

Liberty

October 1993

Vol. 7, No. 1

\$4.00

Crackdown on the Electronic Frontier

Old-Growth Government:
Wiping Out Both Spotted Owls and Logging
by Randal O'Toole

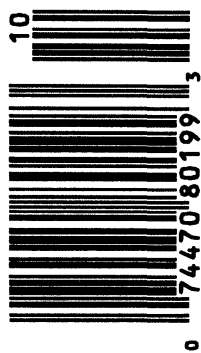
The *Real* Health Care Crisis
by R.W. Bradford

Anarchy in Salt Lake City
by C.A. Arthur

White Liberals *Can* Jump
by William P. Moulton

The Significance of Isabel Paterson
by Stephen Cox

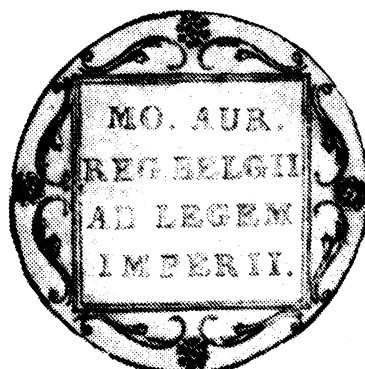
Also: *Leland Yeager* on what comes after liberalism, *Stefan Herpel* on the Supreme Court and the American police state, *Richard Kostelanetz* on literary prostitution, plus other Articles, Reviews and Humor.



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Inside Liberty

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Letters

Pepsi Degeneration

Your humorous portrayal of Pepsi-Cola's loss of Kashrut approval is off the mark (*Terra Incognita*, August 1993). Pepsi-Cola wished to have the broadest possible market for its product and therefore obtained Kashrut approval by the more rigorous licensing authority, the religious court, or Beis Din Tzedek (B'Datz) of the Eida Chareidis of Jerusalem. The Eida Chareidis is a religious community in Jerusalem established during the British Mandate precisely to be completely independent of the government.

No one forced Pepsi to seek this high level of Kashrut certification. It was also their choice to engage in marketing and promotional practices such as sabbath violations, etc., which are totally abhorrent to those who voluntarily subscribe to the standards of the B'Datz.

Libertarians support the voluntary creation of extra-governmental communities and judicial systems whose authority is binding without the monopoly of coercive force. It does not behoove a publication of *Liberty's* standards to make light of an organization which has been a paradigmatic example of such voluntary organization for the last 60 years.

Jay L. Gottlieb
New York, N.Y.

Ahhh, So's Your Old Man

David Boaz laments ("You Can Quote Me on This," August 1993) that "[Ronald] Reagan's impact on the world . . . seems to have bypassed" the editor of the new edition of *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*. But what precisely has "Reagan's impact on the world" been? As far as I can see, Ronald Reagan is a semi-literate halfwit whose only impact has been to do more than perhaps anyone else in history to give the free market a bad name — by persuading the endlessly gullible populace that his policies (massive increases in government spending, massive increases

in governmental intrusion into people's private lives through a multi-billion dollar "War on Drugs" and a mindless crusade against "pornography") were free-market policies. Thanks to Ronald Reagan, we now have legions of dunderheads coast to coast proclaiming that "we've tried the free market and it didn't work."

But never mind all this, Boaz tells us; think of the multitudes of superbly quotable *bon mots* for which Reagan was responsible during the years of his presidency. It was Ronald Reagan, Boaz reminds us, who said, "There you go again." And was it also Reagan who gave us such immortal lines as "So's your old man" and "It takes one to know one"?

Elsewhere in his review, Boaz laments the failure of *Bartlett's* to acknowledge Karl Hess as the actual author of Barry Goldwater's "famous 'extremism' quotation." But surely he knows that anything Ronald Reagan ever said that is legitimately quotable was actually written by someone like Peggy Noonan, Pat Buchanan, or Dana Rohrabacher. So why, pray tell, should Reagan's name ever be allowed to deface any edition of *Bartlett's* — or any other dictionary of quotations, for that matter?

Jeff Rigenbach
San Francisco, Calif.

Editor comments: Previous editions of *Bartlett's* have cited Hess as author of the "extremism" quotation.

And While We're At It, Why Are Anarchists Running for Public Office?

In the June issue of *Liberty*, Jane Shaw has a column titled "Just Say 'no' to the Libertarian Party." In the August issue, it is revealed that Ms Shaw is a member of the LP's "Shadow Cabinet."

By what convoluted reasoning would Ms Shaw accept the above position, as well as have a speaking engagement at the LP convention, while urging the demise of the organization?

William J. Hickman
Grantville, Ohio

The Limits of Discourse

Just a footnote to Glenn Garvin's wonderful piece on NPR ("How Do I Hate NPR? Let Me Count the Ways," August 1993), all of which squares exactly with my experience of NPR listening over quite a few years (in my capacity as

cultural anthropologist). A couple of years back, APR (American Public Radio, which produces *Marketplace*, another program featured on most NPR stations) asked me to be a regular commentator on matters relating to business and economics. When I sent in a few sample comments — 90 seconds on why "hostile" takeovers are often friendly to stockholders and customers — I was asked to make my comments less opinionated. I tried to tone down the style but kept the content in focus — observations on how most people get bad analysis about what ails our economy. The offer was rescinded.

Heaven help it if public radio featured someone who does not share the sophisticated political and economic philosophy of Daniel Schorr.

Tibor R. Machan
Auburn, Ala.

Lies, Damn Lies, and Book Reviews

"Lies, Damn Lies, and AIDS Research" by Brian Doherty is just one more article playing down the most dangerous epidemic ever to face our nation. The statement, "The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), commonly understood to be the cause of the range of diseases we call AIDS, may in fact be no more than a cofactor, if that" characterizes the effort to confuse and mislead readers into thinking that HIV is not responsible for the progressive destruction of the immune system in millions of people throughout the world. The question as to whether Robert Gallo or Luc Montagnier discovered the virus has nothing to do with the fact that homosexuals infected with HIV disease undergo progressive destruction of their immunological system. Recent articles in both *Nature* and *Lancet* comparing comparable groups of homosexuals have shown that only those who are HIV-infected progress to the terminal stage of the disease which is referred to as AIDS.

The statement, "The problem is that not one example of a retrovirus has ever been known to cause disease in humans," is blatantly false. HTLV-1 is a retrovirus that produces a T-cell leukemia. HTLV-2 is a retrovirus that produces progressive spinal degeneration.

The question is asked how HIV disease produces its changes. Dr Anthony Fauci of NIH has recently published work showing that HIV lives in the lymph nodes for many years, silently working to destroy the immune system

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Letters Policy

We invite readers to comment on articles that have appeared in *Liberty*. We reserve the right to edit for length and clarity. All letters are assumed to be intended for publication unless otherwise stated. Succinct, typewritten letters are preferred. Please include your phone number so that we can verify your identity.

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Reflections

Lloyd Bentsen in one lesson — Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen said the Mississippi flood rebuilding effort would mean “a lot of concrete poured, a lot of tractors working,” and therefore be good for the economy. Good thing those levies failed; and too bad the one around St. Louis held out. And why are the World Trade Center bombers being tried? Think of the concrete poured! —JSR

Stealing second base — George Steinbrenner, who runs the most profitable franchise in baseball, has been threatening to move my beloved New York Yankees to New Jersey. What he really wants is New York City or State (Governor Mario Cuomo has expressed support) to build him a new stadium within the five boroughs. He complains that the current stadium's location in the South Bronx keeps away customers. He even marshalls statistics that demonstrate declining attendance. What he does not mention is that in the past few years the cost of general admission tickets (which is all you can get before the game, because all others were sold out to season ticket holders) has risen from \$7.50 to \$10.50, which is to say from a price competitive with a movie to one that isn't. No wonder previous customers decide against going to Yankee games.

Most of us would say that anyone raising prices in an economic slump was either a fool or a schemer. The scheme here is using self-induced lower income as a rationale for demanding public funds. This threat is ultimately not local but national. Mark my words: if Steinbrenner succeeds, every major-league municipality and all major-league fans will be similarly threatened. If the state has any function in a free market, it should be to hasten the departure of those who charge too much, especially if they display the *chutzpah* to ask the state to compensate for unnecessary losses. —RK

Don't tell Robert Reich — Never let it be said that government cannot create jobs. According to the *London Observer*, a group of Chinese soldiers has for some time been employed shoveling sand from railroad tracks in Quinghsa, deep in the Gobi Desert. Without this heroic effort, no trains would be able to reach that godforsaken region.

And for what purpose do the railroad tracks stretch to Quinghsa? For one reason, and one reason only: to supply the soldiers who are busily shovelling sand. —JW

Progress report — In the past few months Russia has promulgated a school voucher plan, repealed its sodomy law, and guaranteed the right of private land ownership. In May and June, China cancelled 80 taxes and fees imposed on farmers. Meanwhile, here in America . . . well, you know. —DB

Think globally, act locally — Al Gore has de-

cided to remodel his official residence with redwood and Douglas fir, two species Gore's campaigned to protect from logging in old-growth forests. —ATS

Mars beckons — Some libertarians, such as Patrick Cox of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, have used the failure of NASA's Mars probe to argue for abolishing NASA and leaving space exploration to the private sector. Me, I think the spectacle of the federal government stuffing \$1 billion into a metal canister and shooting it into outer space is such a perfect metaphor that if NASA is abolished, the program should be continued by the National Endowment for the Arts. —DB

Their day in court — In the August *Liberty*, I wrote that by examining the case of Randy Weaver we could get a pretty good idea of what might have happened to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the Branch Davidians had the government siege of the Davidian property not ended with the deaths of virtually all the Davidians and the total destruction of the scene of the events.

Weaver was the right-wing nut who was accused of a minor firearms violation in 1989, and moved with his family to a small shack in the mountains of northern Idaho where he lived peacefully until he was attacked by federal agents, who killed his wife and teenage son. While the Weaver case started out like the Davidian case, it took one critical turn: Weaver surrendered before the final assault by the federal authorities, so he survived to have his day in court.

As we went to press in July, Weaver and a friend who had been in his mountain cabin at the time of the assault and survived were on trial, charged with eight different crimes. The jury found both defendants not guilty of the charges that grew out of Weaver's resistance to the federal assault (conspiracy, assaulting U.S. Marshalls, murdering U.S. Marshall William Degan, possession of firearms while a fugitive, using firearms in the commission of a violent crime) as well as the charge for which Weaver had originally been charged. It found Weaver guilty of two relatively minor charges related to his failure to appear in court for the original alleged violation of gun regulations.

But David Koresh did not get his day in court. Instead, he got killed, just as the federal police had tried to kill Weaver. The scene of Koresh's supposed crime was burned over and bulldozed, so it is unlikely to reveal any evidence that might clear Koresh. The public was kept more than three miles away from the scene of the assault, and the Davidians were not allowed any communication with the outside world.

But it now looks as if some Davidians may get a chance to defend themselves. A federal grand jury has indicted twelve of the surviving Davidians for the murder of the ATF agents who were killed in the initial raid.

The federal police may live to regret their decision to go after the survivors. There are strong indications, including a videotape record, that the ATF casualties at the initial raid were the result of "friendly fire."

And even if the prosecutors somehow manage to prove that the agents were killed by fire from within the compound, they will still have to demonstrate what they could not in the Weaver trial: that the actions of those defending their homes was something other than self-defense. —RWB

At home in the Democracy — How far away 1988 seems. In the space of a mere lustrum the flag in which George Bush wrapped his wan and witless self has magically changed colors, from the red, white, and blue of the Old Republic to the blue and white globe-in-a-bull's-eye of the United Nations.

Ah, for those carefree halcyon days of yore, when the two wings of our one-party system engaged in a hilarious debate over the relative criminality of burning an American flag and raping Kitty Dukakis. It seemed like a big deal at the time — at least to everyone but Kitty's husband, legalistic Greek that he was — but now, five years later, a synthesis presents itself. All the eminences of the Sole and Glorious Party agree: the death penalty for anyone who burns a United Nations flag!

God knows how many Somalis, dark and poor as Washington's murder victims usually are, will lie dead in their provincial little streets, executed by the justly hated janissaries of the United Nations for the crime of loyalty to a local thug ("warlord," in Corporate Media Speak) instead of the New World Orderlies ("peacekeepers").

The blue and white flag of the Total State flies over this occupied land of light chocolate Willie Hortons. Next it will ripple in the Cambodian breeze, and after that its staff may be transplanted into the soil of Haiti or Azerbaijan or, sooner than we think, even these once-sovereign states.

Who has spoken up against the slaughter in Somalia? As I write, only Pat Buchanan and Senator Robert Byrd and a few black Democratic congressmen. The Republicans, erstwhile foes of that great Right hobgoblin, World Government, stand revealed as bumbling One-Worlders who combine the worst features of Wendell Willkie, Henry Kissinger, and Charlie Starkweather. (Ordinary Republicans of the Main Street variety have no enthusiasm for our never-ending global adventures, of course, but they all voted for Perot anyway.)

The other truly atrocious act of Champ Clinton — the massacre of religious dissidents in Waco, Texas — also elicited a cowardly mewling assent from the purported opposition party. Congressman John Conyers, the black leftist from Detroit, and Ohio's zany and frequently right-on populist Democrat James Traficant were the only gutsy defenders of the old values (freedom of worship, the right to bear arms, the right to be left alone) whose voices I heard.

As far as I can tell, the Republican commitment to liberty is limited to advocating lowering the tax burden on the wealthy and the upper-middle class. Until my ideal party comes into being — a cheerful gang of the bohemian Right, the America First Left, and the angry patriots of the radical center — the Democrats, for

all their faults, are the better way-station for those who abhor mass murder. —BK

Confederacy of dunces — Boutras Boutras-Ghali continues to push for a strong United Nations. I can sympathize — I did much the same in my days as an important U.N. official.

All right, I wasn't really a U.N. official. But I *was* a member of my high school's Model U.N., a group that simulated the real thing. (I realize that in some circles, that is sure to be taken as a confession of nerditude, so for balance let me point out my teenaged membership in a short-lived, very bad garage rock group, the Velvet Undies.) At one local meet, in which I represented the People's Republic of China, I got together with my counterparts from the United States and the Soviet Union (the latter wearing an enormous and incongruous Reagan button) and wrote a resolution that essentially stated:

(1) The United States, U.S.S.R., and Red China are now officially joint rulers of the world, and the U.N. is our instrument;

(2) All who oppose this edict will be occupied by U.N. troops; and

(3) All who *vote against* this edict will be occupied by U.N. troops.

It passed, mostly because other delegates wanted to get on to other things and passing our resolution seemed as good a way as any to get rid of it. So my friendly suggestion to Mr Boutras-Ghali is: *Staff the United Nations with bored high school students. They'll give you whatever you want!*

My secret agenda, of course, is to fill the U.N. with delegates who can't even find the countries they're supposed to meddle in on a map. —JW

Planners' ritual — I recently spoke about libertarian approaches to economic and social problems at the International City/County Management Association, a professional organization of local government planners. They reacted the way you might expect of someone being told that there was no justification for his job. When I asked why "planning" wasn't a dirty word in this day of Communist collapse, they protested that they were not for *central* planning, just city planning. They insisted that their kind of planning was "community-based" and took into account the needs of people. I scoffed and said that planners were incurably out of touch with real needs.

Afterwards, my hostess approached me, out of earshot of the others, and confessed that when she worked for the city of

Austin, the planners went through an elaborate ritual of consulting the community. "Then we went back to our offices, said 'the heck with what they want,' and unveiled [the planning document] *Austin 2000*." Confession must really be good for the soul. —SR

The values of the Elders —

The notorious Joycelyn Elders, collector of three tax-funded salaries and distributor of slightly flawed condoms, told the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, "I have seen bright young people all over this

Liberty's Editors Reflect

DB	David Boaz
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country in an ocean surrounded by the sharks of drugs, alcohol, violence, homicide, suicide, AIDS, and teenage pregnancy while we argue over whose values we are going to teach." Does President Clinton's nominee for surgeon general really believe that the values taught to children are unrelated to such issues as drugs, violence, and teenage pregnancy? Has she contemplated the uncomfortable fact that when schools did teach traditional values, children were less likely to encounter these sharks? Has she noticed that children in schools that still teach values — notably Catholic schools — suffer less from such problems? Or is it "blaming the victim" to point out that drugs and AIDS are not just mysterious, impersonal phenomena?

I for one would not support a blind return to Victorian or Eisenhower-era values, nor do I think such a step is possible. But I am appalled that a high-ranking federal appointee, a close associate of the president of the United States, can cavalierly dismiss the very notion that the values taught to children might bear some relation to the terrible social problems that children face today. —DB

Whither the yellow peril? — The Chinese Communist government is mounting a campaign against "underground sperm donor brigades," groups of individuals who "wantonly and excessively" donate sperm — leading, according to the government, to the reproduction of "inferior strains." The artificial insemination business is largely unregulated in China, and the government seeks to bring this anarcho-capitalistic activity under state control. Why a country with over a billion people even needs sperm banks is anybody's guess, but why question the genius of the marketplace? And the conclusion that these men carry "inferior strains" seems premature — after all, they're outwitting the licensed Communist masturbaters. —JSR

Biodiversity grows out of the barrel of a gun — On June 11, 1993, at the seventh annual meeting of the Society for Conservation Biology at Arizona State University, the Wildlands Project was proposed. It is, in essence, a massive land use plan for the entire U.S., banning or restricting human access to up to half the continent. The Oregon coastline, for example, would see 23.4% of its land returned to wilderness (i.e., no people are allowed) and another 26.2% set aside for only severely restricted use. The plan does not specify what would happen to the nearby inhabitants.

The project is designed to preserve "bigness" and "fierceness" in the environment. That means it will be considered OK for animals to kill and eat anyone who wanders into their protected areas. The planners have not yet figured out how they want to handle wild animals who wander into the human areas and kill and eat people there.

There is a word for all this: "insanity." But I read about it in the June 25 issue of *Science*, which appears to take it all quite seriously, at least from a "scientific" point of view (i.e., This Is What We Must Do To Preserve Biodiversity). Indeed, over the past few years *Science* has increasingly favored centralized planning for the achievement of "scientific" goals; the Wildlands Project is only the latest in a series. But this biodiversity plan may be so extreme it becomes a blessing in disguise: so radical is its sweep, and so adversely would it affect

so many individuals and communities, it could never be put into effect as is — and may by association help bring down its philosophical predecessor, the Endangered Species Act.

The people who proposed this plan seem to think that the present catalog of animals and plants must always exist, in precise and constant ratios, that it is some kind of ideal that must be maintained at all costs, including massive coercion. But in 10,000,000 years, what we humans have done today in terms of fostering animal or plant species will not make the slightest difference to the survival of the planet. New ecosystems emerge; old ecosystems adjust. One day, *all* species will be extinct. And "the planet" doesn't care.

When science mixes with the state, you get plenty of "bigness" and "fierceness" — and evil. —SS

Viva la videotape, again — In the June *Liberty*, I observed that Janet Reno had virtually confessed to the murder of the Branch Davidians in her public statements defending the decision to attack them with tanks and poison gas. But I did not believe her confession; more likely, I figured, she was a posturing politician, ineptly trying to portray her behavior as positively as possible, unaware of the implications of what she was saying. It seemed to me that the fiery death of the Davidians was the result of bureaucratic ineptitude, at most "mass negligent homicide."

A reader sent me a videotape produced by the American Justice Federation that calls my conclusion into question. It quite plainly shows a tank shooting fire into one of the buildings, as FBI agents calmly jump from the roof and walk away just after the fires are started. And that's not all: there are also images of FBI tanks breaking holes into the underground bunkers, which could explain how the poison gas got to those Davidians who had been taking refuge in the bunkers at the time of the assault. The tape also shows footage of the original assault on Feb. 29, and it surely looks as if the Davidians are *not* returning the ATF's fire. In one chilling episode, an ATF agent throws two grenades through a window through which three other ATF agents have just broken into the compound, and then rakes the interior with machine-gun fire. The narrator says that the three agents who had preceded the grenade-tossing machine gunner were all killed. I'm not surprised.

The tape concludes with the ATF flag triumphantly — and ominously — flying over the smoldering ruins.

I am no expert on authenticating videotapes, so I suppose it is possible that what I saw was somehow faked. But it certainly looked like the tapes of the original raid and of the



"Urp"? — What kind of mantra is that?"

Baloo

scene that I had seen on television. If these scenes were faked, someone went to a lot of trouble to duplicate the Davidian compound.

If federal prosecutors actually take their case against the survivors to trial, they will have to deal with the videotape that I saw, as well as substantial amounts of additional videotape produced by the BATF and the FBI. Unless, of course, the FBI and ATF have already destroyed or doctored their video record.

—RWB

Regulation at a new height — In a memo to President Clinton, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich has proposed raising the minimum wage from the current \$4.25 an hour to at least \$4.50 an hour, and then indexing it to inflation. After all, surely workers would be better off making \$4.50 than \$4.25. In that spirit, I wonder if the Clinton administration would consider increasing the minimum height for U.S. workers to five feet. After all, surely workers would be better off if they were at least five feet tall. Robert Reich would be out of a job, but isn't it better to have a few people on welfare as long as most workers are taller?

—DB

By his own hand — On July 27, Reggie Lewis, captain of the Boston Celtics, collapsed while shooting baskets at Brandeis University. He was pronounced dead two and a half hours later.

He had collapsed three months earlier, during Boston's first playoff game of the season at Boston Garden; afterwards, he was examined by a team of twelve specialists who concluded he suffered from a cardiomyopathy, a potentially lethal condition in which damage to an area of heart tissue can cause the heart to beat irregularly. Not only was Lewis' life in danger, but if the diagnosis was true, his career was over — a traumatic development for an athlete of his caliber.

So Lewis wanted a second (or in this case, a thirteenth) opinion, and consulted Dr Gilbert Mudge, a cardiologist at Brigham and Women's Hospital. Mudge decided that the opinions of the doctors who had examined Lewis before were unfounded and that what Lewis suffered from was a neuro-cardiogenic syncope, a nerve disorder treatable with medication. Lewis would be able to continue his career and try to forget the whole episode. It surely did not upset Celtic management, an organization that seemed to be reeling ever since

the sudden death of first-round draft pick Len Bias in 1986, and could ill afford to lose Lewis' services.

Mudge's diagnosis was wrong; the autopsy proved the original twelve doctors' appraisal correct. Whether or not the way Mudge and Celtics management advised Lewis was ethical is not so certain. But the death can be blamed on no one but Lewis himself. Twelve doctors warned him of the danger. He chose to ignore them. No amount of prodding could have forced him to keep playing if he did not want to.

Already it has been suggested that Mudge and others be sued for their part in this tragic episode. That is ridiculous. Reggie Lewis died as a result of his own actions, not those of Mudge or Celtic management. I do not mean to admonish the man. He died doing what he loved to do, shooting baskets and talking with his fans. But to deny his responsibility is to deny that man is free to live his life as he chooses. It's time to quit pretending that people are not responsible enough to live their own lives by their own volition and face the consequences of their own decisions, be they good or bad.

—ATS

Out in center field — The conservative wing of the media, led by Rush Limbaugh and *American Spectator's* ideologues of the frat-boy Right, have formulated their take on the Clinton administration: Bill Clinton and (especially) his wife are socialists of the far, far left, ready to impose McGovernite PC hell on the rest of us.

If only things were that simple.

There certainly is an ugly leftist odor to some of the Clinton appointments, from Donna Shalala to Laura D'Andrea Tyson. But Clinton himself is basically a centrist, and so is his administration. The Left has had a few bones thrown its way, but the general course of the nation is no more leftist now than it was conservative under the regency of George Bush. No, it is that awful monster, the totalitarian middle, a.k.a. the "vital center," that steers our nation now, just as it has for decades.

Consider the uneasy case for Clinton as leftist. First off, there's his statist economics: tax, spend, and regulate. That's unpleasant, but is it "leftist"? Not unless you want to argue the Republicans' economics is leftist, too. The programs Clinton is pushing — national service, "managed competition," industrial policy — could as easily have come from the Nixon or Bush administrations (and, in more moderate forms, they did). Meanwhile, Clinton's version of welfare reform sounds more right-wing than left; not surprisingly, it also shows little prospect for actually shrinking the welfare state. In this age of the big-government conservative, it is useless to describe just anyone out to wrap the economy in red tape as a leftwinger.

Then there's his alleged social liberalism. He's pro-choice, for whatever that's worth — actually, it's one of the most mainstream opinions he has. And he's supposed to be gung-ho for gay rights, though I see little real evidence for this. After all, he's waffled like crazy on the gays-in-the-military issue, and refused to appear at the gay and lesbian march on Washington. (He said he had a prior engagement to speak to the American Newspaper Association in Boston, but *The New Republic* reports that that convention was originally scheduled to begin the day after the march — until Clinton "forced the newspapermen to accommodate his enigmatic schedule.")



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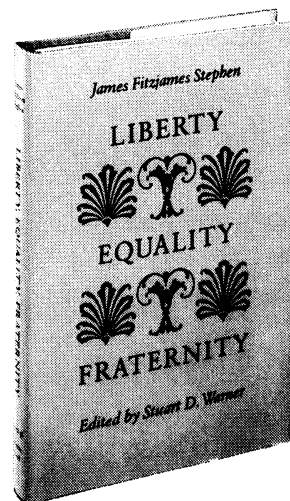
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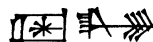
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Basically, Clinton's social-liberal image is partly a remembrance of his draft-dodging, pot-smoking past and partly a reflection of his fascination with left-liberal Hollywood movers and shakers. Which raises the question: Are Dana Rohrabacher and Frank Sinatra now social liberals?

If you want a firmer grip on Clinton's politics, take a look at his treatment of the National Endowment for Democracy, that federally-subsidized fund for the international propagation of neoconservative dogma. Even as fellow Democrats in the House of Representatives tried to defund the dinosaur, Clinton requested a 60 percent *increase* in NED funding. This is not the behavior of an out-of-the-mainstream leftist. This is the behavior of a man firmly in the political center — i.e., firmly in the Beltway. If he's not popular with the bulk of the American people — and he isn't — that just shows how far from America's center the political center has moved. Not leftwards. Not rightwards. Just away.

—JW

How to win enemies and influence the people —

Mohammed Farah Aidid, the Somali "warlord" being pursued by U.N. forces, is a minor thug, unimportant in the greater scheme of things. He is not personally responsible for the awful conditions in Somalia, and his capture will not solve the systemic problems that created the Somali disaster. The attention he's getting from American and U.N. media spokespeople is far out of proportion to his significance. He's being *systematically demonized*, as William Burroughs would say; attacking Aidid is an easy substitute for understanding and combatting foreign aid, "structural readjustment policies," and Third World statism.

Alas, the scapegoating process isn't going very well. I don't know why, but Democrats aren't as good as Republicans at turning minor Third World thugs into avatars of Satan. Muammar el-Qaddafi was a flaky, effeminate madman responsible for all the terrorism in the world; Saddam Hussein was worse than Hitler; Farah Aidid is . . . just a thug. He hasn't made any passes at Western journalists, or sent any hit squads after Clinton, or even gassed his own people. He has no known links to the KGB, the Medellin Drug Cartel, or Carlos the International Terrorist. He hasn't shot at the Pope, put on rouge, or bought expensive designer eyeglasses. *This* is the man we've sent thousands of soldiers overseas to nab?

No, let's face it: when it comes to stirring up jingoistic hate and focusing it on one unlucky scumball, Clinton's a bust. This is Republican territory. The last Democratic president to pull off a good demonization job was Franklin Delano

Roosevelt, who had every American convinced that the Jap next door was ready to steal their garbage for Tojo. So let's count our blessings. Sometimes, Clintonian incompetence is a boon for liberty.

—JW

The well-tempered libertarian — Libertarians tend to exhibit an intellectual elitism that can only alienate potential support. Consider three examples:

1. Years ago, Nathaniel Branden appeared on a daytime talk show hosted by John Davidson. As the applause died down, one could distinctly hear Davidson ask Branden if he could call him "Nat." *No*, replied Branden in sharp rebuke and with a sour look. Once bitten, Davidson — who obviously had only glanced at the book Branden had written — innocently commented, "I understand you're into biorhythms." (Davidson had obviously confused Branden's *biocentric* psychology with the pop-scientism of *biorhythms* — well, nobody ever claimed John Davidson was an intellectual.) "You've totally misinterpreted what I said," Branden shot back with his best imitation of Randian outrage, embarrassing his host. Needless to say, "Nat" was never invited back.

2. More recently, Charles Murray, well-known author of *Losing Ground*, imitated Branden's style. On *This Week with David Brinkley*, Murray used the "people like you" generalization to not-so-subtly accuse Brinkley of supporting welfare-statism. Brinkley was noticeably miffed at Murray's presumption that he knew what Brinkley thought. Unless some apology is made, we won't be seeing Murray again on that show, either.

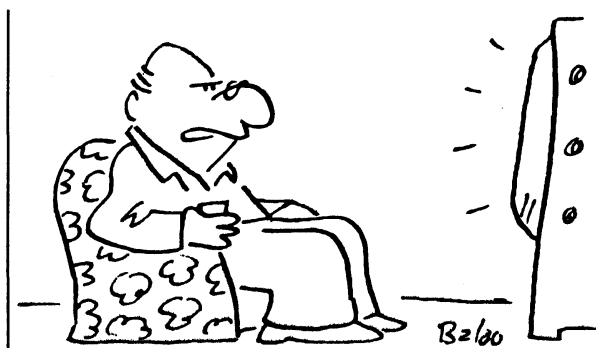
3. In his article "Confessions of an Intractable Individualist" (*Liberty*, July 1988), Jerome Tuccille relates his experiences on the campaign trail and his alienation from libertarianism and Libertarian Party politics. He writes: "I had very little desire to push through shopping mall crowds on Saturday afternoons, smiling and shaking hands and otherwise being agreeable to people suffering from advanced stages of brain rot." (Oh, dear.) Then, Tuccille berates Senator Jacob Javits for his ability to, as he adroitly puts it, "oil . . . his way among the throngs with a plastic smile on his lips, shaking one hand after another, dispensing an inanity here and another one there," etc., etc.

These examples suggest a question: have old-fashioned manners disappeared from the libertarian movement? Is being nice to people some terrible sin that we are somehow *above*?

This type of self-sabotage is difficult to explain in people of obvious ability. Intelligent people simply do not go around insulting their hosts — and what is so wrong about "chatting up" voters? To denigrate social niceties is a fine way of cutting one's throat, but it does little to promote liberty.

