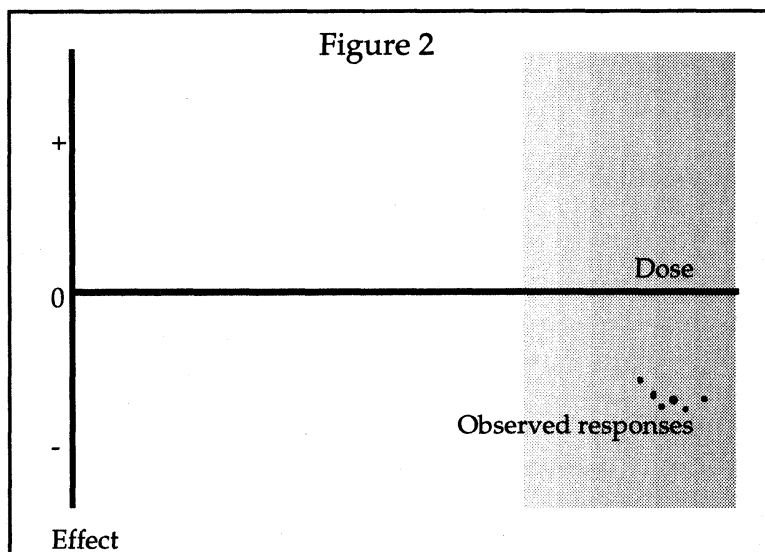
remers per year, this seems like a reasonable suggestion. But Congress has objected, thanks to the anti-nuclear hysteria that permeates American public life.

There is emerging evidence that low levels of radiation may not only be harmless, but hormetic. Most nonspecialists are surprised at the wealth of hard scientific literature on these effects. In 1979, T. Don Luckey of the University of Missouri published *Radiation Hormesis*, which contains well over a thousand references, and scientific meetings sponsored by BELLE have uncovered even more. Low-level exposure has been associated with increased longevity of laboratory animals, with stimulation of the immune system, and with a "priming" effect that allows animals to resist high doses of radiation after previous exposure to low doses. Merele K. Loken and L.E. Feinendegen, writ-

ing in *Investigative Radiology* in 1993, speculate that low-level radiation exposure may induce enzymes that assist in the elimination of harmful free radicals at the cellular level. There is also good evidence that DNA repair is enhanced by exposure to low levels of radiation. In fact, some scientists hypothesize that some radiation exposure is absolutely essential for normal life to function. Hubert Plantel of the medical school of Toulouse, France has shown deleterious effects on single-cell organisms associated with *reducing* background radiation. Since all life on earth survives in a sea of background radiation, it would not be surprising to find that adaptation has resulted in an absolute need for some minimal level of radiation.

What has our fear of low-level radiation wrought? It seems unnecessary to do more than sketch the costs it has brought upon our economy. The electric power industry alone has lost billions of dollars from aborted nuclear power projects; at the same time, the generation facilities of the power industry in the United States are aging at an alarming rate. Then there's the

continues to foster a fear of radiation based in large part on a cultivated confusion of all radiation with nuclear weapons. Similarly, *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, which is known for its opposition to nuclear power, regularly presents frightening accounts of the dangers of low-level radiation. In the September 1990 issue, Michael McCally, director of special programs for the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science, ends an account of the terrors of radiation (both man-made and natural) with the question of how to recognize and compensate the victims of the nuclear age. We suspect that it is the compensation part of the process of victimization that is most interesting to the purveyors of nuclear fear.



expense of disposing of low-level nuclear wastes such as those generated by hospitals.

As we have pointed out, the hysteria over natural radon exposure that the EPA's use of the linear risk model has generated has led to vast, unnecessary expenditures, as well as much anxiety over the simple act of living in one's own home.* And even here, the observed positive correlation between natural radon levels and levels of average longevity has caused speculation that radon exposure may be hormetic at the low levels typical in American homes.

Chemicals

The linear extrapolation of hazard is by no means confined to radioactivity. The Delaney Act bans the use in food of any chemical that, when fed to any animal at high doses, causes cancer. Certification of carcinogenicity is carried out largely by the International Agency for Research on Cancer and by the National Toxicology Program. The testing is mainly done on rodents, which are often given doses so high that they fall just short of causing immediate fatality. As we pointed out in our book *Apocalypse Not*, these dosages usually constitute a wounding of the animals, something associated with cancer in itself. Thus, in some cases it may be the treatment of the laboratory animal rather than the substance that is carcinogenic. Yet in 1992, when the EPA proposed a more flexible application of the Delaney Act, the Supreme Court ruled that it permitted no discretion to allow pesticide residues on food crops, no matter how small the risk.

Chlorine — which, in its use for water treatment, has probably saved as many lives as any other chemical — may combine with other substances in water to produce chloroform. The EPA has classified chloroform as a potential human carcinogen, and has established a national drinking water standard for it of 100 parts per billion. But Calabrese and others report in the May 1987 issue of *Health Physics* that a number of investigators have found that low doses of chloroform have actually improved the survival rate of mice, rats, and dogs.

Dioxin, described by Michael Brown

in a 1979 *Atlantic Monthly* article as having such toxicity that three ounces would kill a million people, has become so politically charged in its connection with Agent Orange that it has become almost impossible for government agencies to make use of new findings about its lack of toxicity. In 1990, the EPA and the FDA sponsored a meeting at Cold Spring Harbor, New York to reassess the toxicity of dioxin. The consensus is that while the toxicity models for

Low doses of chloroform have actually improved the survival rates of rats and dogs.

dioxin are linear, the actual dose-response relationship for dioxin is non-linear. It was the application of the linear model which led the federal government to spend \$33 million to buy out all homes and businesses in Times Beach, Missouri, because waste oil containing very small amounts of dioxin had been spread on the streets to control dust. On May 25, 1991, the *Washington Post* reported that Vernon N. Houk, the official who had ordered the evacuation of the town, said that he would not have done so had he known then what he had since learned about the toxicity of dioxin. Still, the control of effluent that contains tiny amounts of dioxin now threatens to impose significant costs on many industries, including wood preservatives and pulp and paper.

If the same linear standards were applied to chromium, manganese, zinc, and the like, most common vitamin pills would be banned from neighborhood pharmacies.

Why the hysteria and alarm about such small amounts of chemicals? Part of the cause is the recent great advances in scientific measurement, which have made it possible to measure smaller and smaller amounts of these substances — amounts so small that they were undetectable only a few years ago. Under the Delaney Act there is virtually no end to the resources that can be spent to eliminate these substances.

Heavy Metals

The United States has undertaken a virtual vendetta against lead. The government-mandated removal of lead

from gasoline is the most costly manifestation of this crusade, but there are many less-well-known examples. Many cities now require that certified deleaders do the simple task of removing lead paint. Lead shotgun shot is banned in many wildlife areas for fear of causing lead poisoning in ducks and geese — the same ducks and geese the hunters are trying to kill! Even the lead foil on the outside of wine bottles is under attack. Once vendettas are started, reason is thrown to the wind.

The seminal paper on low-level lead that has driven much of our public policy was published in the March 1979 *New England Journal of Medicine* by Herbert Needleman of the University of Pittsburgh. Needleman studied statistical data on lead concentrations in baby teeth and concluded that low lead levels could cause a drop in IQ of as much as three to four points. Such a fall would strike most of us as hardly significant, yet the regulators, in their wisdom, felt that three or four points summed over thousands of children was significant.

This strikes us as a most strange summation, akin to saying that if each of a thousand people lost one pound of weight the total result would be a significant pile of blubber. But we will be gracious and leave this issue aside.

Two years after the Needleman paper appeared, Claire Ernhart (now of Case Western Reserve) objected to the statistical methods used by Needleman, and charged that he had not done a proper job of controlling for confounding variables such as the quality of the schools attended by the children. Others have joined both sides of the fray, and the battle has gone on now for over ten years, both in and out of court. Ernhart and others charged that the government was engaged in a coverup to prevent the examination of Needleman's raw data, so that the errors in his analysis could not be brought out. The EPA convened a panel of scientists to review Needleman's work and the panel was critical of both Needleman and Ernhart. It concluded that the studies "neither support nor refute the hypothesis that low or moderate levels of lead exposure lead to cognitive or behavioral impairment in children." Yet by the time the panel reported to the EPA it had apparently

continued on page 67

* "A Multibillion Dollar Radon Scare," *The Public Interest*, Spring 1990.

"Dear Michael,

"Your Persuasion Tapes Saved My Marriage..."

Why is Harper's Magazine Writing About Michael Emerling and The Persuasion Tapes? And Why Does ABC's 20/20 Lead Reporter Own a Set?

"We've been married almost 6 years. My husband is a member of the LP. He subscribes to all the libertarian magazines and journals. He reads 10 or 12 books every month.

"He talks to everyone about politics and economics, but he stopped talking to me and with me about what matters to us and our relationship. I felt taken for granted. I felt like he didn't really love me anymore.

"I talked with him. I read a few books on relationships and communication. I went to a counselor. (He wouldn't come.) I tried everything. Nothing worked.

"I was ready to give up. One night, while he was at a libertarian meeting, I saw your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes on top of his book shelf.

"Maybe I could persuade him to talk to me...I listened to side 1 of the first tape. Your recipes for quickly creating rapport made sense to me. So did your keys to powerful communication...

"When my husband got home, I told him I had listened to side 1 of your first tape and asked him to practice your rapport recipes with me. We practiced for about 30 minutes. The next thing I knew we were talking about us, our relationship, our marriage and our life together. We talked 3 hours. It seemed like minutes.

"We have listened to your tape set 8 or 9 times. We practiced all the skills you teach. We started listening to and talking with each other. Now we really communicate.

"I finally understand why my husband is a libertarian. I've read 8 libertarian books in 6 weeks and discussed them with my husband. Now I'm a real libertarian, too.

"Michael, your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes saved my marriage.

P.S. "We are expecting our first baby late this year."

Name withheld by request

"I'm a Christian Libertarian. While I've always felt uncomfortable discussing my Christian beliefs with libertarians, I've felt even more uncomfortable discussing my libertarian beliefs with my fellow Christians.

"Your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes gave me the confidence and skills I needed to bring libertarianism to my church. Your story on 'the Judas Bargain' hit me deep. I'm getting powerful results with your 'Political Cross-Dressing' and 'Words Are Weapons' techniques.

"Liberty cannot triumph in America without the support of millions of my fellow Christians. Reaching them will be my special libertarian 'ministry'."

"God Bless you, Michael."

B.L., New York, New York

"...Michael, your Persuasion Tapes earned me \$12,000. I was 1 of 4 candidates for a promotion in my company. I was the least qualified. I don't socialize with the boss. Nobody figured I had a real chance.

"When I went in for the interview, I started off with your Rapport building methods, then I used your 'Intellectual Judo' to turn objections to promoting me into reasons why I was the best candidate. I used your 'Isolate the Concern' tactic to handle the final issue.

"After 35 minutes, my boss said, 'Communication is very important to this job and so is poise under fire: Congratulations, you've got the promotion.' Your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes earned me a \$12,000 a year promotion in 35 minutes."

R.S., Los Angeles, CA

"My letters-to-the-editor used to make people angry. Since I started using your Political Persuasion methods, people started sending in letters agreeing with me."

T.L., Toronto, CANADA

"...anyway, I got fed up listening to my sociology professor praise welfare statism. One day, after class, I got him alone and used your 'Welfare Junkies' argument on him. It stopped him cold! He asked if I could recommend any books on the subject. I told him I'd bring one by later.

"Michael, that's when I called you. I followed your advice to the letter. I bought a copy of Charles Murray's *LOSING GROUND* - and sold it to my professor. You're right, if I'd given it to him I'd be practicing intellectual welfare, encouraging him to believe in something for nothing and he'd have had no financial investment in reading the book.

"Well, he read the book and asked for more. I gave him a Laissez Faire Books catalog (he bought several books over the phone while I was there) and a CATO catalog.

"My professor is on his way to becoming a libertarian. Think of how many thousands of students he will influence with libertarian ideas - thanks to your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes."

R.J., Madison, WI

"...I'm a competent, trained Psychiatrist, but I was stuck. He was the most resistant depressive I've ever treated.

"In frustration, I tried your 'Intellectual Judo' method on him. I agreed with his depression. I embraced his position. I added to it, accelerated it and re-directed it.

"He started laughing. We talked. Then we started making progress..."

