

Liberty

October 2006

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Atlas Shrugged: The Movie

Immigration: Yes, No, and Maybe

by Richard Fields, Stephen Cox, and Bruce Ramsey

Oliver Stone's 9/11

by Jo Ann Skousen

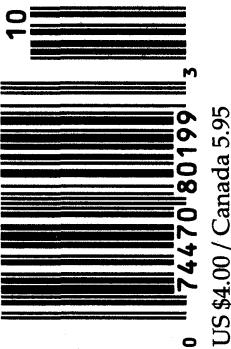
Desperately Seeking Shakespeare

by Justine Olawsky

The Truth Is Inconvenient

by Thomas Oakeson

Also: *Timothy Sandefur follows Dr. King's final campaign, Michael Christian bikes through Caesar's Europe, Randal O'Toole explores Ike's open roads . . . plus other articles, reviews & humor.*



"I prefer Liberty with danger to peace with slavery." — Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Why do the worst get to the top?

In 1947, Friedrich von Hayek posed this question. While he explained the economics, he omitted the psychology of those driven to abuse power. Shortly after, Ayn Rand suggested that producers stop playing host to parasites, but also missed identifying the motive force behind the parasitic need to control.

The psychology can be explained by a megalomania usually rooted in alcohol or other drug addiction. Stalin, Hitler, Mao Zedong, Saddam Hussein and Kim Jong Il have all been such addicts. Coincidence? Hardly.

Most consider alcoholism to be a "loss of control over drinking." Yet, this is but one symptom of the disease in its terminal stages. The early stage is characterized by a differential brain chemistry leading the afflicted to develop a god-like sense of self. Resulting misbehaviors include unethical or criminal conduct, ranging from the relatively innocuous (verbal abuse and serial adultery) to the extraordinarily destructive (mass murder).

Understanding addiction is essential for our well-being, both personally and on a geopolitical scale. The addict is capable of anything. Seemingly innocuous misbehaviors can escalate into tragic ones

"Every policymaker in America needs to read your book exposing the myths of chemical addiction.... Hopefully, your book will help educate those who write the laws so we, as a nation, can do what works — prevention and treatment! ... Excellent book."

— Congressman Jim Ramstad (MN), Member, Ways and Means Committee and Health Subcommittee

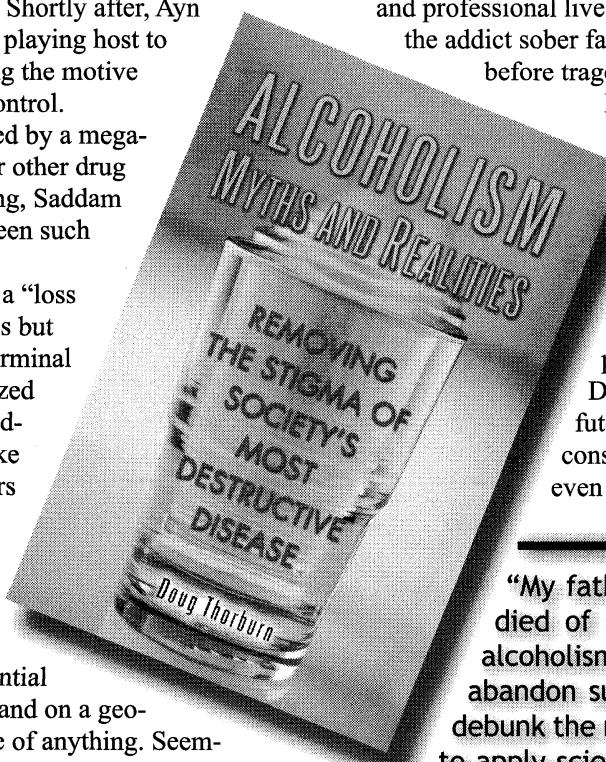
Special offer — Get Doug's new book, *Alcoholism Myths and Realities*, along with:

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when addiction is allowed to run unchecked. Early identification can help minimize the effect it has on our personal and professional lives and, with the right treatment, may get the addict sober far earlier than is common — maybe even before tragedy strikes.

In his latest book, *Alcoholism Myths and Realities: Removing the Stigma of Society's Most Destructive Disease*, libertarian author and addiction expert Doug Thorburn enumerates and dispels more than 100 widespread myths about addiction.

He answers questions such as: Does proper parenting prevent alcoholism? Do alcoholics lack willpower? Doug refutes a myriad of addiction-related falsities considered true by the general public and even medical professionals.

"My father died of alcoholism. His father died of alcoholism. Three generations of alcoholism is enough. Now is the time to abandon superstition and pseudoscience, to debunk the myths surrounding alcoholism, and to apply science to solving this problem. Doug Thorburn's book is a model example of how this should be done. Read it and be prepared to change your thinking on this important topic. When enough of us understand what is really going on with alcoholism, society can make the shift from treatment to prevention and early intervention."

— Michael Shermer, publisher of *Skeptic* magazine, monthly columnist for *Scientific American*, and author of *Why People Believe Weird Things*

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4 Letters Our readers sort us out.

7 Reflections We tunnel out from under Boston, dumpster-dive for the day's news, write Castro's memoirs, chug terrorist Gatorade, lob rockets at infidels, agree with a Keynesian, further freedom through folk songs, prop up pensions, build a greener mousetrap, and stagger home stone sober.

Immigration Yes, No, and Maybe

Three of Liberty's writers come in with three very different takes on what is perhaps the most contentious issue facing American libertarians today.

23 The Land of Opportunity Once it was King George who "endeavored to prevent the Population of these States." *Richard Fields* wonders why so many free-marketeers are so eager to join him.

26 The Fallacy of Open Immigration *Stephen Cox* warns that if some libertarians get what they say they want, they aren't going to be happy with the results.

32 To Filter the People For those who wish to enter the U.S., *Bruce Ramsey* is willing to keep the door open — but only halfway.

Features

35 Roman Virtues Whether they were building bridges or assembling books, *Michael Christian* finds, the Romans meant their creations to last.

38 Paving the 50 States President Eisenhower's signature brought the interstate highway system into being, and 50 years later, it's still not complete. *Randal O'Toole* surveys the history of a government program that's a little better than most.

41 Objectivism, Alive and Well How does one build community spirit in a community notorious for bitter disputation? *Lance Lamberton* reports from the summer conference of big-tent Objectivism.

43 Only a Mother Could Love Light brown hair, fair skin, and golden eyes — there could be no question about it, her baby was a freak.

Reviews

45 Seeking the Promised Land *Timothy Sandefur* recounts the final, troubled days of Martin Luther King's civil rights movement.

48 From the Ashes With films such as "JFK" on his résumé, how will Oliver Stone handle the political catastrophe of 9/11? *Jo Ann Skousen* watches, and squirms in her seat.

49 Who Was Shakespeare, After All? Seems as if everyone has an idea about who really wrote those plays. *Justine Olawsky* investigates the evidence, and its significance.

52 Inconvenient, Indeed Melting glaciers, global warming, and a lot of hot air: *Thomas Oakeson* takes in Al Gore's "feels like we're fixin' to die" rag.



51 Notes on Contributors Our theory and leisure class.

54 Terra Incognita The ingenuity of complete fools.

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Letters

Less Than Stella

Alan W. Bock's "Steer crazy" (Reflections, September), about the Oklahoma woman who put her Winnebago on cruise control, then went back to the kitchen to make a sandwich, then sued Winnebago and was awarded \$1.75 million by a jury, should not have been published. The story isn't true, but is often repeated by "tort deform" advocates whose biases are stronger than their intellectual honesty.

Searches for news stories or the actual legal cases in support of such anecdotes turn up nothing. Even StellAwards.com concedes that many of the internet stories are fabricated. Among the imaginary cases:

- A woman who supposedly sued a furniture store after tripping over her own son. No such case or plaintiff exists.
- A woman who sued a restaurant after she threw a drink on her boyfriend and slipped on the floor. Again, there is no record of any such lawsuit.
- A woman sued a nightclub after falling through a bathroom window and knocking out her teeth while trying to sneak into the club without paying a cover charge. Neither the case nor the plaintiff is real.

Mean-spirited tall tales of this sort don't belong in *Liberty*. Urban myths like the "Stella Awards" aren't just cute or harmless jabs at trial lawyers. They clearly are part of a disinformation campaign designed to undermine Americans' confidence in our legal system and to benefit powerful corporate interests at the expense of average people harmed by corporate wrongdoing and indifference.

R.C. Platte
Bellingham, Wash.

The editors respond: Mr. Platte is, of course, correct, as we should have discovered in fact-checking. We apologize for our mistake, and thank everyone who wrote in to set us straight.

Immigrant Song

Some of your contributors (see for instance "Open the borders" by Mark Rand, Reflections, August) seem to think it's funny that the illegal immigration situation seems to be causing some consternation in the United States. Maybe a dose of reality will allow you to get a clearer view of the situation. According to the 2006 First Quarter INS/FBI Statistical Report on Undocumented Immigration:

Seventy-five percent of people on the most wanted list in Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Albuquerque are illegal aliens;

More than 66% of all births in California are to illegal alien Mexicans on Medi-Cal whose births were paid for by taxpayers;

More than 43% of all food stamps issued are to illegal aliens;

Fifty-eight percent of all welfare payments in the United States are issued to illegal aliens;

Fourteen stations in L.A., 16 in Phoenix, and 15 in Albuquerque are Spanish-only. Twenty-one radio stations in L.A., and 17 each in Phoenix and Albuquerque, are Spanish-only;

The cost of immigration to the American taxpayer in 1997 was a *net* (after subtracting taxes immigrants pay) \$70 billion a year, [Professor Donald Huddle, Rice University];

The estimated profit to U.S. corporations and businesses employing illegal aliens in 2005 was more than \$2.36 trillion dollars.

Remember: these people were educated in a socialist-communist society and the chance of turning them to the

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libertarian approach to government is nil. Look what they're getting for free!

Harold Shull
Phoenix, Ariz.

Rand responds: First, let me note that if I found this issue "funny" I might be content to cite wildly implausible internet-derived statistics without checking their accuracy. I don't find this issue funny, so despite the self-evident falsity of your numbers, I did some research.

I spoke with representatives of the police departments of the cities you name. None of them makes any attempt at determining the immigration status of people not in their custody. Los Angeles doesn't even know the names of many of its most wanted, let alone their immigration status. On the off chance that your source refers to a city-by-city breakdown of the FBI's most wanted list (which is national, not city-by-city), I checked that, too. Unfortunately for your claim, at least 90% of the men on the list have never been illegal aliens — they're all either U.S. citizens, or men who have never illegally entered our country.

In 2001, the most recent year for which I've found actual data, just under half of the babies born in California were Hispanic. In Los Angeles, slightly less than 63% of the babies born were Hispanic. I should not have to point this out, but not all Hispanics in California are "illegal alien Mexicans on Medi-Cal."

In 2004 (again the most recent year for which I've found actual data), 93.6% of food stamps went to U.S.-born citizens. Over half the remaining 6.4% went to naturalized citizens or refugees. The claim of 58% is also completely unfounded, regardless of which programs you include under the blanket heading "welfare."

You may be correct about the number of Spanish-only radio and television stations in the cities you selected. Your numbers are at least close to correct for Los Angeles radio stations. I didn't check this in detail, because if anything, it undermines the economic basis (such as it is) of your complaint. These stations earn their revenue by selling advertising to businesses which in turn derive revenue from the stations' audiences. How, exactly, do you claim this impoverishes you?

You may object that my data is not as current as yours. There is a reason for that — my data is actual data. As

for your source: neither the INS nor the FBI compiles statistics on most of the things you cite. The INS and the FBI do not, and never have, jointly published a statistical report. The INS was renamed and reorganized several years ago, and no longer puts out anything under the name INS. Nor does its successor agency gather or publish the statistics you cite. Many of the specific claims in your letter have been made for several years with minor variations, such as changing the period the data supposedly describes.

Professor Huddle's study actually does exist, although it does not include the estimated profit claim you seem to be associating with it, nor does it come up with a net cost of \$70 billion per year. His study did conclude that immigrants are a net drain on the economy; however, Huddle made several assumptions that I would describe as dubious at best. Most studies since then provide evidence that immigration confers either no significant effect or a slight net gain to our economy.

So, at your behest, let's look at what

immigrants are getting for free. Opportunity?

Taxing Times

In response to Jon Harrison's August article, "George Bush: Darling of the Liberals," I would like to explain the obvious fact that Bush is not the liberals' darling. Bush cut taxes for the rich. By one estimate 41% of Bush's tax cuts have gone to the richest 1% of the country. These tax cuts have changed the large Clinton budget surplus into an even larger Bush deficit.

In an era when gross income is becoming increasingly unequal, the President's tax policies flatten the income tax. When economic growth increasingly goes to profits rather than pay raises, Bush shifts the tax load from capital to labor.

Contrary to Republican and libertarian dogma, tax cuts cause budget deficits. With deficit spending the government borrows money from the rich Americans it should be taxing heavily.

John Engelman
Wilmington, Del.

It's always good to get comments about Liberty, no matter how puzzling they are.

One of the most puzzling kinds of comment is also one of the most frequent. People say, "I'm glad to see that Liberty has come out in favor of such and such"; or, "It grieves me to my heart that Liberty has seen fit to denounce such and such"; or, "I know that it's Liberty's editorial policy to favor (or denounce) such and such, even though"

These comments are puzzling because, in its two-decade history, Liberty has never made an editorial decision to favor or oppose anything, except to favor freedom and oppose tyranny. Liberty's *authors* certainly do a lot of favoring and opposing, but I'm in a good position to tell you that they make no attempt to consult any editorial line. They speak for themselves.

And this is no editorial evasion, either. It's pretty clear that people speak for themselves much better than they can be told to speak. Besides, we wouldn't have any writers if we tried that stunt.