Libertarians could learn a lesson from G.K. Chesterton. I invoke Chesterton's name here because he was universally liked — even by devout socialists like Wells and Shaw, who thought his ideas neanderthal. Chesterton's description of Basil Grant in *The Club of Queer Trades* is almost a self-portrait: "He listened . . . with the genuine simplicity and respect which he never failed to exhibit in dealing with any human being." This epitaph would apply to very few libertarians. Unlike Chesterton, libertarians do not seem genuinely interested in the common man. This arrogance is self-defeating.

Can the arrogant, anti-social streak in so many libertarians



"How damn *many* pennies a day?"

ever be eradicated? I don't know, but perhaps if men like Chesterton are widely emulated, the libertarian movement will become a place where charm is again seen as a virtue, and success a possibility.

—Guest reflection by Dan Riga

Margit von Mises, 1890-1993 — When Ludwig von Mises arrived at the American shore, phenomenologist Alfred Schütz was at the pier to greet him. We honor Schütz for this. And we honor those who sponsored Mises at New York University when he could find no academic position in the American academy — despite having made brilliant contributions in many areas of economics, including monetary theory, the business cycle, the theory of central planning, and the methodology of the social sciences. It is much easier now than it was then, 50 years ago, to do good work in economics and social theory, and to advocate a free society and the institutions of capitalism. We owe not only Mises but his supporters something for this change. But we should not forget the woman who arrived with the eminent Austrian on these shores, who stood beside him in his early years of exile away from Vienna and through all his years in America, and who survived him by 20 years.

Margit von Mises died on June 23, 1993, after living nearly 103 years. She had a full life: actress, friend, and conversationalist. Loyal to her husband and his work, and a person of great charm — as attested by her friends and as revealed in her memoir *My Years with Ludwig von Mises* — she was evidence that virtue is its own reward, or (to be more precise, as we should be when dealing with economists), at the very least, that virtue provides for much reward. Those who knew her will miss her, and the rest of us simply note her passing, and remember how important to us her life, and the life of her husband, became. And hope that some measure of that importance will remain,

as the world turns a little closer to the ideal of freedom, which both Miseses struggled to proclaim.

—TWV

Henry Hazlitt, 1894-1993 — At 98, Henry Hazlitt was prepared for death; when it finally came after many years of suffering and lingering in a nursing home, it was all the sweeter. It came as a friend, and Henry was prepared to receive it.

Henry Hazlitt was unique in his dedication to the cause of individual freedom and to the dissemination of this cause with his powerful pen. His whole life was devoted to this effort. As a young reporter with *The Wall Street Journal*, as literary editor of *The Sun* and *The Nation*, as editor of *The American Mercury*, as a columnist for *Newsweek*, as editor-in-chief of, then faithful contributor to, *The Freeman*, he always demonstrated the best in economic knowledge and journalistic professionalism.

Throughout the years Henry Hazlitt never failed to find eloquent words and lucid composition to dwell upon economic subjects. He, more than any other American writer, wrote as the common people speak, but thought as wise men do. Proper writing, to Mr Hazlitt, was but a different name for lucid conversation. His guide was truth, which made him write powerfully, naturally, and convincingly. He wrote until he was four-score-and-ten because he liked to write and liked himself better when he did.

Henry Hazlitt will be remembered as the great teacher of the present generation of economic writers. When they face the burning issues of our time they will do well remembering the great Hazlitt lessons in *Economics in One Lesson*, *The Foundations of Morality*, *The Conquest of Poverty*, his fifteen other books, and thousands of essays and articles. Although he has left this stage of life, his writings will point the way for generations to come.

—Hans F. Sennholz

Medianotes

The fugitive — I hear on the news that the U.S. occupiers of Somalia are still troubled by Mohammed Farah Aidid, whom the news readers formulaically describe as a "fugitive warlord." I don't know much about Aidid, but I suppose this characterization is accurate: Aidid refuses to surrender to authorities, which makes him a "fugitive," and he does apparently head a military force, which makes him a "warlord." Even so, the use of such emotionally-charged words is a bit worrisome.

George Washington headed an insurgent military force during the American Revolution, and he refused to surrender to British authorities. Was he a "fugitive warlord"? —RWB

Pope's on the ropes — The way the news media — especially the taxpayer-funded media — treated the U.S. visit of Pope John Paul II left even me feeling a bit sympathetic for the old boy and his church. For one thing, the media demonstrated just what the Pope says about them: they were obsessed with sex. (*Newsweek's* cover line: "Sex and the

Church.") What issues were relevant when the world's most prominent religious leader visited a country wracked by crime and moral crises? Abortion, homosexuality, married priests, women priests, and, lest we forget, pedophilic priests. NPR's coverage began with the Pope's stop in Mexico City. A long feature story included opinions presented as fact — "Pope John Paul II is an authoritarian"; snide comments — "President Salinas didn't show up for the Pope's remarks here, and observers wondered why the Pope didn't mention the Church's long mistreatment of the Indians"; and soft interviews with "longtime Catholic activists who dissent from the Church's teachings on basic theological issues." (Like libertarians who believe in national health insurance, tax increases, and drug prohibition?) My local government radio station's coverage concluded with an hour-long talk show on the problem of — you guessed it — pedophilic priests. One might as well tune in to Geraldo, who at least doesn't demand my tax dollars for his public-interest programming.

Another popular theme was that the Pope's opposition to birth control is responsible for overpopulation in the world, even for the murders of eight street children in Rio de Janeiro in July. Writers such as Georgie Anne Geyer and Judy Mann accepted the overpopulation canard at face value, then blamed it on the Church.

Now far be it for this Protestant-turned-nonbeliever to defend the world's leading mystic. But I think the Pope's address about the "culture of life" versus the "culture of death" might have warranted more than a disparaging soundbite from Catholics for a Free Choice. And when Catholic schools achieve twice the success of the public schools at half the cost, it might be worth examining the values taught in Catholic schools — not just the sexual ones, but the full panoply of moral values. (E.J. Dionne's column in the *Washington Post*, which did just that, was a welcome exception to the general level of coverage.) Maybe on the Pope's next visit, after the five-part series on priestly celibacy. —DB

The crappy filmmaker as hero — The big summer movie hit was Stephen Spielberg's *Jurassic Park*, and it was awful. Its plot, in case you've been living under a beached whale, involves scientists cloning long-extinct dinosaurs with the intention of putting them in an amusement park; everything, of course, goes out of control. The message, I take it, is this: if you're going to bring back long-dead beasts for commercial exploitation, it's better to use computer wizardry and put them in a movie than to use biotech and put them in a theme park.

It's hard to pick out the worst thing about this picture — is it the gooey sentimentality that Spielberg confuses with a sense of wonder? The asinine "explanation" of chaos theory? The constant denigration of science? The gaping holes in the story? Sitting in the theater, question after insistent question ran through my mind: *How is that limping boy outrunning a dinosaur we've been told is faster than a cheetah?* and *Why, with those infrared night-vision glasses just sitting there, are they drawing attention to themselves with bright flashlights?* and *If they brought back the dinosaurs by cloning preserved dinosaur blood, how did they bring back all of those prehistoric PLANTS?*

There were some more general questions, too, like *Haven't I heard this soundtrack in an elevator somewhere?* And, of course, *Why am I sitting through this crap?*

Well, at least I can answer the last one. I was sitting



"What do you do on your day off is too my business!"

through the movie so I could watch the nifty computer-generated dinosaurs. So was everyone else. As my friends and I left the theater, one commented, "They shouldn't have bothered to hire any actors." ("Don't

worry," I told her. "They didn't.") This is a brand new, very expensive special-effects technology; it took a director with the cash and clout of Stephen Spielberg to put it to use. And that, ultimately, is why I am glad this pile of dung was made.

Jurassic Park proved that studios can get a return on an investment in these new techniques. Thanks to Spielberg, genuinely creative but less powerful directors are freer to put the tech to work in their pictures. And, slowly but surely, the technology will filter down to those wild visionaries who don't work in Hollywood at all.

One day, *Jurassic Park* will be thought of the way D.W. Griffith's racist epic *Birth of a Nation* is now. Film classes will be forced to watch it, and critics and historians will go on about its importance in motion picture history. Most audiences will be put to sleep, though, because the oh-so-radical innovations that spellbind today's viewers will become part of the general vocabulary of cinema, leaving nothing to pay attention to but the implausible story and the godawful music. —JW

In the freak range — Conservative magazines have not given up their obsession with homosexuality, but they've added a new twist — earnest attempts to offer a serious justification for their hostility. That's progress, I think, even if their attempts don't hold up very well on examination. At least they're *trying* to be both civil and intelligent. All, that is, except for good old Joe Sobran, last seen speaking at the 1991 Libertarian Party convention, whose review of the April gay rights march in *Crisis* referred to the marchers as "perverts, dykes, and fairies . . . lisping, shrieking . . . both sexes intent on proving their manhood . . . almost in the freak range, down there with incest, pedophilia, sheep-loving." Sobran may not *quite* be a libertarian on policy issues, but he's mean-spirited enough to qualify for "paleolibertarian" status. —DB

Tree-sucker — On September 8, Al Gore took his public relations campaign for "reinventing government" to New York City, where he appeared on the David Letterman show. It was an historic event. For the first time in the ten-year history of the program, Letterman sucked up to a guest.

I suppose this shows that anyone — even an individual as set against brown-nosing as David Letterman — can succumb to the trappings of power. When the New York City cops halted all traffic for miles around and Secret Service goons searched the entire audience so *El Segundo* could safely go out in public, Letterman was instantly transformed into Arsenio Hall.

Gore told a few witless jokes, which is not to say that he didn't say anything funny. Consider the following interchange with his host:

Letterman: How much did the study [about reducing waste in government] cost?

Gore: Nothing. One of the things that was different about it is we did it completely with federal employees.

I have examined a videotape of this exchange a half dozen times, and I can assure you that Gore's answer had not a trace of sarcasm. This was not a joke. Apparently, Gore is convinced that using federal employees to do a job costs nothing at all. Does he believe federal employees do not get paid? Or does he

continued on page 46

Diagnosis

The *Real* Health Care Crisis

by R. W. Bradford

The Clinton administration has grandiose programs; conservative ostriches have effusive criticism; neither has a clue to what's wrong with American medicine.

I just got back from my dentist's, where I had my regular check-up. Five x-rays, a cleaning by a dental hygienist, and a brief examination set me back \$117. A year ago, this same procedure cost me \$97. Five years ago it cost less than \$60.

It's a good thing I didn't have to have anything *done* to my teeth. Being healthy is expensive enough.

My experience typifies that of all Americans. Medical costs are rising rapidly, much more rapidly than other prices. For the last decade, national health care expenditures have risen at more than twice the rate of inflation. Medical care has risen from 9.4% of GNP in 1980 to over 12.8% of GNP today. In my home state of Washington, spending on medical care rose 153% over the course of the '80s. Total national health expenditures have increased from \$27.1 billion in 1960, to \$250.1 billion in 1980, to \$666.2 billion in 1990. All facets of health care are seeing costs rise faster than the general inflation rate — hospital care, physician services, dental services, home health care, drug prices, the whole array. The average cost of medical coverage has also risen, especially in the last few years: from \$1,645 per person in 1984 to \$3,968 in 1992.

The trend is plain to see. If the price of medical services continues to rise at this rate, Americans will be bankrupted or have to forego needed care. This is why so many Americans

have responded to President Clinton's call for "health care reform."

Taking the Task Force to Task

President Clinton has responded to the crisis by appointing a health reform task force of volunteer experts to study the situation. To protect it from undue influence from those with a financial interest in medical care (i.e., health care professionals), he kept the membership of the task force secret and instructed it to meet in private.

Unhappily for the president, Federal Judge Royce Lambeth on March 10 ruled that it was illegal for the task force to meet in total secrecy so long as the president's wife headed it without pay. Presidential spin doctor George Stephanopoulos immediately went on television and explained with a straight face that the court's decision was a "victory" for the administration because it did not disband the task force altogether.

Eventually, someone leaked a list of the members to the press and to Congress. On March 28, it apparently occurred to the president (or his wife, who runs the task force) that since

Judge Lambeth had ordered it to hold public meetings, people were going to figure out who was on it anyway, so they might as well come clean.

It turns out that the task force has 511 members, of whom 412 are full-time employees of the federal government. Another 82 are part-time federal government employees. This leaves 17 who are not federal bureaucrats. Of these 17, nine are employees of the National Governors' Association, six are consultants for the Department of Health and Human Services, one is a county commissioner, and one is affiliated with the Harvard Community Health Association.

It seems a safe bet that a task force consisting of government employees will conclude that medical care ought to be controlled even more tightly by government than it is today.

All this is surrounded by a massive public relations campaign, complete with television commercials advising us that the solution is "managed care." Pontificating professors have explained why we need more government control. The first lady created a media event by bringing the

family of an infant poisoned by the *E. coli* bacterium to Washington to testify about the importance of a government takeover of the health care industry — although the child is recovering and his medical bills are being paid by those responsible for his accidental poisoning. . . . For a while, the campaign for a "solution" seemed to infect virtually every newscast and public affairs program.

During the eight months of its existence, Ms Rodham Clinton's health care task force has progressed from extending the private-government partner-

In America today, people want the absolute best health care and could not care less about the cost, since in most cases it is paid for by someone else. Not surprisingly, costs are bound to rise sharply.

ship that has resulted in ever-increasing medical costs to advocating a system that amounts to socialized medicine in all but name.

The president's theory (and the theory of his expert task force) is that medical care ought to be controlled by a government bureaucracy, so that it can be run with the same efficiency, productivity, and innovation as the post office, the public schools, the military, and the drivers' license bureau. On the surface, you'd think Americans would be reluctant to turn their medical care over to these people. But you'd be wrong. Enough are sufficiently worried about the spiraling cost of medical care to grasp at any solution, even one that puts their health in the hands of bureaucrats.

Virtually every incarnation of the Clinton plan calls for elimination of all employer-provided health insurance plans. This means that many workers will get worse medical coverage at a higher cost to themselves, but it was a small price to pay to gain the support of big businesses that had in the past agreed to pick up the cost of medical care for their employees and their employees' families, without stopping to

figure how much this might cost them. Now that the bill is coming due, Clinton is happy to oblige them by allowing them to dodge their contractual liabilities.

There have been a few rough spots in the road to socialized medicine. Every once in a while, Ms Rodham Clinton paused in her public listing of new benefits and attacks on red tape to mention the matter of paying for the program. At first, she said health care reform could be accomplished by mandatory private insurance for all but the unemployed, for whom government would pick up the tab. This wasn't terribly popular — people began to suspect that they would have to pay for their own insurance, which already costs too much. So the task force suggested financing it like Social Security. But this meant lower take-home pay for everyone. So the task force floated the idea of a new broad-based tax, the value added tax. But taxes seem high enough to most people already, and the VAT would fall hardest on the poor. So Rodham Clinton proposed a "progressive" tax requiring people with high incomes to pay far more than those with lower incomes for identical health care. Even this failed to gain much support from a public worried about higher taxes.

The problem the task force faces is simple and fundamental. Americans have a system of extensive and wonderful benefits and services, delivered to them with little hassle or worry. But they do not want to pay for it, though they don't mind someone else paying. The problem is that the benefits Rodham Clinton promises are expensive. They cannot be paid for simply by raising the taxes on the wealthy or some other small minority.

The country seems divided between those who cannot afford to pay for their medical care and those who don't want to pay for their medical care. The only genuine consensus: *someone else should pay.*

Every time the president's wife or one of her staff floats the notion of a new tax, support for the whole program recedes. In August, the task force finally came up with a new approach: simply tell the American public that the system won't require anyone to pay for it. It's too soon to see whether people

will buy this bare-faced lie. But if history is any indicator, the willingness of the American people to believe their government can give them benefits at no cost whatsoever has never been in short supply.

The Ugly Truth

So far, Clinton and his expert commission have dodged the nastiest question that perplexes every system of socialized medicine: triage administration — i.e., the government deciding which people's medical problems ought not be treated at all.

Unless an infinite amount of resources is allocated to health care, someone has to decide which medical problems will be treated. In a free market, those allocations are made on the basis of willingness and ability to pay. This means that some very serious medical problems of poor people will not be treated, and that some rather fanciful problems of the wealthy will. To many, this is simply unjust. Why should a poor man die because he cannot afford an appendectomy, while a rich woman can have extract of sheep embryo injected into her blood on the theory that it will make her younger?

Those who find this situation unsatisfactory seldom talk about the alterna-

Clinton is happy to oblige big businesses by allowing them to dodge their contractual liabilities.

tive, perhaps because it isn't much more pleasant. If decisions about how money is to be spent for health care are not to be made by individuals themselves, then who is to make the decision?

One possible answer is that the individual can purchase insurance. In exchange for a fee, the insurance company agrees to provide such medical care as an individual needs. The care the insurance company will provide (or pay for) is determined by what the insurance buyer contracts for. If one buys insurance that covers dental care, the insurer pays one's dental bills; if one has not contracted for dental care, then he is responsible for paying for it

himself. So ultimately, voluntary insurance does not change the method of allocation: whether it is a poor person buying insurance against appendicitis or a wealthy person buying insurance to pay for rejuvenation injections makes no matter. They get what they pay for.

The only alternative to allocating medical care by means of the ability and willingness of the individual to pay for it is allocation by a third party. That third party — whether an individual or a committee — must decide whether to pay for a medical procedure. Ultimately, that third party will have the power of life or death over the individual.

This has been the experience of virtually every country that has adopted government-allocated medical care. This triage is sometimes obscured. In Britain, for example, individuals who are wealthy enough can purchase medical care that the National Health Service refuses to pay for. Canada denies the wealthy this same privilege — it is against the law to contract with a physician to provide medical care not provided by its national health insurance program. But this is softened by the proximity of the United States, where private health care is widely available.

Triage isn't the only unpleasant aspect of government medical care. As with any socialized industry, bureaucratization, inflexibility, and inefficiency will inevitably characterize medical care taken over by the government.

Of course, Clinton and his experts do not mention any of this. Instead they focus on a single point: the present system is so expensive that some people might not be able to afford the care that they need or want. They promise a new system that will provide what people want at low cost, or at no cost at all.

The fact that the system they propose will control costs only by triage, while adding new costs in the forms of further inefficiency, inflexibility, and bureaucratization, is obscured by the promise of great benefits at no cost.

It is plain that the solution to the medical care crisis will not come from the Rodham Clinton task force. More government spending, higher taxes, manda-

tory insurance, cartelized buying groups, more regulation — these can only intensify the health crisis.

Conservative Ostriches

Conservatives, meanwhile, have busied themselves arguing that there isn't any problem at all.

Consider Fred Barnes' essay, "What Health-Care Crisis?," in the May 1993 *American Spectator*. Barnes makes valid points: he points out that the uninsured do receive medical treatment, that many statistics that are supposed to indict American health care in fact reflect other social problems, and that socialized medicine would create more problems than it would solve. American medicine is not in trouble, he tells us, because the American health-care system is better than that of any other nation in the world.

He may be right; he's marshalled some impressive statistics. But the fact that Japan, Germany, Canada, *et al.* have worse problems than we do hardly indicates that our system is working fine. The only problem Barnes concedes is "the lack of proper primary care for several million Americans." Nowhere does he address the issues of rising costs or government intervention. Everything else is just swell. Why should we worry about rising costs, when costs are rising even faster elsewhere?

Other conservatives offer even weaker arguments. Take Donald Lambro, who spent his syndicated column of April 5 denouncing medical price controls and praising the "extraordinary advances" in "new surgical procedures and miraculous drugs" that

are "saving more lives, extending longevity, and, yes, substantially cutting health care costs."

Lambro, like Barnes, misses the point. For one thing, it is doubtful that new technology is reducing health care costs; often, new technologies are more expensive, as well as more effective, than those they replace. But even to the dubious extent that technological advances cut costs, their effect is limited. A television costs more than a radio — but is cheaper for *what it provides*.

Right-wingers like Barnes and Lambro are actually making it easier for those who would nationalize health care. Barnes may think he is refuting the Clinton health plan, and Lambro may intend to stop price controls, but neither is willing to tackle the question: *Why are prices rising so fast and so inexorably?* By ignoring this problem and pretending that our system is market-driven, they have bought into the premises of the status quo — and, hence, of its left-liberal critics.

Any solution is going to have to come from outside the borders of the debate that have been established by conservatives, left-liberals, and vested interests. It requires an examination of the cause of the medical care crisis, and exploration of how we got into the mess we're in.

Out of the Crisis

The crisis in medical care is a matter of very basic economics. Normally, people's demand for goods and services is elastic and limited. When the price of a good goes up, people buy less of it. I love hamburgers. At current restaurant prices of \$2 to \$6, I average a couple of burgers each week. But if the price rose to \$20, I would eat fewer, and if it went to \$100, I would eliminate them from my diet entirely. My demand for burgers is price-sensitive, "elastic."

In America today, demand for health care is both inelastic and virtually unlimited. That is to say, people want the absolute best health care and could not care less about the cost, since in most cases it is paid for by government or employer. When demand for any economic good is inelastic and unlimited, the



— IF ONLY LAUGHTER WERE THE BEST MEDICINE —

Allyson

price must shoot upward.

Suppose for a moment that every one of us could have all the hamburgers we wanted, made from the finest ingredients, prepared by the best-trained chefs, and that all these burgers were paid for by someone else. What would happen to the price of burgers?

Would the price of burgers fall, because people wanted more of them? If a burger cost you nothing, would you go to a cut-rate restaurant? Would you seek burgers made from cheap ingredients?

Would the costs of the burger industry fall? Would it become more effi-

The president's theory is that medical care ought to be controlled by a government bureaucracy, so that it can be run with the same efficiency, productivity, and innovation as the post office, the public schools, the military, and the drivers' license bureau.

cient? Or would costs rise as more and more research went into making better burgers, as finer and finer cuts of beef were ground into burger patties?

Now suppose that burger chefs were allowed to restrict the number of people allowed to enter the burger profession. What would happen to the salaries demanded by burger chefs? What effect would this have on the price of burgers?

This is precisely what has happened with medical care. Most Americans are entitled, by virtue of medical insurance provided by their employer or by welfare payments provided by their government, to whatever medical care they want or need, no matter what the expense. The cost of medical care has skyrocketed in the same way the cost of burgers would skyrocket if we were all allowed whatever burgers we want without the obligation of paying for them. Add to this the effects of medical licensing, with its consequent cartelization, and ever-higher costs are assured.

Government guarantees of payment for certain heroic medical procedures have further accelerated the rising cost of medical care. At present, for example, certain medical procedures are routinely performed to extend the life of an elderly patient by only a few months at a cost to taxpayers of hundreds of thousands of dollars. If government did not guarantee these payments, the incidence of these heroic procedures would be far less frequent. Most families would simply not be able to afford them, and many of those who could would decide against doing so. If briefly extending the life of an elderly parent means selling one's home and denying one's children an education, most Americans would reluctantly decide not to do so. Such heroic procedures would be performed mostly on the very wealthy or on people who have chosen to forego the purchase of other goods for the security of insurance that covers heroic medical treatment.

This is at least slightly offensive to most people's egalitarian impulses. But who is to say that this method of rationing heroic medical care is better than outlawing heroic procedures altogether, the method typically used where medical care is socialized?

The root of the problem is that most Americans believe that all of us have a right to the best medical care, no matter what the cost. Implicitly or explicitly, almost all Americans are reluctant to deny a person medical care — leave a person to suffer or die — because he cannot afford to pay a physician or a hospital for their services.

The Root of the Problem

So long as Americans have a broad consensus in favor of guaranteeing every American unlimited health care regardless of cost, the price of health is going to continue to rise sharply. Health care is excellent for those who can afford it — for the rich, for employees of firms that provide extensive health care benefits, and for the elderly, poor, and government-employed whose medical expenses are paid from Uncle Sam's infinitely deep pockets. These groups comprise about 75% of all Americans. The remainder — mostly the self-employed, people between jobs, and those who work for smaller

businesses that provide jobs but no health insurance — are increasingly being priced out of the market.

These people are the worst victims of the present system. To keep its costs from skyrocketing totally out of control, the government has mandated spending limits on certain procedures — limits that are often below costs. Large employer-provided insurance also often negotiates maximum payments for services, though usually at a level than can cover costs. This leaves only one group of people to pay for the physician's or hospital's losses on Medicare and Medicaid patients — those without insurance.

In sum, the current medical care system, supported by the broad popular notion that medical care is a universal right and shaped by the politics of various special interests, is not capable of containing costs. The proposed solution offered by the Clintons would only make matters worse, while conservatives are busy denying that there is any problem to begin with. In a private conversation with a fairly prominent conservative, I challenged his claim that there was no problem, and suggested that a solution could come only when Americans accept the fact that medical care is an economic good not unlike other economic goods and not a universal right. He agreed, but defended the conservative pose on the grounds that it is more able to slow the advance of socialized medicine. This stuck me as odd; why should handing the high ground to the left impede the left's campaign? Why should we misrepresent a situation and withhold our best information and understanding? More fundamentally, is our goal to slow the move toward socialized medicine, or to reverse the direction of public policy? What tactic is more likely to affect the direction of policy?

Solving the health care crisis is simple. But it will not be easy. Americans must come to understand that medical care ought to be subject to the same considerations as any other economic good. Medical care is often as vital as food — but no more vital. The arguments for socializing medicine are precisely the same as those for socializing food, clothing, or shelter, and they have the same disastrous consequences for

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Justice Forfeited, Justice Reclaimed

by Stefan B. Herpel

The government can seize your property even if you haven't committed a crime. Is the Supreme Court coming to the rescue?

On June 28, 1993, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision that may finally end more than 20 years of judicial acquiescence to property seizures made under the so-called "civil forfeiture" provisions of state and federal drug laws. Those provisions authorize the government to confiscate any property that has been used, or even *intended* to be used, to facilitate a drug offense. Property may also be confiscated if it represents the proceeds, cash or otherwise, of a drug violation.

Forfeiture is the modern counterpart to the old medieval law of "deodands." Under this rule, when an inanimate object caused the death of a person, it was forfeited to the king as a deodand, to be used for the good of the dead man's soul. The rule was based on the legal fiction that property itself can be guilty of wrongdoing; the guilt or innocence of the owner had little or no relevance to the forfeiture of property as deodand. Consistent with their origins, modern forfeiture laws do not require proof of criminal acts by the owner of the confiscated property. In many, perhaps most cases, criminal charges are never even brought against the owner.

In addition, the government may seize your property in response to someone *else's* misuse (or intended misuse) of it. In the landmark *Pearson* case of 1974, the Pearson Yacht Leasing company had a \$20,000 yacht seized when the people to whom the boat had been leased were discovered to have brought a small amount of marijuana on board. The forfeiture was upheld even though Pearson was

found to be "uninvolved in" and "unaware of" the illegal use of the boat.

The Austin Case

In *Austin v United States*, the high court unanimously held that civil forfeitures (or, as they are sometimes called, *in rem* forfeitures) are subject to the constitutional protection against the assessment of "excessive fines" contained in the eighth amendment to the Constitution. The *Austin* decision, together with new efforts at legislative reform (see sidebar), may well stimulate a major change in the way forfeitures are conducted.

In contrast to many forfeiture cases, *Austin* involved an individual who had indeed been charged and convicted of a drug crime — in this instance, selling two ounces of cocaine to an undercover officer. The individual, Richard Austin, pleaded guilty to one count of possessing cocaine with intent to distribute, and was sentenced to seven years in prison by a state court in South Dakota. Shortly after the criminal charges were brought in the state court, federal authorities instituted a separate civil forfeiture proceeding to strip Austin of his home and business. According to the govern-

ment, Austin's body shop was the site for arranging and consummating a sale of two grams of cocaine to a police officer. A subsequent search of the business and Austin's mobile home uncovered what the Supreme Court described as "small amounts of marijuana and cocaine, a .22 caliber revolver, drug paraphernalia, and approximately \$4,700 in cash." The government claimed that both the body shop and the mobile home were forfeitable because of their connection with illegal drug activities.

Austin challenged the constitutionality of the forfeiture under the eighth amendment, on the grounds that the value of the property seized was "grossly disproportionate" to any drugs found on the property or to any illegal activity that had occurred there. The eighth amendment to the Constitution provides that "excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." Both the trial court and the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit found this constitutional protection to be inapplicable to civil forfeitures. The Court of Appeals noted in passing that, in carrying out this forfeiture, "the govern-

ment was exacting too high a penalty in relation to the offense committed." But the appellate court felt constrained by the Supreme Court's 1974 *Pearson* decision to hold that the eighth amendment did not apply to civil forfeitures.

In an opinion written by Justice Blackmun and joined by four others, the Supreme Court reversed the Court of Appeals, and held that the eighth amendment does apply to forfeitures arising under the drug laws. (Justices Scalia and Kennedy filed separate concurring opinions, with Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice Thomas joining the latter concurrence.) The Court did not, however, determine whether the forfeiture of Austin's property was so excessive as to be unconstitutional. Nor did it enumerate what factors should be considered in determining excessiveness, preferring instead to allow those criteria to evolve in lower court

decisions. Austin's case was simply returned to the Court of Appeals, so that court could determine excessiveness. Since the Court of Appeals has already opined that the forfeiture was excessive, it seems almost a foregone conclusion it will find that the seizure of Austin's home and business violated the eighth amendment.

What is "Reasonably Necessary"?

Whether *Austin* actually helps other owners challenge unjust property confiscations depends in part on if the lower courts, and ultimately the Supreme Court, develop a meaningful standard for determining what is unconstitutionally excessive. A strict standard is necessary because of how little evidence is now necessary to justify seizures of homes, cars, businesses, and the like. In many forfeitures, the owner

is innocent of any criminal acts, and at worst can only be said to be guilty of something akin to negligence. If the owner did not take "all steps reasonably necessary" to prevent the misuse of his or her property by another, the property can be taken. To make matters worse, in a forfeiture proceeding the owner has the burden of proving himself innocent, a reversal of the usual Constitutional protection.

Failure to do what is "reasonably necessary" to prevent misuse of one's property can be easily stretched to cover just about anyone whose property is used illegally by somebody else. In *United States v One Mercedes Benz 380 SEL*, for example, a business executive, Staton, transferred from New York City to Los Angeles and left his Mercedes automobile in the care of another person, Brewington. Brewington loaned the car to someone else, who in

Congressional relief?