"Michael, your persuasion techniques are powerful. I regularly use them with clients, colleagues, friends and family. Your methods have improved all my relationships."

Name withheld by request

"...I was one of the thousands of aerospace workers laid off. Not only was I out of work but I was competing against these thousands for a shrinking number of jobs here in California.

"For 3 months I got nowhere. One afternoon, I listened to your *Essence of Political Persuasion* tapes again. (I bought them a year ago.)

"I starting using the Rapport building steps, the Onus of Criterion and Political Cross-Dressing during every interview. In 2 weeks, I got 4 job offers. I'm now back at work. Michael, tell libertarians that your Persuasion tapes aren't just for politics...they got me a job."

B.N., Orange County, CA

"I'm a 74 year old retiree. I call in to several radio talk shows. People used to tell me that my libertarian ideas were crazy...Now they ask me to tell them more - thanks to your *Essence of Political Persuasion* Tapes."

A.J., Denver, CO

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Fiction

Gotta Sing

by Greg Jenkins

"I am going to sing for you, a little off key perhaps, but I will sing."
—Henry Miller, *Tropic of Cancer*

We all knew the General was crazy, but just how far gone he was did not become apparent until the day of his so-called "Final Edict."

I was in my office doing nothing in particular when word first came to me. My title at that time was Minister of Commerce. (In fact, even now, to the best of my knowledge, I am still officially the Minister of Commerce.) Several years had passed since I had taken any genuine interest in the alleged functions of my department. Since the advent of the General, our economy had been in a shambles, and it was obvious to me that nothing I said or did could alter that fact.

I can remember how oppressively hot it was, even for San Martinet; the overhead fan did little but stir the heat. They say there is something in that kind of weather — a microbe perhaps — which can drive a man to distraction. Perhaps this is true. For myself, it was driving me only toward sleep. I pushed aside the great heaps of paper on my desk and propped up my feet. I let my head bow and my mind tumble. In the distance I thought I could hear the faint strumming of a *guitarra*.

Two or three minutes later — or it may have been two or three hours — one of my aides, a young man named Carlos, came in on me abruptly. I was so startled, I actually opened my eyes a fraction. Motionless as the books and papers that littered my office, I waited for him to state his business so I could promptly ignore it. But he said nothing. He scuttled aimlessly around the stifling room, silently, a look of concern in his dark eyes and a shiny white scroll in his hand.

"Carlos," I spoke up, "what is it?"

He stood still. He glanced at me and then down at the scroll and then back at me again. I had never seen him so tense. For Carlos, who was the sort of *muchacho* that could fall asleep in the midst of a coup, such fidgeting was most extraordinary.

"It's . . ."

"Another proclamation?" I guessed. "By the General?"

"Yes."

Again I waited. "Well, what is it?"

"It's . . ." He grimaced, shook his head, lowered his eyes.

"Carlos?"

"Sir, he wants us to sing."

I kept my feet on my desk but sat up a little straighter.

"All of us," he said. "Every member of the ruling junta. He wants us all to . . ."

"Sing?" My feet dropped to the floor and I laughed convulsively. Humorous moments are rare in San Martinet, and one likes to get the most out of them; I must've laughed for a full minute. "What's he doing?" I gasped. "Forming an all-government glee club?"

"No sir, not exactly." Carlos wasn't even smiling, and the rigidity of his expression had a gradual sobering effect on me.

"What, then?"

He took a breath. "He wants each of us to put on a performance. Individually. Each of us must sing one song of our own choosing for the sake of the General's entertainment. The performance may be simple or elaborate, as the singer prefers." He had opened the scroll and was skimming down it. "Musical accompaniment, to include musicians and back-up vocalists, will be provided. Eventually everyone in San Martinet, except for the Army and children under the age of twelve, will be asked to participate. Government and quasi-governmental officials," he sighed, "will lead off."

I snorted, and smiled ruefully. "Well," I said, "another diversion for the people. I can see no real harm in it, especially since I will no doubt be exempted."

"Exempted?" Carlos frowned at me. "Why would . . ."

"Because fortunately for me, I can't sing. I have a terrible voice. I'm tempted to blame it on too much whiskey and tobacco, but the truth is I never could sing. Same as you, Carlos," I laughed; "I've heard you humming to yourself, and you're no Caruso either. So let's not worry about it, eh?"

Far from appearing relieved, he dropped the scroll, staggered, and grasped at his throat.

"Carlos?" I stood up in alarm.

"Sir, I — I don't think you understand." He bent over to pick up the scroll, had it by his fingertips but dropped it again. It rolled away from him. "We *have* to sing," he said.

"Anyone who refuses will be shot."

"So we'll sing," I shrugged. "Mi mi mi mi. Ha! It'll be no worse for us than for the poor devils who have to sit there and listen."

"I wouldn't be too sure of that. You see, our object is to please the General."

"Isn't it always?"

"Any singer who fails to do so will be shot."

"What!"

Carlos nodded at me somberly. "So it seems to me we are faced with three choices: either we join the Army, or we get our birth certificates revised rather drastically, or we take some singing lessons pronto."

"Or we head for the hills. Let me see that thing." And both of us lunged for the scroll at the same time.

I read through the Edict carefully, and made the unhappy discovery that everything Carlos had told me was correct. We were free to select any genre of music we wished — classical, popular, folk . . . whatever we felt might make a favorable impression on the General. We had the option of singing with the support of a state-assembled orchestra, or we could put together our own group. Or we could sing a *cappella*. We would be given sufficient time to rehearse and otherwise to prepare ourselves (probably a few weeks), and we were instructed to bear in mind that anyone whose performance was deemed by the General to be "*inadecuado*" would be subject to execution, courtesy of a firing squad.

I could find only one tiny glint of a silver lining in the entire Edict: the participant's pure ability as a singer would not be the sole criterion for judgment. Mary be praised. There would be other factors, such as song selection, musical arrangement, innovativeness, enthusiasm, poise, and so on. Unquestionably our General was a fair-minded, generous, and noble leader.

Or was he? What kind of man, what kind of sensibility, could have conceived such a perverse and unnatural scheme? It was my privately held belief that in a contest between the General and Albert Schweitzer as to which was the greater humanitarian, the General would have come off second best.

Let me tell you something about him, so you will be able to visualize and understand him better. Physically, he reminded one of a shaved bear. He was a huge, snarling hulk of a man who ate nothing but meat — even for breakfast. He spoke in a heavy, guttural voice, slept for long periods, and had a very quick and violent temper. I might also add that he always smelled as though he had just emerged from the woods.

Spiritually, too, he called up notions of something vaguely ursine. Immediately following his seizure of power he declared that martial law would thenceforth be in effect. Some of the measures he ordered were quite severe — for example, his announcement that jaywalking would be treated as a capital offense. When his own grandmother expressed misgivings concerning some of his policies, he accused her of plotting against him, put her on trial, and had her executed. Interestingly, evidence was uncovered later which strongly suggested the old woman actually *had* been plotting against him.

In any event, this was the man for whom we were expected to sing.

"Carlos," I said, wiping the sweat off my face with my bare hand, "did the General give any clue as to why he has decided to go ahead with this . . . this exercise?"

"Yes sir, he did," Carlos answered. "He said he was sick and tired of watching TV. And that movies these days contain too much sex and violence."

In due course a schedule was published and the sessions began. Most of them took place, quite naturally, in our Teatro Nacional de Cámara y Eusayo, but this was not a requirement. Indeed, you could sing wherever you liked: in a studio, in a *taberna*, even in your shower — wherever you felt you could perform most effectively. This was widely interpreted as another sign of the General's breadth of soul. Most people chose the Teatro for obvious reasons: excellent acoustics, ample lighting, a large stage.

There was also a substantial seating capacity — every performance there drew a tremendous crowd. I believe there were two reasons for this. First, of course, everyone was eager to see such a remarkable spectacle as a series of ordinary people singing for their very lives. But also they hoped to gain some insight into the General's tastes in music, since one day they too would have to sing, and sing with as much power and beauty as they could muster if they ever hoped to see their loved ones again.

Always the crowd sat in hushed silence before and during the performance. When the singer finished, all eyes would instantly converge on the General, who invariably sat himself in the front row, in the center section. The General would ruminate for a moment, utter some brief comment, and then turn his thumb either up or down, depending on his verdict. If the gesture happened to be thumbs-up, the crowd would erupt with such an outpouring of joy and approval that you might guess San Martinet had just landed an astronaut safely on the moon. If thumbs-down, they would whistle and jeer — and even throw things — as though the poor singer had been caught doing something despicable with a child. The crowd, you see, was very spontaneous.

I can recall the first performance vividly, as I'm sure all of us who watched it can. The gentleman's name was José Pedroza; he was the General's Chief of Staff. Wearing a confident smile and a smart gray suit, he strode to center stage and belted out, in what I must contend was a better-than-average tenor voice, the national anthem of San Martinet. You could tell by his exuberant manner that he was altogether satisfied with his performance and, even more so, with his shrewd choice of material.

If only the General had shared his exuberance. After a moment's hesitation, the General remarked:

"Politically, my old friend, I stand with you, for you, and behind you. As all of us here do. But musically . . . well, let's face it: 'Honor to Thee, O Ancient Republic' isn't exactly a classic."

So saying, he turned his thumb toward hell. Señor Pedroza blanched, sank to his knees, and tried to speak. But in the din of the hostile crowd his voice could not be heard. In another moment, five or six burly soldiers had dragged him roughly from the stage, back into the wings. None of us

ever saw him again.

The sessions continued. Normally there were ten or twelve performances a day, six days a week — a steady pace. In the beginning, most of the participants opted for military anthems, religious songs, and folk ballads. A few of the more daring ones elected to do numbers with a sultrier, jazzier beat. In these instances, they would often be supported by a troupe of lithe young dancers who, in the background, would do the *samba*, the *cumbia*, the *merecumbé*, the *mambo*, and other popular steps. To my mind, some of the performances were highly commendable; some were plainly mediocre. But in the eyes and ears of the General, every one of them was found wanting; each of these early attempts was met with a testy thumbs-down.

Perhaps a hundred people had been sent to their deaths — our country's morale could not have been lower — when at last a breakthrough occurred. The singer's name was Luis

The General listened attentively to "Heartbreak Hotel," but then remarked that someone ought to put a stop to "this Elvis thing" and it might as well be him.

Otero; he was a minor bureaucrat in the Council of the Realm. With a mixture of courage, inspiration, and sheer audacity, he danced out onstage dressed like an old-time vaudevillian, hat and cane in jaunty motion, and unflinchingly sang:

Oh, you beautiful doll!
 You great big beautiful doll!
 Let me put my arms around you!
 I could never live without you!
 Oh, you beautiful doll!
 You great big beautiful doll!
 If you'd ever leave me
 How my heart would ache!
 I wanna hug ya
 But I'm afraid you'd break!
 Oh! — Oh! — Oh! — Oh!
 Oh, you beautiful doll!

Señor Otero's last note seemed to hang in the air for a wondrously long time. The crowd sat stunned and utterly silent. Finally the General said, in a voice so crisp and penetrating that he seemed to be speaking directly to each and every one of us:

"An American song. Huh. Let me tell you how it is with these Americans. They are curs. They are swine. They are vermin. They are imperialist *warmongers*." He crossed his legs, folded his hands on his lap. "But they make pretty good music. Congratulations, Señor Otero. *Maravilloso, excelente*." And up came the thumb, along with the delirious shouts of the crowd.

Needless to say, from that point on, every song done was either American or sounded American. We were treated to such timeless and diverse standards as "Strangers in the Night," "Take Me Out to the Ball Game," "Hello, Dolly"

(sung in the style of Louis Armstrong, complete with handkerchief), "If Ever I Would Leave You," "Misty," and countless others. The General seemed to appreciate this trend, at least for a while. For the better part of a month, the success ratio was reasonably high — better than 50%, I would judge.

Then, abruptly, he began to disapprove every song presented, regardless of quality. Based on his comments ("Oh my God, not another one of *these!*"), the more perceptive members of the audience concluded that the General was growing bored with the unending barrage of mellow, middle-of-the-road tunes, and yearned for something with a little more bite. Thus the stage was set, both literally and figuratively, for a startling phenomenon by the name of Aurelio Lopez.