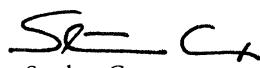
When R.W. Bradford founded Liberty, he envisioned an arena of

debate, not a shrine of oracular utterance. Since then, Liberty has always done its best to present widely differing views of the most controversial topics. This year, we've courted everyone's wrath by wading in several directions at once into the muddy waters of war and peace, and by giving a great deal of unsolicited and divergent advice to the libertarian movement.

In this issue, we take on the contentious issue of immigration; and on this issue, I'm one of the people who decided to speak for themselves. I enjoy doing that, and I'm sure that my colleagues in this debate do too. But I don't think our vigorous disagreements will stop people from commenting, "I'm glad to see that Liberty has come out in favor of (or opposed to) immigration."

Autumn is a beautiful season, blending, as it does, our thoughts about ends and beginnings, the purposes and the joys of life. We're happy that you're sharing the season with us.

Yours for Liberty,


Stephen Cox
Editor

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Harrison responds: Of course I did not say that Bush is in fact the liberals' darling. What I said was that he ought to be, based on his policies. In a few areas, like tax cuts, he has indeed gone against liberal dogma (as did John F. Kennedy when he proposed a tax cut that led to increased federal revenues).

I quite agree that Bush and the Republicans are largely to blame for the mushrooming federal deficit. However, it is out-of-control spending that has got us into this lamentable state of affairs. The point I sought to make is that money has trumped ideology across the political spectrum. There are virtually no true conservatives, much less libertarians, in power today. We live under a virtual spoils system that has metastasized since at least the days of LBJ's Great Society.

As for righting our affairs, we need less taxing and spending, not more converting of private property into public largesse.

Partners in Debt

"George Bush: Darling of the Liberals" should be no surprise to anyone. Recent news from Washington that our national debt ceiling has been raised to \$9 trillion is a sad commentary on the bipartisan lack of leadership and fiscal discipline in Washington.

President Bush and the Republican-controlled Congress have failed to control either spending or deficits. Under their watch, the national debt has increased by nearly \$3 trillion, making Democratic big spenders like LBJ look like pikers in comparison. Both liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans have given up balancing the budget, and have morphed into one inside-the-Beltway party dedicated to staying in power regardless of the cost to taxpayers.

How ironic that, after winning the Cold War against the Evil Empire of Communism, it may be mismanagement of our economy that defeats us in the end.

Larry Penner
Great Neck, N.Y.

Vote None of the Above

I'm afraid I must take exception to

Thomas Giesberg's proposed characterization of libertarianism as "fiscally conservative and socially liberal" ("Vote FCSLP!", *Reflections*, August). This has never been a particularly satisfactory model for understanding libertarian principles, and it is less so now than it was 30 years ago.

A "fiscal conservative," after all, still believes it is okay for the government to take your money by force. He just promises to take less of it. And I am not at all sure what a "social liberal" actually believes, but I suspect that no small number of them think it is perfectly fine for the government to interfere with my personal life in certain respects — for my own good, of course.

Come to think of it, maybe we would be better off defining ourselves as the movement which is neither liberal nor conservative. Might do more than just double our vote-getting chances.

Luther Jett
Washington Grove, Md.

Burqas and Battalions

Regarding Tim Slagle's reflection ("Why they hate us," August), besides the no-burqas policy, I suspect one reason for the hatred toward Canada by fundamentalist Muslims is the presence of Canadian troops in Afghanistan.

Jim Cox
Clarkston, Ga.

Till the Cows Come Home

Stephen Cox ("Word Watch," August) makes a few assertions in his evaluation of the gospel of Judas that are mistaken or at the least need to be put in context.

Cox points out that the gospel of Judas manuscript was written in the 3rd or 4th century and might have been composed in the late 2nd. (This is actually to say that scholars can only guess at when it was composed and don't know for sure.) Cox further says, without any qualification, that the four canonical gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) "were composed in the 1st century and accepted by the consensus of local churches."

Putting these last two assertions

continued on page 37

Erratum: In Richard Timberlake's September response (*Letters*), the rate of increase in the Consumer Price Index from 1922–1929 was given as 2.3%. The increase was in fact 1.7%.

Letters to the editor: *Liberty* invites readers to comment on articles that have appeared in our pages. We reserve the right to edit for length and clarity. All letters are assumed to be intended for publication unless otherwise stated. Succinct letters are preferred. Please include your address and phone number so that we can verify your identity. Mail to: *Liberty Letters*, P.O. Box 1181, Port Townsend, WA 98368. Or send email to letters@libertyunbound.com.

Reflections

Political mentor — Over lunch recently, a friend announced, "American politicians could learn a lot from Ariel Sharon." "You mean they could be even more aggressive and militaristic than they are now?" I responded in wonder. "No," he said, "they could have the decency to step down when they become brain-dead."

— Ross Levatter

Freedom in China — What this means, as I discovered in a recent visit, is the freedom to smoke in an ordinary hotel room or restaurant; the freedom to park a car on the sidewalk; the freedom to ride a bicycle or motorcycle without a helmet; the freedom to order your 15-year-old kid a beer; the freedom to spit on the sidewalk; the freedom to say anything about any person, group, or social problem in the United States.

— Bruce Ramsey

A steady diet — We are used to encountering garbage that is labeled "news," but sometimes even the hardened troller for information is astonished by the smell. On August 3, the online version of the Guardian newspaper "reported" on the situation in Cuba: "Signs of the damage done to the economy by the embargo put in place by the U.S. in 1961 are not hard to find. Cubans are wearily used to shortages. Essential foods are rationed and in short supply," etc., etc., through the usual litany of hardships that, strangely, did not exist when Cuba was being ruthlessly exploited by U.S. capitalism.

The embargo may not be the best political and economic idea, but it did not impoverish Cuba. Communism impoverished Cuba. Nothing else could prevent an island full of energetic people, long the recipient of massive foreign aid, trading freely with all the world except the United States, and favored by nature as a region for agriculture, from being able to feed its own people.

Exactly what was it, however, that impoverished the minds of "journalists"?

— Stephen Cox

A statesman's legacy — This unbelievable paragraph appeared in the New York Times, online:

"With his bushy beard and his booming anti-American rhetoric, Mr. Castro, who turns 80 next Sunday, will linger in

the Cuban imagination far into the future as a double image — one, the romantic revolutionary of 1958, promising Cuba equality, prosperity and independence; the other, the prisoner of a half-century of confrontation with the United States that kept Cuba from evolving in a way that could deliver on the promises."

You may choose between hero and frustrated hero.

— Michael Christian

Semper Fidel — Now that Fidel Castro has ceded power to his younger brother Raul, we realize the tragedy that he never got to write his memoirs about an experience unique in history — surviving as a dictator for nearly half a century.

How did he do it? What vices did he indulge? What tricks of his trade would he want to share with aspiring dictators? (The subject is so rich that I predict someone else will write this book as a "fiction.")

Remember that Hitler and Stalin and many others survived only a fraction of Castro's time. A good book agent would have gotten an American publisher to offer an advance greater than the \$8 million awarded Bill Clinton. Then Castro could have died with unrivaled success at both communism and capitalism — a true Hero for Our Time. — Richard Kostelanetz

What's past is prologue — Sen. Ted Kennedy shepherded the Big Dig, Boston's multi-billion dollar boondoggle, through Congress. Now that Kennedy boondoggle has killed a woman in a car. Gee, where have I heard that before? — Chris Henderson

Pat-down to the people — On August 10, British police foiled a terrorist plot that apparently aimed to smuggle liquid explosives disguised as sports drinks onto aircraft and activate them by means of disposable cameras, thus blowing up six to ten planes en route to the U.S.

What a silly plot: "Someone stop him! He's taking a picture of that Gatorade!" That sort of thing wouldn't fly on a made-for-TV movie. Even the bumbling shoe bomber had more style.

A silly plot deserves an equally silly crackdown and, indeed, all bottles of liquid — water, coffee, shampoo, contact

Liberty Lives!



David Friedman

Economist, professor at Santa Clara University School of Law, author of *The Machinery of Freedom*, and Bill's favorite anarchist scholar.



Randy Barnett

Carmack Waterhouse Professor of Legal

Theory at Georgetown University Law Center. He appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court to argue the medical cannabis case of *Gonzales v. Raich*.

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Tim Slagle

Renowned political satirist and libertarian comic.

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Questions about the conference, as well as suggestions for ways to remember Bill at the reception, may be e-mailed to:

conf2006@libertyunbound.com

Not all suggestions can be used, but all are deeply appreciated.

The 2006 Liberty Editors Conference in Las Vegas

Stephen Cox

Editor of *Liberty*, author of *The Woman and the Dynamo*, and professor of literature at the University of California San Diego

Charles Murray

W.H. Brady Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and author of *In Our Hands, Losing Ground*, and *The Bell Curve*

Mark Skousen

Professor, investment adviser, and author of *The Making of Modern Economics* and *Vienna and Chicago*

John Pugsley

Acclaimed speaker, chairman of the Sovereign Society, author of *Common Sense Economics*, and founder of the Bio-Rational Institute

Terry Easton

Private investor, entrepreneur, and adjunct professor at San Jose State University

Rick Rule

President, Global Resource Investments

Jo Ann Skousen

Writer, critic, speaker, and instructor in English literature and writing at Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.

Bruce Ramsey

Journalist, senior editor of *Liberty*, and editor of *Insatiable Government and Other Old-Right Commentaries, 1923–1950*

Randal O'Toole

Senior economist with the Thoreau Institute, prominent critic of "smart growth," and author of *The Best Laid Plans: The Case Against Government Planning*

Neal Levine

Campaign manager for CRCM, the group behind the Nevada initiative to decriminalize marijuana — just days before the initiative is voted upon! (Patrick Killen, communications director, may substitute.)

And meet Liberty's staff: Kathleen Bradford, Andrew Ferguson, Patrick Quealy, and Mark Rand.

October 20–22, 2006
at the
New Frontier Hotel
in Las Vegas

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solution, duty-free liquor — were immediately placed on the forbidden list. It was even worse in Britain, where all carry-on luggage was banned, bar the barest hygienic necessities (and I suppose even those could be at risk: imagine if a terrorist smuggled in a "tampon bomb").

The biggest surprise of the whole drama has been the response of the public. They're *pissed* — and not, for the most part, at Muslims. For five years now the body politic has spread itself for invasion, and finally it's fed up at the prohibitions and

the pat-downs, the pokes and the prods. It beggars belief that there is not yet a system in place to speed along the average traveler and his luggage, and with every tortuous line and tortuous inspection it becomes clearer to that average traveler that such a system is nowhere near implementation.

Now Republican leaders are competing to see who can come up with the most outlandish link between the Pakistani bottle bombers and the war in Iraq, and Democratic insiders are whining about how none of this would have happened

Word Watch

by Stephen Cox

This column ordinarily proceeds in a calm and orderly way, dispatching problems of language one at a time. But there comes a moment in the life of every column when the problems pile up — on the desk, on the shelves, on the floor, out the door — and some of them have to be addressed right *now*. Our readers write to Liberty, expecting justice to be rendered for linguistic crimes. They can't wait forever. They have the right to see speedy and public retribution. So here goes. Whether felons or misdemeanants, bring the culprits into court.

Case No. 1: Retailing False Concepts

The prisoner at the bar is United States Representative Jim Ramstad, Republican of Minnesota, who with Rep. Patrick Kennedy, Democrat of Rhode Island, acts as co-chair of something called the House Addiction Caucus. That language is bad enough, but Ramstad has compounded his crime by rebuking fellow GOPers for attacking his friend Kennedy's record of substance abuse. Ramstad says that criticism of Kennedy "shows a total lack of understanding of the disease of addiction." As a number of Liberty's readers have pointed out, the real "disease" is the disease metaphor, now endemic to this country. Smallpox is a disease; influenza is a disease; "addiction" is not a disease. For spreading this diseased metaphor, Ramstad is hereby sentenced to 90 days without the use of words. Call it "therapy."

Case No. 2: Redundancy in the First Degree

The offender in this case is the central California minister, who, according to an informant of this column who must remain anonymous because his relatives are involved, recently preached a wedding sermon that "brought to our attention the significance of the 'circular round roundness' of the wedding band." The pontificating padre is hereby remanded to a year's course of Bible reading, during which he will discover much about language that he failed to learn in seminary.

A comment from the bench: This case is not without its charm. It recalls the days of Liberty's founding, 20 years ago. We received a travel article — a good one, too — from an author who had recently toured the Soviet Union. He had discovered, among other things, that the Russians had vending machines that dispensed individual drinks of water — very convenient, except for the fact that everyone had to drink out of a common glass, which was

chained to the machine to prevent people from stealing it. Fine. The literary problem was that the author called this glass a "glass glass." Bill Bradford, our editor, sent him a corrected version of the article, reducing "glass glass" to a single "glass." The author objected mightily: maybe someone would think he was describing a *plastic* glass! "Maybe someone will think we're *idiots*," Bill said; and published the article with only one "glass" in it. I don't think we ever heard from our author again.

Case No. 3: Reckless Use of Pronoun Case (a Misdemeanor), and Corruption of the Young (a Felony)

The two offenses were perpetrated, respectively, by the author of an online ad and by the schoolteachers who put him up to it. The evidence was provided by Mehmet Karayel, who lately discovered an apartment ad including these words: "Has a washer/dryer, your own parking spot, pool/jacuzzi, and basically all the ammenities which you need. This is ideal for a student whom is looking for a place to live over the summer, who is taking summer school."

"Ammenities," of course, is a misspelling; and "pool/jacuzzi" is . . . well, the Court will address that issue at some other time. What worried Mehmet was "whom." There's obviously something wrong with that. The give away is the lack of parallelism between "whom is looking" and "who is taking." What happened here?