Besides the changes in civil forfeitures that may flow from the *Austin* decision, Congress is finally showing some interest in reform of federal forfeiture laws. Henry Hyde (R-Ill.) introduced legislation in June that, while relatively modest, represents a decided improvement over current law.

Under the present system, an owner bears the burden of proving his or her property should not be forfeited because of its relationship to an underlying crime. While "probable cause" technically requires more than a mere suspicion, in practice it often amounts to nothing more than that. Once probable cause is shown, the owner has the burden of proving by a preponderance of the evidence that he or she is an "innocent owner," as the concept is defined in the statute, or that the property is not forfeitable because it is not connected to a drug offense.

Shifting the burden of proof in this way is, of course, antithetical to the time-honored principle that a person is presumed innocent until proven guilty. Hyde's bill would place the burden of proof on the government in forfeiture proceedings — at least regarding some issues. Specifically, the government

would be required to prove by clear and convincing evidence that an unlawful act occurred and that the property has a sufficient relationship to the unlawful act. The "clear and convincing" standard of proof is easier to meet than the "beyond a reasonable doubt" standard that applies in criminal cases, but more difficult than the "preponderance of the evidence" standard that usually applies in civil cases.

Hyde's bill would not restore the traditional presumption of innocence in all cases, however. It would only do so when the owner of the forfeited property is the same person who allegedly used that property to facilitate a drug violation, or obtained it from an illegal drug transaction. The current system is retained when the owner is being penalized for the acts of another.

The bill would clarify the innocent-owner defense by providing unequivocally that an owner can establish his or her innocence by proving *either* lack of knowledge *or* lack of consent to the underlying illegal use of the property. (Some courts have interpreted the statute to require individuals to prove both.) Unfortunately, Congressman Hyde's bill would continue the judicial

practice of deeming an owner to have consented to the illegal use of his or her property by somebody else if the owner simply failed to take reasonable measures to prevent its misuse.

Other reforms in the Hyde bill include: providing for the appointment of counsel for indigents in forfeiture cases; expanding the period of time within which an owner may challenge a forfeiture; allowing individuals to sue the government for property damage caused in the handling or storage of confiscated property, and making it easier for property to be returned to an owner pending final disposition of a forfeiture case.

Other, more far-reaching reform efforts may also be afoot. John Conyers (D-Mich.) will reportedly soon introduce a bill that would essentially abolish "civil" forfeiture and make all forfeiture proceedings "criminal" in form. Forfeiture of a person's property would only occur if that person has been convicted of a crime; also, the types and amounts of property that may be forfeited would be severely limited. Whether Congress is ready for such serious reform remains to be seen.

— Stefan B. Herpel

"Dear Michael, "Your Persuasion Tapes Saved My Marriage..."

"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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3. THEY DON'T LIKE YOU. You've criticized their beliefs and values - and the beliefs and values of their family and friends.

4. THEY DON'T THINK IT'S IMPORTANT ENOUGH. Even if they believe and trust and like you, why should they sacrifice family time, work time and leisure time for the libertarian cause?

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- ☒ Also send me *The Late, Great Libertarian Macho Flash* (Classic Reprint)

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turn used it to facilitate a drug purchase. Although Staton established that he was innocent of any involvement in the underlying crime, the forfeiture was upheld because he had not done all "that he reasonably could to avoid having his property put to an unlawful use." According to the court, Staton should have garaged the car, and if that

Forfeiture is the modern counterpart to the old medieval law of "deodands." Under this rule, when an inanimate object caused the death of a person, it was forfeited to the king to be used for the good of the dead man's soul.

was not feasible, should have given written instructions to Brewington prohibiting others from using it.

In another case, a yacht brokerage firm, Vene Investments, sold a 58-foot yacht to an individual named Rodriguez, who furnished a \$50,000 cash deposit toward the purchase. While Rodriguez had possession of the boat to conduct a "sea trial," he was arrested and the vessel was seized. The yacht was held to be forfeitable, not because it was carrying drugs, but merely because there was evidence that Rodriguez had intended to use it to transport illegal drugs. The court rejected Vene's "innocent owner" defense because the company's president had failed to make "those inquiries necessary to insure . . . that Rodriguez' intentions were legitimate prior to allowing Rodriguez to take possession of the vessel."

In some cases, preventing misuse of one's property has been interpreted to require what one skeptical federal judge has called "heroic personal risks in the war on drugs." A federal case involving an Alabama woman who lost her home to forfeiture as a result of her husband's illegal marijuana-growing activities illustrates this starkly. The government argued that the woman, Mrs Ellis, should have reported her husband to the authorities. Mrs Ellis said she had not done so because she

feared terrible reprisals from her violent husband. The trial court's findings more than substantiated the legitimacy of that fear. The court discovered that, shortly after her marriage to Mr Ellis, Mrs Ellis learned that he had beaten his previous wife to death. Mr Ellis had also threatened to have Mrs Ellis "done away with" if she ever left him, drank as much as half a case of beer a day, and owned several guns, including a semi-automatic rifle.

Although the trial court denied the government's forfeiture claim, the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals reversed, and held that Mrs Ellis' home and sixty acres of land were forfeitable. In an astounding opinion, the appellate court concluded that, because there was no evidence that Mr Ellis ever threatened "immediate retaliation" if Mrs Ellis went to the authorities, she had "ample opportunity" to do that or to flee the property. For that reason, the court said, she "cannot escape the consequences (in this case, forfeiture) for her consent to his illegal acts."

Another forfeiture scenario that is fraught with potential for injustice involves the receipt of tainted property or money by gift or purchase. If the recipient knew or "should have known" that the property was previously used for or obtained from illegal drug activity, it may be forfeitable. Attorneys receiving payment for legal services are among those who have had property forfeited on this basis.

That the government has sought forfeitures against individuals who are innocent of any criminal wrongdoing is not terribly surprising: forfeiture affords a relatively easy way for federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies to raise revenue. Last year alone, \$531 million in forfeited cash and property was deposited by federal authorities in the Justice Department Assets Forfeiture Fund. Much of that was returned to state and local authorities who assisted in forfeiture proceedings.

What *Austin* Does

Austin has potentially larger implications for the manner in which forfeitures are conducted. Until the decision in *Austin*, courts for the last 20 years have, almost without exception, refused to extend to forfeiture cases the various constitutional protections that

apply in criminal cases.

The federal courts have ruled, for example, that the "beyond a reasonable doubt" standard of proof requirement, the prohibition against *ex post facto* laws, and the double jeopardy clause do not apply to civil forfeitures. That means the government can place the burden of proof on the owner to prove his or her innocence, can confiscate property under laws not existing at the time of the acts giving rise to the forfeiture, and can commence a civil forfeiture proceeding even after the owner has been acquitted in a criminal trial for the same conduct.

The rationale for declining to apply these and other constitutional safeguards has almost always been that forfeiture is "civil" and "remedial," rather than "criminal" and "punitive." But the Supreme Court in *Austin* held that the status of forfeiture as "civil" or "criminal" is irrelevant to the constitutional issue and that forfeiture is indeed "punishment" to the owner of the confiscated property. Such conclusions may seem unremarkable, but these

In many cases criminal charges are never even brought against the owner of forfeited property.

common-sense propositions have until now been rejected by the lower courts.

The Supreme Court's position in *Austin* was especially significant in this regard because the Court concluded that drug forfeiture laws are solely punitive, and serve no remedial purposes whatsoever. The Court acknowledged that seizure of contraband itself could be characterized as "remedial" because it would remove a dangerous item from society. But it rejected the government's claim that seizure of a home or business could also be remedial in this sense.

The Court also rejected the government's argument that drug law forfeitures are remedial because they compensate the government for expenditures on law enforcement and other problems said to be caused by the illegal drug trade (urban blight, drug

continued on page 46

Appraisal

Old-Growth Government

by Randal O'Toole

Only Bill Clinton could come up with a plan that kills the logging industry *and* the spotted owls. It also costs a fortune.

President Bill Clinton's northwest forest plan is about as bad as it can be without actually detonating nuclear devices. The president seems to believe that old stand-by that if you make everyone mad, you must be doing something right. So his plan puts thousands of people out of work, shuts down many sawmills, and *still* leaves a significant chance that the spotted owl and many other species will go extinct.

The plan's centerpiece provides token benefits to the timber industry by allowing salvage logging in old-growth reserves, despite most ecologists' recommendations against such logging. This logging does little to mitigate old-growth protection's impact on the northwest timber industry, but greatly increases the risk that more species will be listed as threatened or endangered. Perhaps this is what Clinton means by a "balanced approach."

But the real story is that the plan proposes to spend billions of dollars on programs whose benefits are negligible, proving once again that what the president really believes in is pork. In most cases, the proposals amount to robbing Peter to pay Paul. For example, a proposal to create secondary wood-manufacturing jobs, if enacted, will put people in other parts of the country out of work as their factories close to move to the northwest.

Clinton would also limit the sale of timber from some forests to mills that will process the wood in specified communities. This won't save a

single job — it just means that the mills that will survive will be those with political pull rather than those able to process the wood most efficiently. It will also cost taxpayers plenty, since limited competition will shrink the bid prices for timber.

Clinton's experts estimate that the old-growth reserves will cost 6,000 direct jobs, and he proposes to spend \$1.2 billion to mitigate those losses. That's \$200,000 per job — but most of the money will be spent by federal, state, and local bureaucracies before the workers see any benefits. No wonder the state governors support the plan.

The president also promises to subject the northwest to another round of forest planning. The last round cost over a billion dollars and failed to resolve a single issue. This one will be more expensive still because the agencies will rely on high-tech computer databases that draw pretty maps. The maps will be completely wrong, because no one will actually bother to collect any data from the forest.

The plan includes some rhetoric about increasing timber supplies. Private landowners with spotted owls may be allowed to cut a little more

timber if they promise not to export the logs. The federal government will provide more subsidies to timber programs on Indian reservations. But these actions will have little effect on timber prices.

The good news is that wood prices aren't likely to get any higher because most of the effects of reduced timber sales have already been felt by the market. Northwest loggers will be allowed to cut more timber than they've been cutting in the past few years. Of course, Clinton first has to convince Judge Dwyer to lift the legal injunctions on timber sales, and his staff is busy twisting the arms of environmental groups to get them to agree to this.

How did the president come up with such a stinker? First he spent a day talking with a handful of carefully selected representatives of special interest groups. Then he locked up a few hundred agency bureaucrats in a room and told them to write a plan. No one should be surprised that the prime beneficiaries are not the sawmills or the environmentalists but the bureaucrats who wrote it.

For example, most of the writers were scientists. So of course their plan

calls for dedicating tens of millions of dollars to new research. It even sets aside over two million acres of forest land for "ecological experimentation."

When all the costs of planning and lost timber receipts are added to the \$1.2 billion "jobs" package, the plan will cost taxpayers "only" about \$3 to \$4 billion over the next five years. The

The forest plan's real winners are neither environmentalists nor loggers but bureaucrats and pork-eaters.

really bad news is that the president considers this process a model for solving all environmental problems.

This means that governors of states whose industries are threatened by environmental lawsuits can look forward to Clinton dropping a few billion dollars on them to "solve" the problem

without actually saving either the environment or the industries. Just hope no one asks where the money is coming from.

Instead of porking out, Clinton could have used the forest conference as an opportunity for "reinventing government" along the lines of the book of that name. Like most public land controversies, the old-growth issue is rooted in the fact that the Forest Service and related agencies are top-heavy bureaucracies that reward managers with bigger budgets when they lose money.

The solution is to change the system of rewards that managers face. This means, first, removing the incentive to lose money by funding managers out of their net income, not out of tax dollars. Second, promoting true multiple-use management by allowing agencies to charge fair market value for all resources, including recreation. Third, allowing groups who object to timber sales to bid on such sales and, if they win, not cut them down. Wilderness and certain other user fees

could provide seed money for such "conservation easements."

In short, take forest issues out of the political arena and into the marketplace, where they can be resolved without polarization. Clinton missed

We should take forest issues out of the political arena and into the marketplace, where they can be resolved without polarization.

this possibility when he relied on the agencies themselves, which would naturally resist any proposal to shrink their budgets, to write his plan for him. The forest plan's real winners are neither environmentalists nor loggers but bureaucrats and pork-eaters. The real losers are not spotted owls or consumers but the taxpayers who will have to pay for it all. □

AMERICA

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(velvet style)

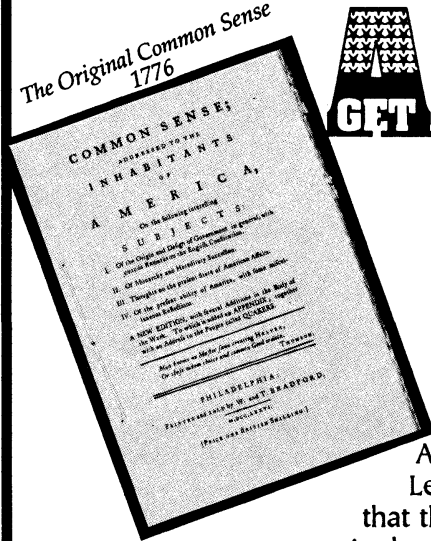
Checkoslovakia chose Liberty and threw off the yoke of state communism without shedding a drop of blood. This, of course, has become known as the "Velvet Revolution."

America's Velvet Revolution is long overdue. Let's face it: this nation is in such a quagmire that the only way out is a **major structural change** in the mode of government. The career politicians and their special interest cronies always get in the way of progress. To the thinking person it should be clear by now that the institution of organized politics is obsolete — it just does not work.

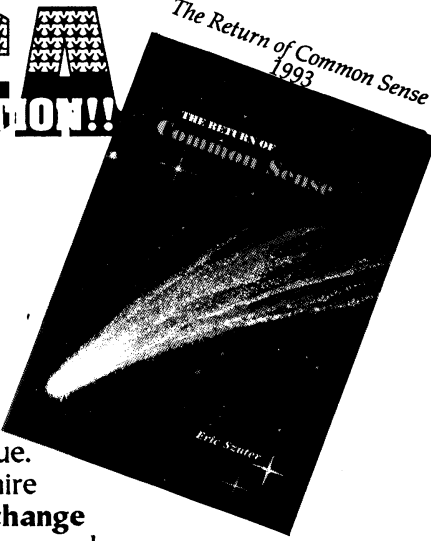
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Report

White Liberals Can Jump

by William P. Moulton

The persecution and assassination of Dale Lick, as performed by the inmates at the asylum of East Lansing under the direction of the Thought Police.

There is nothing in the public record to indicate whether Dale Lick, former president of the University of Maine, has ever seen the movie *White Men Can't Jump*, but he is almost certainly the only person ever to forfeit a major-university presidency because he believes that black men can.

Mr Lick's ultimate journey into the strange byways of political correctness had its quiet genesis in August of 1992 when Michigan State University President John DiBaggio resigned to accept a similar position at Tufts University. With the huge institution under the temporary stewardship of an interim president, its ruling Board of Trustees began accepting and screening applicants under a cumbersome and long-criticized process in which some hearings are closed, some are public, and all are lengthy. According to most sources, a total of 171 contenders were given some amount of serious consideration. As months went by, the field was narrowed to 130, then to "a few dozen" and, after eleven months, to three finalists. ("The Lord grindeth slow but the Board grindeth slower," in the words of one campus wag.)

Early on, the selection process became immersed in an uncharted sea of political correctness and interest-group pressures. Two headlines in area newspapers, "Diversity Questions Dominate at MSU" and "MSU Search Committee Can Only Guess at Rules," indicate the pedagogical at-

mosphere in which the search was proceeding. A rough word count shows that pre-controversy coverage in Michigan's metropolitan dailies devoted about 5% of total space to academic qualifications in the traditional sense. Post-controversy, that figure was, as the physicists say, vanishingly small.

By mid-July of this year, there seemed to be a clear favorite. No candidate had aroused great excitement, but Dale Lick, an MSU graduate and peripatetic collegiate administrator (Florida State, Florida A&M, University of Maine, others) had apparently given the least offense.

On July 20, just as the process seemed to be easing toward a David Souter-like, easy-but-unenthusiastic confirmation of Mr Lick ("MSU Will Get Its Lick In" was a typical cutesy-pie headline), the influential Detroit *Free Press* dropped a PC bomb. It was revealed that in 1989, in response to a Maine student's question regarding numerically divergent black participation in various sports, Lick had answered that, among other factors, the muscular structure of black males

might be involved. Specifically, according to a brief report at the time in the Portland *Press Herald* (the agency and motive of the research into this rather obscure source has nowhere been revealed), he cited an unspecified study that, he said, indicated that structural and physiological characteristics of blacks give them a slight predisposition toward success in certain narrowly defined skills that can be of use in athletics. The key phrases in his recorded response were, "They've actually done research on an average black athlete versus an average white athlete. A black athlete can actually outjump a white athlete on the average. . . . The same is true of football. The muscle structure of the black athlete typically is more suited for certain positions. . . . Now, this isn't me talking, this is what the research shows, that is what the research shows, that there are several sports where black athletes are naturally better."

Although at the time President Lick's only cited source was "they," he has since stated that he had in mind a report by a physical education

dean at Georgia Southern University, which in turn was supposedly derived from an Indiana University study of uncertain date (and which was not produced by any of the involved parties during the controversy).

Once Lick's earlier statement was made public, logic, as well as the presumed desire of the Board to ascertain

It is almost inconceivable that anyone of intellectual probity could regard Mr Lick's vague, tentative citation of a study which alleged black superiority in some fields and inferiority in none as actually indicating an animus towards blacks.

his actual beliefs, would seem to have suggested a few appropriate questions, such as: Does the "research" to which Lick briefly alluded consist of an academically rigorous study or is it, as now seems more likely, merely anecdotal? Does this evidence, whatever its precise nature, support the conclusions that Lick drew from it? Does he now, in 1993, still place credence in it? Are there any studies in the scientific literature that tend to either bolster or weaken his belief? Most to the point, has public discourse sunk to a level where any discussion of racial characteristics is verboten?

In fact, these questions scarcely emerged at all, at least not vigorously enough to find their way into the media. The issues that did dominate discussion and media coverage during the next few days, in roughly descending order of intensity, were: Would this "gaffe" generate enough politicized rage to force Lick immediately out of the running, or would he struggle on, despite the heavy onus of racial heresy? Would the dozen-plus campus black groups present a united front against the wounded candidate, or would some be willing to give him the benefit of the doubt? Would other minority organizations join in opposition in a spirit of solidarity, or would their consensus be

"It's a black thing; we won't get involved"?

As it was, the politics of synthetic outrage was mobilized with alacrity. The press report on the 1989 Maine incident appeared on a Tuesday. By noon on Wednesday, George Rowan, president of the Black Faculty and Administrators Association, told the press he was "dumbfounded" upon hearing of Lick's remarks, and that colleagues whom he had consulted "express[ed] everything from outrage to disgust." By mid-afternoon, Trustee Dorothy Gonzales publicly opined that Lick should withdraw his candidacy. Shortly afterward, as the sun settled in the western skies over the picturesque environs of East Lansing, MSU Associate Dean Joe Darden let it be known that the four-year-old answer would make the candidate "unacceptable" to the university's minority students and faculty. After that, the floodgates broke. By Thursday, a new statement of opposition from a faculty member or a student organization was surfacing almost hourly.

Dale Lick had a golden opportunity to stand tall for intellectual integrity by saying, in effect, "Chill out. Get real. I'm not a racist. I know it and you know it. Are there any real issues concerning which you wish to question me?" But alas, as an archetypal white liberal accused of racial insensitivity, he simply wimped out. Over three days of questioning regarding his Maine statements, he progressively (pun intended) groveled. Beginning with the boilerplate excuses that his answer of 1989 had been taken out of context and misinterpreted, he then recounted at length his standard-issue left-liberal record on racial issues at earlier college posts. To little avail. At the end of Day One of the grilling, a spokesman for campus blacks stated, "we do not believe that he understands the gravity of our concerns." On Day Two he switched to a more apologetic mode: "I apologize to you if my comments caused you any embarrassment." Further, "It's been a hurtful situation for a lot of people and has been interpreted as showing insensitivity." No go. After Day Two even the Coalition of Hispanic Students jumped on the anti-Lick bandwagon.

Day Three saw total moral collapse. Lick maintained he had "grown" dur-

ing the controversy. "I understand like I have never understood before the tremendous sensitivity in that area. I grew tremendously because of this. I was sensitized in ways I had never realized before." The answer itself was downplayed. "I've never claimed that the research was true or false." Affidavits from black colleagues from earlier days were presented, attesting to Lick's sensitivity. There was a bit of low-key begging: The MSU presidency would be "the job of a lifetime."

Every strategy failed. On Saturday, with the press reporting that only one of the trustees was still inclined to vote for his selection, Lick withdrew his candidacy and quietly left town, intent on resuming his academic career in Florida. The Board, reverting to its usual pattern of leisurely muddle, voted to re-open the field to new candidates. Within days after Lick's departure, the selection procedure was once more lumbering forward with no quick end in sight.

Editorial commentary on this strange affair was curiously muted and off-target. The consensus was that more intense scrutiny of the backgrounds of candidates would spare future embar-

The possession of merely generalized and potential power can be rather unsatisfactory, especially when one is young. There is little glory in saying, "We represent X thousand students and, incidentally, all you people are doing a fine job."

rassment. Considerable blame was directed towards a private Chicago firm which had been hired to check on the past records and accomplishments of those under consideration, and whose researchers apparently were unaware that ideological no-nos were to be ferreted out with as much zeal as marital scandals or criminal transgressions. Few commentators were willing to go on record as believing that remarks of

the kind attributed to Lick should disqualify a person from an academic position. Fewer still seemed willing to defend any opposing viewpoint. All agreed, correctly, that Lick had done nothing contemptible, either in Maine in 1989 or before the MSU Trustees in 1993. At worst, he had been thrust into an arena which had suddenly turned hostile, had handled himself as best he could, and his efforts had been inadequate.

Dale Lick's career as a wandering college administrator will no doubt survive. It is the atmosphere of civilized discourse at a great university which has been battered. There are two real issues involved here. The first, concerning the substantive matter of racial athletic prowess, is a legitimate, though very minor, subcategory of anthropological science. There is no professional consensus on the matter, partly because, like intelligence measurement, it is a certifiably "sensitive" issue that many scholars would rather not tackle, and partly because even ten-

tative conclusions in the field tend to become lost in a miasma of qualifiers. Economic, social, and geographical factors are almost certainly far more important in athletic motivation and success than are relatively trivial body differences. (For example, basketball and football can be practiced in small empty lots or alleys, baseball less easily so, hockey and golf virtually not at all.)

The second issue, which is the identification of the nexus of power relationships at work at Michigan State University during recent months, is perhaps less yielding of a definitive answer. Superficially, this was simply one more triumph of political correctness. However, there is evidence of an even more unpleasant dynamic at work, one in which the exercise of power is an end in itself. For one thing, in contrast to the salient facts in some other well-publicized outbreaks of PC, it is almost inconceivable that anyone of intellectual probity could regard Mr Lick's vague, tentative citation of a study which alleged black *superiority* in

some fields and inferiority in none as actually indicating an animus towards blacks, especially in view of his otherwise squeaky-clean liberal reputation. For another, there was no competing black candidate; racial solidarity was not an issue. Well, then, what was? Reading the bombastic press releases of some of the interest groups that brought down Lick, one is left with a strong suggestion of a mindset which says, in essence, *What's the use of having a (black/hispanic/women's) student union if we can't do this sort of thing?* After all, the possession of merely generalized and potential power can be rather unsatisfactory, especially when one is young. There is little glory in saying, "We represent X thousand students and, incidentally, all you people are doing a fine job."

All in all, a typical PC result: racial tensions have been inflamed, the Board of Trustees has been made to look ridiculous, and, as we go to press, the largest university in Michigan is still without a president. □

Bradford, "The Real Health Care Crisis," *continued from page 18*

human welfare. We must understand that sometimes, some people will not be able to afford medical care that they need. We must understand that buying better medical care means buying less of some other goods — less travel, or less entertainment, or less extravagant food or housing. Medical care must become like any other commodity, subject to the same individual evaluations, the same forces of supply and demand, *if the good is to be made efficiently available.*

The root of the myth that medical care ought to be fundamentally different from other economic goods and that all people ought to be given whatever care they need lies in the humanitarian impulse that every human being ought to get medical care, whether he can afford it or not. This natural impulse has never been consistently applied by those who advocate it. While it is plausible to provide medical care to the indigent of one's community, or perhaps even to all the indigent in the entire country, it is manifest that neither the American taxpayer nor all the taxpayers in the world can foot the bill

for the world's four billion poor.

Living without Miracles

Until recently, the cost of providing medical care to the indigent has been low enough that it seemed plausible to pay the bill from voluntary charity or from relatively modest increases in taxes. In the early years of this century, medicine consisted mostly of sending lovable ol' Doc Spencer over into the poor section of town to dispense a few pills. But as medical science progressed, medical technology grew more effective, more complicated, and more expensive.

But the notion of a universal right to medical care was saved by the institutionalization of charity. When government and large employers took over responsibility for paying for medical care, the feedback provided by consumer demand was no longer looped back to allocate assets and control costs. The myth of a right to universal medical care was given new life, but with medical care providers no longer constrained by the consumers' ability

and willingness to pay, costs skyrocketed, threatening to bankrupt the nation.

The outlook in the United States is not good. If the conservatives have their way, prices will continue to spiral out of control. If the left-liberals have their way, the country will be saddled with a Soviet-style system, in which medical care will be rationed by bureaucrats and committees, in which costs will rise while quality deteriorates.

A sensible system — one in which costs are controlled by market forces and progress is financed by consumer demand — can be purchased only at the cost of the realization that miracles are not within the power of government, that the laws of economics apply to *all* consumer goods, even medical care, and that unlimited medical care cannot ever be the birthright of all Americans.

Whether Americans will be willing to pay that price remains to be seen. My own guess is that they will prefer the Rodham Clinton nostrum, and not face reality until they have paid bitterly for their evasion. □

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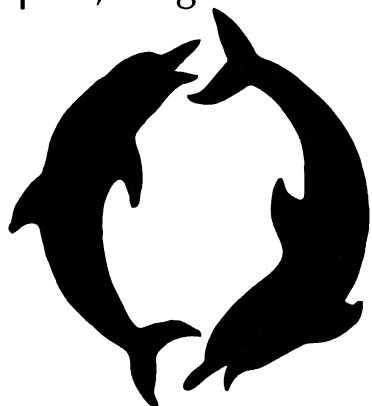
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The Significance of Isabel Paterson

by Stephen Cox

At mid-century, in the depths of nationalism and collectivism, three works heralded an individualist revival. Rose Wilder Lane published *The Discovery of Freedom*, Ayn Rand published *The Fountainhead*, and Isabel Paterson published the profoundest of the lot: *The God of the Machine*.

If you had visited the west side of Manhattan in the early 1930s and stood on a street corner at dusk on a weekday evening, you might have seen a slender, nearsighted, middle-aged woman, carrying a bag loaded with heavy objects and walking resolutely in the direction of the Hudson River. Turning her back on the new Empire State Building, she would follow 34th Street through the neighborhood known as Hell's Kitchen, a region of speakeasies, factories, railroad yards, and slaughterhouses. Crossing 10th Avenue, she would see the great river, crowded with piers, just two blocks away. A cluster of brick apartment houses, old, tall, and narrow, stood at the avenue corner. At the fourth door on the left side of 34th Street, the little woman would stop and enter. After a few minutes, lights would appear in the fifth-story windows. Later you would hear, drifting down toward the street, the noise of a typewriter. At dawn it would still be heard, surviving all the other sounds of that unruly neighborhood.

The woman, as any writer-about-town could tell you, was Isabel Paterson, literary columnist and reviewer for the *Herald Tribune*, going home from her office on 41st Street near 7th Avenue, carrying a few new books that especially interested her. What she would be doing at 3 a.m., however, would be trying to make some progress on one of her own books. By 1931, she had published

five novels, and she would publish three more. She wrote them slowly, careful about the choice of every word. But these days, in the hours before dawn, her mind turned increasingly to issues other than plot, character, and imagery. Isabel Paterson was a worried woman.

She was not worried primarily about herself. She had lost money in the Great Depression, and there was always the possibility that even a person who was regarded as probably having "more to say than any other critic in New York today as to which books shall be popular" would be out of a paying job.¹ But she was used to that kind of threat. She had grown up in poverty in the Canadian West. She had received about two years of formal education. She had married at the age of 24, but she and her husband had soon parted. She had worked as a waitress, stenographer, bookkeeper, editorial writer, and drama critic. Since 1924, when she was 38 years old, she had been working for the *Herald Tribune*, helping to put out the paper's nationally circulated *Books* section and writing her weekly column of literary

news and comment — and whatever else she wanted to put in. But she always regarded her employment at the *Herald Tribune* as a result of "chance," a chance that might at any time yield to other chances.²

The Last of the Individualists?

What worried her was America. She was worried that her adopted country (she had become an American citizen in 1928) was losing its grip on fundamental principles, and she wondered if she was the only person who still adhered to

the classical American faith in politics and economics — believing in the Rights of Man, personal liberty and private property. We are aware that all those desirable things are badly damaged at present; well, they didn't exist at all until they were created and fought for, and they can be restored if people want them.³

In 1932, reporting on an argument with fellow literary critic Edmund Wilson, Paterson announced who she was and challenged her readers to decide who they were:

It is an interesting suggestion, that

1993

50 Years of Individualism

we are, as Mr Wilson informed us, the last surviving person to believe in those quaint old notions on which the republic was founded. But is it true?⁴

Week after week, Paterson devoted her column in the *Herald Tribune* to warning her fellow citizens to save themselves from the temptations of the new America, the collectivized state. If America has ever seen a self-educated, self-made intellectual, Isabel Paterson was it; and she felt nothing but contempt for intellectual fashions that derived the dignity of individuals from their participation in one or another kind of group. She preached self-responsibility and absolute personal rights. She advocated the "republican-libertarian principles" of a government designed for one purpose, the protection of those rights.

This country started on sound working principles. The main idea was that the Federal government was to be political, not economic. It was to protect human rights from the pressure of group interests and interferences, not to legislate people into either piety or prosperity or private morality.⁵

Paterson's writings of the early 1930s show that she had arrived at the positions that are hallmarks of the individualist movement as we know it today. She had arrived, that is to say, at the attitudes that today define classical liberals, libertarians, and limited-government, pro-capitalist conservatives. She developed the types of arguments for individualism that are popular today — the moral argument, the inherent rights argument, the argument from American history, the argument about the limits of human knowledge, the various arguments about social and economic utility — and she demonstrated that those arguments could work together, in roughly the ways in which they work in the individualist discourse of today. In addition, Paterson practiced, perhaps more effectively than anyone else, the *style* that has become characteristic of the individualist movement.