Señor Lopez was a clerk in one of our *juzgados*. He was also a genius. Donning an outrageous, multi-colored top hat and black leather pants — no shirt, no shoes — he proceeded to half-mince, half-prance onto the stage and sing, amid a crash of guitars and a burst of drums:

Just take those old records off the shelf!
 I'll sit 'n' listen to 'em by myself!
 Today's music ain't got the same soul!
 I like that old-time rock'n'roll!

Midway through the rendition the General rose to his feet and began clapping his hands overhead, shouting: "Arriba! Arriba!" No thumbs-up was necessary. The audience was in a frenzy — screaming, cheering, and, in the case of a few *señoritas*, actually *swooning* with excitement. With a flourish, Señor Lopez introduced the members of his band, a group called "Loco," blew kisses to the adoring crowd, and ushered in what appeared to be the era of rock'n'roll.

I say "appeared to be" because in truth what he had ushered in was an era of great variety. Past experience had demonstrated that with the General, too much of a good thing could be a terrible thing. So after an initial flurry of rock music, perhaps a week's worth, we saw the introduction of gospel, country, rhythm & blues, and many other strains and varieties, all with primarily one thing in common: the songs themselves had originated up north. During this period the success ratio, by my own count, leveled off at about two-thirds, or slightly less than 70%.

I would like now to offer a short list of some of the songs which were sung and the reactions they received. These recollections are given in no particular order.

"Heartbreak Hotel" — thumbs-down. The General listened attentively, but then remarked that someone ought to put a stop to "this Elvis thing" and it might as well be him.

"Hot Stuff" — thumbs-up. It should be noted that disco music as a rule fared poorly; two or three songs originally done by Donna Summer were a notable exception.

"I Am Woman" — no official hand signal given. After two bars the General stood up, pulled out his revolver, and opened fire on the singer, who I believe was somebody's secretary. It is assumed that the General's action represented a negative verdict.

"Surfin' Bird" — essentially the same reaction as above.

"My Way" — thumbs-up, largely, it was felt, because of the singer's carefully worded preface, in which he dedicated the song to the General's life, accomplishments, and overall deportment.

"Come on-a My House" — thumbs-up, according to rumor. The song was performed by a comely female singer not onstage but in her own dimly lit *tac-ador*, with only the General and a pianist present. Rumor further has it that the woman, a widow, has since been given a sizable pension.

"Take This Job and Shove It" — thumbs-down. It came out later that the singer, a high-ranking official with the Council of State, had been despondent over a broken love affair. Evidently his choice of songs was deliberately suicidal.

You are perhaps wondering about my own fate. If so, you are not alone. I have wondered about it many times myself.

Because of my various political connections, cultivated during periods when I *should* have been busy at my job but wasn't, I succeeded in getting my performance postponed repeatedly. Naturally I made a prolonged and hard-fought attempt at getting myself overlooked completely, but found that this was impossible. The delays, however, were better than nothing, and I put them to good use.

I sought a way out of the country — and found none. I tried, ever so delicately, to plant the seeds of a coup among some of my highly-placed countrymen — and failed miserably. I rehearsed my upcoming song for hour upon interminable hour, until my throat was raw — and managed only to convince myself more deeply that when my time came, as inevitably it would, I would learn from a different perspective the horror which emanated from the brown, inverted thumb

Within the U.S. and Great Britain, scores of singers and musicians were offering to travel to San Martinet and perform if only the General would cancel his Final Edict.

of our General. On second thought, the extra time I'd finagled had been put to no good use at all.

My only real hope had its roots outside our country. Word came to us through the grapevine that the rest of mankind was appalled by this latest turn of events in San Martinet, and that international pressure — political, economic, and moral — was being brought to bear on the General in a concerted effort to halt the "insane slaughter." The United Nations had issued a harshly phrased statement of condemnation, as had the United States Congress. Within the U.S. and Great Britain, scores of singers and musicians were offering to travel to San Martinet and perform if only the General would cancel his Final Edict. Amnesty International, we were told, was compiling a list of relevant names, dates, places, and even songs.

But all this, lamentably, was to no avail. The General made a thunderous speech in which he denounced all those

who would "meddle in the internal affairs of San Martinet," telling them in effect to mind their own business. He declared that the sessions would continue according to schedule.

So it was back to rehearsal for the Minister of Commerce. The song I had chosen, after untold consultations with my closest advisors, who relied on computer-generated analyses of the General's moods, comments, and past decisions, was an energetic piece called "Rock Around the Clock," originally done by the American singer Bill Haley. This song, for those of you unfamiliar with it, features a driving beat and striking guitar riffs which, it was hoped, might compensate for any deficiencies in the singer's voice. To ensure that my musical backup was as strong as possible, I acquired the services of the group Loco, which had earlier worked so superbly with the incomparable Aurelio Lopez.

Of course there were other preparations. For one, I had to decide on a costume in which to perform, and I went with a skin-tight, gold lamé jumpsuit. Since I am 61 years old and not as slim as I used to be, this was something of a gamble. But, I figured, anything to take his mind off my voice. I also had to work out my choreography, and this I accomplished with the guidance of a young man, state-appointed, whose hair had the same color and glitter as my costume. Finally, there were certain legal papers to be reviewed and endorsed, so that my family would be taken care of if my performance went badly.

Despite my preparations, or perhaps because of them, I was not overly confident. I arrived at the Teatro on the given day just in time to see my aide Carlos unburden himself of a perfectly woeful performance; this did not bolster my spirits. The poor boy had been trying to sing "Happy Days Are Here Again." Even to my indiscriminating ears he sounded like a cat on a fence at three in the morning. Then, halfway through the number, he lost his voice altogether, though the music continued to the end. The General, finding some dark humor in the situation, allowed that if the first half of the song had gone as well as the second, Carlos might have eked out an approval.

Then he turned his thumb down.

My confidence received a further blow when I realized that my band was missing. I looked everywhere for them and simply couldn't find them. No one had seen them; no one could tell me where they might be. After rushing around the Teatro for an hour or more, accosting strangers, making phone calls, I approached the stage manager to tell him frankly that I couldn't go on: that it was impossible.

"Stage fright," he said, fingering the gun he wore on his hip. "Don't worry about it. Happens all the time — especially here."

"Not stage fright," I said. "Common sense. I can't find my band. They didn't show up."

"That has been known to happen as well. What did they call themselves?"

"Loco."

"Ah yes." He smiled at me — not a very warm smile, I must say. "Last night," he said, "they lived up to their name."

"What do you mean?"

"They were arrested for public drunkenness. So I wouldn't expect to see them anytime soon, especially since there were also allegations of jaywalking."

"Dios," I murmured. Then: "So it's settled. I can't go on."

"True," he said. "You probably can't. But you will."

"What?"

"I am told you've had postponements enough, my friend. The General is growing impatient. So today is the day and now is the time."

"But I've been trying to tell you —"

He yanked out his gun and my words stopped as if someone had pulled the needle off a record. "And I have been trying to tell you — *Señor*, you are on."

"But —"

"*Ahora mismo*." And he gave me a shove that sent me reeling onstage.

Somehow I kept my composure — have you ever noticed how bureaucrats rarely lose their composure? I stumbled along in a blur of intense white light. The audience, by con-

Amnesty International, we were told, was compiling a list of relevant names, dates, places, and even songs.

trast, was shrouded in darkness. I had a difficult time describing the General, but finally I was able to make him out; he was seated in his usual place. I came to a stop and faced him: faced everyone. As always, the vast room was filled with a throng of very quiet people.

I had no intention of singing, though what I *would* do was another question. The seconds passed; they crawled over my skin like insects. Suddenly I began to speak.

"General," I said, "and people of San Martinet — good afternoon. As you have no doubt surmised, I came here today in order to sing to you. However, circumstances outside my control have made that proposition impossible for me to undertake, at least for the present. So instead I would like to use this opportunity to address you concerning two subjects, namely, this whole matter of . . . of singing, and indeed the overall quality of life in San Martinet."

All right, I know what you're thinking. You are thinking: What a valorous man, this Minister; our Savior must have endowed him with *mucho coraje*. Or perhaps you are thinking: The man is clearly an idiot. But in fact I believe that neither assertion is true. For me to have performed without accompaniment, that — that — would have been the act of an idiot. And when a man who has virtually nothing to lose does something "risky," what is he actually risking? Death means little to someone who suspects he may already be dead.

I waited for someone to rush the stage. No one did. Drawing my impetus from what I knew were the real hopes, dreams, and desires of the people, I continued with my little speech.

Basically I argued against the Final Edict, suggesting, in softer words of course, that it was a scourge on our country. I watched my tone as best I could, so as to *persuade* the General

that my point of view was correct, but not to offend him, if this was possible. I was also careful to base my argument on pragmatism only, and not to enter into the touchy areas of ethics or religion. Thus, I noted how inflation had skyrocketed, while at the same time production had plunged almost to zero; we were eating ourselves alive, I said, like a shark tearing at its own entrails. Why? Because virtually the entire populace had ceased working so they could devote more time and effort to their songs. As Minister of Commerce I was in a position to speak on these issues.

"Not only that," I went on, "but how long do you suppose the Army will stand for this situation? *They* have been exempted, yes, but what about their mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters who are civilians? What about their wives? Their civilian friends? What about — General — what about those soldiers with children older than twelve? Or with toddlers who will one day turn twelve? Have you considered these things?"

"General, we all love music. It is a part of our heritage, a part of our nature as human beings. But I must ask you: Isn't there a better way? Mightn't there be a more positive approach?"

"I beseech you, General — rethink your Final Edict, and rescind it. For your good and for ours."

"From the bottom of my heart, I thank you for your indulgence."

No one spoke for quite a while, or even moved. If there had been silence before, there now seemed to be a kind of vacuum. I stood there attached to the floor like a human stalagmite, waiting, waiting. Peering into the unchanging darkness. Eventually, the General leaned forward and said:

"I don't understand. No song?"

Now my feet moved slightly. "Er, no. You see, General, as I just —"

"No music? I don't understand. No song?"

"Actually, General, as I — as I just explained to you, and, uh, to everyone else . . . concerning the matter of, uh . . ."

"No song!" he cried in amazement.

He waved his hand and a squad of soldiers fell on me from all directions. As they dragged me away the crowd hooted and whistled at me.

"General," I screamed, bobbing along, "I was only kidding. Really. A little joke to set the mood . . ." But no one could hear me. "General," I screamed, "listen, please, for the sake of God: Well it's one two three o'clock four o'clock rock — General, please — five six seven o'clock eight o'clock rock—"

But it was no use.

So. For the time being I languish in jail: in this stinking little *mazmorra*. I write out my recollections on these tiny scraps of paper, and do little else. I don't eat, I can't sleep. My hour will come, though I don't know when. I am filled with fear . . .

A curious point. It isn't the fear that prevents me from sleeping. It is the sound of my fellow prisoners, throughout the cell block, singing. Out of habit, out of frustration, out of lunacy, they persist in singing their songs. Endlessly. Every one of them sounds awful, and in some odd way this gives me a sense of kinship, however remote, with the General. □

Reviews

The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective, edited by Joel Mokyr. Westview Press, 1993, 362 pp., \$55.00 hc, \$18.95 sc.

Was There an Industrial Revolution?

Jane S. Shaw

For more than 40 years, historians have debated whether the working classes fared better or worse under the factory system engendered by the Industrial Revolution. Recently, however, a more fundamental debate has emerged: Did the Industrial Revolution exist at all? This deeper disagreement is the underlying theme of *The British Industrial Revolution: An Economic Perspective*, a collection of essays edited by economic historian Joel Mokyr.

We're all familiar with the basic idea of the Industrial Revolution. Between 1760 and 1830 or so — some extend the period much later — there was an explosion of inventions in Great Britain that ultimately transformed the economy of the Western world. Foremost were the mechanical spinning inventions, the spinning jenny and the mule, which revolutionized the British cotton textile industry; improvements in the making of iron; and the development of the steam engine. Along with these changes, the factory system began to replace the cottage system of manufacture.

The traditional understanding has been that these inventions unleashed the economic growth that set Britain and, soon, the United States on a steady upward path. Unfortunately for the standard theory, newly developed economic data do not support it very well.

Over the last couple of decades, economic historians have been trying to measure the economic growth of Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution. Their findings reveal little change, at least from 1760 to 1830. A leading light of this new statistical analysis, N.F.R. Crafts, estimates that per capita national income in Great Britain grew about .17% a year between 1760 and 1800 and .52% a year from 1800 to 1830. That's not very fast, and not much different from what it was before 1760. It was only after 1830 that per capita national income grew significantly — just under 2% per year, according to Crafts' numbers.