A basic law of the Indo-European languages is that a pronoun's case depends on the role the pronoun plays in the clause that includes it. That's why we say, "She bought the book" rather than "Her bought the book": in that clause, the verb is "bought," and "she" is the subject, not the object, of the verb; so the subject takes the nominative case ("she") rather than the objective case ("her"). Now what, in Mehmet's example, is the clause that includes the word "whom"? Well, "is looking" is the verb, and "whom" is supposed to be the subject. But "whom" is in the objective case, not the nominative. "Whom" is wrong. The right word is "who."

Let's see. It took me about a hundred words to explain this basic law of grammar. And however badly I've explained it, my explanation is virtually certain to be an improvement on anything you heard in school — which was *nothing*. What's going on in the schools — anything?

if only men like hawkish milquetoast Joe Lieberman were in charge. Neither have anything but scorn for the voices in their own parties, like Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) and Rep. Tim Murtha (D-Penn.), who say that, after five years of documented failure, it's time to try another way. But more and more Americans are prepared to listen to that message, and perhaps even to act on it — witness Democratic Connecticut voters rejecting Lieberman as their standard bearer. Frustration is becoming more potent than fear and, if the mood holds, those politicians who

But it's time to pass sentence. The ad writer is released with a warning; he's suffered enough, just trying to put those sentences together. His teachers, if found, are condemned to ten years at hard labor (sentence-diagramming).

Case No. 4: Public Nuisance; Solicitation of False and Coerced Testimony

The defendants are members of organized gangs now terrorizing the nation by seizing innocent people and demanding that they reveal their secrets. Readers throughout the country report that they order coffee at their local Moonstrucks, give over their money, then face interrogation from a man dressed in gang colors who will not surrender the item purchased until satisfactory answers are returned.

"How's your night goin' for yuh?" the "barista" demands. "Goin' well for yuh? Eh? Seein' a movie tonight? Eh? Out clubbin' tonight? How's the parties goin' for yuh tonight? Eh?"

You can't tell him the truth, any more than you can tell a stick-up man that you left your cash at home. You can't tell the guy behind the counter, "My dog died today." "I've lost my job, and my wife spent the afternoon with the UPS guy." "It's Saturday night and I'm in Moonstrucks by myself. How the hell do you *think* I'm doin'? Eh?" You can't say those things. So you stand there, waiting in polite silence for him to give you your God-damned coffee and leave you alone. But silence is not enough. The moron won't stop.

"I said, are you havin' a good time tonight? Just wonderin' how yer weekend's been goin' for yuh? Eh?" He won't stop till you tell him where the gold is buried. So you lie. "Fine. Great. Fantastic. I'm having the most wonderful evening of my life. I just saw the world premiere of 'Citizen Kane,' and I am on my way to Mrs. Astor's ball. I am absolutely and completely on top of the world. How about you? Eh?"

Any politely humorous attempt to deflect the impertinent inquiry ("Sorry, that's privileged information"; "No one will ever know") will not be understood. They may force the release of your coffee, but they will not make your captor happy. They will merely identify you as a "weirdo," an antisocial creature whose coffee will be slammed on the counter with maximum spillage, and whose chair space will soon be invaded by several men with enormous brooms who are "just cleanin' up, dude."

All service personnel who have been apprehended in the commission of this crime, together with all corporate trainers who have solicited its commission, are hereby banished for life to the penal colony hitherto reserved for the salesmen who call, precisely at dinner time, to shout things like, "Hi, Steve! This is Denny. Denny Snodgrass! How yuh doin' tonight? Eh? Yuh gettin' along OK, Steve? Everything OK with you there? Eh?"

I trust that Representative Ramstad will not insist that these people's antisocial actions are the products of disease.

pay attention to the people rather than each other will profit come November.

— Andrew Ferguson

The money pit — Nobody "keeps" money. Money is worthless unless it is spent, and that's what billionaires do. They try and spend it all. Often they spend it obscenely, on enormous vacation homes built by working class laborers, private jets built by union mechanics, or luxury yachts built by tradesmen. What they don't spend, they put into banks and markets, where it becomes available capital for building more homes and businesses. It is no coincidence that the more billionaires a nation has, the lower the unemployment rate is.

People who think billionaires keep every dime they ever made, and have big rooms full of money where they go to roll around in it, have been watching too many Scrooge McDuck cartoons.

— Tim Slagle

El tigre sin cojones — Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.), the Tiger of the Senate, who so fiercely attacked corporate corruption, has suddenly lost his testicles. Sarbanes, you will recall, was the driving force behind Sarbanes-Oxley, the law that has saddled all American corporations with onerous accounting rules, and executives with personal liability for bogus accounting. This law was an attempt to harass companies (such as WorldCom), which were already in the process of being held to account under existing laws. *Muy macho! Qué cojones tan grandes!*

Ah, but bad news, amigos. The tiger has blocked a crackdown on the federally backed corporations Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. These agencies have racked up \$1.5 trillion in debt, i.e., portfolios of "aggressive" (read: likely to default in a housing crash) loans, which the taxpayer has an "implied" obligation to cover. Sarbanes has decided to be totally unhelpful about reforming the scandalous accounting and business practices of these government-backed mortgage agencies.

And the agencies need reform. They stink of corruption. The managers — mainly, it turns out, liberal Democrats like Sarbanes — set policies that helped boost their personal bonuses, leading Franklin Raines, Timothy Howard, Daniel Mudd, and Jamie Gorelick to pocket tens of millions of dollars in just a few years. Not surprisingly, both Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (along with the private companies that are tied to them) dump tons of cash into political campaigns — again, not surprisingly, mainly to elect liberal Democrats.

When the government sets up and runs corporations to do what private industry should do, this is what you get: corruption without *any* government policing.

— Gary Jason

A fistful of nickels — Economists like Paul Krugman love to talk about the desperate lot of those who somehow can't board the carousel of capitalism. No brass rings for them. And according to Paul and his pals, these faceless uncountables are multiplying. Every day the hoard of the rich grows and grows while the poor have less and less dough. Furthermore, say Paul and his Chicken Little friends, the rift between the rich and the poor is now a chasm.

I thought of Dr. Krugman when I went to the grocery last week. There's a clunky machine by the door. You throw

in your change and it somehow magically counts it and pays you in green currency — real money. That way you don't have to count a pound of coins — a tedious job — and roll 'em up into coin wrappers.

Remember how it used to be? Mom or Pop sitting at the dining room table wrapping pennies and nickels, dimes and quarters. And happy to do it. Hey, that ashtray full of coins — look at all the quarters — must be holding five or six bucks.

Now we've got a machine. But even machines don't work for free. He won't complain about his working environment and he'll never sue for gender harassment, but he will charge you 8%. That's when I thought of Paul. Middle-class patrons of a neighborhood grocery store are willing to pay 8% to avoid the tedium of coin counting. The carousel of capitalism is rolling merrily along. Jump on, there's room for all.

— Ted Roberts

Provocations — The traditional Israeli response to, say, the assassination of its Olympic team or the kidnapping of a soldier has been selective retaliation by its intelligence agency, called the Mossad. Its operatives would take out killers anywhere in the world (including Arab countries), send soldiers along with an airplane to rescue Israelis detained in Africa, or take a hostage that could be bartered for a kidnapped soldier, with a finesse and respect for noncombatants that customarily won respect from the rest of the world.

Why didn't that happen recently? Has the Mossad become less intelligent? Does Ariel Sharon's successor have less respect for its competence? What isn't yet known? Instead, the new Israeli premier has bombed a country, killing civilians along with putative perpetrators. That move reflects not traditional Israeli moxie but, dammit, the strategy of George W. Bush! And Israel's action is not likely to win the world's approval or be more successful than Dubya's.

It is also distressing to realize that Israel has fallen for a provocation, which has traditionally been an Israeli strategy. When Ariel Sharon and his troops in 1990 peacefully marched into the Arab quarter of Jerusalem's Old City, the move provoked violent Palestinian responses, an intifada, that in turn persuaded the Israeli public to give Sharon's party enough

votes to make him premier again. Only he, they thought, would be tough on violence within Israel. Had the Jerusalem Palestinians not fallen for the provocation, Sharon would have probably remained a farmer.

My suspicion now is that Hezbollah knew in advance that kidnapping an Israeli soldier would provoke an Israeli response that would in turn warrant Hez's unleashing its arsenal of previously hidden missiles directly at Israeli cities. Why didn't the Mossad know and warn this would happen?

— Richard Kostelanetz

The births of a nation — President Bush was disingenuous, to say the least, in inviting babies born from embryos fertilized in vitro to the White House to watch him veto the bill that would have permitted some federal funding of such research. Given the present state of in vitro fertilization, one such embryo is not created alone but in the company of many others. The many embryos are fertilized and cultivated by the reproductive endocrinologist so she may select one or several for implantation. There are many more of them than can realistically be implanted in women's uteri to germinate and develop into human beings.

A human being does not begin when a human egg is fertilized. Such a fertilized egg may have the potential of becoming a human being, but it is no more a human being than a seed is a plant. Both need the proper environment to achieve their potential — a human embryo must find a fertile uterus, a seed needs fertile soil. Otherwise they are useless, superfluous, destined for the dustbin.

Bush's veto does not prevent all embryonic stem cell research, only federally funded research. However, as the National Institutes of Health finance much if not most scientific research, that control is extensive. One more example of government's reach expanding more and more invasively throughout the economy, beyond its original well-intentioned, small-scale intervention. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

— Bettina Bien Greaves

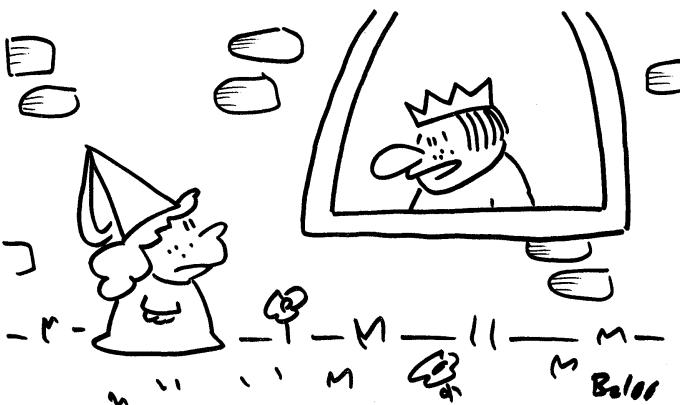
Fire and rain — Religious fanatics have been using natural phenomena to frighten the ignorant into submission since the dawn of time. Primitives used things like eclipses as an excuse to throw virgins into volcanoes; Catholic clergy in the Middle Ages used the little ice age to justify torturing and burning women for witchcraft.

Today, leftists are using weather as a means to gain political control, as are followers of Pat Robertson. The Left believes that last year's strong hurricane season was caused by SUVs, and Pat Robertson recently claimed it was caused by sodomy. It's always funny watching zealots arguing over which is the true god.

Since the global warming myth has been enormously successful for the Left, you really can't blame Pat for using a variant of that tactic to strengthen his own support. And there's as much evidence connecting hurricanes to sin as there is connecting them to petroleum. But environmentalists can't see that their apocalyptic predictions are just as silly as Pat Robertson's. I guess it's really hard to look in the mirror.

— Tim Slagle

Good golly, Ms. Mollies — More evidence of a brain dearth at the L.A. Times surfaced in a July 27 article written by not one, but two Mollies: Molly Selvin and Molly Hennessy-Fiske. They report an astounding discovery by the



"I can't play — My dad got impeached, and I have to run the country."

Census Bureau: more and more California businesses are using contract or temporary workers — contracting out tasks formerly done by in-house employees, and becoming what the Mollies disparagingly label “nonemployers,” with independent contractors instead of employees. The number of California “nonemployers” grew by almost 20% just during the period 2000–2004; growth was especially notable in the real estate, healthcare, and engineering industries.

The Mollies report that employers are replacing employees with independent contractors because it lowers expenses such as workman’s comp, paid leave, state taxes, and health insurance — all grotesquely high in the socialist paradise of California. However, many of those costs are built into the contractors’ fees, so that doesn’t seem to be the driving factor in the acceleration of contracting out. And while some employers seek to evade matching federal taxes by misclassifying employees as contractors, as the Mollies note, the IRS is very aggressive about crushing such businesses.

The Mollies omit to mention what is undeniably a major factor: the massive regulation and litigation caused by groups the Times dearly loves: various “civil rights” and environmentalist agencies, and the trial attorneys allied with them. Consider the enormous machinery devoted to civil rights and disability regulation. No employer can hire, fire, promote, or demote without being investigated by various government agencies for possible discrimination. Allied with the victim bureaucracies is an army of trial attorneys, eager to sue about wrongful termination, discrimination, disability provisions, and so on.

Now consider the state apparatus devoted to environmental regulation. Any company that wants to build new plants, dump waste materials, develop property, or do almost anything else with “the environment” faces a morass of regulations and enforcement agencies. And again there is a legion of attorneys who make a fabulous living suing companies to death for any infractions, real or imagined — witness the endless asbestos litigation.

If the Mollies really want to understand why employers are rushing to contract out jobs rather than hire employees, they ought to talk to the nearest trial attorney.

— Gary Jason

Faith and rockets — Given the theocratic passions of our day, with the so-called Party of God lobbing rockets into Israel and the ongoing battles here at home over the Christianization or secularization of public policies, it might be beneficial to think about some of the things the Founding Fathers said about the mixing of religion and politics.

James Madison, frequently referred to as the “Father of the Constitution,” argued in 1785 against a bill introduced in the Virginia General Assembly that would have assessed taxes on all citizens for the financial support of “teachers of the Christian religion.”

“What influence in fact have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society?” he asked. “In some instances they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of the Civil authority; in many instances they have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen

the guardians of the liberties of the people.”

After two years of debate, Virginia passed a groundbreaking law that unraveled the ties between church and state, declaring that “all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capabilities.”