But I am getting ahead of my story. Before proceeding to Paterson's style, let's look at Paterson's ideas.

Paterson thought that respect for individual rights was necessary to material as well as spiritual progress. She

thought that "human rights" cannot be separated from "property rights," and that a government that abridges rights in its pursuit of economic goals will destroy not only rights but also the economy.

She resisted attempts to use politics to solve economic problems. "Government and business can be entwined," she remarked, "only in the same way as Laocoon and the python, or whichever breed of snake it was. It doesn't do either of them any good."⁶ She hated the attempts of big-businessmen

Week after week, Paterson warned her fellow citizens to save themselves from the temptations of the new America, the collectivized state.

and financiers to run the country in their way. She hated the attempts of socialists to run it in theirs.

She rejected the commonly accepted view of history that equates *laissez-faire* capitalism with brutal exploitation of the poor. She believed that schemes to promote the general welfare by collectivizing the economy would actually promote only the welfare of an elite group, a "governing class" intent on monopolizing power.

She opposed conscription, regimentation, and any kind of moral crusade that — like World War I — might lead the United States to intervene in the affairs of other countries, for any purpose but self-defense.

She opposed government manipulation of the currency. She opposed censorship, prohibition, and any similar government action in the moral sphere. When Social Security came along, she opposed it; and when she became eligible to receive the benefits that she had been taxed to provide, she refused on principle to accept them, even though the amount of her supposed benefits was used to reduce her pension from an annual \$1980 to an

annual \$918.

That happened in the 1950s, long after most people, even conservatives, had accepted Social Security as a basic institution of America. Paterson was never one to give up on a basic principle, even if her refusal to give up constituted only a seemingly useless personal protest.

But Paterson had established her significance as an individualist thinker and writer long before her act of principled self-denial in the matter of Social Security. Unlike many other people who positioned themselves on the Right side of the aisle in the American republic of letters, Paterson did not discover her principles simply by reaction to a disappointment with particular deeds of the Roosevelt administration. She hadn't liked what went on under preceding administrations, either. First there was the World War, she said, and the "uplifters"

immediately wished conscription on us. Then the demand for a "business administration" was heard; and look at the darned thing now. After having boasted how well they could run the country, the bankers and business men are asking the government to rescue them from what they did to it. . . . And the moral legislators sewed us up in a sack with prohibition. After which the technicians got us — the Great Engineers.⁷

But when the New Deal started in 1933, Paterson found new reasons for her beliefs, and new ways to apply them. Her columns of the 1930s and 1940s are a running commentary on America's political problems. As a journalist considering developments week by week, Paterson necessarily devoted much of her attention to issues of temporary concern. But with remarkable frequency, her comments on those issues provide analysis that is of permanent interest and importance.

She spent a good deal of effort, for example, on the question of whether Hugo Black, who had once been a member of the Ku Klux Klan, should have been nominated by Roosevelt as a justice of the Supreme Court. Her answer was No!, in thunder. But the nomination was not as important to her as the larger questions it raised — questions about the individual's moral

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responsibility for actions taken in "mere" conformity to current or local political attitudes, and questions about the tendency of the progressive "intelligentsia," as she called it, to expend its cleverness in excusing the moral defects of politically useful persons and causes.⁸

Excuses for the Black nomination were a comparatively minor indication of the tendency. A major indication appeared in contemporary apologies for

Paterson observed that one reason why a planned and controlled "new world order" could not succeed is that it would destroy the "diversity of nations" that allows people to gain information through "comparison."

Soviet communism. Paterson, who had never entertained any doubts about the effects of fascism, entertained none about the effects of communism, either. She remorselessly pulled apart the intelligentsia's arguments for a system that could only result — had resulted since Lenin's time, as she knew — in poverty and extermination. Her target was the barely concealed elitism of the intellectual friends of humanity:

The catch in benevolence is that it does require a victim to practice upon, and furthermore, someone has to pay for it — but seldom the philanthropist if he can dodge the check.⁹

Very few late-twentieth-century intellectuals retain much sympathy for Bolshevism, but the full exposure of the communist myth did not result in a universal reduction of intellectuals' willingness to swallow glib notions of what is right for other people. Paterson was interested not only in slogan-swallowing acts of sympathy for the Soviet experiment but also in intellectual acceptance of milder, more plausible, and therefore more tenacious clichés. ("Mostly what ails the alleged intellectuals," she said, "is that they aren't."¹⁰) Her analyses of common,

normally unanalyzed assumptions often seem to have been written for today's newspapers, not for those of 60 years ago.

An instance is her treatment of the natural resources question. Paterson passionately loved nature. When she finally put together enough money to build a house in the country, she spent every minute that she could with nature. Thinking of spring coming to the countryside, she would ask, "Can such things be, and why doesn't everybody drop everything and watch it?"¹¹ She urged the study of ecology. But she refused to view nature in isolation from human values or to regret the exploitation of nature that is necessary for human progress.

This kind of regret was so common, even in Paterson's time, that when an advance notice of Marquis Childs' 1942 book *This Is Your War* alluded to the subject, it "touche[d]" on a point of chronic exasperation with her. The notice brought her to acute exasperation by calling the book "a reminder of our pampered, wasteful past." She responded with a brisk reminder of something else:

Americans have been the most productive people on earth, by virtue of invention and industry in a free economy. Naturally they have used wood, coal, oil, metals and the like. They have grown crops and eaten them. Why not? Would there be any merit in letting the trees die, fall and rot as they had been doing throughout the ages, or leaving the ore in the ground, or the land unused? . . . The trees the pioneers cut down would have been dead of old age before now. More are growing, and can grow. With those used, Americans built houses, and for the first time in the world's history they made comfortable houses. . . . Americans were not pampered; they worked. They were not wasteful; they made something.¹²

The ill-fated reminder of "waste" was important to Paterson because it allowed her to make her position clear on certain general issues. But she made sure to keep a strong grip on the particulars; she made sure, in fact, to squeeze the particulars for all they

were worth. It's no good, she insists, to think only in general terms about the exploitation of nature; at some point, you ought to consider exactly what is being exploited, and what is being done with it, and what would happen if this weren't done. Don't think just about "nature"; think about trees and houses — starting with the comfortable house you live in and the trees that were used to build it. You can't have the trees and the house at the same time. Is it simply wasteful to prefer the latter to the former?

Paterson returned to the issue of resources when she encountered a novel that optimistically predicted a "new world order" in which there would be "world-wide social planning, controlled standards of living with ceilings and floors to prevent exploitation," and "a per capita distribution" of resources. She didn't need late-twentieth-century economic theory to tell her what had gone wrong with such plausible ideals. She knew that in thinking about economic problems one must consider the whole range of human choices (including choices of values) and the availability of the infor-

Paterson remorselessly pulled apart the intelligentsia's arguments for a system that could only result — had resulted since Lenin's time, as she knew — in poverty and extermination.

mation that can be used to make them. She observed that one reason why a planned and controlled "new world order" could not succeed is that it would destroy the "diversity of nations" that allows people to gain information through "comparison."

She noticed something else that continues to elude most people who worry publicly about public policy. She noticed the fact that even such basic and apparently "given" things as natural resources respond to the availability of information, which can ex-

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pand or contract in response to human enterprise. Resources do not exist as resources until someone knows they exist and knows what to do with them:

Note how the whole field of human intelligence is presumed to be closed once and for ever by "per capita distribution of the world's resources," a phrase which is pure nonsense unless applied science is arrested at a given point — for nobody actually knows what the "world's resources" are in advance. What were "the world's resources" three hundred years ago? five hundred years ago? a thousand years ago? Did they include deep oil wells, gasoline, electricity, plastics? Certainly not. The world's resources consist of human intelligence applied to raw materials, but nobody can know beforehand how or where or to what such application can be made.¹³

Paterson was an individualist who respected the complexities of social process. Like succeeding classical-liberal thinkers, she refused to regard society as the predetermined result of political or "material" forces. She understood that neither dialectical materialism nor a board of social planners can decide the shape of an economy or a society, because the knowledge with which economies and societies operate is constantly being created in unpredictable ways. Attempts to control this process will be intellectually incompetent and socially disastrous.

This is one of the major reasons why Paterson endorses a politics that is virtually an anti-politics, a politics designed to protect a freely developing society from what Madison picturesquely called "improper or wicked projects."¹⁴ Civilization is the ever-changing product of countless interactions among individuals, each with individual goals and values; it is too intricate and delicate to be subjected to state-sponsored experiments.

A Question of Style

Paterson was impressed by the difficulty of experimenting on civilization in even a literary way — the difficulty of forming and communicating a vision of a stupendously complicated world:

There is an organic structure of civilization, there are vast movements and conflicts of peoples, animated by such

obscure and intermixed instincts and convictions that only an intellectual point of view can apprehend them, and only an artist . . . can make us feel that they do affect us intimately and immediately, as individuals.¹⁵

This is the task to which Paterson dedicated herself as a political writer, a task for which one might think she was sadly overqualified. She was a person of extraordinarily wide reading, with a strong and serious interest in history and philosophy. She had the "intellectual point of view." She also had the artist's love for highly cultivated literary accomplishment, for the literary skill that can explore and communicate the complexities of the human condition. But highly cultivated artists and intellectuals are frequently unable to reach a popular audience. The writing that Paterson herself enjoyed was often quite different from anything that a popular audience instinctively understands. She liked a good deal of popular literature, but she also liked *The Tale of Genji*, the novels of Virginia Woolf, and the memoirs of French aristocrats. In her own novels, she prided herself on subtlety, delicate nuance, and precise observation of psychological intricacies. None of this would be helpful to Paterson the political writer, unless she could translate her intellectual "apprehensions" into words directly accessible to the readership of a mass-circulation paper.

But that is what Paterson did. She developed the skill — which was really, as she indicated, the skill of an "artist," not just a publicist — to make her audience feel that the great political debate on which she had entered, a debate that was much more about principles than about dollars and cents or votes or unemployment figures, nevertheless affected all people "intimately and immediately, as individuals."

Paterson was a strong personality, a wit, and a master of the aphorism and epigram. She was not a wit as some other people of her time were wits; she was not arch, she was not glamorous, she was not cynical; she

did not invite her audience to overhear the private jokes of a select circle. Her manner was that of a person speaking frankly to other persons, seeing the comedy or the tragedy that others could see as easily if they allowed themselves to think as frankly. Paterson knew and loved the colloquial American language; its wealth was always immediately available to her, along with the wealth of more formal languages; and she moved effortlessly

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from one language to another. Her standard was conciseness and clarity. She wasted nothing on mere adornment. Aphorism and image, story and dialogue were all useful in their turn, so long as they helped her to get directly to her point.

One can see Paterson at her most direct in a column of 1934 in which she opposes the idea that the state should take responsibility for the people's welfare. She questions the common assumption that state officials have more resources, including intellectual resources, than the people at large, and can therefore provide better solutions to their problems. She may be making a simple point; but if it is really so simple, why do people so often fail to consider it? Paterson's purpose is to make sure that they don't fail this time, and also to speculate about why they usually do fail. They fail because they are "optimists" — and

those optimists who hope to have everything happily taken care of by somebody would do well to look around and consider whether they know any one who is capable of doing the job. They always pin their faith on some total stranger who makes large promises. It sounds swell over the radio. But the only kind of people there are the ones you see

every day. Go on, be a sport, pick one you've known all your life to tell you what to do. Have confidence — why not? Oh, you know too much about that bird, do you? We thought so.¹⁶

Paterson's ability to make political ideas accessible to every person in her audience results in large part from her skill at dramatizing herself as a personality. One of her favorite roles (and it is something much more than a role) is that of the warrior for liberty, willing and able to step into any argument and give any opponent an ideological thrashing. In a representative column from 1942, she mentions two letters that her friend Bennett Cerf recently

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sent to her, defending a pro-Soviet book about which she had made a sarcastic remark. The letters, of course, merely provide her with an excuse to ridicule the book again, this time at length. The effect of this essay (and many of her other essays, too) is captured by the three little illustrations that the *Herald Tribune* artists provided for it. In the first illustration, Paterson stands lecturing the unfortunate Cerf; in the second, he has fallen to his knees, and she is grimly choking him; in the third, he is lying on the floor with her foot on his stomach, and she is still telling him exactly what she thinks.¹⁷

At other times, Paterson casts herself as an individualist visitor to a collectivist world, a visitor who constantly finds reasons for astonishment at the strange behavior of the natives. She is frequently surprised by the curious expectation that victims of economic planning will welcome still more extensive planning in the future:

We feel toward Planners as the heroine of the old-time melodrama felt to

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ward the villain. After having pursued her through four acts with threats of a fate worse than death, which he emphasized by shooting at her, setting fire to her home, and tying her to the railroad track just before the down express was expected, he inquired reproachfully, "Nellie, why do you shrink from me?"¹⁸

Paterson's vigorously popular, general-American style is a journalistic device, but not just a device. She enjoys it; it is right for her; and it is closely associated with her choice of ideology. Paterson deeply respected the contributions that individual genius has made to science, art, and (much less frequently) politics. But her individualism was not grounded in an elitist worship of abilities that only a few people possess; it was grounded in respect for the contributions that everyone can make under conditions of freedom. One of the things that irritated her most about collectivism was its fake egalitarianism and real elitism. Collectivist systems, in her view, can be operated only by small governing classes; naturally, they are invented and advocated by psychological and social elitists — by inheritors of fortunes, holders of government jobs, beneficiaries of endowments and subsidies. If a Nietzschean individualism held no attraction for Paterson, neither did capitalism with its top hat on, and its hand out to Congress.

She also thought there was something inadequate about conventional notions of "left" and "right": "the Left Wing and the extreme Right have marched around in circles until now they are inextricably intertwined, combining the worst features of both."¹⁹ Neither party could leave private people alone with their private property, and Paterson regarded capitalism as what happens when you do leave people alone. She regarded America as the place where that sometimes happens, and where it ought to happen more often. She associated great achievements not with the ambitions of those she called "Great Men," who can never leave other people alone and are always insisting on "saving" them, but with tolerance, unpretentious intellect,

skill at doing a job, and a willingness to take chances and accept the consequences.

In thinking about the achievement of the Wright brothers, for instance, she said that she particularly liked the episode of Huffman's field:

The Wrights asked the owner if they could rent it. Mr Huffman said they could use it free; he only requested them incidentally to "drive his cows to a safe place and not run over them!" We shall never know whether Mr Huffman thought anything would come of the Wrights' experiments; but that was the American way, too — let them use the field, they wouldn't do any harm. Oh, no, no charge. It was private property, so there was no red tape. At about the same time another man, the head of an endowed institution, with \$50,000 of government funds and \$20,000 as a special gift, was trying to invent a flying machine; and he got nowhere with it. But the two who needed nothing whatever except their own brains, their own earnings and their own leisure time at their own disposal, performed the feat.

That is what we are now urged to be ashamed of, to ignore, to repudiate and deny and destroy. That is the United States; that is the capitalist system.²⁰

Paterson saw herself as a writer, not as a politician. She spurned invita-

One of the things that irritated Paterson most about collectivism was its fake egalitarianism and real elitism.

tions to become involved in political movements and called people who did so "signers and j'iners." It is impossible to predict what her reaction would be to the political individualisms of our own time. Her ideas, as we will see, influenced leaders of many groups that have embraced individualist positions; but my guess is that she would find reasons to quarrel with every such group (just as every such group finds reasons to quarrel with all the others). Paterson was good at quarreling, and

she neglected few opportunities to do what she was good at. But she made an early and unerring identification of the kind of individualism that would emerge in virtually all the separate and distinguishable individualisms. She identified an individualism that is pro-capitalist, anti-elitist, and thoroughly and self-consciously American.

Works of Fiction

Political issues were far from Paterson's sole concern, even in her writing. She remained a novelist as well as a journalist, and her novels are not primarily about politics. This is perhaps what one would expect, considering the nature of her political philosophy, which resists the imposition of political solutions on individual and social problems. Paterson thought that the purpose of the novel was, in Joseph Conrad's words, "to make you see, to make you feel."²¹ She wanted her novels to communicate an intense impression of life, which she imagined might consist of something more than politics.

From her enormous reading in history and her variety of personal experience she derived a keen appreciation for life's richness and diversity. Her broad interests led her to write several different kinds of novels. Her first two — *The Shadow Riders* (1916) and *The Magpie's Nest* (1917) — are attempts "to make you see, to make you feel" the experience of young women growing up as she did in the transitional phase of the Canadian West, when modern civilization had just established itself on the prairies and mountains. Her next three novels attempt to recreate the look and feel of societies remote from living memory and, in at least one case, remote from almost any trace of modern sympathy. Paterson's subject in *The Fourth Queen* (1926) is Elizabethan England; in *The Singing Season* (1924) it is fourteenth-century Spain; in *The Road of the Gods* (1930) it is barbarian Europe in the first century B.C. The last and most difficult of these novels is perhaps Paterson's best work of historical fiction.

In her other three published novels, Paterson returns to the world of her own time. *Never Ask the End* (1933) uses a stream-of-consciousness meth-

od to realize the complex emotions with which middle age reflects on youth and attempts to determine the significance of individual experience. A similar assessment of experience takes place, but on a larger scale, in *The Golden Vanity* (1934). Here Paterson creates a group of women characters who are related to one another but who differ in attitude and social standing. She uses them to analyze the various ways in which the Depression affected people's views of themselves and their social worlds. In *If It Prove Fair Weather* (1940), Paterson experiments with a rigorous narrowing of focus. The novel is a minute examination of the emotional life of a man and a woman who are negotiating their passage through a doomed romance.

Several of Paterson's novels sold very well. More important, several of them are of distinguished literary quality. Of particular literary interest are *The Road of the Gods*, *Never Ask the End*, and *The Golden Vanity*, which for its insight into character and society challenges comparison with the best American novels of the Depression period. Although politics is not Paterson's major concern as a novelist, her political ideas do appear, in subordination to other themes, in a number of her novels. *The Golden Vanity* analyzes the meanings of the Depression, *The Shadow Riders* presents a detailed account of political life in a Canadian city, and *The Singing Season* dramatizes conflicts between the commercial and the authoritarian mentality.

The God of the Machine

Paterson's greatest accomplishment, however, is the book whose fiftieth anniversary is celebrated this year: *The God of the Machine* (1943), the systematic statement of her political philosophy, and one of the fundamental books of the modern individualist movement. Throughout the 1930s, Paterson had been presenting her philosophy in comments and essays in the *Herald Tribune*. *The God of the Machine* draws her ideas together and organizes them around a boldly imagi-

native theory of history and social institutions.

The God of the Machine is focused on the nature and historical evolution of "the long circuit of energy," the means by which people exchange the products of their energy across great distances of time and space. The long circuit is the fundamental mechanism of industry and trade, the means by which every kind of work can find its reward — if not in this place, then in

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another; if not immediately, then in the future. Without the "long circuit," the modern industrial world — a world of far-sighted investment and unthinkably intricate processes of production and distribution — simply could not exist.

But the circuit is hard to establish and hard to maintain. It can survive only in certain institutional frameworks, and those frameworks can exist only if certain intellectual principles are respected. *The God of the Machine* analyzes the circuit and the institutions and ideas that have been developed to sustain it during the last 2500 years.

The basic image of the circuit is easy to understand. I use my energy to create a product that I can exchange for something else created by energy. The exchange forms a social and economic circuit. I write an article and send it to a publisher who wants it; he reciprocates by sending me something that I want — money, or in the case of the editors of this journal, hearty thanks and well-intended criticism. A circuit is established, nevertheless.

Longer circuits are more complicated. Suppose I invent something. To put my invention into production, I need investment capital, which can be supplied by an interested party in, say, New York. She sends me money, which I use to build a factory and hire

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workers here in San Diego. I advertise my product, and soon hundreds of stores are ordering it, all over the country. I send them products, they send me money; I keep some of the money and use the rest to repay my investor, with interest. She is so pleased by this result that she sends me more money, which I use to expand my factory and make more money for her in future.

Seen as a whole, the process of invention, investment, production, distribution, payment, repayment, and

Although politics is not Paterson's major concern as a novelist, her political ideas do appear, in subordination to other themes.

reinvestment is an enormous circuit in which ideas are exchanged for an investor's money, the investor's money for the materials and labor that make products, products for customers' money, customers' money for ideas and investments, and so on, through more cycles of production and exchange. The results are beneficial for everyone who chooses to take part in the process: the inventor turns his ideas into realities, the investor increases her capital, workers find profitable employment, and customers who want products get them. In the process, a certain amount of each participant's energy is expended, but increasing quantities of energy are made available for everyone's use.

Paterson may seem to be writing strictly about economics, narrowly defined. She is not. Her argument is that the long circuit cannot be understood apart from the social, legal, and political technology that allows a sequence of exchanges to take place. If a trustworthy currency did not exist, my investor would not be able to transfer capital to me over large distances of space. If enforceable contracts did not exist, she could not have confidence that my debt to her would be repaid over large distances of time. If accumulation and deployment of capital were

not legally protected, she would have no money to lend me, or she would find it too risky to convey. She would have no desire to convey it to anyone if she could not retain the profit from her investments as her private property. If the various people who cooperate in the process were not free to exchange their time, skill, or capital for commodities that they regard as still more valuable, none of them would have any incentive to do anything. As Paterson says,

These are not sentimental considerations; they constitute the mechanism of production and therefore of power. Personal liberty is the pre-condition of the release of energy. Private property is the inductor which initiates the flow. Real money is the transmission line; and the payment of debts comprises half the circuit.²²

The idea of the long circuit and its supporting technology gives Paterson a way of understanding the institutional arrangements of past and present societies. Beginning with the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans, she defines the distinctive characteristics of each society's attempt to engineer the circuit, and her theory often allows her to do so in a fresh, provocative way.

She describes the Roman Empire, for example, as a mechanism powered by "the great stream of commerce" — a current protected or "insulated" by laws and guarded by officials whose duty was to keep the lines up and the channel open. These officials diverted enough of the flow (in the form of taxes) to maintain the system. Eventually the diversion became so large that practically nothing moved through the circuit. But before that happened, the current flowing between Rome and the outlying parts of the empire was strong enough to demand a special device "to take the incoming current and re-distribute it outward." Rome stumbled on the peculiar device of an emperor, a man who did not need to have any specially valuable social function (Paterson was obviously right about that) except his ability to re-distribute the current and to be replaced without grave damage

to the empire. Paterson makes sense of this curious institution by saying that the emperor

was something like a crude fuse plug, which may blow out; but it should be borne in mind that the blowing-out of a fuse plug is a measure of safety in certain contingencies. Practically any man . . . would do; and if one failed, another must be thrown into the gap by the turn of events. He was the emperor, as long as he lasted.²³

To think of a Roman emperor as a "fuse" is something that no one but Isabel Paterson would do. Yet the idea works.

In discussing the strange history of people's attempts to maintain, control, or divert energy, Paterson emphasizes how easily a short circuit can happen. Energy circuits are interrupted when commerce is restricted by onerous moral assumptions, customs, laws, plans, regulations, and taxes; when investors are prevented from receiving a profitable return on their investments; when workers are asked to exchange their time and skill for worthless money; when inventive minds are asked to work with no chance of an adequate reward. Where there is no pros-

To think of a Roman emperor as a "crude fuse plug" is something that no one but Isabel Paterson would do. Yet the idea works.

pect of a return of energy, no prospect of profit, the current ceases to flow.

Of course, private individuals can and do make mistakes in their routing of energy; they can and do make investments that return no profit. The bad decisions of private individuals are unfortunate; they may be extremely painful and destructive; but they are, in Paterson's phrase, "self-liquidating." A private individual who persists in making bad investments will not persist for long. The greatest cause of short circuiting is government, which forces everyone to pay and keep right on paying for its mis-

takes and those of any businesses it subsidizes or controls:

The possibility of a short circuit, ensuing leakage and breakdown or explosion, occurs in the hook-up of political organization to the productive processes.²⁴

Government, Paterson believes, has the legitimate function of protecting the circuit of production and exchange by guarding the personal liberty of everyone on the circuit and providing for the enforcement of their contracts. But governments have seldom stopped at the limits of their legitimate functions. The governing classes have lived by redirecting energy from profit-making enterprises to their own activities — projects from which no adequate return of energy is to be expected, projects so lacking in value to the public that coercion is necessary to support them.

Among these projects are wars, bureaucracies, public works that are not needed and therefore do not attract investment, and social "welfare" programs that permanently isolate their reputed beneficiaries from the life-giving circuit of productive activities. Not content with redirecting energy, governments contrive to shut it off. They punish profit or outlaw private property, thus eliminating "the inductor" of energy; they render money worthless; and when all else fails, they simply exterminate "the most productive members of the population," as the Bolsheviks did.²⁵

The communists proceeded in this way because their materialist philosophy led them to view society as an industrial mechanism that can function without respecting individual rights or the individual's spontaneous creative powers. Even the leaders of modern democratic countries often behave as if society were a product of "material" forces that are fully susceptible of planning and regulation. Paterson, however, believes that "a machine economy cannot run on a mechanistic philosophy."²⁶ She believes that intellectual, not material, factors will determine the success or failure of humanity's attempts to use the long circuit of energy on which modern industrial society depends.

That is why she believes that one of

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the worst things a grasping government can do is to get the power of education into its hands. Once it has done that, it can try to obliterate the long circuit's intellectual basis, which consists, in large part, of principled opposition to government power. The irony is that state-run education tries to fit students for modern life by denying them the ability to understand the ideas that make modern life possible, teaching them under compulsion to become "social-minded."

This is disastrous, because the dynamo of any social mechanism is the individual mind. Divinely endowed with a creative capacity, the individual mind converts the "eternally self-renewing" energy of the God of the Machine into energy usable in the "social organization." The mind must be left free to operate, and its freedom can be secured only if vital intellectual principles are known and honored — principles such as those of individual rights and "minimum government."²⁷

Paterson conceives of liberty as "a truly natural condition. . . . [T]he rational and natural terms of human association are those of voluntary agreement, not command."²⁸ She emphasizes the fact, however, that human rights and the appropriate means of protecting them took humanity a long time to discover. Her review of history shows that crucial ideas about a truly human "social organization" were identified in a gradual process of intellectual evolution. Out of the process came many false ideas — not all of which, by any means, have been discarded by the modern world — together with a few useful ones. The ancient Greeks discovered scientific reasoning, which encouraged respect for individual freedom of inquiry. The Roman Empire developed a tradition of impartial law. Christianity taught reverence for the individual and immortal soul. The great intellectuals of eighteenth-century America invented structures of government that could limit the operations of government itself; they used constitutional law to reserve a vast protected area for the exercise of individual rights.

This feat of engineering allowed the

long circuit to achieve a spectacular development in America. American history demonstrates that material progress does have something to do with political ideas, in ways that fashionable modern ideologists have not sufficiently considered. America is therefore of special importance to Paterson — but she gives detailed attention to America's failures to respect its own intellectual technology. America's great achievement of constitutional engineering has been jeopardized by slavery, by militarism, by

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nearly every kind of "progressive" experiment in statism. Such failures are almost sufficient reason for despair, but at the conclusion of *The God of the Machine*, Paterson reflects that principles once discovered will never be wholly lost. If modern Americans betray their principles, the ideas by which they once lived (which are "universals") can later be taken up and used to restore liberty's long circuit.²⁹

As in her earlier writings, so in *The God of the Machine*: Paterson made connections of ideas that have come to define political individualism in the late twentieth century, connections between intellectual and material progress, personal freedom and economic freedom, universal principles and the American tradition.

Tradition, however, is not necessarily honored in its own country, especially when its implications are developed in a radical and uncompromising way. *The God of the Machine* was probably too long, too learned, and too concerned with theory to reach a mass audience — and for once Paterson may not have been intent on reaching such

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an audience. She indicated that she wanted the book to make sense to the people who were actually trying to run the country's production system.³⁰ But by 1943, Paterson's general intellectual position was undoubtedly less interesting to those people than it was to average men and women. Her version of "classical Americanism"³¹ launched itself directly against the elite's massively solidifying ideology of massive government involvement in economic, social, and individual life. *The God of the Machine* sharply questioned everything from antitrust legislation to government schools; in the midst of World War II, it challenged conscription and government mobilization of the economy, representing them as counterproductive and invidious to freedom. These were not messages that the nation was prepared to hear.

Paterson hung on at the *Herald Tribune* for almost six more years. Then, in early 1949, a management that felt little sympathy for her ideas "retired" (i.e., fired) her. Rejecting Social Security, Paterson intended to demonstrate that a prudent person could provide for herself, even in a world in which her options were limited by taxes, inflation, and forced contributions to "security" schemes. She had invested, in a small way, in real estate, and by living carefully she was able to support herself in moderate comfort. She spent most of her retirement in a farm house she purchased near Princeton, New Jersey.

She continued to read widely and deeply, and she followed political events with interest. She contributed occasionally to William F. Buckley's new journal, *National Review*, until Buckley wanted to edit an article that she refused to have edited. In 1959, she sold her land in New Jersey and was temporarily "between houses." She accepted the invitation of two younger friends, Ted and Muriel Welles Hall, to move to their home in Montclair, New Jersey. She delighted the Halls with her learning and her brilliant conversation, and she helped to educate their children. In 1961, she died, practically unnoticed by an intellectual world that was busying itself about other things.

But those who had read Paterson with attention had profited from the

experience. Among them were people who would be influential in the major branches of American anti-collectivism, such people as Buckley and Russell Kirk, future intellectual leaders of American conservatism; John Chamberlain and Leonard E. Read, leading advocates of a broad-based, culturally conservative libertarianism; and Ayn Rand, founder of the Objectivist movement and an important influence on libertarianism as it developed in the 1960s and 1970s.³² *The God of the Machine* has been republished several times, and it has never lacked an audience.

At this distance in time, the nature of Paterson's achievement is beginning to come into focus. She was one of the few intellectuals of her era who made an original contribution to individualist thought. She identified the principles and even the style of the individualism that would become a major political and cultural force in our own time, and she embodied in her life the independence and self-responsibility to which individualism pays respect.