Meanwhile, David Landes reports that steam power, "long seen as the technological heart of modern industry," only gradually gained in importance, and did not surpass water power until late in the nineteenth century. Nor had iron and steel yet replaced wood in the mid-nineteenth century.

"All of this has given rise to a reassessment of the nature and significance of the Industrial Revolution," writes Landes (p. 146). That doesn't make him a convert, though — he calls the economic growth data "guesstimates" and the new analyses "brave structures on shaky foundations" (152).

Joel Mokyr also defends the Industrial Revolution. Its slow pace, he says, should not really be all that surprising, since it initially affected only a small segment of the population. "The British

economy as a whole was changing much more slowly than its most dynamic parts, because growth was diluted by slow-growing sectors," he writes (12). Mokyr's bottom line: while there are "arguments about exactly what changed, when it started, when it ended, and where to place the emphasis" (3), the Industrial Revolution is still a "useful abstraction" (1).

I have no specialized knowledge to apply to this debate, but my literary analysis tells me that the proponents of the Industrial Revolution are on the defensive, maybe even running scared. And maybe it is time to lay this concept to rest.

By questioning the Industrial Revolution, no one challenges the fact that Great Britain (along with the United States and, ultimately, many other countries) became, in Mokyr's words, an "urban, sophisticated society, weal-

The proponents of the Industrial Revolution are on the defensive, maybe even running scared.

thy beyond the wildest dreams of the Briton of 1750 or the bulk of the inhabitants of Africa and Southern Asia in our own time" (131). Indeed, figuring out how this happened may be crucial if today's Third World nations are ever to replicate it.

The problem is that treating the 1760–1830 period as a revolution may have handicapped us.

In the 1950s, Walt Rostow, an influential economist, developed the idea that all nations would have to go through their own industrial revolutions; he coined the word "take-off" to mean a short-term, sudden transition to a steady upward trend. His idea was used by governments and international development agencies to promote state-directed industrialization.

But if Great Britain and the United States never had such a "take-off" period — if, for example, economic growth took hundreds of years to evolve — then the concept offers no helpful model to developing nations today. This may help explain why most Third World countries are economic disasters.

By shelving the idea of an Industrial Revolution, we can make room for more complicated and constructive explorations of how growth occurs. More attention can be paid to economist and historian Douglass North's view that a nation's rules, laws, and traditions — its *institutions* — determine economic growth more than its inventions do. And if economic growth depends on institutional changes, there is also room for the Austrian idea that economic growth occurs as individual entrepreneurs respond to new opportunities with time- and place-specific knowledge. As economic historian P.J. Hill once said to me, "We now believe that economic growth depends more on the actions of thousands of individuals responding to opportunities than on a few 'heroic' inventions."

So Douglass North's analysis of economic growth in Great Britain (conducted with Robert Thomas in *The Rise of the Western World*) goes back much further than the usual parameters of the Industrial Revolution, with important seeds of growth visible in the early modern period of British (and Dutch) history. And it goes forward, too. North believes that the most important economic revolution after the Agricultural Revolution of 10,000 years ago occurred late in the nineteenth century, when the application of science transformed industrial activity (see North's *Structure and Change in Economic History*). This broader view seems consistent with the thinking of Nathan Rosenberg and L.E. Birdzell in *How the West Grew Rich*, who emphasize the many small technological and organizational changes that developed the Western economies. By extending their thinking to broader expanses of time and by looking at much more than "inventions," these scholars offer more creative ways of analyzing economic growth.

There is another reason not to lament losing the Industrial Revolution.

Its life may have been artificially prolonged by the "standard of living" debate mentioned above. That debate was really a dispute over capitalism, started by Marxists and others who wanted to make the market look bad. And that dispute is now over.

The demise of socialism leaves little doubt that capitalism is better for the working classes. Of course, it does not settle the question of whether the farm

workers who moved to urban factories were better or worse off than before, but now that debate can be properly relegated to specialists. With the idea of the Industrial Revolution rapidly diminishing, other scholars may now be liberated to comb through longer periods of history and apply an appreciation of complex institutions to the elusive but crucial goal of learning how economic growth occurs. □

***Lost Rights: The Destruction of American Liberty*, by James Bovard.
St. Martin's Press, 1994, 335 pp, \$24.95.**

Tyranny Now

Jonathan H. Adler

Peter Fishbein's only mistake was agreeing to represent a client on bad terms with the federal government. A lawyer at the firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fishbein was accused of failing to disclose privileged information to the federal Office of Thrift Supervision (OTS) about his client, Lincoln Savings & Loan. Fishbein argued, correctly, that abiding by the OTS's demands would have been a violation of his professional responsibility to vigorously defend his client. In retaliation, the OTS unilaterally froze the firm's assets without a hearing or formal administrative procedure, and assessed a \$275 million penalty.

Kaye, Scholer contested the action, but without its full assets to draw upon was forced to settle out of court. The lesson, according to the New York City Bar Association, was that if lawyers "represent the client vigorously, they risk financial ruin before an action against them is even brought before a judge."

As George Washington said, government is like fire: "a dangerous servant and a terrible master." That is why the founders tried to restrain it with formal procedures and institutional counterweights. But today, arbitrary persecution like that which befell Kaye, Scholer is increasingly common.

"Americans' liberty is perishing beneath the constant growth of government power," opens James Bovard's new book, *Lost Rights*. If freedom is to be restored, Bovard counsels, we need "to realize how much we have already lost" — and how much we still risk losing. His book is a crash introductory course in the threats the federal government poses to individual liberty, unleashed in a flurry of data — evidence of the power of NEXIS-aided research. Americans are forced to obey 30 times as many laws today as a century ago. The federal government employs almost 130,000 regulators, and itches for more. Each business day the government issues nearly 200 pages of densely-worded regulatory strictures and explanations in the Federal Register. The average citizen now works over 120 days simply to pay his share of the tax burden; the number of pages filled with tax regulations has ballooned from 14 in 1914 to over 9,000 in 1992.

In Bovard's words, "Governments have now amassed far more power than politicians are capable of responsibly and intelligently wielding."

Americans tend to distrust the federal government, but this has yet to stop voters from encouraging the creation of new programs and entitlements. "American political thinking suffers from a . . .

tendency to view the expansion of government power by its promises rather than by its results." Americans may dislike how the government performs its existing duties, but that has yet to translate into a broad-based campaign to cut it down to size. Few are willing to admit that the federal government simply tries to do too much.

Through the rapid proliferation of laws reaching every corner of human existence, "the government is manufacturing more criminals now than ever before." The list of illegal activities includes more minutiae than one would think possible. Beer-makers are barred from listing alcohol content on bottles, and liquor distilleries cannot advertise on TV. Filling one's own prairie pot-hole can land a property owner in jail, as can protecting private property from unlawful intruders. Placing handbills in neighbors' mailboxes is strictly prohibited, and attempting to sell nectarines of an improper size is a federal offense. Companies are no longer allowed to give salaried professionals partial days off without pay, and in Texas it is a crime to call oneself an interior designer without the government's permission. It is perhaps easier to recount all that remains legal than all that is now prohibited.

Of course, these rules are supposed to improve people's lives. But consider the guardians of the public trust and their priorities in bringing us such "help." Congress is a bastion of self-righteousness when there is a wronged constituency to be protected. Yet it has not seen fit to force itself to comply with its own laws. Senator Howard Metzenbaum was dreadfully concerned with NBC's prime-time portrayal of the Waco siege tragedy. Yet he was not

troubled by the actions of the federal agents depicted in the broadcast. The Food and Drug Administration is notorious for delaying approval of desperately needed medications and treatments out of concern for their "effectiveness." That people die while waiting for the drugs to be approved scarcely catches the FDA's attention.

Perhaps of greatest concern is the arbitrary enforcement of federal strictures. One of the most important elements in rule of law is *predictability*: if you don't know what the law requires, it can be terribly difficult to comply. When a company cannot anticipate a regulatory agency's expectations, investments in increased capacity and new production methods are less likely. The hazardous waste regulations

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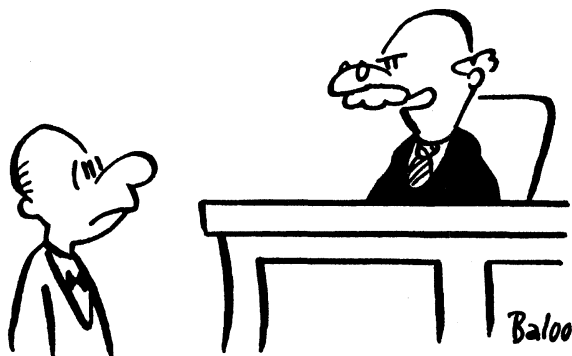
promulgated under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act are so complex, even EPA officials are often unsure of what they mean. The Americans with Disabilities Act, which seeks to bar discrimination against the handicapped, is so vague that corporations will not know how to comply until years of litigation have defined employers' precise responsibilities.

Sometimes federal agencies deliberately obscure the regulations they enforce. The IRS, for instance, has opposed clarifying its rules governing the self-employed for fear that more individuals would exercise the option. Ironically, this campaign may actually reduce the revenue received by the federal government. As Public Choice economists have pointed out, agency priorities are often as much a function of what benefits empire-building bureaucrats as they are of public-minded priority-setting.

The current era of state-worship has yet to produce divine infallibility for government officials. People make mistakes, and a government manned by individuals is certain to have its share of problems. Procedures do exist for individuals to pursue grievances against arbitrary state actions. Yet these processes also have their problems. When one contests an agency's action, one must follow the Byzantine prescriptions of administrative procedure. Initial complaints are handled by Administrative Law Judges (ALJs) before the disputes can go to court. Yet ALJs are employed by the agencies in question. In some cases, ruling for a citizen against the government can injure an ALJ's career. An individual must "exhaust administrative remedies," typically at the cost of thousands of dollars, before a federal court will even entertain reviewing the case. Faced with this situation, many simply choose not to fight, and let the government have its way.

It doesn't have to be this way. The American system was designed to allow individuals to determine their own destiny; government would provide a bulwark against domestic chaos and foreign invasion, but otherwise let the people be. Today, writes Bovard, "the trademark of modern political thinking is an implicit faith in discretionary power wielded by benevolent politicians and administrators — in letting government employees treat private citizens as they think best." Such endeavors always require power and control over people's fortunes, possessions, and daily lives. Every increase in government power, for causes noble and nefarious alike, "means a decrease in citizens' ability to rely on themselves and plan their own lives." This is the defining message of Bovard's treatise, a message too rarely heard in mainstream political discourse.

As in his earlier books, *The Farm Fiasco* and *The Fair Trade Fraud*, Bovard makes his case anecdotally, with one example of government malfeasance after another. This is not a book of aggregated statistics, nor is there more than occasional philosophizing. Bovard seeks to convince the reader that injustices are routinely committed in the name of prohibiting the use of marijuana.



"Not guilty?" — Do you think I was born yesterday?"

na; that all drug prohibition should be put to an end is less explicit. Bovard shows how government programs have eroded fundamental freedoms, but rarely goes further to argue that these programs are simply wrong in principle, and still would be if their excesses could be controlled.

One also wonders at times about the selection of examples. There seems to be a conscious attempt on Bovard's part not to offend the Right anywhere near as much as he is sure to offend the Left. His book lays into the distribution of condoms in public schools, since such programs "exemplify parents' loss of control over their children's schooling," but there is little mention of efforts to impose the teaching of creationism. Bovard lambastes federal subsidies of political correctness and blasphemous art, but does not detail conservatives' efforts to move such funding in *their* direction. Homosexuality is not mentioned in the index. Nor is there any reference to conservatives' efforts to use the AIDS epidemic to justify a federally-funded bully pulpit to promote the virtues of abstinence. Bovard discusses the failures of civil rights policy, but there is scant mention of repressive immigration-control measures.

Perhaps Bovard is more comfortable with conservatives than leftists. After all, he receives far more honoraria from *National Review* and *The American Spectator* than *The Nation* or *Mother Jones*. Or perhaps the Left is simply a more inviting target; the Right has not wielded federal power as effectively as the Left, so it is possible that they've left fewer programs to assail. In any event, one wishes that Bovard had been a little more balanced in his anti-government assault. It would have made *Lost Rights* more compelling, and provided conservative readers with more of what they need to hear.