Regarding assessments and coercion, the statute stated that “no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, nor shall be forced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs.”

In her book “Freethinkers,” Susan Jacoby writes that the Virginia law, establishing legal equality for citizens of all religions, and of no religion, and separating government from ecclesiastical control, was “hailed by secularists as a model for the new national government and denounced by those who favored the semi-theocratic systems still prevailing in most states.”

Thomas Jefferson, praising the Virginia law, observed that “it is comfortable to see the standard of reason at length erected, after so many ages, during which the human mind has been held in vassalage by kings, priests, and nobles, and it is honorable for us, to have produced the first legislature who had the courage to declare, that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions.”

When Connecticut disestablished the Congregationalist Church, Jefferson expressed satisfaction that “this den of the priesthood is at last broken up, and that a protestant popedom is no longer to disgrace the American history and character.”

Jefferson’s writings on religion were used against him in the 1800 presidential campaign. In his “Notes on Virginia” (1784), he wrote: “The legitimate powers of government ex-

News You May Have Missed

New Gibson Film to Clear Up Misunderstandings

HOLLYWOOD — In an effort to repair relations with the Jewish community after the anti-Semitic diatribe he let loose during his recent arrest for drunk driving, actor Mel Gibson has announced that he will produce, direct, and star in a new movie called “How Green Was My Protocol” based loosely on “The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion,” a perennially popular late-19th-century Russian work of fiction. Gibson said he picked up the book by accident while browsing in a used-screed store in Riyadh,

Saudi Arabia, and found it “a real page-turner.” The book, he added, “kept me on the edge of my seat, as did the pink elephants.”

In the movie, Gibson will play a sensitive, conflicted Learned Elder who has second thoughts about participating in the conspiracy to take over the world and opens a delicatessen instead. Gibson also said that he’s studying linguistic theory so that the next time he’s arrested for drunk driving he can engage in a less offensive anti-semiotic diatribe.

— Eric Kenning

tend only to such acts as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are 20 gods, or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg."

Defending the concepts of individual freedom, religious liberty, and diversity in opinion, Jefferson wrote: "Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. To support robbery and error all over the earth. Let us reflect that is inhabited by a thousand millions of people. That these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion. That ours is but one of that thousand."

Thomas Paine, in a letter to Samuel Adams in 1803, pointed to the all too common link between religion, persecution, and war: "The case, my friend, is that the world has been overrun with fable and creeds of human invention, with sectaries of whole nations against all other nations, and sectaries of those sectaries in each of them against each other. Every sectary, except the Quakers, has been a persecutor. Those who fled from persecution persecuted in their turn, and it is this confusion of creeds that has filled the world with persecution and deluged it with blood."

Unfortunately, Israel doesn't have even-tempered Quakers on its northern border. And more broadly, the world's technical advancements in the art of war seem to be matched by a growth in faith-based extremism and violence.

Sam Harris, author of "The End of Faith," poses a troubling question: "What will we do if an Islamist regime, which grows dewy-eyed at the mere mention of paradise, ever acquires long-range nuclear weaponry?" — Ralph Reiland

Outrageous Fortune — Ellsworth Toohey, the villain in Ayn Rand's famous novel, "The Fountainhead," is an intellectual foe of individualism. One of his ideas is that people need to be protected from having too many choices.

Unfortunately, Toohey's question-begging rhetoric is now being followed by people who may never have heard of him. Marc Gunther, writing on July 12 for the online version of Fortune (of all places) suggests that "the explosion of choice has left us poorer"; our original sin of choosing has taken over our souls, diminishing the power and influence of the mainstream media, which formerly held a monopoly of the news, and denying consumers a collective experience.

Apparently, if you can't name "the biggest star in prime-time television," or "a star created by the Internet" (trick ques-

tion: there isn't one, and there probably never will be, according to Gunther), or "a great advertising slogan created in this decade," then you are culturally poorer.

Don't ask for the definition of "great" or "culture"; this is an article for Fortune, after all, where requests for the definition of key terms are simply proof that you are culturally impoverished. That means you, not writers for the mainstream media. You should already know this, just as you should know that "public" means "anyone but you" and "unselfishness" means "contributing to any self except your own."

Gunther's worries about increased choice make me wonder whether he chose to write his article, or just let himself be coerced by some benevolent force. But there is a consistency in his presentation: no discussion link. People could actually make dangerous choices if they were allowed to comment on anything from the mainstream media. Fortune's website preserved what's left of the richness of our one-culture souls by enforcing the moderate and responsible no-comments-allowed rule.

"Big stars, hit TV shows and even commercials help knit a society together. Think of the feeling that comes a few times a year — the morning after the Super Bowl or the Oscars — when tens of millions of Americans share a common experience." I never knew so many hangovers and Oscar-gawkings could be the key to bliss.

— Roger Wasson

Not deceived —

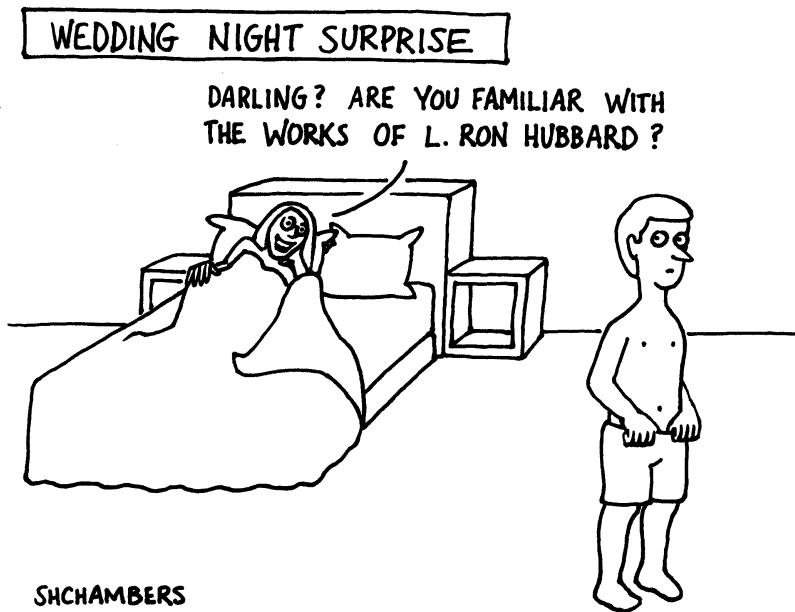
It was the theme of Paul Weaver's book, "News and the Culture of Lying" (1994), that journalism too often leaves out the good stuff because of the formulas of reporting. I thought of this while watching a Beijing news conference on Hong Kong television.

Presiding was Ouyang Song, vice minister of the Organization Department of the Communist Party of China. He was a youngish man, no gray hairs, and not about to make a political mistake. He cited the statistic that a survey of Party members found that 97% of them are happy with how the Party is doing.

By and by came the questions. Shai Oster of the Wall Street Journal began his question by congratulating the Party for the 97% approval, saying that in the United States the Republicans and the Democrats would be very happy to have such ratings.

He said it in all seriousness, though of course what it meant was, "I am not deceived by your bullshit statistics."

Ouyang replied, "I would like to thank you for your congratulations." He said it in all seriousness, though of course what it meant was, "I am not deceived by the polite form of



SHCHAMBERS

your snide remark."

Oster's story ran in the Asian Wall Street Journal, July 14-16, at the bottom of Page 8. "China Communists Target Private Sector Role," the headline said. It was a dull story, reflective of its topic. There was nothing in it about the exchange above, which, by the conventions of journalism, was not news.

— Bruce Ramsey

Mission Accomplished? — In his article in the July issue of Vanity Fair, "The War They Wanted, the Lies They Needed," Craig Unger, author of "House of Saud," writes that it has been widely reported that the U.S. invaded Iraq because of intelligence failures. "But in fact," he states, "it is far more likely that the war in Iraq started because of an extraordinary intelligence success — specifically, an astoundingly effective campaign of disinformation, or black propaganda, which led the White House, the Pentagon, Britain's M.I.6 intelligence service, and thousands of outlets in the American media to promote the falsehood that Saddam Hussein's nuclear-weapons program posed a grave risk to the United States."

Referring to the robbery of the Niger embassy in Rome on Jan. 2, 2001, Unger contends that the consequences of the robbery "were so great that the Watergate break-in pales in comparison," and that the robbery was the beginning of a covert operation to deceive the American public into war with Iraq by fabricating false information about Saddam Hussein's alleged attempt to buy hundreds of tons of yellowcake from Niger.

Shortly after the robbery, forged dossiers began popping up in intelligence agencies all over the world, reports Unger, a development that led eventually to the inclusion of the 16-word reference to the alleged threat of nuclear weapons from Saddam that appeared in George W. Bush's State of the Union address.

Even after information in the dossiers was repeatedly rejected by the CIA and the State Department, writes Unger,

hawkish neocons managed to circumvent seasoned intelligence analysts and insert the Niger claims into Bush's State of the Union address.

By the time the U.S. invaded Iraq, in March 2003, this apparent black-propaganda operation had helped convince more than 90 percent of the American people that a brutal dictator was developing W.M.D. — and had led us into war.

Unger cites nine former military and intelligence analysts who maintain that the Niger documents "were part of a covert operation to deliberately mislead the American public," as well as at least 14 instances prior to the State of the Union in which CIA analysts, the State Department, and other governmental agencies "had examined the Niger documents or reports about them [and] raised serious doubts about their legitimacy — only to be rebuffed by Bush administration officials who wanted to use the material."

"They were just relentless," explained Col. Larry Wilkerson, former chief of staff to Secretary of State Colin Powell, who later prepared Powell's call to war before the United Nations General Assembly. "You would take it out and they would stick it back in. That was their favorite bureaucratic technique — ruthless relentlessness." It's common knowledge that the neocons in and around the Bush Administration had been advocating regime change in Iraq for years, some of them long saying that they needed another Pearl Harbor to mobilize the United States against Saddam Hussein. "Now it had taken

place," writes Unger, and after 9/11 "the Niger operation went into overdrive."

— Sarah J. McCarthy

The plight of the worker — Paul Samuelson, strong Keynesian, 1970 Nobel Prize Laureate in economics, and author of the enormously successful college textbook, "Economics," was right, once. Commenting in 1970 on a proposal to raise the minimum wage to \$2.00, he wrote: "What good does it do a black youth to know that an employer must pay him \$2.00 an hour if the fact that he must be paid that amount is what keeps him from getting a job?"

And the New York Times, then recognized worldwide as the newspaper of record, headlined an editorial on Jan. 14, 1987, "The Right Minimum Wage: \$0.00." The editorial then stated "There's a virtual consensus among economists that the minimum wage is an idea whose time has passed. Raising the minimum wage by a substantial amount would price working poor people out of the job market." (Both passages quoted in "If Only Most Americans Understood" by David R. Henderson, in the Aug. 1 Wall Street Journal.)

How can any politician, or anyone else for that matter, be so stupid as to believe that it will help workers to make it more expensive to hire them?

Samuelson's remark is also a sad commentary on the state of the U.S. dollar, which has deteriorated so much in value since 1970 that the proposed increase in the minimum wage (\$2.10, raising the minimum from \$5.15 to \$7.25) is more than the entire minimum wage was in 1970.

— Bettina Bien Greaves

Make songs, not films — One theme of Ron Radosh's "Red Star Over Hollywood" (Encounter, 2005), among other recent books, is that scribbling warriors in the Communist-inspired Popular Front of the 1940s have had an insidious influence upon popular filmmaking. No doubt they tried, but they were ultimately foiled, not only because of unfortunate blacklisting during the 1950s but, equally unfortunately, by the commercial designs of their bosses.

The Popular Front has had more influence on folksongs. Initiated by a few during the 1940s, mostly centered on Pete Seeger (whose father Charles was the czar for Communist classical music during the 1930s), PF ditties spread during the 1950s in groups like the Weavers and then the Kingston Trio, in the '60s with Joan Baez and Bob Dylan, and in rock groups like the Byrds (whose lead singer David Crosby was a Red Diaper baby, as we now call them). PF songs are heard today in the work of Bruce Springsteen, who recently recorded an album of Pete Seeger songs (sung ineptly, alas), and in a recent NET feature on Woody Guthrie, whose masterly "This Land Is Your Land" has survived better than any Popular Front film.

May I wager that every reader of this magazine knows at least one of these songs, while the reddish movies are forgotten? Since Radosh was, like me, at Camp Woodland in 1951, where PF folk music was disseminated prolifically, I am surprised that he, now a late anti-Communist, didn't notice this. (We also performed that summer a cantata, "Boney Quillan," by Herbert Haufrecht, a composer who descended from Charles Seeger's influence; but it has not survived.) But why has PF folk music survived better than PF film? It was produced with less censorship and thus less compromise, not only political but also economic. Shorter and more pointed, the best songs were better pop art. And nobody wrote books about

them reflecting a Communist conspiracy that, needless to say, eventually moved beyond the control of Communists.

I can recall, four decades ago, a Red Diaper baby named Kathie Amatniek telling me that she wanted to make political films that would have the influence of folk songs. This didn't happen for her or anyone else like her at the time. (Instead,

Graduates of the Bronx High School of Science include seven Nobel Prize-winning physicists. With vouchers, many more such schools would sprout.

Kathie became the founder of the radical feminists called Redstockings, as she took the name Kathie Sarachild.) It couldn't happen because filmmaking is a much tougher, more expensive business.

Libertarians who tried to make politically engaged films should have thought about writing songs instead. With examples from Woody Guthrie in mind, consider writing a classic merely entitled "Liberty."

— Richard Kostelanetz

Free to choose — Perhaps I'm a dreamer, but I believe that the obvious merits of free choice in K-12 education (often labeled "vouchers") will eventually defeat the anti-choice propaganda funded by the teachers' unions. When free choice for K-12 has been tried (such as in Florida and in Milwaukee), parents rush to embrace it.