Beneath the varying opinions, the speculations, the feuds, the momentarily popular slogans and temporarily interesting ideas that play upon the surface of intellectual history, a basic and compelling question always presents itself: When all is said and done, what is our life, and how shall we live it? Paterson never stopped attending to that question. She never ceased to maintain that we live by ideas and that we ought to live freely. At a grim moment in history, she spoke with grim determination about the dignity of the intellect:

If the truth doesn't survive, neither will its opponents. People really do live by principles and facts, and cannot continue to exist on any other terms.³³

The fact that a certain conception of truth survived that dark time owes a great deal to a little woman who walked through Hell's Kitchen with a bag full of books and an absolute commitment to the power of ideas. □

Notes

1. Irene and Allen Cleaton, *Books and Battles: American Literature: 1920-1930* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937), 130.
2. Isabel Paterson, typescript notes in the Paterson papers. I wish to thank Muriel Welles Hall, executrix of the Paterson estate, for access to the Paterson papers, from which much of the biographical information in this essay is derived, and for kind assistance throughout the course of my research. Biographical documentation and additional biographical information are provided in my introduction to the jubilee edition of Paterson's *The God of the Machine* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1993).
3. Isabel Paterson, "Turns With a Bookworm," *New York Herald Tribune "Books,"* March 5, 1933. Subsequent references to Paterson's weekly column will cite it as "Turns," followed by date.
4. "Turns," March 13, 1932.
5. "Turns," June 12, 1932.
6. "Turns," February 12, 1933.
7. "Turns," June 12, 1932.
8. Paterson's views on the Hugo Black affair can be found in "Turns," October 24, 1937; November 14, 1937; March 20, 1938; February 5, 1939; March 12, 1939; December 24, 1939; and February 18, 1940.
9. "Turns," June 15, 1941.
10. "Turns," September 22, 1935.
11. "Turns," March 1, 1936.
12. "Turns," February 15, 1942.
13. "Turns," October 11, 1942. As early as her column of April 3, 1932, Paterson had presented such ideas about resources. In that column, she traces an expansion of usable resources to an "expansion of released [human] energy," thus foreshadowing the theory of energy-in-history that she would elaborate a decade later in *The God of the Machine*.
14. James Madison, *The Federalist*, No. 10.
15. Isabel Paterson, review of Glenway Wescott, *Fear and Trembling*, *New York Herald Tribune "Books,"* May 8, 1932.
16. "Turns," September 2, 1934.
17. "Turns," August 2, 1942.
18. "Turns," January 28, 1934.
19. "Turns," March 5, 1933. Compare Friedrich Hayek, who in 1944 dedicated *The Road to Serfdom* to "The Socialists of All Parties."
20. "Turns," May 23, 1943.
21. Isabel Paterson, review of Morley Callaghan, *Such Is My Beloved*, *New York Herald Tribune "Books,"* February

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50 Years of Individualism

A Paterson Collection

Isabel Paterson was a memorable writer of aphorisms, epigrams, maxims, and other annotations on life. The best of Paterson's writing in this manner would fill a book. Here is a small sample.

—Stephen Cox

Next time any one says, "There ought to be a law," you know the answer — "There is."

What this country needs is a lot less of all sorts of things.

We have been asked, by reformers: Don't you want the law enforced? We can only reply: We're not so darned sure, and neither would you be if you knew what the law is.

There is practically nothing you can't be put in jail for now.

A lot of American principle is contained in the two words: "Just don't." Much of the rest is encompassed by the suggestion of minding one's own business. The whole is summed up in the word "liberty."

When we say free speech, we mean free speech, even if you don't know what we mean.

Freedom is dangerous. Possibly crawling on all fours might be safer than standing upright. But we like the view better up there.

A government official is a man who would cheat even at solitaire.

Any one who has been continuously wrong for twelve years is just wasting his time outside our national capital.

Even a wheelbarrow can be wrecked.

Kingdoms are more likely to collapse by a deficit than to perish by the sword.

Destitution is easily distributed. It's the one thing political power can insure you.

Equality among men is in fact the inevitable ideal of a high civilization, since men of lofty minds and gentle nature feel as much repugnance to possessing privilege for themselves as they do to tyranny exercised upon themselves. It is the inferior man who clutches at power.

The craving for power is in itself a sign of inferior abilities and unfitness for responsibility.

The power to do things for people is also the power to do things to people — and you can guess for yourself which is likely to be done.

The enemy of every honest man is the politician seeking power.

The encroachment of government is always marked by increasing silence.

The power of the state is always in inverse ratio to the power of the nation.

If you go back 150 years you are a reactionary; but if you go back 1,000 years, you are in the foremost ranks of progress.

No majority can absolve the individual.

It is always possible to stick to your principles, if you have any.

The first qualification for a writer on any subject is to be able to write.

The possession of a carload of bricks doesn't make a mason.

The desire to be a writer is usually fatal to accomplishment.

Literature is not to be expected every minute.

What young writers want most is Encouragement. (A thing we find it difficult to supply.)

All that any society can give a writer is the freedom of the press. Of course it's pretty tough to be given full leave to say what you please and then find either that you have nothing to say or that you don't know how to say it.

We have known exactly two people who simply loved writing, enjoyed it, wrote with fluency and without compulsion. They've been at it for twenty years and have not yet achieved publication. Their stuff is simply terrible.

The events of a creative writer's life are imaginative, not material. Not uncommonly one hears some romantic young woman say: "Oh, I would give anything to be a writer." But

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she would not; and "anything" is not enough. One must give everything.

A writer should know absolutely everything in the most minute detail.

With too many historians, you'd think it was thirty thousand abstractions fell at Gettysburg.

The mere fact that a book does not sell is not a guarantee of literary quality.

The great problem of the writer is that if you do anything else you have no time to write and if you don't you have nothing to write about.

Writing can be done only during the time when one ought to be doing something else.

It is necessary to bear in mind constantly that literature is not a Five-Year Plan.

It is writing that lasts; the subject never yet made a classic. Well, neither did a prize committee.

There are recurrent periods when every other test is applied to literature except that of literary value.

We don't enjoy, for any length of time, a book in which it is impossible to be sure what the author means.

Words are the tools of the thinker. If you saw a man chopping wood with a hoe and mowing with a shovel, would you hire him as a foreman?

Practically the whole art of writing consists in getting rid of superfluous words.

Nothing is worth reporting if it doesn't cause the subject to deny and repudiate it violently.

Writing a book is such a peculiarly unaccountable performance that the author, when required to look back over his life, tries to think of something else he has done.

All heads of great states are considered great writers while they are in office. It goes with the job. And we mean it goes with the job.

What almost everybody wants is to be at once famous and invisible.

All philosophies are merely graceful exits from the problems they profess to solve.

The thread upon which the humblest destiny depends spins out to the end of the earth.

The natural tendency of the human mind is to get rid of facts, and if obliged to retain a few, to mutilate them beyond recognition.

People mostly do as they like, and that would be fine if they'd let other people do the same.

Life should consist in at least 50 per cent pure waste of time, and the rest in doing what you please.

Nothing is so vitalizing as a few robust prejudices, so long as one knows when to disregard them.

We have never struck a child except in self-defense.

A cat is always around if there is a chance of the spotlight.

It is sad to reflect that doubtless Cleopatra herself would have liked to be the sort of person legend makes her.

If one could bring the moon down to earth it would no longer be the moon.

The best of us are liable to indulge in orgies whenever we get inside a five-and-ten-cent-store.

Letter writing is a frequent symptom of madness.

This country could do with better looking men. And more of them.

Personally we do not object to the rich, as long as they know their place. Segregated in Newport and other penal colonies, they do little or no harm. The trouble is they couldn't stand it themselves. . . . A lot of them have decided to Help Others. And the results are just about what you'd expect.

The great danger of demanding to be understood is that finally the yearner gets his wish. And the next step is divorce.

There is a secular self-righteousness which borrows all the unbearable features of formalized piety with none of its graces.

Some day a careful study may be made of the relation between the reforming temperament and the inability of the Children of Light to manage their own affairs.

All the virtues require some one else to practice them upon, which seems to us rather hard on the object.

Respectability is a strange thing; the one virtue for which it has no use is the truth.

It is perfectly impossible that any forecast should be correct.

You can't tear any one away from a good substantial temptation; we mean to say, even if they don't give in, they stick around resisting it for years.

We can't have everything both ways, and not very much one way.

People do not realize how important it is to have a good time until it is too late.

H. M. Parshley writes that he has read somewhere that "there never was an Age of Reason; just a reasonable person now and then." Yes, but sometimes there were as many as four or five at once; that is what was called the Age of Reason.

Nothing ever works out but sometimes something else does.

Sometimes there seems to be nothing to do but take the leftovers and make a stew.

Right now it is a terrible thing to be a rugged

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individualist; but we don't know what else to be except a feeble nonentity.

The mental defects of other people, such as Hitler's followers, do not constitute genius on the part of the leader. Multiply one half-wit by eighteen hundred million half-wits and still the result is not a genius, strange as it may seem. Take anything whatever in any magnitude you choose, and it will still be whatever it is and a lot more of it, that's all.

The saddest spectacle imaginable to us is an anxious youth endeavoring to like only what the current intellectual mode approves.

There is that unfortunate aspect of being in the intellectual fashion at a given time; fashion changes.

What we really don't understand is why more people are not interested in more things.

Fame consists in being taken for some one else with a different name, which nobody can quite remember either.

Publicity is fairly easy to avoid.

Money is especially vulgar when in the possession of others.

As a child, we used to worry about a comet hitting the earth. Now we're afraid it won't.

The strongest emotional feelings usually have least to do with one's own affairs.

With all the books we've read on the delights of primitive existence, it just sounds worse and worse to us, book by book. My goodness, civilization is bad enough, when we have any.

One genius is about all a house will hold.

Ask any ordinary citizen whether he'd rather have a house or an economist? And we're prepared to add, you can't have both.

Psychology: a science which tells you what psychologists are like.

People will believe almost anything that isn't so.

The volunteer fire department is usually about as bad as the fire.

All history is just three generations long. There is what happens in our time, which is real but doesn't make sense; and what we hear our parents recall of their time, which is very quaint and think how we have progressed; and then what happened before them, which is something in a book.

The moral consequence of doing whatever you do is that you will be the sort of person who did that.

The fact that the majority of people, including you and me, are none too bright seems to be the one overlooked explanation.

Nothing that well meaning people might do would surprise us.

A noble purpose is a very queer guide to conduct. . . . If only there were no such thing as consequences.

The biggest pests are the people who use altruism as an alibi. What they passionately wish is to make themselves important.

"Problems" become problems only when there is some chance of solving them; until then they are accepted as quite natural conditions.

It's hard to live, because the details of living get in the way.

There are trains every hour, all headed for oblivion.

"Did I ask to be born?" . . . How do they know they didn't ask to be born? They asked for their dinner, anyhow, the minute they were born, and got it.

If you're going to be a dinosaur, be one; otherwise you're nothing but a lizard.

We hardly know what the consequences would be if everybody suddenly realized how many things there are they don't have to do.

If there were just one gift you could choose, but nothing barred, what would it be? We wish you then your own wish; you name it. Ours is liberty, now and forever. □

Notes to Cox, "The Significance of Isabel Paterson," continued from page 38

18, 1934.

22. Paterson, *The God of the Machine*, 62. Subsequent references to this text will cite it as GM, followed by page number.

23. GM, 35-40, 32.

24. GM, 228, 62.

25. GM, 91.

26. GM, 156.

27. GM, 152, 82, 70.

28. GM, 121.

29. GM, 290-92.

30. Isabel Paterson to Robert Selph Henry, early April, 1943; Paterson papers.

31. "Turns," May 28, 1933.

32. Paterson's influence on Rand was particularly strong. It probably accounts for many of the "classical American," as opposed to "egoist," elements in Rand's evolving philosophy. Paterson

and Rand were close friends during the early 1940s, but their friendship ended in a quarrel in 1948. The course of their relationship is a study in the complexities of individualists' interactions with other individualists. The relationship will be the subject of a future article in *Liberty*.

33. "Turns," September 8, 1940.

The Oldest Established Permanent Floating Anarchy in Salt Lake

by Chester Alan Arthur

When Brigham Young said "This is the place," he probably didn't mean that this was the place for the Libertarian Party national convention.

Over Labor Day weekend, people came to the Libertarian Party convention in Salt Lake City for a lot of reasons other than politics. The convention is very much a party. The Marriott Hotel in Salt Lake City was uncommonly well-constructed for revelry, with its suites located on its 15th

floor, greatly expediting party-hopping. And the suites were especially spacious, and well-furnished for barkeeping. But no matter how well the suites were situated and designed, they could not overcome the fact that they were in Salt Lake City.

Posters advertising an Anarchist Caucus "self-organizing meeting" appeared from day one, along with the mysterious code "A4." This, I later discovered, stood for "Anarchy — Agora — Action — Alcohol." The last A was the anarchists' mistake: the Utah authorities don't mind anarchy, but alcohol is strictly *verboten*. Actually, it was the noise that first got the caucus into trouble; after some neighbors complained about the alleged racket, the hotel rent-a-cops asked the party to move downstairs to the bar, which, this being Utah, was closed despite the fact that it was midnight on Friday. They complied, but, almost immediately after setting up the new bar, they were informed that state law prohibited serving alcohol so late, or something like that.

"Let me have your attention! Please!" yelled one young anarchoid organizer. "Please give us your emp-

ties! Let's clean this place up! I don't want to spend the night in jail!"

"Why not?" came the retort. "You're spending it in Utah."

The party was enlivened by the entrance of several attractive young women from Springdale. They had come up for a pro-pot reggae concert earlier in the evening, where their presence had created a true rarity: a gender-balanced libertarian event. Not that many of them or their pot-smoking, hackeysack-playing friends were necessarily libertarians, but several male partyarchs were pleased with the opportunity to convert them, or at least to try to get laid. As I passed one table, I overheard one eagerly expounding individualist philosophy: "No matter what, one thing libertarians are definitely for, is we want to *relegalize drugs*." This provoked many approving noises, and one day may pay dividends to the Libertarian Party — as soon as the ladies are old enough to vote.

Meanwhile, the bar was packing up and people were drifting back to their rooms. Eventually, a few of us formed an informal Beer Caucus and retired to

more private quarters, but I left early. The local brew, hampered by state regulations, tasted like warm water.

The following evening, candidates for party positions addressed the assembled multitudes in the always-joyous Texas LP hospitality suite. Those wishing to avoid politics and continue conversation retreated to the hallway, where a hotel employee instructed them that they could not speak above a whisper!

Michael Zeising once summed up his libertarian philosophy with the words "Smash the state and free beer for all." The long-suffering people of Utah just might sign on to a platform like that.



At "off year" Libertarian Party conventions — those that do not nominate a presidential ticket — LP politicians always seem to manage to find a big issue to stimulate attendance. In 1989, it was a hotly-contested race for the position of National Chair. At this year's LP convention, it was an attempt to eliminate the party's "loyalty

oath" and to replace its wide-ranging platform with a shorter list of positions on a limited number of issues.

The reasons for these changes were fairly simple. The oath, "I hereby certify that I do not believe in or advocate the initiation of force as a means of achieving political or social goals," is a statement of moral philosophy; a statement of political belief would seem more appropriate as a membership requirement for a political party. The oath currently restricts membership pretty much to followers of Ayn Rand and Murray Rothbard, effectively eliminating those whose libertarianism runs along the lines of, say, Ludwig von Mises or Milton Friedman. Furthermore, explaining the oath to reporters is not a simple task.

The platform, whose 61 planks take stands on most issues that arise in public life and several that do not, was the source of constant embarrassment to many in the party, especially those who had to deal with the news media or who campaigned directly with voters. The children's rights plank asserts that children "have all the rights of human beings," including "freedom to work as they choose" and the right to consume "alcoholic beverages" and implies the right to use drugs and to appear in pornographic movies. The notion that three-year-olds should have the right to drink, drive, carry concealed weapons, and appear in porno flicks is liable to alienate otherwise sympathetic reporters. And what is one to make of a plank calling for "the complete separation of water and State" or its condemnation of "international attempts to prevent or limit Lagrange libration points"?

The LP National Committee adopted the reform agenda at its meeting in Atlanta over December 12-13, 1992. But it was doubtful from the start that the advocates of these changes could sustain their victory. As longtime LP-watcher Richard Winger told me at the time, not one of the reformers had experience managing floor fights at an LP convention. The conservatives, by contrast, had long experience.

One effect the reform had was the re-entry of Williamson "Bill" Evers into LP politics. Evers was a major player within the party in the early and mid-1980s, closely associated with Murray Rothbard. But he had drifted out of the

activism in the late 1980s; by 1989, he limited his involvement to helping direct the selection of the party's platform committee and working on that committee for retention of his "hard-core" views. At the 1991 convention in Chicago, where his wife, Mary Gingell, was elected party chair, he was hardly involved at all, and he remained only marginally involved until the reform efforts threatened Evers' beloved platform and oath.

By February, he was back playing his old role of strategist in internal LP disputes, firmly in command of the forces supporting both oath and platform. At the National Committee meeting in April, his hardball politics paid dividends. At issue was the composition of two committees at the national convention in September. The Bylaws and Rules Committee would consider the reforms to decide whether to report them to the floor of the convention. The Platform Committee could propose to eliminate platform planks or even the entire platform.

Evers quietly put together a coalition of National Committee members who opposed any change in the oath or any radical change in the platform. Prior to the NatCom meeting, these members agreed on a common slate for each committee at the convention. They did not want to give the impression that they were trying to engineer exactly who would be elected to each committee, so they quietly agreed to slates consisting of a substantial majority of each committee.

Meanwhile, the reformers were far less organized. At the April meeting, they nominated individuals amenable to reforms, while the Evers-led faction nominated its pre-selected slates. The reformers cast most of their votes for their own but also voted for some of the conservatives. But the conservatives had agreed in advance that they would "bullet vote" — that is, each member of their group would vote only for members of the pre-selected slate.

The result was that the reformers only got votes from members of their own faction, while the conservatives got votes from their own bullet-voters plus a scattering of votes from the reformers. The conservatives thereby won lopsided majorities in both committees. As one member of the Evers faction told

me at the time, "The clammers never knew what hit them." ("Clammers" is a pejorative for reformers, who organized themselves as the Committee for a Libertarian Majority, or CLM.)

At least one reformer realized how he had been out-politicked. Shortly after the April meeting, Steve Givot analyzed the NatCom voting patterns and figured out what had happened. He published his analysis on Libernet, the computer bulletin board for LP activists, where it drew scant attention. Even at the conclusion of the convention many in CLM were not aware of how Evers' tactic had

The oath restricts membership pretty much to followers of Ayn Rand and Murray Rothbard, effectively eliminating those whose libertarianism runs along the lines of, say, Ludwig von Mises or Milton Friedman.

defeated them.

All this was happening behind the scenes. In the public relations battle, the reformers tried to explain that they sought to open the party to libertarians whose beliefs were not based on Ayn Rand's philosophy. They also asserted that the party could do better if it chose its issues more carefully, rather than leading with its chin on issues like children's rights. Meanwhile, those opposing change worked strenuously to paint the reformers as "the sultans of sell-out," willing and anxious to throw away libertarian principles in order to gain political success.



Needless to say, the conservatives prevailed at the meetings of the Constitution and By-Laws and Platform Committees, thanks to their carefully-engineered majorities. The CLM beat a hasty retreat in the Bylaws Committee, where they were greatly outnumbered. Rather than make major confrontation over the loyalty oath, the reformers proposed dropping membership in the national party altogether, thereby following the practice of the Republicans and Democrats.

Virtually the only actions taken by the national LP are the nomination of a presidential ticket, writing a national platform, and the election of national officers, all done at its national convention. Under the CLM proposal, convention delegates would be apportioned according to the number of individuals who contributed \$25 or more to the national party. They would be selected by the affiliated state parties.

The conservatives saw a lot of problems with this proposal. For one thing, the major source of funding for the national party is membership dues, and under such a proposal the revenues that keep the national office going would surely fall. They also argued that people liked the feeling of belonging to the national party, and there was no real reason to abandon tradition. Some of the attacks were just plain silly. My nominee for silliest was the theory that with delegates allocated according to the number of individuals contributing \$25 to the party, some wealthy person might decide to win the presidential nomination by hiring and funding tens of thousands of individuals to make the requisite donation, in order to bring a huge delegation of ringers to the convention!

By the time the convention began, the reformers didn't have a clue about what was going on. Their floor workers were confident that they had a clear majority, and believed that they probably also had the 2/3 majority needed to amend the Bylaws. But Evers was in total control. During the debate, he wandered about the periphery of the convention, occasionally explaining to those nearby what was next in the scenario he had worked out for the floor debate, sometimes voting against his own faction just for the fun of it. The convention followed the script, the floor action was dull, and the reformers were trounced. The assembled delegates voted down a motion to consider the proposal to abolish membership, 194 to 132.

The next item on the reformers' agenda was their proposal to do away with the party platform and replace it with a more concise program. The conservative-controlled Bylaws Committee, of course, wanted no such change. A compromise, first proposed via E-mail by Bruce Baechler of Texas, was agreed to: the platform would be retained, but

used as an internal education document, while the public (and the press) would receive a "campaign platform." This document would be proposed by the presidential nominee and could be amended by the convention as a whole. Presumably, it would be shorter than the party platform, with its issues more discreetly chosen. It was a compromise that worked: it allowed the conservatives to keep the detailed platform as a confession of faith, while saving the real-world activists from the necessity of explaining and defending its more fragrant passages. The convention adopted it by a voice vote.



The only other controversies at the convention arose in races for party offices. Coming into the convention, there were two announced candidates for chair: Steve Dasbach, a leader of the reform group, and Jeffery Shapiro, who announced his candidacy in a feisty letter to *Libertarian Party News*, in which he attacked Dasbach as "not charismatic" and argued that "revolutions are not won by

By the time the convention began, the reformers didn't have a clue as to what was going on.

organizers, but by leaders who have the strength to inspire others," concluding by proclaiming, "For years, this movement has waited for a young strong 'John Galt' to lead the people to victory. Well, here I am!" But in Salt Lake City, he wasn't, so Dasbach had a clear field.

There were rumors that the incumbent chair, Mary Gingell, might run for re-election. She had been an effective chair during the first part of her term in office, but her separation from her husband and the need for her to take a full-time job had left her with less time to devote to the position. Many held her responsible for the difficulties that had resulted from National Secretary Joe Dehn's failure to perform the duties of his position, even to prepare the minutes of meetings. But she had chaired the convention with a level of competence seldom seen in LP affairs, and still

enjoyed considerable support. In the end, cognizant that she didn't have sufficient time to devote to the position, she decided against a re-election bid.

There was talk both before and at the convention that Sharon Ayres or Karen Allard, both members of the conservative faction, might run for the position. But Ayres begged off on the grounds that she did not have time for the job, and Allard decided to capture the Vice Chairpersonship and bide her time. Many of the conservatives remained unhappy with Dasbach ("He's a wuss and a weenie," one told me, "and a government employee and a union official!"). And other delegates, bored with the rather tedious floor action, looked forward to a real race.

But few anticipated what sort of opposition to Dasbach would eventually develop. On Thursday morning, Ohio's Natalie Lloyd, a 14-year-old, jumped into the race. She was intelligent and articulate and quickly picked up a fair amount of support. At the caucuses the night before the election, she responded with flair to obnoxious questions (e.g., "The national chair is expected to visit National Headquarters several times and to attend NatCom meetings. This costs a considerable amount of money. Is your allowance high enough to cover these expenses?").

By Sunday morning, many in the party believed that the election of a 14-year-old as National Chair was a real possibility, and some even figured it might be a good thing. As one long-time strategist put it, "On first blush, I figured the election of a 14-year-old girl as National Chair would be a public relations disaster. On second thought, I figured it might be a public relations coup!"

As the votes were being counted after the first ballot, Bill Evers and some other prominent LP leaders stood in the back of the hall and pondered the outcome. Gone was the cockiness of the fight over party reform. In its place was apprehension and even fear that Dasbach might finish third behind Lloyd and perennial favorite "none-of-the-above," which under party rules would eliminate Dasbach from consideration and virtually assure the election of the 14-year-old.

But Dasbach was elected with 23 votes to spare and a sigh of relief was breathed. Dasbach's unexpectedly thin

majority and the worries of party ca-
ciques notwithstanding, the party press
release sent to reporters three days later
reported that Dasbach was "selected . . .
over token opposition." Lloyd began
writing an article about her campaign,
to be published in a national home-
schooling newsletter. The homeschool
movement will no doubt be pleased
that one of their number was nearly
elected chair of a national political
party, while her public-schooled breth-
ren were preoccupied with elections to
student council.

A few minutes later, an unopposed
Karen Allard was elected Vice Chair by
acclamation. Then came the most hotly
contested race: the election for
Treasurer, which pitted Steve Givot
against Hugh Butler. On the surface,
Givot looked like a much stronger candi-
date. He had played a prominent role
in the 1992 presidential campaign, had
been a successful candidate (by
Libertarian standards) for the U.S.
Senate in Illinois, and had long been
one of the party's movers and shakers.
But there were problems — most nota-
bly, his famous arrogance. Long-time
activist Don Ermsberger produced a bro-
chure arguing that Givot's personality
is so abrasive that he ought not be elect-
ed. Meanwhile, Givot's erstwhile ally
Steve Dasbach, with whom he had man-
aged the Marrou campaign and worked

charming" Givot by a 194-109 margin.
And John Famularo of Pennsylvania
edged out Gary Johnson of Texas in a
close but not very hotly contested race
for Secretary.



As is traditional, while the LP was con-
ducting its business affairs at the con-
vention, the sponsoring organization
was staging a wide variety of lectures
and panel discussions, mostly by prom-
inent libertarians. As is traditional, the
expense of staging these events is a big
share of the convention's budget, and as
is also traditional, only a very small
number of those at the convention, who
had paid for the right to attend, both-
ered to do so. Most of the lectures drew
"crowds" of 20-30 attendees, and these
audiences often consisted substantially
of other speakers. I sat in on several of
these sessions and found the quality
generally quite good, but the only ses-
sions I attended that drew more than 32
people were the lectures by Thomas
Szasz and Douglas Casey. At one lec-
ture, *Liberty* editors constituted over
20% of the audience.

Given the indifference of most in at-
tendance, you have to wonder why the
contractor who operates the conven-
tions continues to stage such a show.
Perhaps the reason is that the heavy
schedule provides a psychological justi-
fication to delegates to pay convention
fees of hundreds of dollars, even if they
are not going to attend more than one
or two sessions. Certainly there is no ex-
pectation that people would particu-
larly want to hear the speakers: as many as
four sessions were scheduled simulta-
neously, often at the same time as the
business sessions of the convention.



For the first time ever, the LP was ad-
dressed by a nationally successful politi-
cian. Senator Orrin Hatch spoke on a
subject about which he and Libertarians
have common ground: the move by the
Food and Drug Administration to out-
law the ingestion of vitamins and nutri-
tional supplements in doses larger than
FDA-determined "minimum daily re-
quirements." Hatch was not willing to
go so far as Libertarians and call for the
abolition of the FDA, and parried ques-
tions from his audience with panache.
The unofficial applause/boo ratio tally

was 23 to 12, but the local paper reported
that he was "among soul mates," adding
ominously that "the event gave a telling
indication of the wide range of beliefs
Hatch shares with one of America's
most radical political parties."



Public talk about the convention was
entirely upbeat, and surprisingly little
was said about the biggest problem the
party faces: finding and nominating a

*Posters advertising an
Anarchist Caucus "self-
organizing meeting" appeared
from day one, along with the
mysterious code "A4." This
stood for "Anarchy — Agora
— Action — Alcohol."*

*Strangely absent from dis-
cussion was the Party's finan-
cial plight. Even with the
\$28,000 raised at the banquet,
the party was left with a cash
balance of \$180.*

on the battle to eliminate the loyalty
oath and reform the platform, used the
same words to endorse both Givot and
Butler. ("Givot/Butler would be an ex-
cellent Treasurer," attributed to
Dasbach and with the appropriate
name filled in, appeared prominently
on each candidate's literature. Perhaps
this is the sort of thing that provoked
the "wuss and weeny" characterization
quoted above.)

Butler defeated the "differently

credible national ticket in 1996. Another
campaign like Andre Marrou's 1992 ef-
fort, in which the national party had its
worst showing ever, might bury the no-
tion that the LP may one day emerge
from the netherworld of minor party
politics onto the central political stage. I
questioned several party leaders about
this, and was offered a few suggestions,
all off the record.

Also strangely absent from discus-
sion was the Party's financial plight.
Even with the \$28,000 raised at the ban-
quet, the party was left with a cash bal-
ance of \$180, according to a report to
the National Committee by National
Director Stuart Reges. Membership is
slipping badly, currently about 10,200
level, off from 11,600 earlier this year.
The financial situation is not helped by
the fact that during a ten-week transi-
tion period, the party will be liable for
the \$1,000 weekly salaries of two execu-
tive directors.

This year, the party cannot count on
the usual bulge of income from new
memberships of C-SPAN viewers. C-
SPAN has had live coverage of recent
LP conventions, stimulating about
10,000 calls to LP headquarters, and
leading to about 1,000 new members
each time. But this year, C-SPAN limit-
ed its coverage to taping one panel dis-
cussion, which drew 150 calls: Salt Lake

City was simply too far from C-SPAN's offices for the cable network to cover a minor party convention in an off year.



As always, the LP convention attracted its own share of eccentric individuals. My own favorite was Steve Riggins, a cheerful man who passed out literature explaining that he had started his own post office because the U.S. Postal Service insists on issuing stamps depicting the U.S. flag complete with 50 stars, despite the fact that Ohio, Arizona, and New Mexico never legally became states within the U.S.

Also of interest were the young men

who were selling freshly baked chocolate chip cookies for \$1.00 each. After I purchased one and began to eat it, they disclosed that it had been made in part from marijuana seeds ground in a blender. It was a very good cookie, though I didn't care much for its woody texture and the tiny pieces of fiber that stuck between my teeth. One of the men helpfully suggested that *Liberty* might want to use paper made from hemp rather than wood for future editions.

Perhaps the most interesting leaflet distributed at the convention was a fund-raising letter from perennial candidate Dick Boddie. The body of the letter was pretty much standard fare, asking for

funds to retire his 1992 campaign debt (for his abortive attempt to capture the LP presidential nomination and his fifth-place finish in one of the California Senate races) and for possible campaigns for city council and Congress. What distinguished this letter was its postscript: "For personal assistance to me, you should make your check payable to either 'Richard B.' or 'Ann S. Boddie.'"