But this is a minor quibble with a mighty fine book. In *Lost Rights*, James Bovard has provided us with an encyclopedic guide to the abuses and petty tyrannies of American government — even if, by his own account, there are many stones still left unturned. There was no room to analyze "the Endangered Species Act, the Community Reinvestment Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission's creative defini-

tions of insider trading, antitrust policy, sovereign immunity, federalism, and Social Security."

Much of the book will seem old hat to the well-read libertarian — Bovard is nothing if not prolific in recycling his own work. Yet even the committed will gain from his litany of governmental

misdeeds. And, with luck, this book will allow such tales to reach a broader audience.

As Bovard points out, "America needs fewer laws, not more prisons." If *Lost Rights* succeeds in spreading that message, it will have provided a real public service. □

***Censored: The News That Didn't Make the News — and Why (The 1994 Project Censored Yearbook)*, by Carl Jensen and Project Censored. Introduction by Jessica Mitford. Illustrated by Tom Tomorrow, Four Walls Eight Windows, 1994, 318 pp., \$14.95.**

Beat the Press

Jesse Walker

Sometimes it's hard to distinguish media criticism from sour grapes. There always seems to be more reporting we don't like than reporting we do, and one bad journalist can tar the whole press pool. So I'm usually wary of self-professed media critics, particularly those with an obvious ideological axe to grind.

Conservatives deride the "liberal media," and quote studies that show the majority of reporters are liberal Democrats. Leftists assault the press for being too right-wing, and cite the growing centralization of corporate ownership of the media. Both attacks ignore important countervailing forces. Liberal reporters are only as effective as the editors who select what qualifies as "news" allow them to be, and editors tend to be more conservative than reporters. Large corporations, on the other hand, are not necessarily right-wing — indeed, many fund left-wing activism. Nor do owners always have much influence on their papers' editorial slants: *The Village Voice* was as firmly leftist when it was owned by conservative media baron Robert Murdoch as it was before or has been since.

Actually, ideology is only one factor in "media bias," and it isn't the most important one. Many of the best reporters are obviously biased, but lay their

opinions out for all to see, allowing readers/viewers/listeners to take them into account. What bedevils the press is more subtle than mere prejudice:

- **Sources.** Journalists have to get their facts from somewhere, and who they go to for those facts has obvious repercussions on the stories they write. Reporters covering heavily politicized scientific stories, such as environmental issues, often lack the training needed to discern solid research from hot air. And few know where to find alternate voices when one loudmouthed point of view drowns out the others.

Meanwhile, media-savvy sources try to monopolize their position, and to spin the information they control to cast themselves in as favorable a light as possible. This requires correspondents to maintain a strong curiosity and a critical intelligence. Too often, a reporter's skepticism cracks in the face of a powerful source — a government agency, or a well-established business or union or lobby. This can be seen at its worst in wartime, when governments monopolize and dole out information as it suits them. That's one reason mainstream coverage of the Gulf War was so overwhelmingly pro-war. (The most visible source of alternative information, CNN's Peter Arnett, was himself hampered by *Iraqi* censors, illustrating the point.)

Even more insidious are the long-

term relationships that emerge between reporters and the people on their beat. Journalists who want to keep channels of information open have to learn to tread lightly around their sources, and often wind up being used as mouthpieces. This is obvious among the more meretricious sorts of popular reporting — celebrity journalism, sportswriting — but it affects political writers too.

If this was such a burning question that every pundit suddenly had to take a stand on it in a one-week period, why wasn't it brought up earlier?

And growing centralization of government has meant growing centralization of sources, exacerbating the problem.

• **The pack mentality.** It's reasonable to report events as they break: elections, foreign wars, bills before Congress, etc. But many media "crises" might be better described as *news fads*: here today, gone tomorrow, apropos of nothing.

One person who understands this is rap icon Ice T. Asked how he felt about the feeding frenzy over his controversial song, "Cop Killer," the rapper reminded the interviewer of the long-forgotten wave of stories sensationalizing the alleged threat to public safety posed by pit bull terriers. Eventually, people tired of the hysteria, and the stories slackened off. "I guess pit bulls stopped biting people," Ice concluded.

Commentators also run in packs. A few months ago, the "serious" talk shows began to debate whether there really is a health care crisis after all; the issue was argued for a week or so, then forgotten. The discussion was mostly vacuous and certainly inconclusive, but no one ever raises it any more. So — if this was such a burning question that every pundit suddenly had to take a stand on it in a one-week period, why wasn't it brought up earlier? And why doesn't anybody talk about it any more?

The reason is simple — and the pundits ought to find it embarrassing. Republican strategist Bill Kristol advised a few of his party's legislators to bring the

issue up, and they did. It didn't catch on with the public, so they shut up about it. The media simply took their talking cues from Congress.

The same thing happens when the evening news reports a speech the president or some other Very Important Politician made that day, even though chances are 10–1 the speaker had nothing memorable to say. This amounts to a modernized version of the Society Page that wasted newspaper space in years past: the media meticulously follow the daily schedules of the political class as though they are inherently newsworthy, allowing Washington to define what is news.

• **Time.** Reasoned analysis is always more intricate and complicated than can be fit into a soundbite, but pictures of dramatic plane crashes are "better copy" than a statistical demonstration that airline safety has improved since deregulation. And they don't require as much time or thought.

More time for better analysis isn't always filled wisely, though. *The MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour* uses its commercial-free hour to present long clips of dull presidential appearances and trite debates between utterly predictable politicians, bureaucrats, special-interest advocates, and think-tankers, only occasionally enlivened by a token independent thinker.

Who Reports on the Reporters?

Some media critics take all of this into account. Others do not. The right-wing "watchdog" group Accuracy in Media is infamous for being more ideologically biased than any of the reports it criticizes. Its leftist counterpart, Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting, used to provide useful information about the intricacies of who owns what paper or television station; since 1990, however, it has given its newsletter over to successive left-wing pressure groups to whine that the press is not advocating their positions with sufficient ferocity.

Carl Jensen's group, Project Censored, produces an annual list of the 25 stories its judges think were most underservingly underreported the year before. It refers to these as "censored" stories; in fact, of course, they are not being censored in any meaningful sense of the word. But "Project Neglected" doesn't have the same ring as "Pro-

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ject Censored," so Jensen and his cohorts may be forgiven this minor abuse of language.

Less forgivable is much of what goes into their list. To judge from their yearbook, *Censored: The News That Didn't Make the News — and Why*, the good people at Project Censored suffer from some of the same problems they've set out to correct in others.

But first the good news. As usual, Project Censored has uncovered an array of important issues that slipped by while the rest of us were reading about Joey Buttafuoco or John Wayne Bobbitt or the progress of some damn hurricane. From the role of oil interests in promoting U.S. intervention in Somalia to the Anti-Defamation League's network of political spies to the poor performance of the D.A.R.E. program, Jensen and company have given some significant stories a new lease on life. The top ten are reprinted at the end of the book, and some of them are genuine top-notch reporting. Particularly impressive is *Southern Exposure's* "The Poverty Industry," a comprehensive report on the corrupt, parasitic companies that leech off the debts of the Southern poor — and the grassroots, mutual-aid efforts that point the real way out of poverty and debt.

But Project Censored is hampered by its nebulous concept of censorship and by its judges' obvious left-liberal prejudices. Take its choice for the number-one censored story of last year, "The U.S. is Killing its Young." Because most of the media ignored a U.N. Children's Fund report on the violence and poverty afflicting America's children, the Project Censored crew declares this a censored story — as though the air-

waves were not riddled already with the same material, albeit without the allegedly impressive imprimatur of the United Nations.

The number-three story has better cause to be on the list, if only because it was, in a sense, suppressed. In 1989, the Bush administration hired Sandia National Research Laboratories to investigate the state of American public education; when the report failed to support Bush's educational plans, it was buried. That's a legitimate story, though hardly one of top-ten-censored caliber: politicians bend the truth to fit their agenda all the time. The real reason Jensen and company list it has more to do with their own ideas about education than with Bush's hypocrisy: "Clearly," they write, "the findings of the report contradicted the political philosophy of 'deregulating' public education and would have seriously weakened the 'choice movement.'"

But that's not so clear at all. For one thing, George Bush and his cronies had little interest in deregulating education; indeed, they called for more spending on public schools and sharply increased federal control of schooling, complete with centralized planning for "national goals" and a standardized "national curriculum." The Bush/Bennett brand of school choice amounts to the right to choose between schools that are, by federal mandate, the same.

For another thing, the Sandia report has little to do with school choice to begin with: it never even mentions the issue. At best, it deflates some conservatives' allegations that America's socialized school system is completely inferior to the socialized school systems of other First World nations. At worst, it

makes claims that are themselves deflatable. For example, it asserts that the decline in American SAT scores over the past 30 years can be attributed to the fact that more students in the bottom half of their classes are taking the SATs, thus lowering the average. But SAT scores are also declining at the top, implying that there is

more to this story than the Sandia researchers let on. (Then there's the issue of just how useful SAT scores are in the first place, except as a tool of social engineering, but that's a whole other can of snakes.)

So why is this report supposed to be the third most important underreported story of 1993? Because it seems to

The "Eclectic Chronology of Censorship" also includes entries that are irrelevant, even stupid.

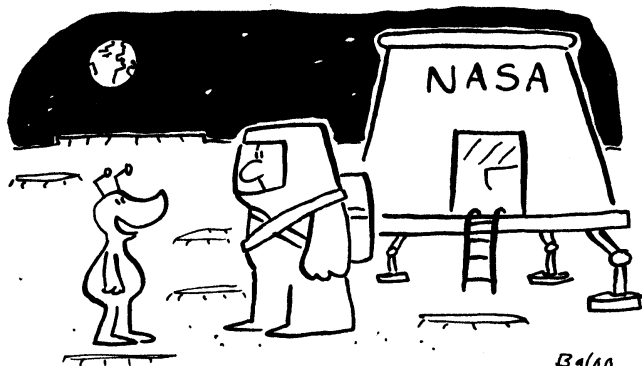
confirm the judges' political biases. That might also explain why these other "censored" stories are *not* on their list:

- the holes in the government's explanation of the Waco holocaust;
- the fact that, despite the media's incessant crime reporting, national crime rates (including the rate of violent crime) have been steadily declining for decades;
- the failure of gun control;
- the role of food aid in prolonging famine, in Somalia and elsewhere;
- the government's murder of Vicki and Sam Weaver;
- the legal robbery called "civil forfeiture."

Meanwhile, legitimately important stories are tainted by the same ideological bias. Take number 15: "Thousands of Cubans Are Losing Their Sight Because of Malnutrition." According to this report, hunger in Cuba has gotten so bad as to provoke an epidemic of optic neuropathy, a rare, malnutrition-caused disease that can lead to blindness.

What does Project Censored blame for this? The U.S. economic embargo! As though those sanctions, imposed in 1961, have more to do with the recent sharp decline in Cuban living conditions than the Marxist government's inability to keep the country afloat without Soviet subsidy.

The rest of the book reflects the



"Wow, all the way from *Earth*! Tell me — what's Willard Scott really like?"

same mix of valuable muckraking, strong civil libertarianism, and annoying left-wing clichés. Thus, Appendix A, "An Eclectic Chronology of Censorship from 605 B.C. to 1994," discusses censorship, media cartelization, encouraging victories for free speech, and depressing failures of journalistic nerve. It also includes entries that are irrelevant (*Woodstock?!), even stupid:*

1968 — Paul Ehrlich's book *The Population Bomb* created a stir with its prediction that mass famines would plague the world within 20 years. Ehrlich warned that to avoid the tragedy of overpopulation, birth rates must be curbed. . . . Ehrlich's prediction has been tragically fulfilled with the African famines of the 1980s and 1990s, yet his warning continues to go unheeded. The earth's population is now growing at a rate of more than 100 million people a year, and few people, including the press, seem to be aware that this is indeed a problem. (p. 174)

Far from being ignored, *The Population Bomb* was a bestseller, and its claims received widespread, hysterical coverage. To this day, its Malthusian nonsense has not felt the public criticism it deserves, largely because the media have failed to give Ehrlich's critics the hearing he got. Where are the *Time* cover stories pointing out that well-fed Holland and Hong Kong have population densities far greater than starving Somalia and Sudan? Where is the suggestion that famines are caused, not by population *per se*, but by the low carrying capacity of heavily controlled economies whose populations are artificially inflated by foreign aid? Maybe *that's* a tale that belongs in Project Censored.