The merits of free choice in K-12 schooling include efficiency, of course. Competition works in every other area of economic life to increase quality and lower cost, so why wouldn't it work in the educational service sector? Those who think that competition wouldn't work in K-12 should remember that it works in higher education — the Pell Grant and the GI Bill of Rights programs are just vouchers by different names.

But there is another advantage of choice in education: consumer choice inevitably creates more options, and this increases student interest. That thought occurs to me every weekday morning when I drop my daughter off at the Orange County High School of the Arts, a large charter school devoted to arts-oriented education. The students who attend OCHSA chose to be there — indeed, competed to get in. The result is a palpable spirit akin to that of a private school. When parents and students choose a school that matches their interests, they're more motivated than students who are forced to attend a school they didn't choose.

What makes students attend a charter or private school is the school's orientation — to art, or science, or a faith, or an elite course of study. One reason for the widespread boredom and high dropout rates in public schools is that the vast majority of them derive from a single, basic model: the general prep school, where all students take basically the same courses, with some AP and elective courses thrown in. Moving toward free choice will promote the development of more types of schools, just as consumer choice in the restaurant industry has given consumers a dazzling variety of restaurants.

The general prep school is good for students who don't

have a clear, strong orientation for any field of endeavor, or a commitment to higher education. But there are other kinds of school. Elite prep schools are great for kids who are unusually studious and plan to pursue college study, especially in the humanities and social sciences. Plenty of these schools exist already, mainly private schools and schools in university towns, but most are available only to the wealthier families. Vouchers would expand the number of elite prep schools and allow children from poorer families to attend.

There are some arts schools for students interested in drama, music, writing, cinema, painting, or dance. And there are a few schools for students with a particular interest in science, math and engineering — most famously the Bronx High School of Science, whose graduates include seven Nobel Prize-winning physicists. With vouchers, many more such schools would sprout.

Again, military schools are useful for students who intend to follow careers in the armed forces or in law enforcement; they have often been able to transform undisciplined or disruptive boys into decent men. Vocational schools have trained generations of young people in the still vital skilled trades. Vouchers would increase the number and availability of these schools as well. But that's not all. The consumer power of vouchers would create even more types of schools. We could have schools oriented toward business and economics, medical science schools for students who plan to work in the healthcare industries, and even schools for students interested in becoming lawyers, paralegals, or . . . (dare I say it?) politicians.

Perhaps we might even get to see the emergence of some intelligent, well-educated politicians, politicians who understand the importance of a free and competitive society. It's certain, however, that innovation always flourishes with consumer freedom.

— Gary Jason

Do the evolution — It's hard to believe that the debate over evolution is still taking place in Kansas. Evolution is pretty much a fact that only a small segment of Christians dispute anymore. The crux of the debate today is whether evolution was intentional or accidental.

Many of those on the accidental side of the argument are using science to disguise their real agenda: teaching atheism in public schools. Much like the communist predecessors who forged their doctrines, the American Left wants all children taught that there is no Creator, and no higher authority beyond the state.

Other than that, what could the Left be fighting for? It's not really about education. Let's say that the entire state of Kansas teaches all their children that evolution is a farce, for a full twelve years of public schooling. Are those children really going to be disadvantaged? Except for a handful of jobs, in a few branches of science, that ignorance will never affect their lives. Perhaps they'll be mocked at Manhattan cocktail parties (which happens to people from Kansas anyway), but other than that, those kids will all move on to live happy, productive lives.

— Tim Slagle

What went wrong — Robert McNamara had been president of Ford Motor Co. for only seven weeks when President-elect Kennedy asked him to become secretary of defense. "I am not qualified," McNamara remembers telling Kennedy.

"Who is?" Kennedy asked. "He rejected the claim that I was not qualified," McNamara reports, "pointing out dryly that there were no schools for defense secretaries, as far as he knew, and no schools for presidents either." So McNamara accepted, acknowledging that he "entered the Pentagon with a limited grasp of military affairs and even less grasp of covert operations."

McNamara provides this account in his highly controversial memoir on American policy-making in Vietnam, "In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam." Faced with a complex and escalating crisis in Southeast Asia, the new administration, according to McNamara, lacked the knowledge to handle it: "I had never visited Indochina, nor did I understand or appreciate its history, language, culture, or values. The same must be said, to varying degrees, about President Kennedy, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, military adviser Maxwell Taylor, and many others." The administration, in short, was flying blindly into a war that would claim the lives of 3 million Vietnamese and produce 58,191 American combat deaths. "When it came to Vietnam, we found ourselves setting policy for a region that was terra incognita. Worse, our government lacked experts for us to consult to compensate for our ignorance."

With all the other things on the government's plate, from Cuba to Pentagon budgeting to Soviet belligerence in Berlin, McNamara asserts that there wasn't ample time for correct analysis and planning: "Simply put, we faced a blizzard of problems, there were only 24 hours in a day, and we often did not have time to think straight."

One of "the best and the brightest," as David Halberstam called the *dramatis personae* of the Kennedy administration, McNamara wasn't unintelligent, at least by his own account — he points out that he placed in the upper "one-hundredth percentile for his ability to reason and think" on the battery of intelligence and achievement tests he took at Ford. What he lacked was knowledge and experience. Listing the major causes of the American failure in Vietnam, he cites the following:

"We underestimated the power of nationalism to motivate a people to fight and die for their beliefs and values — and we continue to do so today in many parts of the world."

"We failed then — and we have since — to recognize the limitation of modern, high-technology military equipment, forces and doctrine in confronting unconventional, highly motivated people's movements."

"We failed as well to adapt our military tactics to winning the hearts and minds of people from a totally different culture."

"We did not hold to the principle that U.S. military action — other than in response to direct threats to our security — should be carried out only in conjunction with multinational forces supported fully (and not merely cosmetically) by the international community."

"We failed to adhere to the fundamental principle that, in the final analysis, if the South Vietnamese were to be saved, they had to win the war themselves. External military force cannot substitute for the political order and stability that must be forged by a people for themselves."

In August 1963, McNamara says, "the United States set in motion a military coup" to topple Ngo Dinh Diem, leader of South Vietnam. In retrospect, McNamara acknowledges that

Diem's killing produced only a succession of weaker leaders in South Vietnam.

Now, here's the contemporary significance of what McNamara has to say. South Vietnam, as he describes it, was not unlike today's Iraq: "South Vietnam lacked any tradition of national unity. It was besieged by religious animosities, political factionalism, corrupt police, and, not the least, a growing guerrilla insurgency."

"Political stability did not exist and was unlikely to ever be achieved," he writes, "and the South Vietnamese, even with our training assistance and logistical support, were incapable of defending themselves." The intentions of the U.S. were right, he contends. "Yet we were wrong, terribly wrong. We owe it to future generations to explain why."

As Santayana wrote, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." — Ralph Reiland

The deflationary menace — Forgive me for furiously grinning when I learned that the people of Mexico (still considered a third-world country) spend more money per year on books than the French do — \$3.6 billion compared with \$3.4 billion. True, on a per capita basis, France did a little better than Mexico, coming in 18th compared with Mexico's 21st. Even so, the proximity of the two on the list should poke a little arrogance out of the French, even if their arrogance is mostly scarecrow stuffing by now.

The source of my information is the Economist's "World in Figures" (2006 pocket edition), and I have to admit that the sources are somewhat vague. But this little book has other balloon-pricking statistics, too. One is a reminder that our oft-patronizing neighbors, the Canadians, use more energy per capita than we do (7,973 kg of oil-equivalent per person for Canada, 7,943 kg per person for the U.S.). The two countries rank seventh and eighth in the world on this scale. And in spite of the fact that oil production supposedly peaked in the U.S. years ago, our country still produces the most energy, followed by China, Russia, and Saudi Arabia.

Lots of the book's other statistical revelations are worth meditating upon, and laughing at. But, darn it, France is still the No. 1 tourism country in the world by a long shot, bringing in more than 75 million visitors a year. The runners-up are Spain (52 million) and the United States (41 million). Let's see,



"Let me through, please — I'm a meddlesome government bureaucrat."

though . . . what does this really mean? Which people have the money, and the curiosity, to fly across the ocean and visit other cultures? Apparently, it's the Americans again!

— Jane S. Shaw

A vote against war in Vietnam — To the extent a religious right of any kind existed in 1964, Eugene Siler easily qualified as a platinum card member. In his nine years in the U.S. House, he was unrivaled in his zeal to implement "Christianism and Americanism." Yet, 42 years ago this month, he did something that would be extremely rare for a modern counterpart on the religious right. He dissented from a president's urgent request to authorize military action in a foreign war. It was Siler who cast the lone vote in the U.S. House against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Because he "paired against" the bill (meaning he was absent during the vote), however, most historical accounts do not mention him.

A self-described "Kentucky hillbilly," Siler was born in 1900 in Williamsburg, a town nestled in the mountains in the southeastern part of the state. Unlike most Kentuckians, he, like his neighbors, was a rock-ribbed Republican. The people of this impoverished area had backed the Union during the Civil War and had stood by the GOP in good times and bad ever since. Siler served in the Navy in World War I and two decades later as an Army captain during World War II. His experiences with the realities of war left him cold to most proposals to send American troops into harm's way.

After graduating from Columbia University, Siler returned to Williamsburg to be a small-town lawyer. A devout Baptist, he gained local renown as a lay preacher, eventually serving as moderator of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky. He abstained from alcohol, tobacco, and profanity. As a lawyer, he turned away all clients seeking divorces or who were accused of whiskey-related crimes.

He began service as an elected judge of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky in 1945 and promptly refused his regular monthly allotment of \$150 for expenses. Instead, he gave the money to a special fund he set up for scholarships. Not surprisingly, Siler often quoted the scriptures from the bench. He did the same in his speeches as the unsuccessful Republican candidate for governor in 1951, earning him a statewide reputation as a "Bible Crusader."

Siler consistently stressed social conservatism during his tenure in the U.S. House, which began in 1955. He sponsored a bill to ban liquor and beer advertising in all interstate media. He said that permitting these ads was akin to allowing the "harsh hussy" to advertise in "the open door of her place of business for the allurement of our school children." Of course, he was "100 percent for Bible reading and the Lord's Prayer in our public schools."

Like his good friend and fellow Republican, Iowa Rep. H.R. Gross, Siler considered himself to be a fiscal watchdog. He disdained all junkets and railed against government debt and high spending. Siler made exceptions for the homefolks, however, by supporting flood control and other federal measures that aided his district.

As with Gross, Siler was a Robert A. Taft Republican who was averse to entangling alliances and foreign quagmires. A consistent opponent of foreign aid, he was one of only two congressmen to vote against Kennedy's call-up of reserves during the Berlin crisis. He favored Goldwater in 1964, but never shared his hawkish views. The people back home did

not seem to mind. Sometimes, the Democrats failed to even put up a candidate.

Siler was an early, and prescient, critic of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In June 1964, shortly after deciding not to run again, he quipped, half in jest, that he was running for president as an antiwar candidate. He pledged to resign after one day in office, staying just long enough to bring the troops home. He characterized the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized Johnson to take "all necessary steps" in Vietnam as a "buck-passing" pretext to "seal the lips of Congress against future criticism."

The worsening situation in Vietnam prompted Siler to come out of retirement in 1968 to run for the U.S. Senate nomination on a platform calling for withdrawal of all U.S. troops by Christmas. Ernest Gruening of Alaska and Wayne Morse of Oregon, the only two U.S. senators who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, also went down to defeat that year.

Although Siler lived on until 1987, few remembered his early stand against the Vietnam War. It is doubtful that this particularly bothered him. He knew that his reputation was secure among the plain Baptist Republican mountain folk of southeastern Kentucky who had sent him to Congress for nearly a decade.

— David T. Beito and Linda Royster Beito

Resurrecting Upton Sinclair — I received Professor Kevin Mattson's new "Upton Sinclair and the Other American Century" (Wiley, 2006) as I read Lawrence W. Reed's legitimate demolition of Sinclair's "The Jungle" (1906) in the August Liberty, where he repeats the familiar academic opinion that Sinc was out of sync for the rest of his literary life. Not so, brother Reed. One of the most important books in my professional history was Sinclair's "The Cup of Fury" (1956), which I read while still a teenager, taking it out of the public library soon after publication.

Its theme is that the best writers of his generation were ruined — yes, ruined — by excessive drinking: Sinclair Lewis, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hart Crane, Stephen Crane, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Sherwood Anderson, Eugene O'Neill, Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, George Sterling, et al.; even Isadora Duncan, who wrote a marvelous book in addition to her revolutionary concert dance. Oddly in retrospect, Sinclair missed William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway, perhaps because they were both still alive in the late 1950s and might have felt libeled. Both would soon be dead in their early 60s.

Published when Sinclair was nearly 80, "The Cup of Fury" is an older writer's efficient polemic that I have purchased many times if only to give away to an aspiring writer who needs to know a certain truth. If a better book on the alcoholism of the literati exists, it's not come to my attention in the past 50 years.

With Mattson's new book I wanted an occasion to honor "The Cup of Fury" among the One Hundred Most Important Books in My Life and so went first to his index. Not finding that book among the several dozen Sinclair titles, I gave the new book away and, instead, honor Sinclair's classic here and now.

"The Cup of Fury" scared this aspiring writer so profoundly that I avoided alcohol during my years at a college where it was plentiful (Brown U.) and have since drunk "not socially, only privately, mostly after midnight," as I like to say. The book might also have scared me away from psychotropic

drugs, as I never fell for the myth that anything other than my own nuttiness could fuel my imagination. Taking responsibility for my own head was finally a political move.

I know of at least one other writer my age who has told me that "The Cup of Fury" had a similarly chilling effect on him, and, like me, Samuel R. Delany is still productive and sober in his mid-60s.