The convention closed down September 5. The headline on *ABC World News Tonight* that evening was, "Representatives of 120 religions met in Chicago to determine a world ethic." □

"Justice Forfeited" from page 22

addiction, disease, etc.). According to Justice Blackmun's opinion, the "dramatic variations" in the value of property that can be confiscated under the drug forfeiture laws undercut that contention. By thoroughly rejecting the rationale that has been used by lower courts in refusing to extend other constitutional protections to forfeitures, *Austin* has raised seri-

ous doubt about the continuing viability of those cases.

In its 1974 decision in *Pearson*, the Supreme Court stated that the government may constitutionally seize property from an owner whose only fault was a failure to do "all that reasonably could be expected to prevent the proscribed use of his property." The *Austin* decision does not directly call into question this harsh rule, which has been invoked in countless forfeiture cases. But by ena-

bling owners who are culpable only in that limited way to challenge the excessiveness of a forfeiture, *Austin* may alleviate some of the injustices of particular forfeitures. And, perhaps even more importantly, it paves the way for a completely "criminalized" forfeiture law, under which individuals will enjoy the full panoply of constitutional safeguards whenever federal, state, and local government seeks to strip them of their property. □

Medianotes, continued from page 14

cynically figure that federal employees goof off all their time anyway, so the cost of diverting them from other tasks to prepare reports for him costs "nothing"? This is a man who wrote in *Newsweek* that natural gas is not a fossil fuel, so the sophistication required of the second explanation would likely elude him.

The stupidity of Gore's answer was not evident to the usually perspicacious Letterman, who carried on with his interview. Letterman's strange befuddlement from this brush with power lasted into the following day: on his next show, so help me God, he referred to the moronic heartbeat-away as "an intelligent man." —RWB

Old party hand — The *Washington Post* devoted a long, glowing feature story on August 11 to Marvel Cooke, described as "a pioneering journalist and life-long political agitator." From the headline — "Marvel Cooke's Tour of the Century: At 92, She's Had Her Pen on a Lot of History" — to the roll call of politically correct stations of the cross that she touched in her life — daughter of a Pullman porter, friend of novelist Richard Wright and the poets of the Harlem Renaissance, summoned before the Army-McCarthy hearings, pioneer in the NAACP — we are carefully led to understand that this is a remarkable woman, deserving of our respect and admiration. But what were her politics, anyway?

Well, let the *Post* tell us, finally, at the bottom of the

jump page:

"It was at that earlier job with the *Amsterdam News* in the '30s that Cooke forged the connection that would define much of her life. She was on a picket line, naturally, in what was among the first strikes called by the fledgling Newspaper Guild. Demonstrating along with her was a prominent black activist. 'He stopped on the picket line and said, 'Why haven't you ever joined the Communist Party?' And I very naively said, 'Nobody ever asked me.' So he asked me.'

"More that one million Americans were Communists at one point or another during the roughly 40 years before the revelations about Stalinist horrors decimated the party's membership in 1956. To Cooke, the party seemed a natural extension of her family's leftist politics, a home for those committed to equality. Long after internal schisms and painful disillusionment had driven others away, she remained. 'I'm a little disturbed recently, but I've never dropped my membership,' she says."

"A little disturbed recently"? The violence of the revolution didn't do it, the tyranny of Stalin didn't do it, the corruption of the Brezhnev years didn't do it, the invasion of Afghanistan didn't do it, the testimony of Soviet Jews didn't do it — even the end of the Soviet Union has left this heroine of the *Washington Post* only a "little disturbed" about Soviet-style Communism.

It's just history, right? She's an old lady — cut her some slack. Now imagine a glowing *Post* profile of a 92-year-old "journalist" who was also, by the way, a member of the Nazi Party and says she's "a little disturbed recently" about some of the Nazis' doings. Hard to envision, isn't it? —DB

Explanation

How I Walked into the Michigan House

by Greg Kaza

In 1992, a libertarian activist was elected to the Michigan House of Representatives. Here's how.

On Nov. 3, 1992, I was elected to the Michigan House of Representatives as a Republican representing a suburban Detroit district — not as an *establishment* Republican, but as a *libertarian* Republican.

Since taking office in January, I have opposed every tax shift or increase and proposed four amendments and one resolution. Three of those amendments have been approved by a majority of House members; two successfully dealt with vital issues affecting personal liberty. One addressed a draconian "no-knock" law that would have given government agents the power to enter private property unannounced. My amendment specified that two judges, including at least one at the circuit level, must approve any no-knock warrant; passage of this amendment on March 4 stalled the bill in the House. Another amendment, co-sponsored with a Democratic colleague, effectively gutted a mandatory seat-belt law. I also sponsored a resolution that would bind the House against a 5% legislative and judicial pay raise. This resolution received 66 votes, but it fell eight votes short of the two-thirds majority required. (I am now exploring the idea of a free lottery to return my pay raise to taxpayers when it takes effect in January 1994.)

My election and subsequent activity show that it is possible to succeed in the political arena as a proponent of the free society. More importantly,

they offer important lessons for advocates of individual liberty, the greatest being confirmation of a political style favored by both the Old Right and the New Left.

All Politics Is Local

When I announced for the Michigan House in April 1992, I was opposed by the five-term Republican incumbent, the GOP establishment, and a majority of community leaders and opinion molders. The incumbent later withdrew, endorsing one of my opponents in the August Republican primary; after I won that primary, he endorsed the Democrat in the November general election. Seven of eight newspaper endorsements went to opponents. Yet I received 51 percent of the vote in a four-way GOP primary, and 65 percent against the Democrat in November.

I won both races because of my grass-roots strategy, relying on door-to-door campaigning and a platform supported by a majority of district residents. Our campaign borrowed from the Old Right of the late 1940s and early 1950s, which emphasized *local control* of government, and the New

Left of the 1960s, which popularized *decentralization* in its approach.

I announced my candidacy only after receiving financial commitments sufficient to pay for an introductory literature piece and 500 yard signs, the hallmarks of a serious grass-roots campaign. Under Michigan law, all candidates for state office must register a campaign committee with the Secretary of State. Our first formal act was to register Friends of Greg Kaza in Lansing, the state capital. Then I began fundraising in earnest, relying on movement sources and personal contacts I developed while vice-president for policy research at a Michigan think tank. The experts said it would cost \$50,000 to win the Republican primary; our committee spent only one-third that amount.

The first literature published by a political campaign is commonly called the *walking piece*. It usually introduces the candidate to voters by describing affiliations and community involvement, while avoiding issues. It is generally delivered to voters by volunteers, by poll workers on election day, or by the candidate walking door-to-door. Many campaigns at the

local and state level never progress beyond the walking piece, due to lack of funds or as part of a strategy that equates taking positions on issues with a loss of votes. My walking piece listed affiliations, but also emphasized two libertarian themes that were our campaign platform: tax relief and term limits.

Subsequent campaign literature expanded on those two basic themes. One direct mail piece asked on the cover, "What Do Greg Kaza and a Majority of Troy-Rochester Hills Republicans Have in Common?" Inside, the answer read, "They Support Term Limits." The literature explained my support for term limits, which dates back several years,

I literally walked into the Michigan House of Representatives: between April and November 1992 I personally contacted 15,000 individuals through door-to-door campaigning.

while noting "more than 90 percent of Michigan incumbents opposed term limits two years later." Another piece read, "Lansing Froze Your Property Tax Assessments . . . Greg Kaza Wants To Go Further." The literature explained my support for a property tax plan that "would cut assessments 30 percent over five years, relief worth hundreds of dollars annually to Rochester Hills and Troy homeowners." In both instances, we were careful to *localize* the issue — all politics is local.

Critics of libertarians frequently accuse them of negativism for their opposition to the state. The literature we published addressed this issue by stressing *positive* themes, i.e., support for tax relief and term limits. Our committee published a dozen pieces; my fiancée, Cherie, personally carrier route-sorted nearly 40,000 pieces of campaign mail. Virtually every piece we published mentioned support for tax relief or term limits. By comparison, my op-

ponents supported tax shifts or increases and opposed term limits.

"Hello, My Name Is . . ."

The Old Right and the New Left understood that local control and decentralization cannot extend beyond the individual. I was elected to the Michigan House of Representatives by literally walking in; between April and November 1992 I personally contacted 15,000 individuals through door-to-door campaigning.

For nearly a year before the August 1992 GOP primary, family members and volunteers assembled lists of registered voters in the district. After announcing my candidacy, I began a routine of knocking on doors Mondays through Saturdays, from noon to 9 p.m. Mornings were reserved to fundraising appointments, and Sundays were set aside for family. I was able to campaign full-time because I had budgeted enough personal wealth to pay the bills.

Door-to-door campaigning is grass-roots politics in action. Every candidate has their own message; mine was, "Hello, my name is Greg Kaza. I am here *personally* to seek your vote on election day." The overwhelming majority of people told me I was the first candidate ever to knock on their door. Some did not believe I was a candidate until I showed them my identification. Several invited me into their homes for dinner. Only two expressed hostility; both told me that they were finished with politics and politicians.

Some individuals asked for literature on a specific issue. A few requested copies of a book that I co-authored while at the think tank. Many wanted yard signs to post outside their homes. I was always careful to return in *person* with the materials, and leave a *personal* note if the individual was not home.

More than 100 volunteers eventually became involved in our effort. Many took door-to-door campaigning one step further by knocking on doors after I visited a precinct. Individuals received as many as five personal visits from volunteers urging them to vote for me in some precincts. One woman called to say that she would vote for me only if our volunteers would stop knocking on her door! I apologized, explaining that some of our volunteers

were overenthusiastic.

At first my campaign was pretty much ignored, but as it began to gather steam I was attacked hard. One negative flyer made 18 separate charges against me. Another stated, "Greg Kaza, in a press interview (Rochester *Eccentric*, 4-20-92), styled himself 'a libertarian.' The Libertarian Party's national platform calls for, among other things, the dismantling of Social Security and Medicare." It went on to quote a spokesman for conservative Republican Gov. John Engler, attacking me as an "ideologue" who "has not even learned the most very basic lessons of American politics. . . ." Another negative flyer stated, "Greg Kaza . . . has advanced some extreme and preposterous answers to the very complex problems that face our area and state. Among these is education reform — in a word: privatization." Engler's opposition and the negative flyers generated intense discussion among the political molders.

The consensus of the media pundits and savvy political operators is that negative campaigning is very effective. The practical effect upon voters was negligible, as was confirmed on election day.

My election demonstrated that a majority of residents in a community are

My election and subsequent activity show that it is possible to succeed in the political arena as a proponent of the free society.

ready, and will support, a grass-roots politics that respects them and takes their concerns seriously, and that they will support a free society. But they not unreasonably want to be treated as individuals by those who seek to represent them.

We did not fancy ourselves as savvy political operators from Lansing. We saw ourselves as concerned citizens out to influence state government at the local level. Door-to-door campaigning prevailed against establishment opinion and establishment interests. □

Reindustrialization Redux

by Christopher Thomas Freeburn

There's one import that protectionists like . . .

The 1992 presidential campaign resurrected "industrial policy" as a way to solve America's economic problems. But that phrase still has some unsavory "central planning" connotations, so the Clinton camp was apt to euphemize; "a partnership between government and business" became the campaign cliché.

A mix of protectionism, regulation, and government subsidies (now called "investments"), industrial policy is very popular within the Clinton circle of economic advisors. It is modeled loosely on the policies of Europe and Japan.

However, the much-vaunted industrial policies of Europe and Japan are, in fact, costly bureaucracies with at best a mixed record. Attempting to counter American and Japanese dominance, several European governments have showered particular computer companies with money — only to watch losses mount.

Most egregious is the sad spectacle of the Groupe Bull S.A., a computer company into which the French government pumped 1.3 billion francs in 1992 alone. Subsidies and numerous restructurings have failed to make Bull profitable. In fact, in the last two years, Bull has lost both market share and \$1.5 billion of the French taxpayer's money.

The debacle of the "French policy at Bull smacks of the approach that has left Europe littered with perennially unprofitable industries in coal, steel, shipbuilding and other lines, all

sustained by government money," writes New York *Times* reporter Roger Cohen.

Similarly, the European Community has insisted on forging ahead with its own analog system for high-definition television — a technology that provides picture clarity similar to that of film. Almost all industry analysts believe that the American digital system is superior and should eventually be adopted worldwide. Here again, industrial policy looks suspiciously like protectionism.

During the 1980s, Japanese companies gained enormous market share and dominance of many key technologies necessary to the computer industry. Alarmed by the Japanese advance, many American economists sounded doomsday warnings, arguing that American companies were fundamentally disadvantaged. American business, lacking government support and protection, would soon be overwhelmed by subsidized Japanese computer makers. Japan, they warned, would control the PC industry.

But this did not happen. American companies responded to the Japanese

challenge by setting new industry standards and accelerating their product development. At the 1992 Comdex/Fall trade show in November, American computers demonstrated their lead in innovation with an amazing array of new products, far outshining the Japanese manufacturers' rather disappointing performance.

Indeed, most Japanese computer makers have seen a decline in their market share both in America and at home. Compaq and IBM have recently made inroads into the Japanese domestic market, challenging NEC Corporation, Japan's market leader. George Fisher, chairman of Motorola Inc, was quoted in the New York *Times* as saying, "We have convinced ourselves that we can compete with the Japanese in cost, quality, size, and low power consumption if we put our heads to it."

This spirit is reflected by the experience of the Xerox Corporation.

In the 1980s, competition from Japanese giants like Canon, Sharp, and Toshiba severely eroded Xerox's business, placing the company in fi-

nancial jeopardy.

Xerox responded with a crash course in quality and consumer relations, with products carefully tailored to meet the needs of foreign customers. The result was a startling rebound. Xerox's new Model 5100 photocopier has become a major success in Japan,

where it holds ninety percent of the high-speed copier market. A representative of NEC, which purchased twenty-two Xerox machines, told the *New York Times*, "The machines are better than anything we can get in Japan. We wanted the best and most efficient machines."

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Many American companies have stopped complaining about Japanese competition and started doing something about it. In many cases this means taking the competition for market share to Japan itself. Motorola, McDonald's, Eastman Kodak, and Applied Materials Inc are just some of the many American corporations challenging Japanese rivals on their home soil.

Japanese industrial planning is the responsibility of the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry, or MITI, a government agency which directs and supports those industries that it deems important to economic expansion. MITI's results are not entirely the awesome success story that is often

The much-vaunted industrial policies of Europe and Japan are, in fact, costly bureaucracies with at best a mixed record of successes and failures.

portrayed by the American media — witness its attempt to get Japanese automakers to build a "people's car" in the 1950s. Other projects (such as the much-heralded Fifth Generation Computer) have been total flops. Furthermore, the current recession in Japan seems to have uncovered a whole range of unsavory government-endorsed business practices. Government scandals, illicit stock-trading conspiracies, the prevalence of organized crime, and a severe financial crisis are leading many Japanese to question their government's role in the national economy.

America's vast wealth was not created by an army of government bureaucrats directing the country's resources. Rather, it has been the result of dynamic individuals working, inventing, and cooperating within the free market for their own self-advancement.

Our economic problems are the result of reckless government interference, not a lack of direction from Washington. ☐

Sentence Completions

Putting Away Childish Things

by Robert F. Tinney

It's time for the political spectrum to come of age.

Wouldn't it be great if there really were only two kinds of people in the world, like "Liberals" and "Conservatives," or "The Producers" and "The Looters," or "The Men of Mind" and "Whim-worshippers"? Political and social conflicts are so much more interesting and understandable if you can peg the combatants on a simple, one-dimensional linear spectrum — they're either *this* way or *that* way — rather than more complex two- or even three-dimensional mappings. A tug-of-war is so much more . . . *visceral* than a chess game.

Unfortunately, categorizing *all* people on a linear scale is almost impossible if you want the scale to apply to a broad range of issues. Oh, it's not too difficult to establish a linear polarity on specific issues, such as, "How do you rate on the issue of economic freedom versus economic control?" The problem is, in a tug-of-war like this you might find yourself pulling shoulder-to-shoulder with some pinhead who wants to outlaw "unnatural" sex. And *then* what would you do with your weekends?

The trick is to find a polarity that is simple enough to be linear, and at the same time elegant and subtle enough to put everybody where they really ought to be, relative to everybody else. I believe the power and popularity of Ayn Rand's message can be attributed to her linear approach: (1) distill the various manifestations of systematic

evil in the world down to a root cause, and (2) destroy the root. But Rand's attempt to make the polarity a *philosophical* one (i.e., with the "Morality of Altruism" at one end and Rational Self-Interest at the other) is, to me at least, awkward and ultimately unsatisfactory. And what about her answer to the troubling question of why the Morality of Altruism should be so appealing to intellectuals?

"[T]he philosophy of Kant is a systematic rationalization of every major psychological vice," says Rand in her 1974 essay "Philosophical Detection." But from what cloud do these "psychological vices" swoop down and settle into the heads of the world's intellectuals? What virus has infected Kant and his spiritual descendants with symptoms such as "hatred of reality," "hatred of the mind," or "hatred of the good," thus causing them to secretly rejoice as they watch their irrational philosophies destroy civilization?

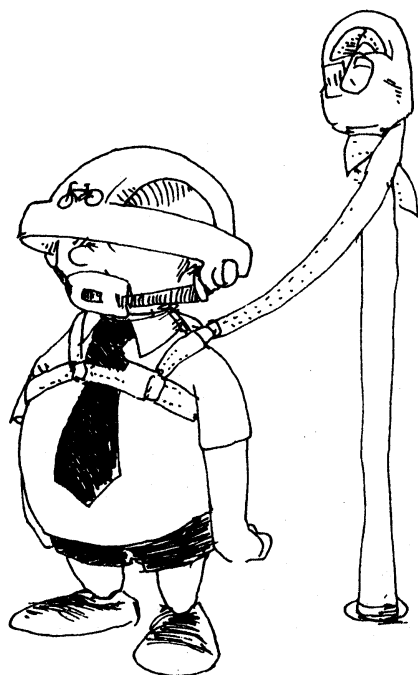
Actually, I don't believe the world's intellectuals really want to destroy anything. But I do believe that many

— probably most — of the ideas they have promulgated in the twentieth century have been hogwash, and that this hogwash flows from a single source. And if I can demonstrate that much of the world's hogwash flows from a single source, then I've got linear polarity in my back pocket!

Below is a Sentence Completion Chart that outlines my entry for the "Name-the-one-thing-that's-destroying-the-World" contest. I believe the major irrational movements of the world, from time immemorial, are born not in vice, but in perversion: the perversion of the natural psychological and social development sequence that transforms a human child into a human adult. The result of this perversion is that the human beings so affected never transfer the locus of moral authority from their "powers above" (i.e., their parents), to themselves (i.e., their own minds). In other words, they never graduate from the moral *dependency* into which they are born, to the moral *independence* of adulthood.

The chart below resulted from the

most extensive psychological testing program ever conducted. (*Suurrre*. Actually, I sat down at my word processor and knocked out the chart in about three and a half hours.) Subjects completed the sentences in the left column with whatever popped into their minds. They were then divided into four categories (as indicated) on the basis of their answers. The completions shown are a distillation of the most common responses:

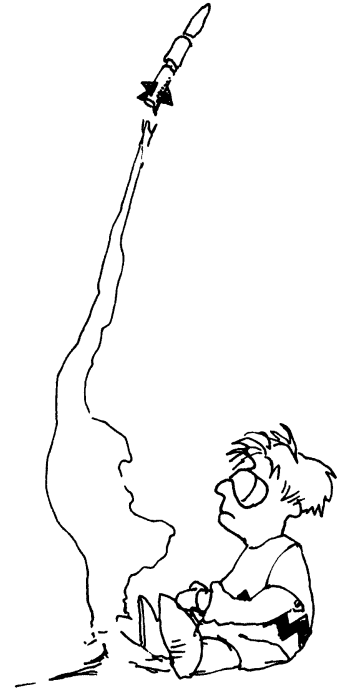


	Children	Children of God	Children of the State	Adults
The greatest sin would be . . .	"... Disobedience, i.e., separating myself from the will of my parents."	"... Pride, i.e., separating myself from the will of my God."	"... Treason, i.e., separating myself from the will of my Fatherland."	"... unquestioning obedience to someone else's will."
The highest virtues are . . .	"... administered from above: the teachings of my parents."	"... administered from above: the laws of God."	"... administered from above: the laws and customs of the nation."	"... policies of behavior which I'm responsible for figuring out for myself."
When it comes right down to it, the most important thing in the world is for me to . . .	"... obey my parents and be a part of my family."	"... obey my God and be a part of the Church family."	"... obey my government and be an active part of the national family."	"... use my mind to care for myself and my loved ones."
All the world really needs is . . .	"... family unity."	"... unity under God."	"... family unity."	"... Reason."

	Children	Children of God	Children of the State	Adults
What really makes me uneasy is . . .	"... hatred between my brothers and sisters."	"... hatred between my brothers and sisters."	"... hatred between my brothers and sisters."	"... a world where conformity and 'love' are the highest virtues."
I have Faith in . . .	"... the powers above: Mother and Father."	"... the power above: God."	"... the powers above: our system of Government."	"... myself and my ability to reason."
The powers above make me feel guilty because I don't want to . . .	"... share with my brothers and my sisters."	"... share with my brothers and my sisters."	"... share with my brothers and my sisters."	"... What powers? What guilt?"
Our nature as human beings demands that we have government . . .	"... from our parents to make sure we behave."	"... from our God to make sure we behave."	"... from the State to make sure we behave."	"... to protect the equal freedom of all people to decide for themselves how to behave."



	Children	Children of God	Children of the State	Adults
When authorities think I'm not behaving right, sometimes I need . . .	"... punishment (or maybe some forceful warnings) from my parents."	"... punishment (or maybe a reminder of eternal torture) from God."	"... punishment (or maybe some forceful warnings) from the Government."	"Tread on me at your own risk."
The worst thing that could happen would be . . .	"... for my parents to abandon their helpless children."	"... for God to abandon His helpless children."	"... for the Government to abandon helpless citizens."	"... for me to abandon my self-reliance."
I must always be on guard against . . .	"... willfulness; I'm immature and my parents know what's best for me."	"... willfulness; I'm a sinner and God knows what's best for me."	"... willfulness; I'm greedy and Government knows what's best for me."	"... people who claim they know what's best for me."
Justice is . . .	"... Mother and Father giving their children everything they need, equally."	"... all of God's children sharing equally in heaven's bliss."	"... an equal distribution of wealth to the brotherhood of Man."	"... receiving what you earn."

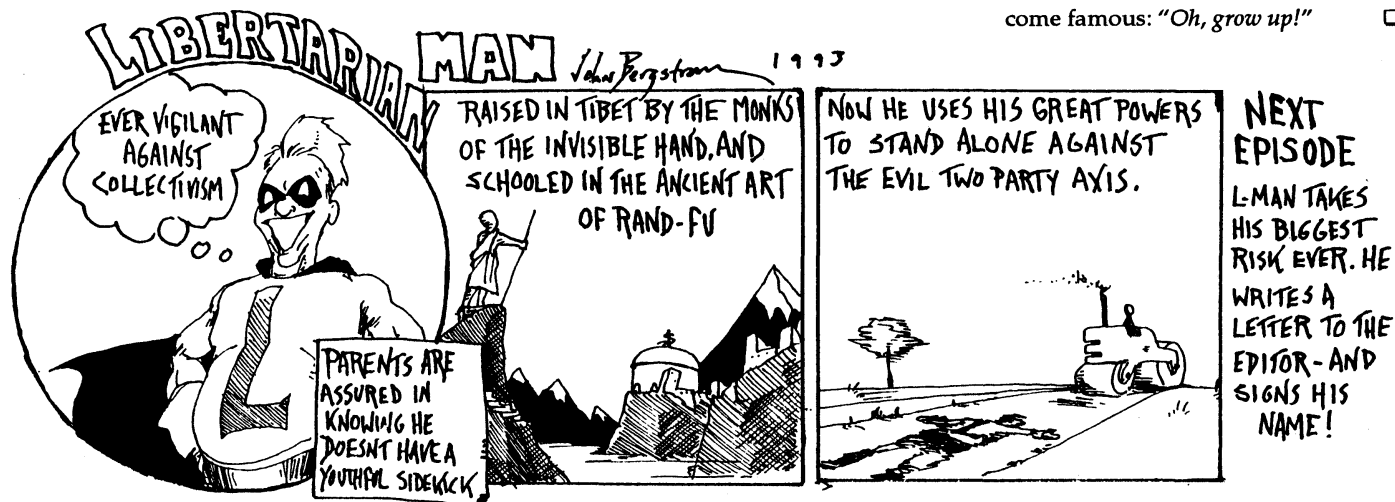


	Children	Children of God	Children of the State	Adults
Sometimes I'd like to just slap the face of . . .	"... my little sister, who thinks she's so smart she doesn't need to do what Mommy and Daddy tell her."	"... some dirty little atheist who thinks he's so smart he doesn't need God."	"... some dirty, greedy little businessman who thinks he can operate without being regulated."	"... some little coward who refuses to think or be responsible for his own actions."
I feel warm and safe . . .	"... when my Father's holding me in his arms."	"... when I remember that God has the whole world in his hands."	"... when I remember the Government's safety net."	"... when I'm controlling my own life."
Sometimes I get tears in my eyes when I think of . . .	"... my dear Mother and Father."	"... our dear Lord and Savior."	"... our dear Motherland."	"... the fucking IRS."

	Children	Children of God	Children of the State	Adults
It's quite obvious that I'm naturally prone to evil because . . .	"... I need my parents to protect me from my own ignorance and mistakes."	"... I need God to protect me from my own ignorance and mistakes."	"... I need Government to protect me from my own ignorance and mistakes."	"I stopped being 'prone to evil' when I grew up."
At those times when I really get in deep trouble, I can always . . .	"... run to Mother and Father."	"... take my burdens to the Lord."	"... let my fingers do the walking through the Government agency section of the Yellow Pages."	"... grit my teeth and dig deeper into my personal resources."
Boy, if only my brothers and sisters were . . .	"... more caring and mindful of family responsibilities."	"... more caring and mindful of God's will for all his children."	"... more caring and mindful of social responsibilities."	"... more self-reliant."
Prudence dictates that I . . .	"... repent of my childish shortcomings, or suffer parental anger."	"... repent of my wicked appetites, or suffer the fires of hell."	"... repent of my human appetites, or suffer global warming and destruction."	"... avoid the age-old guilt/repentance syndrome."
The most pitiful creature on earth is . . .	"... a child without parents."	"... a human being without God."	"... a human being without a country."	"... a human being without ideas."

So you see, there are only two kinds of people in the world; the monumental struggles that have marked the history of humanity can best be understood as tug-of-wars between those who view the world through the eyes of children, and those who face the universe as responsible adults. Today, the forces of childhood include check-writing followers of weeping, tumor-curing televangelists; 50-year-old yippie/socialist college professors; and New Deal/New Frontier/Great Society welfare-state policy experts. These are all people who wish, not to destroy civilization, but rather to redesign it according to their most deeply held belief about human beings: *in the final analysis, we're all just children*. Furthermore, government-controlled education virtually guarantees that the percentage of genuine adults in the population will decline with each succeeding generation.

Therefore, I hereby nominate an addition to the Freedom Philosopher's Hall of Fame, to be placed right next to the display honoring Rand, whose portrait stares penetratingly at each passerby, as if asking, "Have you checked your premises today?" My nominee is none other than comedienne Joan Rivers, represented by a glitzy studio photo in her nightclub pose. Beneath the picture is a talk button; when the button is pushed, the voice of Rivers herself erupts from a speaker, delivering to the citizens of the world — Socialists, Hindus, Fascists, Christians, Muslims, and Welfare Statists alike — the advice for which she has become famous: "Oh, grow up!" □



Reviews

The Hacker Crackdown: Law and Disorder on the Electronic Frontier, by Bruce Sterling. Bantam Books, 1992, 328 pps., \$23.00.

No Place Like Cyberspace

Brian Doherty

Every new frontier opens up new possibilities for human freedom — and new opportunities to bedevil, aggravate, and harm one another as well. According to Hobbes, this is why people agree to give up some of their freedoms: it is the only way they know to hold human mischief in check.

There are, of course, few physical frontiers left on Earth; governments have left their mark and established their authority virtually everywhere. Bruce Sterling's *The Hacker Crackdown* is the story of cyberspace — a new, non-physical frontier so strange that everyday problems there become threats to cherished freedoms, even the First Amendment.

Just what is cyberspace? The term is lifted from science fiction; the thing itself can be thought of as the place where a telephone call occurs — not just at your phone, not just at your conversant's, but somewhere in-between. That somewhere isn't physical; in some senses it isn't "real." But, as Sterling points out, "things happen there that have very genuine consequences" (xii). Things like the collapse of telephonic communications, the free communication (and theft) of services and information, and a state of war between forces seeking to impose order (law officers and telephone company officials) and

those defending a zone for the mind's free play (hackers, electronic-age businessmen, and civil libertarians).

Sterling is a leading writer of and apologist for the brand of science fiction known as "cyberpunk," the distinguishing features of which, he tells us, are "a compelling interest in information technology" and "Bohemian artiness . . . an air of deliberate rebellion, funny clothes and hair, odd politics" (146). He tells his story as a novelist would, drawing vivid portraits of the major characters. Curiously, while Sterling treats offbeat, drugged-up, freaked-out hackers sympathetically in his fiction, *The Hacker Crackdown* is rather contemptuous of their real-life counterparts — those mostly young, mostly white, mostly male enthusiastic amateur explorers of cyberspace — and more intrigued by and impressed with the cops and civil libertarians. Indeed, he often portrays hackers as foolishly begging for trouble by bragging, often in phone calls to the authorities, of their illegal doings. He is also disturbed by their lack of any sense of *omerta* after being caught for their crimes (i.e., they are shameless squealers), and is not impressed with their addiction to airy, revolutionary rhetoric — rhetoric that seems odd coming from people who generally are socially inept indoor hobbyists tinkering with expensive equipment just for the thrill of chasing the forbidden.

People have used cyberspace in bothersome, fraudulent, and even criminal ways for as long as it has existed. Before there were hackers there were "phone phreaks" — experts at using technological skulduggery to squeeze free service out of the phone company. In their college days, before they started Apple Computer, Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak sold devices ("blue boxes") that replicated the 2600 hertz tone that accessed long distance lines.