I could go on like this, picking at other bizarre items the authors have squeezed into this book, but that would be pointless. It would also be unbalanced — after all, there's a lot of good stuff in here as well. I can only advise potential readers to approach this book critically, to chew all claims 50 times before swallowing, and to always be aware of what axes its authors have to grind.

In other words, approach these media critics with the same skepticism, intelligence, and caution with which you should treat the media they criticize. □

***Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels with Science*, by Paul R. Gross and Norman Levitt. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, 328 pp., \$25.95.**

Science and Sensitivity

Linda Seebach

Scientists tend to think of political correctness as Someone Else's Problem — that the sludge seeping from under the office doors of their colleagues in the humanities and social sciences won't contaminate their laboratories or classes. They are usually too busy to worry much about what non-scientists have to say about their endeavor, especially when the critics obviously don't know the first thing about it.

That's a dangerously naive view. Trofim Lysenko didn't know much about biology, and what he did know was wrong. But he had Stalin's ear, and real biologists had only his bullets. So Lysenko's asinine theories, built on doctored research and shoddy science, became the official doctrine of the Soviet Union, and genuine genetic research was effectively squashed.

Scientists shouldn't ignore their prospects for ending up as collateral damage in the culture wars. They would do well to read *Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels with Science*, by Paul R. Gross and Norman Levitt. This elegant and intensively documented battlefield dispatch demonstrates that the academic Left's attacks on the scientific method — indeed, on the assumption of a rational universe amenable to scientific inquiry — are based on a stupendous ignorance of science.

Because the anti-science academics write only for others who are equally ignorant, their pretensions to understanding are as useful in the pursuit of high academic office as the real thing would be. If scientists are indifferent to politics they will inevitably find themselves governed by those who are obsessed with it.

The late Aaron Wildavsky trenchantly analyzed how faculty hiring practices spread the political ideology that dominates the humanities to fields that have hitherto escaped it. It's true, he conceded, that pressure to hire politically correct faculty at first brings only a few new professors who do not meet the ordinary academic standards of their fields. But those few are uncomfortable. Naturally reluctant to admit that they are the unworthy beneficiaries of a bad policy, they are strongly motivated to move into administrative positions, where they change policy to conform with their beliefs, enabling them to assert that they are as well-qualified as anyone.

This process is already well-advanced at a few unfortunate institutions. Yolanda Moses, now president of City College of New York, was catapulted to that position from a minor administrative post in the California State University system, where her job had been to set goals for affirmative action and cultural "diversity." "The deans' annual performance evaluations and salary increases were based on how well they met those goals," she told the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Jan. 13, 1993).

The consequences of such policies is to marginalize scientists, who cannot compete according to that criterion — the pool scientists hire from has fewer of the currently favored groups than the general population. For academic ideologues, that's not a defense of the present climate, but an indictment: proof positive that science is a discriminatory enterprise, and that those who practice it are racists and sexists who must be forced to abandon their oppressive activities. In effect, that means that they should be excluded from competing for highly-paid administrative sinecures.

It was this work on behalf of coerced diversity that brought Moses her high post at CCNY. Scientists, take note.

For the purposes of the academic power struggle, Asian-Americans — who are if anything overrepresented in scientific fields — no longer count as minorities. (You can't win.) Witness the loan program for Ph.D. study at the Cal State system, a leader in the scramble to replace talent and achievement with

Trofim Lysenko didn't know much about biology, and what he did know was wrong. But he had Stalin's ear, and real biologists had only his bullets.

race and gender. "If we receive an application from an ethnic Chinese in computer science," program director William Coffey said last year, "there is no shortage and we are not admitting them into the program."

There is no shortage either of departments that have experienced pressure to hire and promote faculty for reasons unrelated to scientific qualifications, and that pressure often comes from administrators under the influence of the anti-scientific claptrap Gross and Levitt expose in their book: "essays that make knowing reference to chaos theory, from writers who could not recognize, let alone solve, a first-order linear differential equation; tirades about the semiotic tyranny of DNA and molecular biology, from scholars who have never been inside a real laboratory, or asked how the drugs they take lower their blood pressure."

Gross and Levitt have rounded up all the usual suspects. Here is Jacques Derrida on the speed of light: "The Einsteinian constant is not a constant, not a center. It is the very concept of variability — it is, finally, the concept of the game. In other words, it is not the concept of some thing — of a center from which an observer can master the field — but the very concept of the game."

Fortunately for Derrida, the authors note, "few scientists trouble themselves to read him, while those academics who do are, for the most part, so poorly

versed in science that they have a hard time telling the real thing from sheer bluff." The curious fact about the leftist critique of Western science is "the degree to which its instigators have overcome their former timidity toward the subject not by studying it in detail but rather by creating a repertoire of rationalizations for avoiding such study."

The acolytes are as ignorant as the prophets. Scientists know Heisenberg's uncertainty principle is a mathematical expression of physical reality as precise, unmetaphorical, and uncontroversial as Kepler's laws of planetary motion. But in the hands of such cultural constructivists as Stanley Aronowitz, "it seems rather to refer to a kind of epistemological and spiritual malaise, plaguing the minds and souls of contemporary physicists," Gross and Levitt say. They also find an obscure scholar who thinks that a truly psychoanalytic account of AIDS requires post-Euclidian topology, as well as some less obscure Afrocentrists who assert that ancient Africans originated much of modern science through their psychic powers.

"Women's studies" is a particularly strong, if fractious, part of the anti-scientific enterprise. In a chapter called "Auspicious Gender," Gross and Levitt begin their freak-show tour of the radical feminist critique of science with a modest paper presented to the Mathematical Association of America, "Toward a Feminist Algebra," by Maryanne Campbell and Randall K. Campbell-Wright. "They disapprove," Gross and Levitt write,

... of a particular problem in which a girl and her boyfriend run toward each other (even though the girl's slower speed is carefully explained by the fact that she is carrying baggage) because it portrays a *heterosexual* involvement.

Their general maxims call for problems "presenting female heroes and breaking gender stereotypes." ... All this, mind, is to be done in an algebra class.

The theory behind this is shaky, to say the least. "Generations of Jewish kids have done quite well at these problems, despite having to concern themselves with Johnny's Christmas money rather than Menachem's Chanukah gelt; and in recent decades an ever greater cultural dissonance has done lit-

tle to trip up vast numbers of young algebraists of Chinese, Korean, or East Indian background."

Even if it were true that changing the social details of word problems might help "some reluctant young woman handle simple algebra," the authors point out, anyone who is distracted by them is simply not destined to be any kind of mathematician. "A young lady who makes a game stab at 'Maude and Mabel' problems but balks at 'Joe and Johnny' versions of the same is almost certainly without the knack for abstraction that is an indispensable ingredient of mathematical talent." How true, and how rarely heard under the reign of an educational establishment that maintains that all children are equally talented if only their teachers are paid enough.

For a college-level example, the authors dissect "The Importance of Feminist Critique for Contemporary Cell Biology," generated by a collective called the Biology and Gender Study Group. The collective claims that gender bias has been detrimental to the discipline: "Whereas most feminist studies of biology portray it — with some justice — as a privileged oppressor, biology has also been a victim of the cultural norms." What they object to, though, is little more than inciden-

If scientists are indifferent to politics they will inevitably find themselves governed by those who are obsessed with it.

tal metaphors in textbooks — and, as Gross and Levitt point out, their rendering of the metaphor is far more lurid than any original. Take this overheated description of one innocuous textbook: "The fertilizing sperm is a hero who survives while others perish, a soldier, a shard of steel, a successful suitor, and the cause of movement in the egg. The ovum is a passive victim, a whore, and finally, a proper lady whose fulfillment is obtained."

Passing from pedagogy to philosophy, Gross and Levitt skewer Sandra Harding, whose reputation rests on an

influential book, *The Science Question in Feminism*. If physics is the paradigm of science, Harding admits, "feminism will not succeed in 'proving' that science is as gendered as any other human activity, unless it can show that the specific problematics, concepts, theories, language, and methods of modern physics are gender-laden."

But she can't do that, Gross and Levitt say, so she abandons the project in "a fog of evasions and excuses." Physics shouldn't be the paradigm, Harding concludes, so feminists "need not 'prove' that Newton's laws of mechanics and Einstein's relativity theory are value-laden in order to make the case that the science we have is suffused

with the consequences of gender symbolism, gender structure, and gender identity."

Scientists who actually understand science "have no choice but to regard the whole business as a species of con game." True enough, but con games are dangerous for the conned, a group increasingly well-represented in faculty senates. *Higher Superstition* is a wonderful collection of horrible examples, recommended to those who know they should pay attention to this stuff, but don't have the stomach to read all of it themselves. Scientists especially need to realize that superstition come to power is extremely dangerous. They ignore it only at everyone's peril. □

Booknotes

Chicken Dancing — In the early days of May, I headed southwards to Texas to watch my younger brother graduate from college. The night before the ceremony, he and I drove up to Walburg, a tiny town of German-American farmers notable mostly for its locally popular Friday-night concerts. The concert site was a restaurant with a tarp-covered dance floor around back and an outdoor bar for the patrons; under the tent, an aging trio was playing polkified versions of sundry country hits. Some folks were drinking and some folks were dancing; most seemed to be having a good time. My brother told me there was usually a better band — younger, more talented, and fond of applying their polka talents to Jimmy Buffet's "Margaritaville." I liked the people playing well enough, though.

There's a whole branch of American folk and pop musics — Tex-Mex — that exists because some German instruments found their way into Mexican hands. I don't think country-polka is going to be as successful a synthesis, but it's the same sort of integration of once-separate traditions — what used to be what people meant by "multiculturalism." It's a spontaneous, syncretic, more-or-less peaceful kind of cultural evolution, preferable to both hateful

Balkanization and dull homogeneity. As embodied by that old Texan trio, it symbolizes humanity's last, best hope: our natural inclination to make do with what we have, improvise our own recipes, and figure out ways to have fun. It's usually messy and sometimes goofy and hardly ever grand, but it's noble, sort of, in a peculiar human way.

Nowadays, when people talk about multiculturalism, they probably aren't thinking of Tex-Mex bands, blue-eyed rappers, or Voodoo. More likely, they're taking a stand on a relatively inconsequential debate over which books should be allowed into the "canon" — an artificial list of essential literary works, limited not by merit or importance but by how many can be crammed into a four-year education. (In the discourse of the culture wars, education stops at age 21, unless you plan on becoming an educator yourself. In that case, you are permitted to continue learning, so long as you never stray from your field of choice.)

But a few independent writers and thinkers, some calling themselves multiculturalists and some eschewing the label, continue to explore the vibrant intersections between cultural territories, where myths cross-fertilize and country-polka bands are born. From here issue

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His most recent book is *Airing Dirty Laundry* (Addison-Wesley, 1993, 273 pp., \$20.00), a scattershot collection of commentaries on American politics and culture. Within it, Reed refutes the myth of the exclusively black underclass, wittily asking why no one ever worries about the "epidemic" of "Irish-on-Irish violence." He eulogizes Reginald Lewis,

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the late black CEO of Beatrice International, and pillories the media for criticizing in Lewis the very entrepreneurial qualities they demand of less successful blacks. He defends Clarence Thomas, denounces the drug war, praises bebop, attacks feminist preterensions, and, in the book's best essay, considers his mixed racial lineage — not just African, but Southern, Irish, and Cherokee. "The Afrocentric exploration of the black past only scratches the surface," Reed writes. "A full examination of the ancestry of those referred to in the newspapers as blacks and African Americans must include Europe and Native America. The pursuit of this journey requires the sort of intellectual courage that's missing in contemporary, politically correct America, where certain words cannot be spoken and certain secrets cannot be unearthed and certain investigations are frowned upon." Exploring his poly-racial heritage, Reed concludes that "there is no such thing as Black America or White America, two nations, with two separate bloodlines. America is a land of distant cousins." —Jesse Walker

Hidden Upstate — Most Americans tour their country in one of two ways. Some travel by air, isolated and insulated from the nation below, touching down only in major cities or recreation areas. Others, who cannot afford to fly, travel over interstate highways designed to be characterless. So far as either tourist is concerned, America consists only of unconnected big cities, recreation areas, theme parks, and natural attractions.