— Richard Kostelanetz

Pension pains — Well, surprise, surprise! The Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation has gone from a \$10 billion surplus in 2000 to a \$23 billion deficit in 2005, and is on the hook for corporate pension liabilities of easily \$450 billion. What do you expect from a government program (backed, naturally, by both unions and corporations) that allows unions to demand exorbitant pensions from companies that can't possibly pay them, and allows the companies just to toss those pension plans onto the back of the taxpayer whenever they file for bankruptcy? Can we spell "rent-seeking," kids?

The major airlines are only the first group of companies to dump their pension obligations on the rest of us. Some of the biggest American corporations have huge pension liabilities backed by little if any assets: GM, Ford, SBC/ATT, Verizon, IBM, Delphi, Lucent, DuPont, Altria, Exelon, Qwest, Dow, Hewlett-Packard — the list is long and growing. This mess looks as if it will make the S&L crisis of the '80s appear positively piddling.

At a bare minimum, the feds ought to demand full funding from all participants in the program, and stick to that demand. Better yet, we should just tell all unions and workers that going forward, contracts between unions and corporations will be considered just that — contracts between private entities for which the taxpayer should not be held liable. In other words, just kill the whole program while the killing is good, i.e., before the big bust happens.

— Gary Jason

Just deserts — In an effort to show the merits of free-market capitalism, there are some who point out how vital to the existence of wealth are the productive efforts of human beings. With the exception, perhaps, of air (and that no longer so), nothing comes without the need for people to transform it so as to make it useful. So, the argument goes, these producers and creators ought to own what they have made.

One must be careful, however, not to exaggerate. There are assets and resources one may own that have nothing to do with having produced them, let alone with having earned them — for example, one's good health, good looks, good genes, high IQ, talents, etc. Yes, most of these assets could lie dormant, but once they become apparent, those who possess them may find

themselves far wealthier than those who lack them. And they own these assets. They have a right to them and what wealth derives from them — for example, the money paid for having their beautiful faces photographed and placed on the cover of *Vogue* or *GQ*.

Such assets and resources are, in fact, a feature of one's personal identity, if you will. Whatever wealth derives from them is no more available to others without one's permission than is wealth arising from what one has produced or created anew. To claim that these aspects of oneself are available for others to expropriate is to endorse slavery, plain and simple.

It matters not a whit that such expropriation results from a democratic decision. No group, however large, is authorized to raid one's wealth, one's resources and assets, no matter how great an idea it may have for what to do with them. The institution of slavery is an abomination even if the slaves are coerced into serving some undeniably worthy, even necessary purpose.

This recalls for me a pet peeve — all the praise that's heaped upon those magnificent buildings, throughout the world, that were produced by slaves and serfs for tyrants, albeit with some artistic merit accompanying the cruelty involved. So many people who travel and take these in — or just see them on TV — forget how they came into being. Meanwhile,

there is an inordinate amount of hand-wringing about companies that take advantage of cheap labor abroad, despite the fact that in most cases that labor has been provided voluntarily.

This hand-wringing is especially disturbing in light of the fact that there are today some very prestigious thinkers who believe that slavery is quite all right (though they would never use that term). Following the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor and the American sociologist Amitai Etzioni, they hold that everyone belongs to his group or community, and thus that the community — which in reality means the community's bunch of self-appointed spokespeople — is authorized to expropriate the resources that are attached to anyone, especially the advantages gained from being lucky.

The most famous political theorist of the 20th century, the late John Rawls, contended that since nearly all that one has come without personal effort — for he believed that one's productivity and creativity are inherited or inculcated proclivities and do not confer any desert upon the creator or producer — "society" may simply take and distribute as much of it as "society" deems fair. This idea was rendered morally credible mostly through the denial that one has the right to any assets unless one has earned them.

This trap, of course, will not survive close scrutiny. My lungs, kidneys, eyes, hair — and I still have a fair amount of it,



IN THE LOOP?
HELL.

I AM THE LOOP.

/

SHCHAMBERS

though it is all white now — were not earned by me, yet they are a part of me. Others would be treating me as an impersonal natural resource if they were to expropriate them. That is what slavery is: making use of another, of all that he or she is and has, regardless of his or her consent.

So let's not tie the right to private property too closely to desert. One is fully entitled to assets that are part of oneself, desert or no desert.

— Tibor Machan

Preemptive liberation — It may sound sexist but, as most people know, women drivers are laggards when it comes to starting their cars. A male driver will be outside the parking lot well before the woman he walked out with starts the engine. That is not because women are putting on makeup or checking their nails; they are most often fishing through their purses for their keys. Women's clothes are not designed to carry chunky metal objects, as men's are.

But a marketing gimmick has changed that. My new car allows me to open locked doors just by drawing near the car, and it starts with the push of a button inside, as long as the keys are in the vicinity.

The advantage of this automatic feature isn't simply to let me scoot out a few seconds faster than someone else. It also makes me safer. Now women can avoid standing in the dark before a locked car, searching for our keys. If trouble is brewing we can zip out of trouble right away.

I don't know whether this feature was designed for safety or even if it is aimed at women. But markets have a way of solving problems that no single person has yet identified.

In the 1950s, long before the advent of "women's lib," manufacturers were pushing new technology that in the aggregate had an enormous effect. In his book "The Hidden Persuaders" (1957), Vance Packard ridiculed motivational researchers for trying to find out why dishwashers and vacuum cleaners weren't selling well. Apparently they learned that (in Packard's words) the 1950s housewife was "feeling guilty about the fact that she is not working as hard as her mother." Modern appliances just added to her guilt. So the researchers came up with more acceptable reasons for buying appliances: they would give women more time to spend with their children, for example.

New appliances did sell, to Packard's chagrin and to the chagrin of all who disparage advertising. They made it increasingly easy for a person to maintain a clean, comfortable home, and they set the stage for large-scale liberation of women from housework. Without the technological progress forced by the industry's search for consumers, the feminist movement might never have been successfully launched. I am a beneficiary of that market change, just as I am one of a growing number of women who feel more secure because they can open their locked car door and start the engine with the push of a button, with who knows what results from that new freedom.

— Jane S. Shaw

Helmet, or cellmate — I am so proud of my state, Alabama. Our governor has a click it or ticket ad on TV where-

in he officially urges us to buckle up. He does more than plead, he threatens. "It's the law — click it or ticket." It's no longer the Bible Belt, but the Buckle-up Belt.

My governor, and his fellow governors, are getting \$32 million in federal grants for seat-belt enforcement programs. If somebody gave me \$32 mil, I guess I'd talk up seat belts too (unless I lived in brave little New Hampshire, the only state with no seat-belt laws for adults). But I think I'd ruminate over the cost; every time a law officer mans a checkpoint he's not around to deter a robbery, a rape, a homicide. And every time they run that seat belt ad they don't run an ad about the penalties of robbing a convenience store. If they're going to televise speeches to lawbreakers, I would prefer the convenience store lecture, focusing on the immoral and dangerous — not the buckle-up speech focusing on the foolish and careless.

I don't like the idea of penalizing those whose perilous behavior affects only their own mortal bodies. If the government has the right to spy on and invade my car, what logical impediment bars their intrusion in my home? It's a small step from my Mercury Marquis to my den, which contains a buckleless recliner, towering two feet over the parqueted den floor.

Next thing you know the state will demand we wear bike safety helmets on any car trips beyond our own driveway. Armed officers will monitor and patrol the roads. Burglary, rape, and murder will flourish. What police department would have the time to fight that bloody stuff? Besides, it's dangerous. If I'm John Law, I'd rather harass motorists. — Ted Roberts

Drinking problem — In Washington state, where I live, the law prohibits a barkeep from serving alcohol to a person who appears to be intoxicated. It may therefore be assumed that all persons entering, occupying, or leaving a 21-and-over establishment are sober. Even if "the last drink" put someone slightly over the point of inebriation, he still would be in control of his faculties and not drunk.

Curiously, state law also forbids the carrying of firearms, even by concealed-carry permit holders, in places legally zoned off-limits to those under 21 — i.e., bars. Why limit concealed carry in this manner? It can't be for fear that intoxicated people will misuse deadly force. You wouldn't find a drunk person in a bar, any more than you would find someone going over 60 miles an hour in the fast lane. It's illegal.

The state should permit licensed patrons stumbling out of bars at closing time — all sober, of course — to carry loaded guns. Or, I suppose, the state could give up the idiotic pretense of prohibiting drunkenness in places where people go to drink.

— Patrick Qualey

Fuel transition supervisor — Whenever some cantankerous critic knocks the governance of New Jersey, no matter his size or musculature, I always stand up and defend the Garden State. I remind him that no, it's not suffocating under a blanket of smokestack emissions, even if past governors spewed thick clouds of verbal smoke into the sky overhead. There are gardens galore, naturally, in the Garden State; and horse farms and reedy dunes that conjure up visions of Cape Cod. But sadly, the political environment doesn't match the scenery.

They do have some horrid legislation, however, that's like fingernails on the slate of the libertarian soul. How about this: self-service at the gas station is legally verboten. An attendant who probably left State University with a major in "Fuel Transition" is required. I figured out that this scientist majored

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in Fuel Transition, not English, after a ten-minute discussion about which of three octane levels I desired. Such was his intellect that I was surprised he didn't insert the pump in the open window.

But after all, how could you expect me, Joe Consumer, bereft of Fuel Transition 301, to handle the complex pump, hose, and trigger mechanism that feeds highly flammable fuel into the tank of the car? How could Joe or Jill Consumer even find the tank of the car without at least auditing the course? Unlike your average sloppy filler-upper, this guy is a professional.

Serendipitously, this piece of legislation also provides maybe 10,000 unnecessary jobs that placid Jerseyites pay for in the price of their gas — Jerseyites who obviously never took Government Intrusion 101.

— Ted Roberts

Back to the drawing board — I'm tired of environmentalists who say we can easily reduce our nation's energy consumption, but have no idea how to do it. I guarantee that if it was possible to build a car that was safe, large, and comfortable, and also got 100 miles per gallon, it would be the hottest vehicle on the market. The inventor of that vehicle would become a billionaire overnight. Hence, millions of minds have been obsessing over such designs for at least 30 years. The fact that it doesn't exist is evidence that it isn't yet possible. That's just how economics works.

Alternative fuels cost more than petroleum, and cars today are just about as efficient as the laws of thermodynamics allow. Those are the simple facts, and new legislation, or President Bush's impeachment, will not change them.

Come on, you brilliant environmentalists! Design that car, invent that fuel, and the world will beat a path to your door.

— Tim Slagle

Govindappa Venkataswamy, R.I.P. — In his "Wealth of Nations," Adam Smith memorably described the advantages wrought by specialization and the division of labor in the "very trifling manufacture" of pins. He showed that by dividing the work into several different branches, output could be dramatically increased. If each worker performed a different function, one straightening the wire, others cutting, pointing, and grinding it at the top to receive

the head, etc., then ten persons working on the project could "make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day . . . But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day." In this same way, the advantages of specialization and the division of labor can be demonstrated in almost any field.

Dr. Govindappa Venkataswamy joined the Indian Army in 1945 and soon came down with rheumatoid arthritis, threatening his dreams of a medical career. Through long and grueling therapy, he trained his gnarled fingers to hold a surgeon's scalpel and then went into ophthalmology.

India is a large country, with a large population and large problems to match. Rural blindness was almost epidemic, with an estimated 20 million blind eyes, 80% of them due to curable cataracts. Dr. V researched Vitamin A deficiency and began organizing rural fairs where peasants gathered for eye treatment.

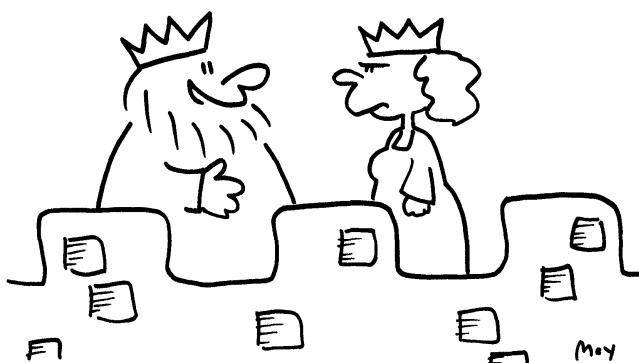
In 1976, at age 58, he started an eleven-bed clinic, the Aravind Eye Hospital in southern India. Dr. V began his operations with two other doctors, his sister and her husband, both eye surgeons. His intention was to cater to rich and poor alike, but largely to the poor in southern India. He asked only \$40 for cataract surgery, or nothing if a patient couldn't afford that; he believed that the volume of paying customers would support the rest. Banks wouldn't lend for such a venture, so he mortgaged his own home. Within a year, the clinic quadrupled in size. By 1981, a 250-bed hospital was complete. Aravind has now become a five-hospital system.

Venkataswamy's business model has revolutionized eye surgery. The advantages of the division of labor are apparent especially in the Aravind operating room. In a beautifully appointed modern operating room with state-of-the-art equipment, several surgeons are at work. Each works two tables, one for a patient having surgery, the other for a patient being prepped. Operating microscopes swivel between two tables. One surgeon, working a 12-hour day, can perform 2,000 surgeries annually, nearly ten times the Indian national average.

He was inspired by McDonald's assembly line model, after attending McDonald's Hamburger University in Oak Brook, Ill. He even investigated the possibility of franchising his operations, along the lines of McDonald's and Burger King, and actually laid the groundwork for such operations. Several hospitals in India have followed his assembly line method, and teams from Aravind have advised hospitals in East Africa and the Far East. Dr. Venkataswamy also went into the manufacture of low-cost lenses, producing 6-7% of the low-cost lenses sold worldwide in 2002 — though not in the U.S., because of the obstacle imposed by FDA regulations.