Telco officials had learned to live with the mischief of the old-fashioned phreaks, but as the telephone system became computerized, techno-pirates started to threaten more than just the profit margin. A smartass hacker kid known as "Fry Guy" re-routed calls for a probation officer in Delray Beach, Florida to a phone sex line in New

Cyberspace is the place where a telephone call occurs: not just at your phone, or at your conversant's phone, but somewhere in-between. People have used cyberspace in bothersome, fraudulent and even criminal ways for as long as it has existed.

York, then boasted to Telco security that the entire phone system was at his mercy. When AT&T's long-distance switching system crashed on January 15, 1990, fear of the power of these youthful, eccentric hierophants of cyberspace grew, setting the stage for the hacker crackdown. Ironically, the crash had been the result of an in-house programming error, not any hacker mischief.

Sterling takes pains to point out

that the ethics of the high-level hacker do not permit childish, criminal, and dangerous indulgences like crashing systems or credit card fraud, even though those are well within their abilities. What they want and love is *information*, and the thrill of knowing that their skill and ingenuity has gotten them places and given them access to knowledge not everyone else can have. Their motivation is the feeling of membership in an elite, not the will to become wealthy mega-criminals or high-tech vandals.

But the very power they evince, and their foolish braggadocio — publishing all their secret info on computer bulletin boards open to anyone, or magazines like 2600 and its electronic-only cousin, *Phrack* — attracted the attention of the law, and led eventually to the heavyweight crackdown that became

Hackers consider the notion of "intellectual property" laughable; "Information wants to be free" is one of their rallying cries.

known, in cutesy militaristic terminology, as Operation: Sundevil.

Sundevil, which went into effect on May 8, 1990, was the work of the Secret Service and the U.S. Attorney's office in Phoenix, Arizona. One hundred fifty agents made 27 searches in twelve cities, seizing about 42 computer systems and making four arrests. The operation focused the attention of both the public and hackers. Computer crime was suddenly being taken *very* seriously by the feds.

From a law enforcement perspective, the theory behind Sundevil seemed perfectly reasonable. The electronic bulletin boards seized during the raid were used for illicit purposes, spreading information and numbers that aided and abetted credit card theft and telephone code abuse. But these gathering places for cyberspace enthusiasts to communicate about computers, music, sex, gossip, and, yes, hacking,

were and are more than just dens of iniquity. They are, in some sense, examples of free assembly and free speech. Which leads to a fundamental question: is the mere discussion of information that could possibly be used illegally an excuse to confiscate the means of communication and shut down the forums for discussion? The question has yet to be answered, because it's yet to be argued directly in a court of law.

Sterling also tells stories of government action against the hacker milieu that are less *prima facie* defensible from a law enforcement perspective, including the event which sparked *The Hacker Crackdown*.

On March 1, 1990, the Secret Service raided the home and office of an individual employed by Steve Jackson Games, a publisher of science fiction role-playing games. The Secret Service had been on the trail of a stolen BellSouth document relating to technical details of bureaucratic administration of the 911 service, and had been led to a bulletin board at Steve Jackson, where an employee had published the document. The Secret Service walked off with every computer, every disk drive, and every floppy disk at Steve Jackson Games. Their haul included the complete manuscript for a forthcoming book containing instructions for a new game called *GURPS Cyberpunk*. No one at the company was arrested or charged with anything, yet little of the equipment, without which the business was effectively crippled, was ever returned.

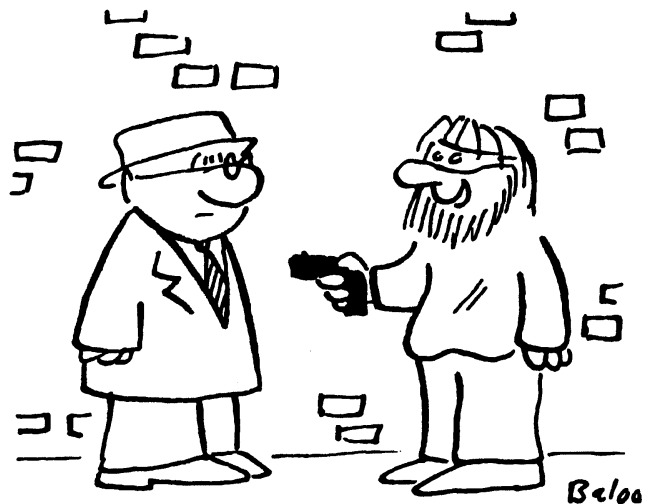
And because the (unsigned) warrant was sealed, the fact that they were looking for the stolen BellSouth document was not revealed. Jackson was told instead that his book, *GURPS Cyberpunk*, was "a manual for computer crime" and the reason for the raid. The science fiction community, including Sterling, was galvanized. Was it now illegal even to write speculatively about the world of cy-

berspace and the possibilities for subversive activity therein? At subsequent legal hearings, after the Secret Service explained that it had been seeking the tech details of the 911 service, allegedly a highly confidential and valuable document, it was revealed that BellSouth it-

The science fiction community was galvanized. Was it now illegal even to write speculatively about the world of cyberspace and the possibilities for subversive activity therein?

self offered the same information to the public for \$13.

Sterling delves into this strange ecosystem, describing wary conferences and confrontations between hackers and lawmen attempting to figure out just what is happening in their shared world. The author is no wild-eyed defender of hackerdom; in fact, he explicitly recommends that any youngster with a yen to play cyberspace cowboy join the Secret Service, where better equipment and more knowledge is available than any lone hacker is liable to have available. Sterling presents with intelligence and sympathy both the law enforcement position *and* the stance of, for example, Mitch Kapor, founder of the civil libertarian Electronic Freedom



"Hey. I want your money and you want your life and it's okay, man."

Foundation. In fact, I find his respect for law enforcement personnel a trifle overdone. Even as Sterling harps on every personal deficiency and indication of lack of integrity within the hacker community, he glosses over the unconstitutional horrors regularly committed by the cops. His gosh-wow glee over their professionalism and eagerness to learn seems inappropriate to a class of people with no compunction against seizing valuable property without ever returning it or pressing any criminal charges against its legal owners.

The Hacker Crackdown makes it very clear that the legal situation in cyberspace remains unclear. The relation of an electronic bulletin board to a physical meeting place or publication is not yet settled in the mind of the law. The meaning of theft when the "stolen" object is still in the possession of its original owner is blurry. Indeed, the very meaning of property itself in cyberspace is slippery. Hackers consider the notion of "intellectual property" laughable; "information wants to be free" is one of their rallying cries. If one can light a candle from an existing fire without diminishing that flame, has the flame been "stolen"? If a document can be duplicated without taking it or the use of it from its original owners, has harm been done?

As time goes on, more and more of our property and privacy will reside in or depend upon cyberspace. In one particularly chilling segment, Sterling describes some street people he encountered in Phoenix and speculates about the day when anyone who is not at home in cyberspace will be as marginal and powerless as those homeless people are now. The world could end up divided between information technicians who can manipulate symbols, add value, and control the technical details of production, and everyone else, serfs useful for only small-value-added, unpleasant physical exertion.

That specter should be enough to make one want to acclimate oneself to cyberspace. This book makes a good introductory guide. It introduces the gang, explains the rules of the house — however confused — and attempts to inculcate a grudging respect for the neighborhood flatfoot. □

***Post-Liberalism: Studies In Political Thought*, by John Gray. Routledge, 1993, x+358pp., \$45.00 hc.**

After Liberalism . . . Liberalism

Leland B. Yeager

In his book *Liberalisms* (Routledge 1989), John Gray found the grand liberal theories lying in "rubble." Liberalism, he said, was incoherent in trying "to adopt a universal standpoint — whose content, however, turns out to be given by the local knowledge of Anglo-American political (or academic) culture" (1989, p. 234). Gray's own project of "defining liberalism and giving it a foundation" had "ended in failure. . . . [N]o set of arguments is available which might ground liberalism and privilege liberal society over its rivals" (1989, vii).

Introducing John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty and Other Essays* (Oxford 1991), Gray again saw "a system of ruins." As a guide for legislation, Mill's principle of liberty was "a ruinous failure." Gray's own revisionist defense of Mill had also run aground. These results suggested "the likely (or inevitable) failure of any similar exercise." Mill's project, Gray said, required "aggregative judgments of utility"; yet the incommensurability of values is "fatal to any utilitarian calculus." Liberal theory must now be seen "as an exploration of the structure and postulates of a specific historical achievement, a body of practices which we receive as an historical inheritance. But then moral and political philosophy lose much of their prescriptive authority, and become essentially elucidatory or explanatory" (xxix).

Describing liberalism again in his newest collection of essays, *Post-Liberalism: Studies in Political Thought*,

Gray tosses around terms like "ruins," "debacle," "disasters," "banal pieties," "empty pieties," "illusions," "incoherencies and indeterminacies that are fatal," "demise," "dead," "death," and "epitaph."

All this is hype. Far from foresaking what classical liberalism presumably means to *Liberty's* readers, Gray develops solid arguments for it. What he does reject is sweeping claims about its scope and self-sufficiency, along with perverted applications and defective arguments.

Sometimes Gray narrows his target to "doctrinal," "foundationist," "fundamentalist," or "universalist" liberalism. Without explicitly developing the point, Gray does say that all of today's dominant liberalisms derive from Millian classical liberalism. The author of *On Liberty* neglected cultural tradition as the matrix of human individuality. Obsessed with enmity to tradition and convention, Mill displayed rationalist hubris, antinomian individualism, and a sentimental religion of humanity. Instead of any sort of pluralist society, Millian liberalism envisages the rule of an elite of opinion-formers. It is a program for cultural conformity (260).*

As examples of his more recent targets, Gray mentions in passing such diverse thinkers as John Rawls, F.A.

* Long direct quotations would be tedious. Besides, I feel a compelling urge to shorten and rearrange Gray's prose. Except occasionally for emphasis, I avoid putting quotation marks around words and phrases lifted verbatim; the effect would be intolerably choppy. Gray gets credit for any apt formulations.

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Hayek, Robert Nozick, Bruce Ackerman, and Ronald Dworkin. The liberalism of Hayek and Milton Friedman and free-market think tanks such as the Institute of Economic Affairs, although strongly individualist, concerns itself very little with "the cultural or social conditions of a stable restoration of market institutions" (275).

Gray rejects the modern liberal dogma that human nature is so much a fiction or chaos or so unknowable that each generation may reasonably start life afresh, trying every experiment in living again (21). Echoing Michael Oakeshott, he rejects the hubristic liberal project of fixing the proper scope and limits of the authority of government once and for all, as Locke, Kant, Mill, Rawls, and Nozick supposedly tried to do. Reasoning from some first principle or doctrine will not work, be it specification of natural rights or basic liberties, or some conception of justice fleetingly held by the American academic *nomenklatura*. The proper tasks and limits of government can be established, provisionally, only by invoking precedents, judgments, and practices already present in political life. Philosophy must yield to practice (40-41).

Gray is tempted to label his own position "post-modern liberal conservatism" (271). He champions what he calls "civil society" and Oakeshott called "civil association": the domain of voluntary associations and market exchanges through which individuals pursuing their own diverse purposes may live together in peace. Private property, the market, contractual liberty, and the rule of law count among its essential characteristics; without them, modern societies descend into poverty and barbarism. Although most of the institutions of civil society are independent of the state, they do require the protection of law (246 and *passim*). Civil association contrasts with government as an enterprise association, as an instrument for pursuing specific collective goals (275).

In some passages Gray says that persons not unified by any single tradition can nevertheless form a civil society (268). Other passages, however, seem to say that civil society presupposes a certain culture of individualism, a patrimony of common ideas,

beliefs, and values (263-264, 278). Gray could presumably dissolve the apparent contradiction by arguing that great diversity in the specifics of traditions and lifestyles is compatible with agreement on values of very general kinds, ones consistent with a spirit of toleration and mutual accommodation. What is important is "the mutual recognition of civilized men and women" (271).

Civil society is practically the same as a framework of "social cooperation," so called by Ludwig von Mises and Henry Hazlitt (whom Gray neglects to mention in this connection). Social cooperation is the aggregate of institutions, practices, and perhaps even attitudes that foster peace, security, specialization, and the gains from trade that so facilitate effective cooperation among people seeking to make good

The market is a device not for maximizing some imaginary aggregate welfare but for facilitating voluntary cooperation among individuals.

lives for themselves in their own diverse ways. The idea, though not the actual term, goes back to David Hume and even to Thomas Hobbes. These thinkers pioneered the utilitarian tradition. Mises emphatically labeled himself a utilitarian. This position does not — despite Gray — require "aggregative judgments of utility," whose possibility Mises explicitly denied.

Gray agrees with James Buchanan in warning against seeing the market as a maximizer of collective or aggregate welfare. The idea of aggregate or collective well-being is a heuristic fiction at best. It reinforces the wrong conception of economics as dealing with a collective exercise in maximization (53-55).

On all this I agree wholeheartedly. The market is a device not for maximizing some imaginary aggregate welfare but for facilitating voluntary cooperation among individuals. Social cooperation is a *near*-ultimate criterion of

institutions, ethical precepts, and even character traits. (And what could the *ultimate* criterion be if not happiness in some broad sense of the term?)

Gray might perhaps not accept this utilitarian gloss on his position, but neither does he accept the shallow rhetoric of a purely rights-based or justice-based conception of political morality. Rights are never foundational; instead, they are "intermediaries between claims about human interests that are vital to well-being and claims about obligations it is reasonable to impose upon others in respect of these interests. Rights . . . gain their content from the requirements of human well-being. . . ." These requirements identify the bottom line in political ethics (303). An overblown rhetoric of rights, as Gray implies, consorts with an excessive legalism and runs counter to a spirit of mutual accommodation.

Besides agreeing with Oakeshott and Buchanan, Gray praises the agonistic or stoic liberalism of Sir Isaiah Berlin, who recognized the fundamental incommensurability of values and the unavailability of any single best solution to problems of man and society (67 and *passim*). Gray also concurs with the economists of the Scottish Enlightenment, the French classical liberal school of Alexis de Tocqueville and Benjamin Constant, and much in *The Federalist Papers*. This sound tradition sees government not as favoring any specific conception of progress, but instead "providing the framework within which different ways of life and styles of thought may compete in peaceful coexistence." Contemporary thinkers like Hayek and James Buchanan have also seen the necessity of imposing limits on democracy to preserve civil society and ensure liberty and prosperity (212–213). Thomas Hobbes already had the correct conception of government — a limited one devoted to securing the peace and leaving all or most other activities to private initiative enjoying liberty of thought and action. The good state is strong but small (270).

The conservative and classical liberal tradition has much to offer the citizens of post-Communist countries. It gives priority to personal and economic, not political, liberties. Individual liberty and democracy need not go together. The

post-Communist states should not follow Western models in allowing democracy unlimited competence. Some things (including monetary policy) should be removed from democratic politics (213–214).

Civil society may flourish under many types of government, liberal democracy being only one (159). Gray mentions the authoritarian political regimes of South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore and even has some kind words for empires and monarchies in general; only the unlimited government of totalitarianism is incompatible with civil society (159). "In all its varieties . . . liberal political philosophy has failed to establish its fundamental thesis: that liberal democracy is the only form of government that can be sanctioned by reason and morality. It therefore fails to give rational support to the political religion of the contemporary intelligentsia" (246).

Gray seems to scorn theory in favor of empathy with the history and traditions of successful civil societies. Yet what he offers is theory, political theory bolstered by a grasp of the fundamentals of economics. To be sure, his theory is unrigorous, as probably befits its inquiry into what makes for a good society.

The author broaches many more topics than I can survey here. He comments on the socialist calculation debate, on the collapse of socialism, and on delusions about *perestroika* and *glasnost*. Any reader not already bored to death by Marxism can find demolitions of some contemporary Marxist writers. Gray also offers brief but insightful remarks on conditions and trends in the United States, including affirmative action, twisted feminism, multiculturalism, paternalism, the jargon of "group rights," the erosion of contractual liberty, and the pervasive politicization of life through legalism, litigation, and the invention of constitutional rights.

Gray identifies a new Hobbesian dilemma: to try to preserve their own assets, citizens are constrained nowadays to organize to capture government power. The state itself is becoming the chief weapon in a political war of all against all (211–212). Gray is presumably alluding to special-interest legislation and regulation and the perversion

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of even the court system into an instrument of redistribution.

What I like best is Gray's unsentimental understanding of democracy and alternative political regimes. I have never supposed that submitting large parts of life to the majority vote of electorates or legislatures is the essence of classical liberalism or of the American dream. Democracy, as Joseph Schumpeter wrote, is not an ideal in its own

right; it is a particular method of choosing and influencing the political authorities. It is time now to identify the sheer cant of reciting "free elections" as the solution to the problems of any unfortunate trouble spot (or, as in Haiti, reimposition of its "democratically elected" president). Now that Gray has made a start, perhaps even the legitimate role of monarchy in the modern world may be seriously discussed. □

A new sort of literary magazine has emerged, and we are not amused . . .

Pucker or Perish

Richard Kostelanetz

Cyril Connolly long ago distinguished "coterie" literary magazines from "eclectic" ones. As he saw the difference, the former were founded by a closely entwined group of people, existing to publish their own work primarily, if not exclusively. Coterie magazines are designed to serve writers who, for one reason or another, are reluctant to submit their work to editor-strangers. They discouraged "unsolicited submissions," if not all the time, at least during part of the year, for lack of any concern with what others might be writing. In our time *L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E* and the mimeos associated with the St. Marks Poetry Project would be examples of coterie journals. Eclectic magazines publish work from a variety of sources, purportedly selecting the best from what appears in their mailboxes, regardless of the reputation, nationality, or professional affiliation with its authors. *Poetry* and *Partisan Review* would be examples of successful eclectic journals. One charm of Connolly's distinction was allowing to each side the possibilities of both editorial integrity, albeit of different kinds, and literary influence.

In the age of grants and institutional rewards, especially in America, a third

kind of literary magazine has emerged that superficially appears to be a synthesis, publishing a limited group of lesser-knowns along with celebrities, generally regardless of the quality of the latter's work. Since the celebrities often come from different, if not contrary, directions, while the lesser-known writers strive for unexceptional acceptability, such magazines forbid themselves the kinds of literary influence typical of great magazines in the past. They too discourage unsolicited submissions, since the two circles of possibly acceptable contributors are circumscribed in advance.

What are they doing, you often wonder? My suspicion is that they are designed explicitly to please Very Important People, whether they be academic administrators, officials at funding agencies, or other dispensers of favor. The editors of this third kind of magazine fear integrity and thus controversial contributions and contributors, especially from lesser-knowns, for the simple reason that such moves, however acceptable they may be to both eclectic and coterie magazines, might offend the VIPs. Indeed, their editors necessarily become solicitous of the celebrities' opinions of the lesser-knowns, for fear of losing not any of the latter but one of the former from

their pages. Neither eclectic nor coterie, such magazines would appropriately be classified as "butt-kissy." I can think of one in America whose name begins with a C, another with a P, a third with an S, a fourth with an A; and though their editors might publicly object to such characterizations, you know as well as I that they would be personally pleased to know that their ultimate motives were not misunderstood. (The first time I put the previous sentence into print, someone responded with a completely different set of names from those I had in mind, indicating that the critical principle had broader applicability.) To measure how unique such magazines are to literature, consider that no publication primarily about visual art can be characterized this way.

Butt-kissing is a cynical strategy, to be sure, assuming that even "distinguished intellectuals" can be more impressed with supplicants' flattery than their excellence or integrity. However, not unlike other cynical strategies, it has distinct practical limitations, being first of all vulnerable to changes in power. Butt-kissers frequently discover

My suspicion is that these magazines are designed explicitly to please dispensers of favor. Neither eclectic nor coterie, such magazines would appropriately be classified as "butt-kissy."

that the object of their attentions has been replaced by someone else who, since ass-kissers instinctively treat those above them differently from those below, was incidentally slighted in the past. That accounts for why butt-kissing can work only so long, as practitioners past the age of fifty-five, roughly, inevitably discover that nearly all the recipients of their focus have been replaced or retired. (Does anyone still flatter John Leonard? Theodore Solotaroff? Daryl Hine?) Disillusioned idealists can be bitter, to be sure, but

nothing can equal the anger and self-loathing of the disillusioned cynic. He or she can't "go public" with his story, because no one, absolutely no one, will re-

spect his or her history or sympathize with his or her plight, while younger butt-kissers, you see, are already puckering their lips elsewhere. □

Booknotes

The First Pundits — Thanks to Richard Gere and the Dalai Lama, most Americans have occasion to think about Tibet every now and then. *Trespassers on the Roof of the World* (J.P. Tarsher, 1990, 272 pp., \$10.95) by Peter Hopkirk, is the story of the opening of Tibet to Europeans during the 19th and early 20th centuries. More precisely, I suppose, one ought to say the "re-opening" of Tibet, since prior to the 19th century what few Europeans came Tibet's way were treated quite hospitably.

Europeans were interested in Tibet for two reasons: curiosity about a land half the size of western Europe about which virtually nothing was known, and a suspicion that Tibet had gold to trade and markets to open. In addition, Britain and Russia each feared that the other might gain influence in Tibet, thereby putting themselves at a disadvantage in their imperial competition.

Although nominally a tributary state of the Chinese Empire, Tibet was virtually independent by the 18th century. It closed itself off to Europeans on the theory that they would try to destroy its national religion, Lamaism, and with it, its national culture and way of life. Tibet's non-military defenses against outsiders were formidable: the world's highest mountains to the south and west, a 15,000-foot-high plateau backed by high mountains to the north, and an area populated by ruthless brigands to the east. But its military power was pathetic: a few thousand soldiers armed with swords and lances and a few matchlock guns.

For more than 100 years, Tibet's natural defenses and its devout and loyal population sufficed to keep it closed to Europeans. Its defenses were first cracked in the mid-19th century, when Britain hired spies to traverse the country and gather detailed geographic data.

Recruited from the foothills of the Himalayas in British India, these "pundits" were trained extensively and given elaborate disguises, and entered Tibet with trade or religious caravans. They took with them a variety of instruments, made their measurements, and recorded their data on paper secreted in their prayer wheels. Most remarkably, pundits were trained to walk with precise and uniform steps, which they laboriously counted to measure distances. Often pundits were inside Tibet for a period of years, all the time maintaining detailed records of literally millions of uniform paces they had taken.

Thanks to the work of the pundits, the British had fairly accurate maps of Tibet by the late 19th century. But despite numerous attempts, no white person managed to visit Lhasa, Tibet's capital and holy city, until 1904, when an armed British expedition battled its way in from India.

Hopkirk chronicles the stories of these attempts, and of other notable visits to Tibet since. He concludes with a concise account of the conquest of Tibet by the Communist Chinese and the genocide that followed.

Of possible interest to libertarians is Hopkirk's brief discussion of *The Long Walk* by Slovomir Rawicz, a book reviewed in *Liberty* a few years ago and subsequently promoted and distributed by Laissez Faire Books. Rawicz tells a compelling story of his escape from a brutal Soviet forced labor camp in Siberia and his hike to freedom across Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. But is Rawicz's story true? Hopkins notes that some authorities believe the book to be completely fraudulent and summarizes their case and Rawicz's defense, leaving readers to form their own conclusions.

—R.W. Bradford

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Consider the Source — Those who are interested in the ancient world but are wary of the term "archaeology" because they think of it as a boring, monotonous science should take a look at William H. Stiebing's new book, *Uncovering the Past* (Prometheus Books, 1993, 315pp., \$24.95).

Although *Uncovering The Past* is a history of archaeology, Stiebing does not delve endlessly into technical aspects of the science and the evolution of its techniques. Instead, he quite effectively documents archaeological techniques in the context of digs where these techniques were pioneered.

Stiebing divides the book into two sections: archaeology of the "Heroic Age" and modern archaeology. Within these sections are chapters divided primarily by topic: Egyptology, Aegean archaeology, etc.

One of the more interesting chapters concerns the remains of ancient Italy. Stiebing documents the uncovering of Veii and other Etruscan sites, as well as two of the more important finds of the ancient world, Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were remarkably preserved under the ash of Vesuvius. Among the ruins of Herculaneum was the first ancient library to be unearthed, which included works of Epicurus and other writers of the time, completely intact; Pompeii included many of the more structurally impressive buildings in the area.

With the new emphasis on politically correct non-science, archaeology remains one of the few disciplines where fact still reigns supreme. While there have been attempts to manipulate the remains of archaeological finds to fit political ideology, as has happened with other things historical, for the large part

the field is still untainted. Stiebing has done well in keeping with this tradition, a point all lovers of liberty should appreciate.

Though at times unavoidable, professional jargon is kept to a minimum, allowing for a wide readership. For those who may be interested in the subject, *Uncovering the Past* won't disappoint. —Aaron T. Steelman

For Whose Welfare? — Left-wing critiques of the welfare state are few and getting fewer, so it's a genuine pleasure to take note of *Tyranny of Kindness: Ending the Welfare State in America* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 1993, \$23.00) by Theresa Funciello, a former welfare mother and longtime critic of the charity complex. The first third of the book recounts Funciello's own story as welfare client and then activist. Once we're drawn into the story of the dehumanizing and (often literally) brutal "welfare" system, the author dons her journalist's hat and tells who really gets the lion's share of the money that's supposed to go to the poor: a corrupt network of top-heavy, contract-dependent "private" charities and government bureaucracies, both tied to the fortunes of the Democratic Party machine. Here the reader will find the story of Second Harvest, the subsidy-hungry distribution system more concerned with dumping surplus food (and "non-food items" like microwave spray) into food banks than with feeding the "hungry"; of the New York City housing bureaucracy, which builds temporary shelters rather than cheaper long-term housing, because that's what will bring more profits to the local political insiders; of the Hands Across America scam, which not only spent

more money than it took in, but by the admission of one of its own organizers was meant to help Democratic politicians, not poor people.

The last third of the book is concerned with Funciello's pet reform: replacing the welfare state with a guaranteed national income, probably best known in the form of Milton Friedman's Negative Income Tax. There is both good and bad to be said for this idea; I personally think it would be an improvement over the status quo, though I'd prefer to see mutual aid completely supplant the charity of the state. The problem is, in order to set income supports at a reasonably comfortable level, the NIT would cripple businesses unable to pay competing wages. Still, it's certainly better than the currently trendy "workfare" scheme, a half-baked plan Funciello ably rips to shreds.

The last section of the book also occasionally degenerates into economic nonsense about automation, and at one point finds some kind words for the Social Security system, despite the fact that this program clearly redistributes wealth from the poor to the not-poor. But the autobiographical material and muckraking journalism make the book a worthy read. The modern welfare state is the old poorhouse writ large, a corrupt system that treats poor people like children while doling out most of its goods to white, middle-class professionals and their political patrons. This book tells how and why. That puts it in a class almost alone. —Jesse Walker

Drug Freedom for Me, But Not for Thee — Terence McKenna has taken Timothy Leary's place in popular culture as Mr Irresponsible Advocate of Psychedelic Drugs, and he doesn't deserve it. *Food of the Gods: The Search for the Original Tree of Knowledge* (Bantam Books, 1992, 311 pages, \$13.85) is pop anthropology that purports to make the case that it was consumption of psilocybe cubensis ("magic mushrooms") by coprophilic psychedelic voyagers all over the world's temperate zones that was humanity's evolutionary trigger, responsible for the tripling in human brain size and the development of more sophisticated information-processing and communications

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capabilities that turned *Homo habilis* into modern man over the course of a mere three million years

The "proof" of this, like most ideas about events occurring before recorded history, comes from that amazingly rich vein mined by thinkers the world over: Mere Speculation. Sure, McKenna adduces actual research (!) from a real scientist (!) to prove that under certain circumstances, psilocybin (the psychoactive ingredient of the mushroom) gives humans somewhat sharper visual acuity, an obvious advantage for hunter-gatherers. This is a slim reed indeed upon which to place the weight of his thesis.

The book then goes on to engage in gaseous speculations about the glorious, unified, goddess- and mushroom-centered culture that existed amongst the peoples of the Tassili-n-Ajjer, Natufian, and Catal Hayuk cultures, reaching its last stand in Minoan Crete before giving way to the alcohol-, coffee-, and sugar-loving "dominator culture" that has been ruining the Earth since.

By the time he gets his feet in the solid ground of recorded history, he gives an interesting revisionist view of how the conquest of the New World was driven by drug-addled Europeans' lust for coffee and sugar, and attaches "original sin" to these drugs, condemning them as evil because, when they first hit Europe, they inspired the slave trade and the destruction of indigenous cultures in the New World. Be that as it may, it should have no impact on one's decision to consume these products now, when they are not reaching one's palate through the labor of slaves.

But at its heart, McKenna's attitude toward drugs is the same as the prohibitionists': the drugs he likes (organic psychedelics) should be praised; all others, while legal, should be discouraged, taxed, regulated, and suffer government-sponsored propaganda discouraging their use. (As *Liberty* contributing editor Thomas Szasz has pointed out, calling this sort of propaganda "drug education" is like calling state-sponsored calls for intolerance of others' religions "religious education.") And even his understanding of the psychedelic experience, which expertise is really what he is selling in this book and in his public appearances, seems suspect:

He appears to believe in the literal reality of the "self-transforming machine elves of hyperspace" that he thinks he meets when taking dimethyltryptamine (DMT), his favorite psychedelic because it is completely metabolized within about 15 minutes and occurs naturally in the human neurometabolism. Psychedelic voyagers should be more skeptical about the literal objective reality of their brain experiences while on drugs, and authors writing allegedly in defense of drug freedom should allow their fellows more leeway in making their own choices about what drugs they enjoy, regardless of historical pedigree or natural status.

—Brian Doherty

Literary Business — Positive portrayals of businesspeople are almost as rare in modern literature as in Hollywood. Perhaps businessmen need an anti-defamation league to protect them from the slings and arrows of novelists and screenwriters. So it was a pleasant surprise to discover businessmen depicted as honest and productive — if not quite heroic — in not one but two novels I read on a recent European trip.