Bill Kauffman knows there is a real America out there, in-between the cities and Disneyplaces and national parks, an America invisible to the superficial tourist. Kauffman loves that America, a place of small towns with their own histories, cultures, and traditions. In *Country Towns of New York* (Country Roads Press, 1994, 118 pp., \$9.95), he offers the curious reader a useful guide to the part of that America that he knows best: rural New York, "an undiscovered country."

"We are," he writes, "in every sense but geographically closer to Nebraska than to New York City, but our regional character is markedly different from those of the Middle West, the Mid-

Atlantic, or even the adjoining New England states." He portrays that character in brief descriptions of twelve towns in upstate New York.

Kauffman's idiosyncratic narrations teem with history and anecdote, and are blissfully free of the which-restaurants-have-good-espresso and which-motels-are-quaint-and-clean that characterize most travel guides for motor tourists. He leads you down the streets and roads, into the museums and shops, sharing history and lore as he goes. *Country Towns of New York* is what a guidebook for an intelligent tourist should be. —R.W. Bradford

If Gun Control Is Just, What Is Justice?

— In the cultural and political war over gun rights, the bad guys seem to be winning the biggest and most publicized battles. So I'm glad when I see more good guys entering the fray — guys like libertarian science-fiction writer J. Neil Schulman. Schulman's latest book, *Stopping Power* (Synapses-Centurion, 1994, 287 pp., \$22.95), collects pieces the author has written on firearms and related issues over the last three years — a Cajun stew with a little of everything thrown in. It includes practical, philosophical, and constitutional arguments against gun control, ranging from the powerful to the bizarre (one section is devoted to an English language expert's interpretation of the second amendment). Much of it relates to the struggle to force the Los Angeles Police Department to grant concealed-carry permits to worthy citizens (as California law requires), and much deals with his personal experiences trying to acquire such a license. (Schulman ultimately obtained his permit — by moving.)

Schulman is no armchair freedom-fighter. His book includes remarks before the L.A. Board of Police Commissioners; letters to ACLU president Nadine Strossen, Wal-Mart CEO David Glass, *Scientific American*, and Dr. Joyce Brothers; and several one-sided transcripts of e-mail debates. The e-mail should have been left out: with only Schulman's side of the discussions reprinted, the reader is left hearing only half the conversation.

The sections on the criminal justice system and the death penalty are un-

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convincing; more importantly, they are only tangentially related to the issue of gun rights. But I still enjoyed this collection. I can't quite go as far as the glowing cover blurb from Charlton Heston ("Most cogent explanation of the gun issue I have yet read"), but *Stopping Power* has plenty of fun facts, and is well-suited for people (like me) who enjoy flipping back and forth through a book, looking for interesting bits of information. —Clark Stooksbury

Abandoned! — Until a short while ago, things were going fairly well for

middle-class Americans. Their standard of living was going up, the courts generally protected their rights, and they trusted the government. Then, somewhere along the line, the rules changed. Intellectuals and politicians, aided by the "new legal science," began to acquire ever-increasing amounts of power, running roughshod over constitutional rights.

This is the story William J. Quirk and R. Randall Bridwell tell in *Abandoned: The Betrayal of the American*

Middle Class Since World War II (Madison Books, 1992, 442 pp., \$16.95). Quirk and Bridwell divide the "abandonment" into distinct areas: the Money Abandonment, the Tax Abandonment, the Political Abandonment, the Legal Abandonment, and the Academic Abandonment. They provide detailed accounts of the oil shocks, the S&L fiasco, the budget deal of 1990, and other key points along the statist trail. And they offer interesting profiles of important players in the story, rang-

ing from such well-known cretins as John Mitchell and Donald Trump to less famous figures, such as Christopher Columbus Langdell, the late-nineteenth-century Harvard Law School dean whose penchant for "reform" led to contemporary law schools' emphasis on current judicial opinions rather than classical philosophy.

Ronald Reagan does not fare well in this book: the authors consider him a Keynesian, and denounce him for raising taxes, particularly social security taxes, further hastening the middle class's demise. Quirk and Bridwell seem to possess a special disaffection for Alan Greenspan, pointing out his odd theory that the S&L bailout does not cost anything because the government is merely moving money from one group to another. Quirk and Bridwell are conservatives, but they are far from Republican loyalists. They note that if the Democrats' natural constituency is those in the bottom 15% of the economic barrel, the Republicans only truly represent the top 5%, leaving 80% of America politically homeless.

Abandoned covers a broad canvass without unduly overwhelming the reader. It only disappoints in the end, when the authors offer few suggestions beyond holding a second constitutional convention. Quirk and Bridwell do a more than adequate job of explaining how the abandonment of the middle class took place, but they never explain why the middle class went along so quietly, nor why they can be expected to suddenly express themselves wisely at a constitutional convention. —Colleen Coleman

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— Former Vice President Dan Quayle seems very stately on the cover of *Standing Firm* (Harper Collins, 1994, 402 pp., \$25.00). He is wearing a nice, dark-reddish sweater with a pleasant pattern. It seems a little big for him, actually, but that could just be how it looks in the picture.

Mr. Quayle probably had more to do with picking out his sweater than with picking out the words between the covers of this book, so I think I can be forgiven for reviewing his clothes and leaving the text to someone with more fortitude. —Jesse Walker

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experienced an epiphany: it now supported Needleman's findings, which became a part of the scientific basis for the lead standards established by the EPA in 1986. The entire dreary tale is summarized in an article in the August 23, 1991 issue of *Science*.

Needleman's findings fall into the category econometricians call "fragile": they tend to come and go depending on the statistical angle of attack. Most economists are smart enough not to place large bets on fragile statistical findings, but regulators are not so cautious. Worse yet, given the costs to our economy of near-total lead elimination, there have been reports that low lead concentrations might actually be hormetic. In 1984, Deborah Cory-Slechta reported in *Advances in Behavioral Pharmacology* a classical inverse U-shaped function for lead in rats, monkeys, sheep, and pigeons. According to Cory-Slechta, low doses of lead seem to produce an increased rate of neurological response while high doses decrease the response rate. It is an understatement to say that more research is needed in this area.

Conclusions

Most toxicological research concentrates on the effects of high doses. But even this narrow purview is further constrained by government-mandated testing procedures and government-funded research questions. This increasingly unhealthy mix of government and science has led to a neglect of the possibly beneficial low-dose effects of high-dose toxins. As recently as 1987, L.A. Sagan, in *Health Physics*, was moved to publish a paper entitled "What is hormesis and why haven't we heard about it before?" Why indeed?

America could benefit from a broad-based toxicological research program, one that could clearly identify at least some of the presently overregulated substances that are actually harmless or hormetic at low doses. If such a program brought a mandate for sensible deregulation, it would be one of the most cost-effective research projects ever undertaken.

Alas, it would be difficult to implement such findings in today's politicized scientific world. As Thomas Kuhn taught us, paradigms shift slowly. Remember: Paracelsus met his death by being thrown out a window by colleagues irate over his heretical views.

Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose. □

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October 1987, 48pp., \$6.00

• "The Sociology of Libertarians," by J. C. Green & J. L. Guth • "The Apostasy of Robert Nozick," by Ethan O. Waters • "The Rise of the State," by Murray Rothbard Plus Stephen Cox, William P. Moulton, Jonathan Saville, and others.

December 1987, 56pp., \$3.00

• "The Most Unforgettable Libertarian I Ever Knew," by Karl Hess • "Libertarians in a State-Run World," by Murray Rothbard • "Easy Living in the Bahamas," by Mark Skousen Plus Walter Block, Erika Holzer, Stephen Cox, and others.

March 1988, 64pp., \$4.00

• "Libertarians & Conservatives: Allies or Enemies?" by John Dentinger & Murray Rothbard • "Free Speech and the Future of Medicine," by Sandy Shaw & Durk Pearson • "The Majority vs the Majoritarian: Robert Bork on Trial," by Sheldon Richman Plus R.W. Bradford, William Cate, Stephen Cox, and others.

May 1988, 64pp., \$4.00

• "Ayn Rand: Still Controversial After All These Years," by David Ramsay Steele & David Brown • "The ACLU: Suspicious Principles, Salutary Effects," by William P. Moulton • "The Two Libertarianisms," by Ethan O. Waters Plus Gary Alexander, Nathaniel Branden, Erika and Henry Mark Holzer, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, and others.

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• "Confessions of an Intractable Individualist," by Jerome Tuccille • An inter-

view with L. Neil Smith • David Ramsay Steele on Robert Anton Wilson • "Rand-Bashing: Enough is Enough," by Ross Overbeek Plus Stephen Cox, Tibor Machan, Bill Kelsey, and others.

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November 1988, 80pp., \$4.00

• "Taking Over the Roads," by John Semmens • "The Search for *We the Living*," by R.W. Bradford • "Cooperation vs Envy," by John Dentinger Plus Walter Block, Stephen Cox, and others.

January 1989, 72pp., \$4.50

• "AIDS and the FDA," by Sandy Shaw • "Ronald Reagan's 'Revolution,'" by William Niskanen Plus John Hospers, Leland Yeager, Jane Shaw, and others.

March 1989, 72pp., \$5.50

• "Ronald Reagan: An Autopsy," by Murray Rothbard • "What If Everything We're Told About Safety Were Wrong?" by John Semmens and Diane Kresich Plus writing by Jeffrey Friedman, David Ramsay Steele, Sheldon Richman, and others.

May 1989, 72pp., \$4.00

• "The End of the Secular Century," by Murray Rothbard • "Man, Nature, and State," by Karl Hess, Jr. Plus David Gordon, Justin Raimondo, Stephen Cox, and others.

July 1989, 80pp., \$6.00

• "Viking Iceland: Anarchy That Worked," by David Friedman • "The Myth of the Rights of Mental Patients," by Thomas Szasz Plus Tibor Machan and others.

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only to reinforce their reader's pat partisan views with the same old nostrums. Only a courageous editor (and readership!) resists this temptation in order to contemplate new ideas.

Regarding the letters, I confess disappointment. In several cases, the correspondents imputed beliefs to me that I simply never articulated. Take Gary Alexander's contention (July 1994) that today's wealthy class consists mostly of self-made individuals, not old-money clans. His detailed rebuttal consisted mostly of anecdotes, each of which could be answered by a contradictory one. However, I will gladly grant that the degree of social mobility in America is debatable, and that I might be wrong about the amount of aristocratic power wielded today by inherited wealth. My own rags-to-comfort story weighs on that side of the ledger.

What Alexander flat-out failed to notice was that my essay was not about that issue at all. It dealt with the historical conflict between freedom and the aristocratic impulse. By implying that I favor social levelling and removal of open market incentives, Alexander proved that he did not read my article very carefully. Freedom, markets, and openness are the very things I seek to defend — by pointing out what killed such miracles in the past.

Prochnow and Myers also put words in my mouth, criticizing socialist views I have always rejected and resent having attributed to me. Still, Prochnow raised a very valid point about *how* conspiratorial capitalist aristocrats cheat and harm the free market — by bribing governments to pass laws favoring their established interests and stifling competition. Exactly! That is how it was done in scores of societies past, and the method is used rapaciously today. Prochnow seems to understand this, but he blames only the government tool, and not the aristocrats who use it.

David Elving Schwartz crammed words into my mouth even more offensively than Gary Alexander did. I'll ignore his baseless insults about my purported "Jacobin passion" and address the historical points he raises.

Regarding Ch'ing China — is he serious? Does he actually believe winners of the civil service tests had no connections by birth, bribery, and family in-

fluence? Or the 99% of those chosen did not come from a narrow social class that fiercely defended its interests? Every Asian scholar I have read, from Maslowe to Bergamini, would disagree. As for the Roman patrician coups Schwartz so blithely dismissed, not only are the wars of succession waged by the Roman republican elite *extremely* relevant, but so is the later period, in which imperial law rigidly required men to stay in the social class of their birth, regardless of talent or ability.

Schwartz also claimed the American War of Independence had no dramatic social-engineering implications. Say what? Shall we ignore the vast consequences of the breakup of absentee estates — a third of the land in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other states? Or the outlawing of patents of nobility and primogeniture? Or the expansion of suffrage? Or the post-war populist democratic experimentation in the new western states? Next to these and countless other upheavals, Schwartz's list of well-born generals is just plain silly.