Dr. V died July 7, 2006 at the age of 87. Management of Aravind is still largely with his family. In the course of his operations, Dr. V's Aravind Eye Care System has served 2.4 million through its efficient, effective assembly-line system. Adam Smith must be turning over in his grave with pride at seeing Dr. V's spectacular success in demonstrating the advantages of the division of labor.

— Bettina Bien Greaves



"It's all part of my plan, dear — Lady Godiva distracts the UN observers."

Immigration is one of the most contentious issues for America, and for American libertarians. If you doubt that, read on.

The Land of Opportunity

by Richard Fields

To listen to the hue and cry of conservative talk radio or the U.S. House of Representatives, one would think that the country is being overridden by hordes of alien invaders. This appeal to nativism, along with conservative chestnuts like gay marriage and flag burning, is part of a desperate attempt by Republicans to retain power in the 2008 elections. It seems that invoking the specter of Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi is not effectively inspiring the faithful in a time of record budget deficits, so Republicans are resurrecting the tactics of former California governor Pete Wilson, the GOP's most cynical political operator since Richard Nixon.

At one of a series of town hall meetings, GOP Rep. James Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin responded to audience questions about immigration with such inflammatory statements as: "Eighty-five percent of the drugs in Chicago come from south of the border," and "The next bunch of terrorists won't have their passports stamped. They will come in through the south or the Canadian border." Pennsylvania's GOP Senator Rick Santorum is running a TV ad that accuses his Democratic challenger of giving illegals "preference over American workers." In Colorado, GOP gubernatorial candidate Bob Beauprez is basing his campaign on his Democratic opponent's ostensible support of state

benefits for illegal immigrants (even though Beauprez's opponent in the primary accused him of doing the same during his time in Congress). Syndicated conservative columnist Kathleen Parker has written that "the loyalties of those people [Hispanics] are for their countries back home . . . rather than to the United States. And because they are not assimilating, they're not learning English."

How is the Democratic leadership responding? With more nativist appeals: in an interview with the Rockford (Ill.) Register Star, Senate Democratic Whip Dick Durbin said, "I would oppose just opening the borders at this point. We now have between 400,000 and 800,000 coming across our southern border illegally each year. That number would increase. It would become the venue for anyone coming into the U.S. right now. It's not just Mexicans; it's Central Americans, South Americans, many others,

Caribbean natives, come through Mexico into the U.S. The first thing we have to do is bring the border under control. That means not only border enforcement, but also workplace enforcement. What draws them here is jobs." Hordes of aliens! Coming to take our jobs!

Or they simply blather. House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi recently said, "Democrats propose a new direction on immigration. We believe it is long past time to focus on tough laws, actually implement them, hold the administration accountable for enforcing them, and pass comprehensive immigration reform." Exactly how is that different from Republican talking points?

Libertarians should provide the moral and rational reasons for welcoming immigrants. The issue of immigration can be reduced to property rights. If Jorge from Oaxaca gets a job from Linda in Long Beach and buys a house from Owen in Oceanside, no one's

rights are violated and it's an economic win for everyone involved. If those economic transactions are prohibited by law, everyone's property rights are violated. Jorge doesn't get the job and is stuck in Mexico working for less. Linda,

Our country had no quantitative immigration laws until 1921. We had no qualitative laws until 1875 when convicts and prostitutes were barred.

deprived of a willing worker, may have to pay more for labor from an artificially diminished labor pool, may have to automate the job, or may have to close up shop for want of employees willing to work for the wage she's able to pay. And Owen will have one less bidder for his house and probably will have to sell it for less.

We expect progressives and nativists to disrespect property rights. They will very explicitly argue that Americans should not have to compete with foreigners for jobs either in this country through immigration or abroad through outsourcing. What is troubling is to hear so-called defenders of free markets decry immigration under the rubric of the "rule of law," the welfare state, or national security.

The rule of law referred to is, of course, the limitations on immigration which explicitly violate the property rights of immigrants and U.S. citizens alike. The United States was founded largely as a rebellion against laws the colonists considered to be unjust. One of the complaints against King George in the Declaration of Independence is that "He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for the Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither." Our country had no quantitative immigration laws until 1921. We had no qualitative laws un-

til 1875 when convicts and prostitutes were barred. "Mental defectives" and Chinese were barred in 1882. The U.S. economy suffered not at all from our acceptance of the huddled masses. To argue against immigration because we have made it illegal only illustrates that we have reverted to the unjust laws of King George.

What's more, the quotas set by present-day immigration law are ridiculously low. According to the American Immigration Law Foundation, visas for permanent immigration tailored to less-skilled workers are capped at 5,000 per year. H2A (seasonal agricultural) and H2B (other temporary work) visas are limited to 66,000 per year. There is demand for more high-skilled immigrant workers, and a ready supply of them, but not enough visas are issued to allow the workers to be employed. Demographically, the growing population of Mexico and other developing countries, combined with the overall aging of the U.S. population, produce a pull of labor market demand from the U.S. and a push of labor market supply from Mexico and elsewhere in the developing world. Every year in the 1990s, 290,000 less-skilled workers arrived from Mexico alone, and a lot more from other countries. Free-marketeers, above all, should realize that we cannot repeal the laws of supply and demand, in labor markets or anywhere else.

The conservative argument that a welfare state and open immigration cannot coexist sounds logical. But the problem is obviously not immigration. It's the welfare state. Our century of unlimited immigration did not present any significant economic problems. But then, it is argued, we did not have a welfare state. Conservatives, in essence, take the defeatist approach of throwing up their hands and saying "Do you really believe we can get rid of the welfare state?"

Both conservatives and progressives tend, by nature, to be pessimists. We libertarians tend to be optimists. We need to make the optimistic case that we can indeed reform the welfare state — see the proposal of Cato's Michael Tanner for one approach that could work.

A first step was taken in 1996, when President Clinton signed a welfare re-

form act written by a Republican Congress. (Oh, how we long for divided government!) As a result of that legislation, the only public programs from which illegal immigrants may legally benefit are emergency room care and K-12 education. Meanwhile, approximately two thirds of immigrants pay income, Medicare, and Social Security taxes. And that understates the tax contributions of illegals. The labor force participation rate of illegal immigrant men is 94%. That compares with rates of under 50% for American men without high school diplomas. The discrepancy between the 94% labor force participation rate and the 67% paying payroll taxes is due in large part to the higher entrepreneurial predilections of immigrants. Even if the Mexicans who clean your house and mow your lawn don't pay payroll taxes, they still pay sales taxes and property taxes directly or indirectly through their rent.

A large part of the immigration debate centers on the net cost or gain to taxpayers when all these taxes and benefits are taken into account. Both sides have trotted out studies supporting their side of the argument. Of course, they conflict. A synthesis of all the research suggests that immigrants are either a net positive or a net wash in terms of costs and benefits to taxpayers in the current welfare state. The problem is that the benefits accrue at the federal level and the costs accrue at the state and local level. Most undocumented employees pay into Social Security and

It's not the slackers who have the initiative to emigrate from their native countries to the U.S. One does not ordinarily encounter Latino pan-handlers in this country.

Medicare, but usually with phony Social Security numbers. They pay in but they will not collect, resulting in a net benefit at the federal level. Given the

Yes, No, and Maybe

upcoming scarcity of workers relative to retirees, AARP will probably soon become the biggest cheerleader for immigration.

Since undocumented workers are usually low-income, they do not pay as much in local and state property and sales taxes as the rest of us, but they do

That we still have bilingual education is a testament to the political power of the National Education Association, not to the preferences of Latino parents or children.

still avail themselves of the emergency rooms and public schools they are allowed under the 1996 reform legislation. In this respect they are not materially different from our native-born poor. How they are different is in the probability that, over time, they will better themselves economically. One does not ordinarily encounter Latino panhandlers in this country. One does in Mexico. It's not the slackers who have the initiative to emigrate from their native countries to the U.S. It's the ambitious. A clearly defined path to legal employment and citizenship will accelerate that process.

This is one issue — one of the only ones — where President Bush has it right. Properly legislated, the opportunity to work legally right now, combined with a place at the end of the line to acquire citizenship in the future, accomplishes two things. First, it retains the prohibitions of the 1996 law against immigrants receiving most welfare benefits upon arrival in the U.S. Second, it provides time for an immigrant to become established in a vocation before gaining citizenship and becoming eligible for the full panoply of welfare-state benefits. The upshot is that by the time this new citizen is eligible for benefits, he will probably no longer need them.

The most nefarious of the Republican arguments is the conflation of im-

migration with national security. No one proposing that we can lock down the borders against anyone entering the country illegally should be taken seriously. Even in an age of electronic surveillance, lockdown is precluded by fake IDs, ladders, tunnels, airplanes, submarines, backpackers, and boats. Securing the thousands of miles of land and sea borders of the United States is a practical impossibility; determined people breached the Berlin Wall and it was only a few miles long.

Those who argue that increased border security (whether in the form of a wall, or heavily increased patrols) will prevent terrorists from entering the country are demagogic or hopelessly naive, or worse, exploiting nativist sentiment to beef up the surveillance state for their own purposes. Besides, all of the 9/11 hijackers entered the U.S. legally; how then would extra restrictions against illegal immigrants have protected the country?

The argument made by trade unionists and populists (they're coming to take our jobs!) is simply protectionism at its worst. The implicit premise is that Americans should not have to compete for jobs. It is in our long-term interest to respect the rights of all people to live and work where they can find mutual agreements with home sellers or lessors and employers. Prosperity is fostered by free trade in labor as well as in commodities and manufactured goods. Other countries have that same interest, and we should encourage them to act according to it. But if they don't, that just means we benefit more from talented immigrants than they do.

Immigration laws are really just import restrictions on labor. Unilateral reduction of trade barriers always works in the long-term interest of the country reducing the barriers. If we open our borders we will reap the eco-

nomic benefits that will occur. At some point foreign governments will realize they need to change their ways and free up their economies in order to increase incomes for their citizens, or continue to lose more of their best and brightest. That will reduce the push factor of immigrant labor supply. Also, at some point U.S. labor markets will offer wages closer to those in countries where immigrants are coming from. That will reduce the pull factor of labor demand. Thanks to free trade there is generally one global market price for oil and other commodities. Why shouldn't there be one global price for a given skill level of labor? To argue against a global market rate for labor is to argue that residents in one country are somehow entitled to a higher income than residents of another country. What is the justification for that?

Meanwhile, the allegations of cultural conservatives like Kathleen Parker that latter-day immigrants won't assimilate and learn the language are unfounded. By the third generation, the primary language of 78% of descendants of Latino immigrants is English; 22% are bilingual. Next to none retain Spanish as their primary language. When Spanish-speaking immigrant parents are polled on their preference for English immersion versus bilingual education, English immersion wins hands down. That we still have bilingual Spanish-English education is a testament to the political power of the National Education Association, not to the preferences of Latino parents or children.



"'Tomatoes,' you say? — You know, I'll bet these would go great with pasta!"

The fear that immigrants will bring to our shores cultural beliefs antithetical to our values and thus overpower us is equally unfounded. To use an example, those emigrating from Afghanistan are likely to be those Afghans not particu-

sions or labor of others.

Immigration to the United States is not a problem. It is a phenomenon. The only way the United States can stop this phenomenon is by destroying the capitalist economy that draws immigrants here. We need to move in the direction of more open immigration, not in the direction of militarized borders fit only for a police state.

Securing the thousands of miles of borders of the United States is a practical impossibility; determined people breached the Berlin Wall and it was only a few miles long.

larly fond of *shariah*. Those who prefer fundamentalist Islamic law would be more apt to stay. If the economic lure of the United States proves greater than the desire to avoid infidels, and a bunch of Islamofascists move here, I'll bet that after a few years of gradual adaptation, they'll prove no more dangerous to the American way of life than any other special-interest group — and probably less dangerous than the same number of customs officials given additional powers by Congress.

Actually, one of the biggest obstacles keeping immigrants from blending even faster into American society is the federal government itself. At any given time, the United States keeps at least 25,000 illegal immigrants in federal prison. They are not eligible for bail. Their choice is to sit in jail while attempting to obtain legal entry, or to return to their country of origin. If they choose deportation and return to the U.S. illegally they could be sentenced to 20 years in federal prison. Legislation pending in Congress would further criminalize attempts by people to better their lives and the lives of their families.

Immigrants should have the same rights as natural-born citizens, rights limited to "negative" rights such as those enshrined in the first ten amendments of the Constitution. We all have the right to free ourselves from oppression, including unfettered ownership of rightfully obtained property. No one has the "positive" right to the posses-

Though it's been obscured by layers of cynical campaign rhetoric, the issue of immigration comes down to whether we want to restrict individual liberty to native-born Americans or offer it to everyone. If freedom works for us — and it does — what possible moral reason do we have to offer it to those born in San Diego, and deny it to those born inches away in Tijuana? □

The Fallacy of Open Immigration

by Stephen Cox

Nothing is more common than for well-intentioned people to believe that if everybody just does what is right (as they see it), nothing but good can possibly result.

Libertarians have always been skeptical about that assumption. They know, for example, that wars have always been fought for causes believed to be right. The vast fabric of the modern welfare state was created to ensure proper care for the poor and needy. Yet very terrible things have resulted from the impulse to assert the right through warfare and to create the right through social engineering. This, more than anything else, has caused thinking men and women to look for ways of limiting, rather than increasing, the power of the state and, with it, the bad effects of good intentions.

But libertarians themselves have not always succeeded in resisting the allure of good intentions, the assumption that there will be no unfortunate

consequences of our good ideas. The best example I know is the attempt by some libertarians (not a majority, but a sizable and vocal minority) to ignore any bad effects that may result from open immigration — a policy that they favor on moral grounds, considering it an obvious expression of our faith in individual liberty. Many libertarians who speak and write about this issue scorn the view that immigration could be anything other than a stimulation to the economy and a vindication of universal human rights.