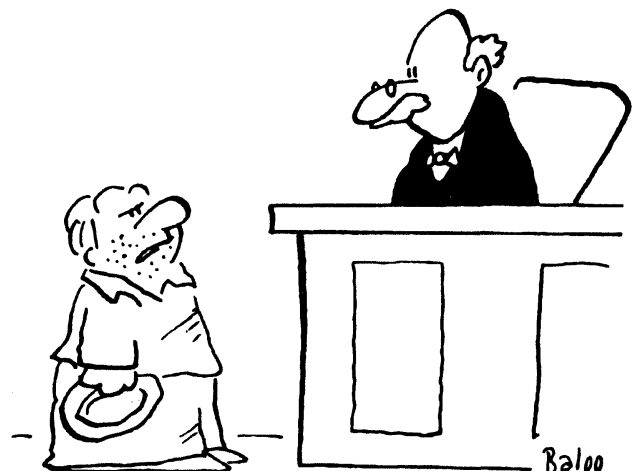
David Lodge's *Nice Work* (Viking, 1989, 277 pp., \$18.95) gives us a feminist literary theorist sent to "shadow" a factory manager in a British industrial city in order to bring business and the university closer together. The shadow is given to reading Lacan and Derrida, writing about "signifiers," and telling her students that "industrial capitalism is phallogocentric." When she begins her shadow tenure, she is horrified by the factory and its manager, who emerges as a sensible man trying to make a profit in a competitive world. She complains about oppression in the factory, and he replies, "We don't force people to work here, you know." Eventually, after a series of comic misadventures, the businessman discovers Tennyson and the academic recognizes the value of wealth creation.

Another surprisingly positive portrayal of businesspeople can be found in *Venus Envy* (Bantam, 1993, 355pp., \$21.95) by Rita Mae Brown, the country's best-known lesbian novelist. ("Next time anyone calls me a lesbian writer, I'm going to knock their teeth in. I'm a writer and I'm a woman and I'm from the South.") The plot is set in motion when Mary Frazier Armstrong, 35, believing she is dying, sends letters to all the important people in her life telling them exactly what she thinks of them and "also, by the way, I should have told you before, I'm gay." When she turns out not to be dying after all, coming out becomes the least of her problems. Frazier's letters, with all their unrequested advice, turn Charlottesville, Virginia on its head. Now a lesbian art-gallery owner might be an acceptable businessperson even in a Creative Writing class, but Frazier's father — an entirely sympathetic character, an honest and hard-working man stoically bearing the burden of a manipulative, social-climbing wife — is in *paving*, for God's sake. A less romantic business would be difficult to imagine.

Ultimately, I fear that both these books fall short of the standards of modern literature: Not only is there the problem of the non-psychopathic businessmen, but they have characters and plots and are amusing to read.

—David Boaz

Money Madness — As a college kid in the 1960s, I got interested in the international monetary system, which



"And how am I supposed to get a visible means of support when you guys keep arresting me all the time?"

seemed pretty simple to me. The U.S. held a huge quantity of gold and agreed to redeem its currency in gold upon demand from anyone who was not a U.S. citizen or resident. Other countries agreed to redeem their currency in dollars, thereby achieving a sort of second-hand convertibility to gold.

This system had been in place since the end of World War II, and had worked pretty much as the gold standard had worked a century earlier, which is to say, it worked pretty well.

From the very beginning, the U.S. did not have enough gold to redeem *all* the dollars that were outstanding. But the U.S. was confident that the day would never come when all its currency would be presented for redemption, so why worry?

This made perfect sense when the system was established. But over time, the United States did what democracies everywhere are tempted to do: it increased the supply of money to finance various government programs (which its voters liked) without having to raise taxes (which its voters always seemed to dislike). The U.S. could get away with this because of the growing demand for dollars in other countries, where the dollar was used as a reserve currency because it was "good as gold."

By the early 1960s, many people saw that this process could not continue indefinitely — that sooner or later, foreigners would notice that the supply of dollars had grown to a point where the U.S. had no hope of redeeming them, and no intention of stopping the printing press. A day of reckoning was coming; the continual inflation of the dollar

would inevitably lead to a crisis.

As I say, all this was apparent to a lot of people, including me. It seemed like such simple economics at the time that I could hardly believe it wasn't understood by everyone who ever thought about it. Of course, I knew that the politicians who were busy printing up more paper dollars to finance their programs (and to insure their popularity and re-election) could not acknowledge the inevitable collapse of the dollar. They figured they could postpone that day until far in the future, and they had an election coming up soon. Maybe the crisis would occur after they had retired, or the other party had taken office. So the politicians continued to inflate as if there were no tomorrow, all the while reassuring foreign owners of dollars that they had nothing to worry about. The Chairman of the House Banking Committee explained that if the U.S. didn't use gold to back the dollar, the price of gold would collapse to \$8.00 an ounce. The Chairman of the Federal Reserve System denounced gold as "a barbaric relic."

But I knew the days of the system were numbered, that the dollar would come crashing down, and that the price of gold (in terms of dollars) would rise sharply. I invested in this knowledge, converting my life savings into precious metals and starting a precious metals brokerage firm at a time when that business was practically nonexistent in this country. Buying gold was a no-brainer: its downside risk was negligible, its upside potential substantial and virtually certain.

My puerile understanding of how the international monetary system works turned out to be a nearly perfect predictor of the events of the early 1970s. The crisis did occur, the U.S. was forced to quit redeeming the dollar in gold, the world's economic system was thrown into chaos, and the price of gold did skyrocket. And my own investments paid off

handsomely. The world's monetary system has since grown far more complex, and opportunities to profit with negligible risk no longer exist. It was fun while it lasted.

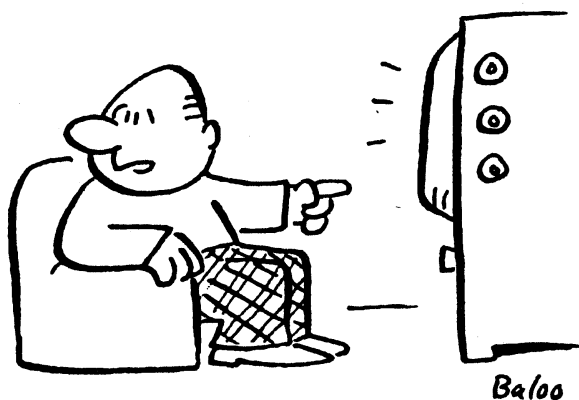
It was out of nostalgia for these days that I got a copy of *Changing Fortunes* (Times Books, 1992, 372 pp, \$25.00), a memoir written by Paul Volcker and Toyoo Gyohten. Beginning in 1962, Volcker had been an official in the Treasury Department. Gyohten held a similar bureaucratic position in the Japanese treasury. I figured that since they were now retired and reminiscing about what now seems like ancient history, these two men might have something very interesting to say, at least to someone like me for whom the collapse of the system was very important.

Changing Fortunes is a remarkable book, thanks to its informal approach and the candor of its authors. It is a sequence of short memoirs, alternately written by Volcker and Gyohten, each showing his own perspective on the same developments. It is reasonably readable compared to other economic histories, though this is not saying much. I suppose readers less interested than I in the subject might find it a trifle dull.

It begins with Volcker's account of how Bretton Woods worked. Volcker concludes his explanation with these words:

Only later did it come to be clearly recognized that the special role of the dollar implied both privileges and burdens incompatible with the long-term operation of the system as spelled out at Bretton Woods. Specifically, the use of the dollar as a reserve currency meant that the United States, unlike other countries, could run a balance of payments deficit without giving up its own reserves of gold or without borrowing foreign currencies for as long as other countries were willing to add to the dollars they already held in their reserves. In effect, increased foreign dollar holdings financed the American deficits at relatively low U.S. interest rates . . . All of that seemed reasonable so long as the dollar was considered not only just as good as gold but better. . . .

Good God! Could I believe my eyes!?! Could a man as intelligent as Paul Volcker be saying that, despite his academic training, despite his working



"Come quick, Honey — Larry Hagman just offered Brooke Shields a cigarette!"

every day in the administration of the Bretton Woods agreement, he didn't have a clue to its potential problems? Could it be that I understood the system better than he? Me, a punk college kid at a backwater college?

Yes. Yes. Yes. And yes.

—R. W. Bradford

The Acquisitive Society — Remember what it was like to be a kid on the receiving end of some adult's closet cleaning? All those perfectly good badminton racquets and cigar boxes; all those hats, board games, books: what treasures! Couldn't the adult see the sheer *usefulness* of those things? Well, John Hoffman has put that feeling back where it belongs — into everyday life. That is, for those not too proud to peck around where the goodies are. For maximum profitability in this endeavor, Hoffman has written (and Ace Backwords has illustrated) **The Art and Science of Dumpster Diving** (Loompanics Unlimited, 1993, 152 pp., \$12.95). This is the manual for anyone hoping to tap America's flow of waste.

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Then there is residential diving, a whole new ballgame. The sordid lives of the middle classes await discovery through tossed diaries, letters, I.D.'s, and blank checks. (Mind you, checks will remain an *unused* resource.) Don't forget the realms of toiletries (*trés* expensive when actually store-bought) and the fun pharmaceutical remedies so closely associated with our suburban sufferers: valium and cough syrup!

Hoffman is hardcore. He even dives hospital dumpsters, disrupting do-good "clean needle" distributor's statistics,

sating his own desire for neat-o smashed-skull x-rays, and discovering hospital staff shenanigans. ("The prize shot was a hand with an extended middle finger, with no apparent bone injury.")

One important lesson — if you don't want what you find, take it anyway. Trash equals cash with the help of such outlets as scrap dealers, used book and record stores, rummage sales, and junk lovers of all stripes. Someone, somewhere, wants that rusty birdcage.

Above all, the dumpster means

freedom. If you dive, you thrive — and have much time left over to be the writer, artist or musician you've always known exists within you. Remember: Madonna dived as a struggling Michigan nonentity. So have children, because the dumpster is the great mother provider. Have pets, because the dumpster is like fishes and loaves and can feed even a horse. Travel, because trash is the byproduct of the whole globe's activities. *Live life*; all you gotta do is dive, baby, dive.

—Susan J. Rutter

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Code:	Category:
ar	article
bn	booknote
f	fiction
in	interview
mn	medianote
ob	obituary
P	poem
rf	reflection
rv	review
sb	sidebar
vn	videonote

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until finally it breaks loose and decimates the body's T-4 helper lymphocyte production.

The statement is made, "HIV is rarely detectable in large quantities in the bodies of those allegedly dying of its effects." That statement is blatantly untrue. The viremia level during the terminal stage of the disease is very high — which is why one infected Belgian man was able to infect nine of his female cohorts.

The statement is made that the lack of massive heterosexual spread through prostitutes is crucial in showing that AIDS is not a standard sexually transmitted disease. The question is — how do we know that HIV disease is not spread through prostitutes? Throughout Africa, the course of the disease follows the truck routes. In Bombay five years ago there were only a handful of people infected. Today, there are half a million, according to William Haseltine, Professor of Medicine and Public Health at Harvard. Why? Thirty thousand infected prostitutes have been left on the streets of Bombay. Why is the epidemic exploding in Thailand? Because prostitutes have been allowed to operate openly in Thailand for years.

How bad is the epidemic in America today? Since the gay and AIDS lobbies have effectively blocked nationwide surveillance seroprevalence studies, we have very few studies to rely on. Presently we do have the Sentinel Hospital Studies published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, August 13, 1992, which showed that anonymous testing in 20 hospitals across America revealed that 4.7% of those going into hospitals were infected — up from 2.3% in 1990. Furthermore, a recent study presented at the International Conference in Berlin from Marie O'Brien of the University of Illinois in Chicago found that of heterosexuals tested, between 35 and 45 years of age, 5.5% were infected. All of them will slowly progress to death because we are not using those techniques necessary to bring this epidemic under control.

Professor Haseltine has estimated that by the turn of the century, there may be 100 million people infected worldwide, and the Hudson Institute released a report in 1989 stating that the worst-case scenario suggested that we could have 14.2 million Americans infected by the year 2002. We have delayed too long using standard public health techniques to bring this plague under control.

Stanley K. Monteith, M.D.
President, HIV Watch
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Doherty replies: Monteith's lack of citations for his assertions makes rebuttal frustrating, but I'll try. I stand by my statement that no retrovirus has been proven to cause a human disease. That HTLV-1 causes leukemia is another Robert Gallo story, predating "HIV causes AIDS," and is by no means proven. The paper "Latent Viruses and Mutated Oncogenes" by Peter Duesberg and Jody Schwartz in Vol. 43, 1992 of *Progress in Nucleic Acid Research and Molecular Biology* features a thorough debunking of the MTLV/Leukemia claims. Again, as with HIV, this theory is based on mere weak correlation; as the above paper points out, HTLV-1 has not been known to cause leukemia through transfusion, "antiviral antibodies that completely neutralize HTLV-1 to virtually undetectable levels do not protect against the leukemia," and, again, many cases of the leukemia exist with no HTLV-1 present. I am unfamiliar with his unsourced assertion about HTLV-2 causing progressive spinal degeneration, but Peter Duesberg tells me that this is again based on occasional correlation.

Fauci's paper on HIV in lymph nodes merely proves that the body's immune system is perfectly capable of taking care of the supposedly deadly HIV. See Bryan Ellison's "Does HIV Lurk in Your Lymph Nodes?" in the April 1993 *Rethinking AIDS*. He still reported virus-infected T-cells numbering only from 1/100 to 1/10,000, and even these bits of virus were coated with antibodies. That's what the lymph nodes are there for: to filter out those viral invaders, which is why they can be found there in greater than normal concentrations.

No one else, including Gallo, has made the assertion Monteith makes about viremia levels during the terminal stage of the disease being very high; if this were true, we wouldn't need to go to such tortuous methods as polymerase chain reaction analysis and antibody tests to detect the virus, and wouldn't need to artificially grow it *in vitro* to get the virus necessary to make tests. The line of T-cells in which HIV for these tests is grown, by the way, has been growing since 1984, belying HIV's alleged T-cell-destroying qualities. Though Monteith doesn't give a citation to help check his veracity, Duesberg tells me the story of the Belgian man is from a 1988 paper in which it is not made clear if the alleged nine infected females are actually dying or merely HIV-positive, or whether they fall into other risk groups.

Notes on Contributors

Chester Alan Arthur is *Liberty's* political correspondent, and you're not.

"Baloo" is really Rex F. May, a cartoonist known and loved by readers of *The Wall Street Journal* and other fine periodicals.

John Bergstrom is a cartoonist living in Hollywood.

David Boaz is executive vice president of the Cato Institute, and co-editor of *Market Liberalism: A Paradigm for the 21st Century*.

R.W. Bradford is editor of *Liberty*. He is one of those unfortunate individuals who has no health insurance, in whose name the president is about to nationalize health care.

Stephen Cox is Professor of Literature at the University of California, San Diego and wrote the introduction for the new edition of *The God of the Machine*.

Brian Doherty plays punk wonk for a think tank in Washington, D.C.

Christopher Thomas Freeburn is a business executive in Westchester County, New York.

Stefan Herpel is a litigation attorney in Ann Arbor, Michigan. His last article for *Liberty*, "The Orwellian University" (July 1990), appeared under the pseudonym Charles Thorne.

Bill Kauffman is the author of a novel, *Every Man a King*.

Greg Kaza is Michigan State Representative for the 42nd District.

Richard Kostelanetz, unaffiliated in New York, has published books of poetry, fiction, criticism, and cultural history for over a quarter

century. His latest is *A Dictionary of the Avant-Garde*.

William P. Moulton writes from cosmopolitan Traverse City, Michigan.

Randal O'Toole is a forest economist with Cascade Holistic Economic Consultants in Portland, Oregon.

Isabel Paterson is author of *The God of the Machine* and other works.

Sheldon Richman is senior editor of the Cato Institute.

Dan Riga is a member of the Canadian Libertarian Party.

James S. Robbins is a writer and foreign policy analyst in Massachusetts.

Susan J. Rutter is a graduate student at the University of North Carolina.

Hans F. Sennholz is president of the Foundation for Economic Education.

Sandy Shaw is co-author of *Freedom of Informed Choice: The FDA vs Nutrient Supplements*.

Aaron T. Steelman is a student at the University of Michigan and *Liberty's* outgoing editorial assistant.

Robert F. Tinney is a free-lance illustrator and long-time semi-Randroid libertarian.

Timothy Virkkala is assistant publisher of *Liberty*.

Jesse Walker is assistant editor of *Liberty*.

Leland B. Yeager is Ludwig von Mises Distinguished Professor of Economics at Auburn University.

The alleged epidemic in Thailand is a grand total of 123 confirmed AIDS cases as of last year, though HIV infection rates are bandied about, through uncertain extrapolation, of up to 300,000. I question the certainty of any speculations, especially unsourced ones, about the number of prostitutes on the streets of Bombay with HIV infections, and stand by the *American Journal of Public Health* study cited in my article. Notice Monteith doesn't attempt to debunk this study; he merely throws around speculations about why a nonexistent "explosion" is occurring in faraway Thailand. And I'd be curious to know what sort of "public health techniques that could be readily used to bring this epidemic under control" Monteith advocates.

Walker Fiddles, MOVE Burns

Jesse Walker states that "conservatives are those who believe the government should immolate cults that espouse vegetarianism, black separatism, and 'organic hygiene'" in his reflection about the MOVE debacle and the Waco atrocity ("Left and right: prospects for barbecue" August 1993).

Actually, the mayor responsible for bombing a city block was W. Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's first black mayor, who is a liberal Democrat.

Eugene Glenn Stackhouse
Germantown, Penn.

Walker replies: On the other hand, those who defended the bombing were almost all conservative.

Well, Now That You Mention it, Adults Are Hard to Get

I was amazed by the term "underpaid wetbacks" (Reflections, August 1993) being used in your magazine.

In the first place, they weren't underpaid.

In the second and most important place, "wetbacks" is a derogatory term for Mexicans who come here trying to make a living. Will you be using "niggers" for blacks next, or "kikes" for Jews, or "Polacks" for Polish nannies?

Is it difficult to get adult writers?

I consider myself to be as bigoted as anybody, but I expect better in my reading matter. I won't renew, of course.

David Elliot
Evanston, Ill.

Terra Incognita

Siloam Springs, Ark.

Avant garde jurisprudence in Bill Clinton's home state, reported in the *Northern Express*:

Upon recapture, escaped convict Ross Chadwell filed a lawsuit against the county, charging that the sheriff "violated the plaintiff's civil rights by allowing him to escape."

Phoenix

A unique criminal rehabilitation program, described in the *New Times*:

Arizona's attorney general, Grant Woods, posed for a photo with hot dog salesman Robert Carter. Carter is a wanted escapee from Woods' work-furlough program.

Milwaukee

Mixing of metaphors and politics in America's Dairyland, as reported in the *Milwaukee Journal*:

"We sort of picked up this cross of property taxes for the last twelve years and we've had it on our shoulders," said Democratic Assembly Speaker Wally Kunicki. "We've just now put this cross on the ground and nailed ourselves to it. So we're going to have to pull the trigger. Maybe it will force us to put the gun to our head and get off the dime."

College Park, Maryland

Dispatch from the war for gender equality, as reported in the *Milwaukee Journal*:

Women taking a class in feminist art at the University of Maryland selected all identifiably male names from a campus phone book and posted them around campus on posters reading, "Notice: These Men Are Potential Rapists." Women involved in the project asked to remain anonymous.

Washington, D.C.

The new math of the old politics, as demonstrated in the *Senior American*:

Asked whether President Clinton's "stimulus" package would cost \$15 billion or \$30 billion, White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers responded, "It's all in the same range."

Milwaukee

Progress toward the paperless society, reported in the *Milwaukee Journal*:

The Milwaukee County Department of Human Resources gave every county employee a memo announcing examinations "for the positions listed below." But down below, all it said was, "No openings."

China

Unintended consequences strike the Celestial Kingdom, described in the *Northern Express*:

When Chinese officials ordered that anyone dying after April 1 be cremated, at least 40 citizens killed themselves so that they would die in time to be buried instead.

Indiana

Culinary note from the Hoosier State, as reported in the *Detroit Free Press*:

Brian Lyman, 20, has been arrested for biting the bark off trees.

Washington, D.C.

Interesting observation from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, reported in the *Bloomington, Indiana Herald-Times*:

"All therapeutic claims, regardless of truthfulness, are inherently misleading and particularly deceptive."

Kenosha County, Minn.

Creative hate crimes in the upper midwest, reported in the *Milwaukee Journal*:

Three blacks shot Hasidic Jews Robin Baronsky and Adalber Menzera in the parking lot of a Minnesota gas station. The shooters thought the Hasids looked like "members of the Ku Klux Klan."

China

Topographic note from the Celestial Kingdom, as reported by the *China News Service*:

"Seen from a certain angle at sunset, a mountain in China's Guangdong province looks like the late Mao Zedong."

Illinois

Progressive safety legislation in the Land of Lincoln, described in the *State Journal-Register*:

After January 1, motorists will be required to have their headlights on whenever they use their windshield wipers. Violators will be fined \$75.

The Border

Advance in international law, reported by the *Detroit News*:

The Clinton administration has promised Mexico that it will not engage in cross-border kidnapping of Mexican citizens while an agreement between the two countries banning the practice is being negotiated.

Australia

The advance of Art in the Antipodes, cited in the *Detroit News*:

The Australia Council, a government body that funds the arts, has given \$4,270 to the Workers in Sex Employment Collective to produce a script for a prostitution training video.

Sacramento

The rigors of law enforcement in the Golden State, as reported in the *San Jose Mercury News*:

"Police lobbyists say it is too burdensome to convict someone of a crime before taking their property."

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

Stimulate Your Mind!

with Liberty's Back Issues

continued from back cover

Volume 4

September 1990

- "Conversations with Ayn Rand (part 2)," by John Hospers
 - "Is Environmental Press Coverage Biased?" by Jane S. Shaw
 - "The Pro-Life Case for the Abortion Pill," by Dr Ron Paul
- Plus articles and reviews by Michael Krauss, James Robbins, Richard Kostelanetz and others; and a *fiction* by Harvey Segal. (72 pages)

November 1990

- "Smokes, But No Peacepipe," by Scott Reid
 - "Sex, Drugs, and the Goldberg Variations," by Richard Kostelanetz
 - "Why is Anyone Virtuous?" by David Friedman
- Plus articles and reviews by Robert Higgs, Leslie Fleming, Alexander Tabarrok, Sheldon Richman and others; and an interview with Ed Crane. (80 pages)

January 1991

- "Meltdown: The End of the Soviet Empire," by David Boaz, James Robbins, Ralph Raico and Jane S. Shaw
 - "Gordon Gekko, Mike Milken, and Me," by Douglas Casey
- Plus articles and reviews by Michael Christian, Ralph Raico, Loren Lomasky and others; plus special election coverage. (80 pages)

March 1991

- "The Myth of War Prosperity," by Robert Higgs
 - "The Life of Rose Wilder Lane," by William Holtz
 - "The Strange Death of the McDLT," by R.W. Bradford
- Plus articles and reviews by Jan Narveson, Jane Shaw, Richard Weaver, Linda Locke, Krzysztof Ostaszewski and others. (72 pages)

May 1991

- "Christiana: Something Anarchical in Denmark," by Ben Best
 - "Journalists and the Drug War," by David Boaz
 - "California's Man-Made Drought," by Richard Stroup
- Plus writing by John Baden, Scott Reid, Leland Yeager and others; and a short story by Lawrence Thompson. (72 pages)

July 1991

- "Say 'No' to Intolerance," by Milton Friedman
 - "I Am a Casualty of the War on Drugs," by Stuart Reges
- Plus articles and reviews by David Friedman, Loren Lomasky, Sheldon Richman, Karl Hess, Richard Kostelanetz and others; and Mark Skousen's interview with Robert Heilbroner. (72 pages)

Volume 5

September 1991

- "Stalking the Giant Testes of Ethiopia," by Robert Miller
 - "GNP: A Bogus Notion," by R.W. Bradford
 - "Persuasion *versus* Force," by Mark Skousen
- Plus articles and reviews by Bart Kosko, Frank Fox, John Hospers, James Taggart, Karl Hess and others. (72 pages)

November 1991

- "The Road to Nowhere," by David Horowitz
 - "Women v the Nation-State," by Carol Moore
 - "Thelma and Louise: Feminist Heroes," by Miles Fowler
- Plus writing by Robert Higgs, Leland Yeager and others; and a short story by J. E. Goodman. (80 pages)

January 1992

- "The National Park Disgrace," by R.W. Bradford
- "Sex, Race, and the Single Gentleman," by Richard Kostelanetz

- "America's Bipartisan Apartheid," by Brian Doherty
- Plus writing by Leland Yeager, David Friedman, Henry B. Veatch, Jane Shaw, Bill Kauffman, Karl Hess Jr. and others. (80 pages)

March 1992

- "Albert Jay Nock: Prophet of Libertarianism?" by Stephen Cox
 - "P.C. or B.S.?" by Meredith McGhan
 - "Acid Rain and the Corrosion of Science," by Edward C. Krug
 - "Who Really Wrote *Little House on the Prairie*?" by William Holtz
- Plus writing by Karl Hess, Jane Shaw, Lawrence White, Randal O'Toole and others; and an interview with Pat Buchanan. (72 pages)

May 1992

- "Clarence Thomas: Cruel and Unusual Justice?" by James Taggart
 - "Hong Kong: Where Everyone Has a Job," by Mark Tier
 - "Divorce, Czechoslovak Style," by Vojtech Cepl and Ron Lipp
- Plus writing by Eric Banfield, Karl Hess, David Horowitz, Daniel Klein and others; and fiction by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

July 1992

- "Christians and Libertarians in a Hostile World," by Doug Bandow
 - "Returning America's Roads to the Market," by Terree Wasley
 - "The 'Lock' on the Electoral College," by David Brin
- Plus commentary on the L.A. Riots, and writings 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
 - "Wilderness, Church and State," by Robert H. Nelson
 - "If Execution Is Just, What Is Justice?" by J. Neil Schulman
- Plus writing by Martin Morse Wooster, Ethan O. Waters, Jane S. Shaw, 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
 - "Europe's Money Mess: We've Heard It All Before," Leland Yeager
 - "The Mystery of the Missing Detectives," by David Justin Ross
- Plus articles and reviews by Gabriel Hocman, David Kelley, Daniel Klein, Richard Kostelanetz, Loren Lomasky and others. (80 pages)

February 1993

- "A Feminist Defense of Pornography," by Wendy McElroy
 - "In Freedom's Way," by James Ostrowski
 - "Is Feminism Obsolete?" by Jane S. Shaw
 - "Eastern Dystopia, Western Myopia," by Ronald F. Lipp
- Plus election coverage, and writings by R.W. Bradford, Bill Kauffman, John Hospers, John McCormack and others. (80 pages)

April 1993

- "Inside Clinton's Head," by Douglas Casey
 - "How To Cut Your Taxes by 75%," by R. W. Bradford
 - "Isn't Multiculturalism a Good Thing?" by Stephen Cox
- Plus writings by Mark Skousen, John Hospers, Bill Kauffman and others; and an interview with Roy Childs. (72 pages)

June 1993

- "Who Benefits from the Clinton Program?" by Harry Browne
 - "Holocaust, American-Style," by R.W. Bradford
 - "VAT Out of Hell," by Chester Alan Arthur
 - "Understanding the State," by Albert Jay Nock
- Plus writing by Leland Yeager, Jonathan Saville, Randal O'Toole, Bart Kosko and others; and other reviews and articles. (72 pages)

August 1993

- "The Ungreening of the Media," by Jane S. Shaw
 - "How Do I Hate NPR? Let Me Count the Ways," by Glenn Garvin
 - "Death and Bureaucracy in Waco, Texas," by Loren E Lomasky and R.W. Bradford
 - "Lies, Damn Lies, and AIDS Research," by Brian Doherty
- Plus writing by David Boaz, John McCormack and others; other reviews and articles; and a short story by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

Information concerning the first volume (six issues) of *Liberty* can be found on page 50.

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Volume 2

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- "Scrooge McDuck and His Creator," by Phil Salin
 - "Liberty and Ecology," by John Hospers
 - "The Ultimate Justification of the Private Property Ethic," by Hans-Hermann Hoppe
- Plus reviews and articles by Douglas Casey, Murray Rothbard, L. Neil Smith and others; and a short story by Erika Holzer. (80 pages)

November 1988

- "Taking Over the Roads," by John Semmens
 - "The Search for *We The Living*," by R.W. Bradford
- Plus articles and reviews by Walter Block, Stephen Cox, John Dentinger, James Robbins and others. (80 pages)

January 1989

- "AIDS and the FDA," by Sandy Shaw
 - "Property, Population and the Environment," by John Hospers
 - "Ronald Reagan's 'Revolution'," by William Niskanen
- Plus articles and reviews by Karen Shabetai, Jane Shaw, Jeffrey Tucker, Leland Yeager, William Wingo and others; and a short story by Jeffrey Olson. (72 pages)

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- "Man, Nature, and State: Free Market Slogans are Not Enough," by Karl Hess, Jr
 - "The End of the Secular Century," by Murray N. Rothbard
- Plus articles and reviews by Stephen Cox, David Gordon, Justin Raimondo and others. (72 pages)

July 1989

- "Viking Iceland: Anarchy That Worked," by David Friedman
 - "The Myth of the Rights of Mental Patients," by Thomas S. Szasz
 - "Fetal Rights: The Implications," by Tibor Machan
- Plus articles and reviews by R.W. Bradford, John Hospers, Jane S. Shaw, Jeffrey Tucker, Leland Yeager and others. (80 pages)

Volume 3

September 1989

- "Holocausts and the Historians," by Ralph Raico
 - "My Expulsion from the Rand Cult," by Murray Rothbard
 - "Abortion Without Absurdity," by R.W. Bradford
- Plus articles and reviews by David Friedman, Richard Kostelanetz, Loren Lomasky, Gary North, Jeffrey Tucker and others. (72 pages)

November 1989

- "The Lost War on Drugs," by Joseph Miranda
 - "Life With (and Without) Ayn Rand," by Tibor R. Machan
- Plus articles and reviews by Loren Lomasky, Michael Christian, Richard Kostelanetz, J.R. Dunn, R.W. Bradford and others; and an interview with Russell Means. (72 pages)

January 1990

- "The Greenhouse Effect: Myth or Danger?" by Patrick J. Michaels
 - "The Case for Paleolibertarianism," by Llewelyn Rockwell
 - "In Defense of Jim Baker and Zsa Zsa," by Ethan O. Waters
 - "The Death of Socialism: What It Means," by R.W. Bradford, Murray Rothbard, Stephen Cox, and William P. Moulton
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- Plus articles and reviews by Sheldon Richman, Richard Kostelanetz, John Hospers, Loren Lomasky, Leland Yeager and others. (80 pages)

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- "Conservatism in Its Latter Days," by William P. Moulton
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- "Conversations with Ayn Rand (part 1)," by John Hospers
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