I cannot answer David Marhoffer head-on, because his basic assumptions lie on a completely different plane than my own. His libertarianism takes a religious bent, harkening back to the long tradition of purist theologians who preached that there is no justification or proof except that of pure faith. I must respect the purity of such conviction, even while pointing out that it is usually held by individuals subsidized by this wealthy, tolerant world of today, not by those who have, in fact, competed successfully in a world of hard knocks. Perhaps he is an exception.

Marhoffer is right. If human nature had been at all like Karl Marx fantasized, I might have been a Marxist. But human beings are not like old Karl's ditzzy fantasy. If my pragmatism is anathema to Marhoffer, so be it.

Mastermind of Murder

Rather than criticize Yasser Arafat's call to *jihad*, Jesse Walker criticizes others for not interpreting *jihad* more softly, figuratively ("Slouching toward Jerusalem," September 1994). It apparently did not occur to Walker that the PLO's refusal to annul their charter calling for Israel's destruction and to condemn and confront the terror of Hamas, Hezbollah, and some PLO factions provides

Notes on Contributors

Jonathan Adler is Associate Director of Environmental Studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

Chester Alan Arthur is *Liberty's* political correspondent.

Ace Backwards is an infamous underground cartoonist.

"Baloo" is really cartoonist Rex F. May.

John Bergstrom is special projects editor of *National Lampoon*.

David Boaz is executive vice president of the Cato Institute.

Ben Bolch is McCallum Professor of Economics at Rhodes University and coauthor of *Apocalypse Not*.

R.W. Bradford is editor and publisher of *Liberty*.

Colleen Coleman is a writer in Ohio.

Stephen Cox is Professor of Literature at the University of California.

Gus diZerega is a senior associate at the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment.

Leon T. Hadar is Washington correspondent for the *Singapore Times*.

Greg Jenkins is a Pennsylvania storyteller.

Bart Kosko is author of *Fuzzy Thinking*.

Richard Kostelanetz is an unsubsidized gadfly living in New York.

Pierre Lemieux is a vagrant economist and pamphleteer.

Michael Levine is editorial intern at *Liberty*.

Loren Lomasky is author of *Persons, Rights, and the Moral Community* and Professor of Philosophy at Bowling Green State University.

Harold Lyons is Schering Plough Professor of Chemistry at Rhodes University and coauthor of *Apocalypse Not*.

Wendy McElroy is a "fellow" at the Independent Institute.

Linda Seebach is a columnist for the *Los Angeles Daily News*.

Jane S. Shaw is a senior associate at the Political Economy Research Center.

Fred L. Smith, Jr. is president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

Clark Stooksbury is *Liberty's* assistant publisher.

Jesse Walker is *Liberty's* assistant editor.

ample reasons to interpret Arafat literally. Not to mention the recent attacks on Israelis and non-Israeli Jews in Buenos Aires, London, and Panama.

Scott Gordon
Washington, D.C.

Friendly Amendments

I wish to clarify certain statements in my article "Back to the Libertarian Party" (May 1994) that could be perceived as strident or personal in nature. These statements pertain to my criticism of Murray Rothbard and Ed Crane for their strategic decisions to leave the LP.

When I wrote, "None of these factions have accomplished anything of lasting value for the cause of liberty," I should have added, "in their recent fo-

rays into presidential politics." Both Rothbard and Crane have accomplished much for the cause of liberty in other ways, as your readers are well aware.

My statement that "both groups have a knack for picking losers" seems a bit harsh out of context. I was simply arguing that those who leave the LP in part because of its sorry performance in elections open themselves up to similar scrutiny of their own candidates' performances.

An earlier draft of the article ended with an exhortation to "our old friends to come back to the Libertarian Party." That was the spirit, if not the exact lettering, of my essay.

James Ostrowski
Buffalo, N.Y.

Terra Incognita

New York

A look into the criminal mind, from the *Milwaukee Journal*:

A man held up 18 businesses after casing the places while filling out job or rental applications. The spree ended after he accidentally signed his real name on one of the forms.

Algeria

Religious tolerance in Northern Africa, as described in the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

As part of a crackdown on Islamic fundamentalism, the Algerian government is registering all males wearing beards.

New York

Further advances in protection of intellectual property, as reported by *The Wall Street Journal*:

"Brrrr," "Huggahugga," and other distinctive noises of the Fat Boys merit copyright protection, said New York Judge Charles Haight.

San Clemente

The human side of power, as described in *U.S. News & World Report*:

"Intimates say it was Nixon who often made the other former presidents feel most at ease on the rare times they were all together."

Georgia

Saving the children, as described in the *Atlanta Journal*:

Under a "zero tolerance" policy towards weapons in the schools, a Fulton County elementary school student was suspended for bringing in a knife to cut cookies for her classmates.

New Jersey

Progress in taxonomy, as reported by the *National Law Journal*:

A New Jersey appeals court has ruled that seaweed is legally a fish.

Washington, D.C.

Congresspeople say the darnedest things, as reported by House of Representative Committee on Government Operations:

"Medical experts suggest that it is not uncommon for an individual, at the time of death, to ejaculate," noted the Hon. William F. Clinker, ranking Republican on the Committee on Government Operations.

Washington, D.C.

Congressional reform, as reported in *Roll Call*:

Until April, signs at Dulles and National airports proclaimed "Reserved Parking — Supreme Court Justices/Members of Congress/Diplomatic Corps." Now they simply read "Restricted Parking/Authorized Users Only." The change went into effect five days after the Senate rejected a proposal to end the tax-subsidized parking.

Great Falls, Montana

Administrative rights for the dead, reported by the *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*:

Four days after she died, Joyce Rennick received a letter from the Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services, advising her, "Your food stamp benefits will stop effective 07-31-1994 because you are now deceased. Your medical assistance benefits will stop effective 07-31-1994 because you are deceased." It concluded by reminding Resnick that she was entitled to a fair hearing and could call with any questions about her loss of benefits.

United States

Creative way to relieve employers and employees of the burden of health care, suggested by the *Consumer Reports*:

"What's ideal: A broad-based, progressive income or payroll tax that would generate enough revenue to cover not only the uninsured but everyone else as well. That would eliminate the need for employers and, increasingly, employees to shoulder the burden for health-care premiums."

London

Interesting historic discovery, reported by Reuters:

In his new book *The House of the Messiah*, Ahmed Osman, an Egyptian-born academic, claims that Jesus, King Tut, and Joshua, the Old Testament figure who brought down the walls of Jericho, were the same person.

Louisiana

A new tack in the War on Crime, as reported by the *Dallas Morning News*:

The State Senate approved a bill already passed by the House that would penalize people who turn their car radios up too loud. Under the bill, those who turn up the volume would face a maximum \$500 fine or up to 90 days in jail, or both.

The Vatican

Religion in the information age, as described by the *Detroit News*:

Father Pasquale Silla of Rome's "Divine Love" sanctuary has invented an electronic rosary. Punch in a prayer on a gadget like a hand-held video game, it goes "beep-beep," and the microchip points the way to salvation. "The idea was to help modern man pray," explains Silla.

Milwaukee

Peculiar way of grieving in the Metropolis of the Cheese State, as reported by the *Milwaukee Journal*:

Melvin V. Skinner has filed a suit against a local music store that sold him a \$1,200 guitar and amplifier. "I went to the music store totally intoxicated to buy a cheap guitar in memory of my father, who had just passed away. After seeing the condition I was in, they purposely sold me the most expensive equipment. Now they refuse to take it back," he explains. "I don't even play guitar."

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

Stimulate Your Mind!

with *Liberty* back issues

(continued from back cover)

Volume 5

September 1991

- "AIDS and Marijuana," by Robert O'Boyle
 - "When Bombs Are Smarter Than People," by Bart Kosko
 - "50 Really Stupid Ways to Save the Earth," by Karl Hess
- Plus articles and reviews by R.W. Bradford, Frank Fox, John Hospers, James Taggart, Mark Skousen, and others. (72 pages)

November 1991

- "The Road to Nowhere," by David Horowitz
 - "Ethics vs Economics," by Leland Yeager
 - "Thelma and Louise: Feminist Heroes," by Miles Fowler
- Plus articles and reviews by Robert Higgs, Carol Moore, and others; and a short story by J. E. Goodman. (80 pages)

January 1992

- "The National Park Disgrace," by R.W. Bradford and Karl Hess, Jr
 - "Beyond Austrian Economics: Bionomics," by Michael Rothschild
 - "How To Think About Pollution," by David Friedman
- Plus articles and reviews by Leland Yeager, Bill Kauffman, Henry Veatch, Jane Shaw, Richard Kostelanetz, and others. (80 pages)

March 1992

- "Albert Jay Nock: Prophet of Libertarianism?" by Stephen Cox
 - "P.C. or B.S.?" by Meredith McGhan
 - "JFK: The Once and Future Controversy" by Sheldon Richman
- Plus articles and reviews by Karl Hess, Jane Shaw, William Holtz, Edward C. Krug, Randal O'Toole, and others; and an interview with Pat Buchanan. (72 pages)

May 1992

- "Hong Kong: Free Markets, Full Employment," by Mark Tier
 - "The Dustbin of Prehistory," by Vernon L. Smith
 - "Who is Richard Rorty?" by Dan Klein and David Horowitz
- Plus articles and reviews by Eric Banfield, Karl Hess, Kyle Rothweiler, and others; and fiction by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

July 1992

- "The 'Lock' on the Electoral College," by David Brin
 - "Christians and Libertarians in a Hostile World," by Doug Bandow
 - "God and Man at Bay?" by Timothy Virkkala
 - "The Myth of (Heavy) Metal Illness," by Gracie & Zarkov
- Plus commentary on the L.A. Riots, and articles and reviews by David Kelley, Leland Yeager, George H. Smith, and others. (72 pages)

Volume 6

September 1992

- "War on Drugs, War on Progress," by James Ostrowski
 - "Five Years of *Liberty*," by R.W. Bradford
 - "Stupid About Schools," by Martin Morse Wooster
- Plus articles and reviews by J. Neil Schulman, Murray Rothbard, William Mellor III, and others; and an index to back issues. (80 pages)

November 1992

- "The First Time: I Run for the Presidency," by John Hospers
 - "Who Kidnapped the Hardy Boys?" by David Justin Ross
 - "Remembering John Cage," by Richard Kostelanetz
- Plus articles and reviews by David Kelley, Daniel Klein, Loren Lomasky, Gregory Johnson, Jesse Walker, Ben Best, and others. (80 pages)

February 1993

- "A Feminist Defense of Pornography," by Wendy McElroy
 - "Perot's 200-Proof Populism," by Bill Kauffman
 - "The New Civic Religion," by R.W. Bradford
- Plus election coverage, and articles and reviews by John Hospers, James Ostrowski, Scott Reid, and others. (80 pages)

April 1993

- "How to Cut Your Taxes by 75%," by R. W. Bradford
 - "Clinton and the New Class," by Douglas Casey
 - "Vicious Bureaucrats vs Helpless Wolves," by John Baden
 - "Peter Drucker: The Other Austrian," by Mark Skousen
- Plus articles and reviews by John Hospers, Stephen Cox, and others; and an interview with Roy Childs. (72 pages)

June 1993

- "Holocaust in Waco," by R.W. Bradford and Stephen Cox
 - "Understanding the State," by Albert Jay Nock
 - "Who Benefits from the Clinton Program?" by Harry Browne
 - "The FBI Wants Your Codes," by Bart Kosko
- Plus articles and reviews by Leland Yeager, Jesse Walker, Randal O'Toole, and others. (72 pages)

August 1993

- "How Do I Hate NPR? Let Me Count the Ways," by Glenn Garvin
 - "What Happened in Waco?" by Loren Lomasky and R.W. Bradford
 - "Somalia: Operation No Hope," by Jesse Walker
 - "Lies, Damn Lies, and AIDS Research," by Brian Doherty
- Plus articles and reviews by David Boaz, John McCormack, Stephen Cox, Jane Shaw, and others; poetry by Marc Ponomareff; and fiction by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

Volume 7

October 1993

- "The Real Health Care Crisis," by R.W. Bradford
 - "Isabel Paterson, Individualist," by Stephen Cox
 - "White Liberals Can Jump," by William Moulton
 - "The Supreme Court vs the American Police State," by Stefan Herpel
- Plus articles and reviews by Greg Kaza, Brian Doherty, and others; aphorisms of Isabel Paterson; and an index to Volume 6. (72 pages)

January 1994

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