I deny that it is either one. I believe that under current circumstances the bad effects of open, or even large-scale, immigration vastly outnumber its good effects. Further, I dispute the proposi-

Yes, No, and Maybe

tion that anyone has a right to claim membership in a body politic simply by moving into the space it occupies.

I'm going to outline my reasons. But first I want to observe that there are certain debates in which practically nobody, on either side, can conceive of any sincere opposition to his or her own views. Immigration is one of those debates. Opponents of open borders are routinely amazed and angered to discover the existence of arguments against their view. Proponents of open borders react in the same way. Neither group shows any remarkable ability to focus on what the other group is saying. Both prefer to restate their own opinions and call their opponents names.

The name that supporters of open immigration most frequently call their opponents is "racist" — as if every country that has more restrictive immigration laws than the United States (and almost all of them do) were manifestly "racist" in its intentions. If you are a supporter of open immigration, I can't demand that you keep your temper and refrain from calling me a word like that. But I hope you do. Then maybe something like a real discussion can emerge.

Let's Talk Economics

Libertarian arguments for open borders fall into two groups: economic and moral. I'll consider the economic arguments first, despite the fact that they almost always function as supplements to the underlying moral arguments.

Few people want to keep foreign doctors, engineers, computer scientists, and financial magnates out of the United States. Most of the economic arguments for immigration are therefore defenses of immigration by poor and unskilled persons. Proponents of open borders insist that unskilled foreign workers contribute vastly more to the American economy than they cost, resting their case on the idea that "immigrants work hard and create wealth." Some also point out that a large supply of cheap labor makes the prices of certain other commodities cheaper, thereby making more money available for consumers to invest on other things, to the benefit of the whole economy. Others try to avoid that argument, for fear of alienating American workers who don't want their own wages to decline.

These proponents bring forth a third argument: "Immigrants do work that Americans refuse to do."

Remember this argument the next time you watch your garbage being collected. Americans are perfectly willing to collect garbage. They are also perfectly willing to cook meals, prune flowers, or harvest vegetables — so long as someone is willing to pay them enough. If all immigration suddenly became legal, immigrants would enjoy the same wage scales as native-born workers. They would compete for the same jobs, join the same labor unions, and be subject to the same labor laws and the same rates of taxation as everybody else. In short, their wages would rise, and there would no longer be any work that "Americans won't do."

It is true, of course, that the existence of a large and growing supply of unskilled workers tends to reduce prices — especially the price of lawn mowing, Tyson's chicken, and certain kinds of fruits and vegetables. But if you think that the more unskilled laborers we have, the larger and more dynamic the economy will be, you have a strange idea about the production of wealth. When I have my car washed, some of the work is done by unskilled labor, but as much as possible is done by machines. If more human squirters and swabbers were available, I'm sure that the price of their labor would go down, and at some point the machines would be completely replaced by muscles. The same might be said about, say, the sweeping of streets or the growing of crops. I don't believe, however, that a low-wage, labor-intensive economy is preferable in any way to a machine economy, paying high wages to well-educated people. If you believe that, you belong in the pre-industrial age.

Recently the mayor of Los Angeles, trying to speak to America on behalf of all Mexican immigrants, shouted triumphantly to a rally of open-immigration supporters: "We [sic] cook your food! We [sic] clean your toilets!" People like the mayor are the last supporters of the labor theory of value. They think that wealth results automatically from toil. It doesn't. And great increases in wealth never do. They result from the kind of work that is done by people who are

highly skilled and, ordinarily, highly paid. Our immigration policy should target the entrepreneurs, the professionals, the wealth producers, and make it easy for them to come to America — supposing, as I do, that doctors and software engineers do something more for the economy than the guys behind the counter of the local 7-11.

Do we have to choose the kind of workers who should be invited in? Yes, we do. I will return to that theme. Before doing so, I want to examine another issue that proponents of open borders usually don't want to think about: the *net* contributions of unskilled laborers to the *actual* American economy. Despite all the talk about the economic contributions of unskilled labor, few unskilled immigrants contribute anything equal to what they extract from the unwilling taxpayer.

I'm not saying this simply because illegal immigrants generally avoid paying income taxes. Imagine an unskilled laborer who has come here legally, just as proponents of open borders wish that all unskilled laborers could do. Let's say he makes \$15,000 a year — an income that is above the minimum wage, an income that is quite good enough to draw millions of people here from almost anywhere in the world, provided we had open borders. And let's say that his wife works too (part time, because of the kids) and makes \$10,000 a year. That \$25,000 is the value they contrib-

Which do you think is likelier to reduce the risk of terrorist penetration of America — making it easier to get into the country, or harder?

ute to the American economy. Out of it, they pay maybe \$1,200 in sales taxes, \$500 in the property taxes that are included in their rent, \$1,900 in Social Security payments, and zip in income taxes. (Whatever taxes are extracted from their checks, they get back in refunds. Actually, because of tax subsi-

Immigration

dies to poor people, they will probably get back a good deal more than they pay in, but to be extra-fair I won't pause to calculate that.)

Of course, the Social Security contributions are not invested and will never earn enough to pay the total cost of the couple's retirement benefits; other taxpayers will have to do that. In this respect, the couple is already a serious economic loss. The scale of that loss will appear when they retire. Other losses are happening right now. Because of their low income, man and wife are eligible for innumerable welfare programs — from subsidized housing to medical assistance (if they don't have adequate private insurance, which they won't) to free legal aid to disaster aid if a storm comes through. Any physical disability may result in hundreds of thousands of dollars in bills to other taxpayers. Whenever the couple have a child, that's \$10,000 at the county hospital. Afterwards, it's probably \$5,000 a year for a government-financed preschool, then \$10,000 a year (the approximate national average) in government funds for K-12 education.

Let's not even think about the public bills for their children's college education. Or — to look at the other side of the coin — for the social problems of a population in which relatively few people qualify for a college education. Some of those problems were pointed out by Heather Mac Donald in an article in the Summer 2006 City Journal. She noted that in 2002 half the Hispanic children born in the United States were born out of wedlock. Further, "The illegitimacy rate in Mexico is 38 percent;

But to return. Suppose that our unskilled couple has three children. This family is putting \$25,000 into the economy, taking \$30,000 out of it, just for K-12 education (\$54,000, if they live in Los Angeles), and paying only about \$3,600 in taxes. Oh, but there are other things. Dwellers in the city of Los Angeles sop up about \$2,500 per year, per capita, in city and county expenditures for . . . this and that. Now the five-member family, if located in Los Angeles or some other large city, is putting \$25,000 into the economy and extracting \$42,500 (and more, much more, that I haven't tried to quantify). Net cost to other taxpayers, once the family's own tax contribution is figured in: \$38,900.

I haven't even mentioned the cost of new highways, airports, and rapid transit, or anything else constructed by state and federal governments to minister to America's burgeoning population. Shall I add the increased cost of car insurance resulting from an influx of people who are too poor to buy it for themselves? Or the increasing expenditures for security guards and other crime-protection devices in neighborhoods inundated by unskilled, unassimilated poor folk? Or the rising costs of homes in the places to which former residents of those neighborhoods flee? Or the increased costs of controlling the formerly obscure diseases now coursing across our frontiers from every economically backward area of the world?

But the best part is yet to come. Poor people, and ethnically self-identified recent immigrants vote overwhelmingly for modern-liberal candidates, and modern-liberal candidates, once elected, take as the whole duty of life the effort to raise taxes and expand government programs and entitlements. They seek to bless their constituency with affirmative action programs, ethnic quotas, foreign-language maintenance programs, socialist and race-conscious school curricula, and every other modern-liberal institution that has any potential for transforming the United States into the Canadian or Mexican version of a progressive country.

The expectation of political support explains why modern-liberal politicians are such vigorous proponents of immigration, why they are, even now, trying

to enlist illegal immigrants in the electoral process (see "The Election of 666," Reflections, August 2006 — a commentary that prompted a nice little flurry of hate mail). The same goes for labor unions. They used to be the biggest opponents of immigration. No more. Now most of them are endorsing every open-borders proposal that comes along. Why? Because they too have identified their natural constituency: unskilled, politically unsophisticated workers, just waiting to be organized in support of higher minimum wage laws, universal social welfare, and whatever other political demands the unions want to make.

Is it possible that politicians and labor leaders know a few things that libertarian theorists don't? Is it possible that they have correctly identified the current immigration from third-world countries as the ultimate weapon in the attack on limited government?

Nor is this mere politics, without any economic implications. Suppose, as frequently happens, that an election in the state of California results in a modest increase of one billion dollars in state expenditures, and that the election is won by a margin of 100,000 votes. Every voter within that margin has just cost the taxpayers one billion dollars, or \$10,000 per left-wing voter. One would think that libertarians would do everything they could to decrease that margin. Instead, many libertarians, even candidates of the Libertarian Party, join with labor unions, Mexican nationalists, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church, professional advocates of the welfare state, and Bushite conservatives, hustling for any vote they think they can get, in attempting to *increase* the number of voters who are likely to approve the largest possible extension of the welfare state.

This would be funny, if it were happening on some other planet.

But thus far, we've been considering only the people who cross America's borders with the honorable intention of working and supporting themselves, whether they actually manage to do so or not. This is the only group that open-border advocates want to notice. Yet there are other immigrants — lots of them. There are (1) the tens of millions

In a way, it's silly to argue against the "right" to immigrate. Very few open-borders people actually believe in it.

in El Salvador, it is 72 percent." Immigration from these countries currently seems to select for "social choices" that are detrimental to society.

Yes, No, and Maybe

of nonworking relatives of the already-immigrated, tens of millions of people whom a liberalized immigration policy would bring to this country under the aegis of "family unification"; (2) the criminal class that is already migrated here in enormous numbers; and (3) quite simply, terrorists.

No one can say how many people are included in the first group, though the number is certainly stupendous. As for the second group, testimony submitted in 2005 to a committee of the House of Representatives by Richard Stana, Director of Homeland Security, reveals that at the end of 2004 there were 49,000 criminal aliens in federal prisons (15% more than at the end of 2001). Stana — with every sign of unwillingness, employed as he is by the Bush administration — also revealed the existence of 215,000 other criminal aliens for whose incarceration the federal government reimbursed state and local governments during fiscal year 2002 ("data represent only a portion of the population"). Those, of course, are the few people who got caught. Let's make a conservative estimate of the costs of their imprisonment (not of their crimes), and put the bill at about \$13,000,000,000. That is one of the small, ancillary, foot-notable costs of uncontrolled immigration.

Terrorism can also be an economic problem. A single terrorist attack can easily cost this country tens or even hundreds of billions of dollars. Which do you think is likelier to reduce the risk of terrorist penetration of America — making it easier to get into the country, or harder?

We do not know how many intended terrorists have been turned back at our borders. We do know that every one of the 9/11 terrorists was an alien, and that several of them were illegal aliens. And evidence of bad intentions never ceases to appear. Last month an example appeared in the government's special green-card program for religious workers. The Boston Globe — not exactly an anti-immigrant venue — obtained a copy of Homeland Security's hitherto secret study of the program. It showed that one-third of visa applications were fraudulent, and "instances of fraud were particularly high among applicants from predominantly Muslim

countries." Clearly, it is not in the interest of the people of the United States to permit unlimited immigration of clerics from Arabia or unemployed young men from Egypt, no matter how much money they bring with them. But under the principle of open immigration, in they come.

In my experience, proponents of open immigration rarely stay to listen to arguments like the ones I've just tried to outline. If they do, they ordinarily drop their own economic argument and turn to the moral argument about human rights. So . . .

Let's Talk Human Rights

In a way, it's silly to argue against the "right" to immigrate. Very few open-borders people actually believe in it. When questioned about who should be allowed to take up residence here, they almost always say, "Oh, everyone — everyone, that is, who will swear to support the Constitution," or "Everyone — everyone, that is, who is willing to work for a living," or even, with President Bush, "Everyone — everyone, that is, who . . . who is a . . . who is a decent person and . . . uh . . . wants, who wants to learn English." Thus they admit that the "right" to immigrate is no right at all.

My right to freedom of speech is in no way contingent on the language I speak, on my possession of a job, or on my willingness to give a political oath. A right is absolute. It is conditioned by nothing. It depends on no action of mine. It is endowed by my Creator. It is inalienable. But advocates of the "right" to immigrate see this "right" as far from absolute, unconditioned, or inalienable. They make it dependent on something else. They call it a right, but they don't believe that it is one, any more than I do.

If you say that any country in the world that wants to get rid of its convicts and insane asylum inmates can send them to the United States, as Cuba did in 1980, and the United States is morally obliged to take them in, because they have a right to be here, then I will admit that you are talking about people's *right* to immigrate.

If you say that you welcome the idea of a hundred thousand Wahhabi missionaries being allowed to land in

America, with no attempt to check or approve them in any way, and with no regard to their political affiliations or

No one has the right to move to a free country and destroy its freedom.

intentions, then I will admit that you are talking about people's *right* to immigrate.

If you say that any nutball political or religious group has the right to import its adherents, by the tens or hundreds of thousands, with the intention of supporting them on public welfare until such time as they are ready to bomb Wal-Marts all over Kansas and Missouri, then I will admit that you believe in people's *right* to immigrate.

But if you say that you welcome the idea of ten million more unskilled laborers arriving from Mexico, because that is their *right*, *except* that they should not be permitted to live here unless they get a job, learn English, and swear to support the Constitution, then you're not talking about a right at all. You're just talking about something that you want to happen.

So much, I might conclude, for the issue of rights. Even the proponents of immigration "rights" don't really take them seriously. But why do people think they do? That's a more interesting question. In my view, it's because of an understandable confusion between the right to immigrate and the right to emigrate.

How many times have you heard somebody bewail the perfectly practical idea of building a fence or "wall" along our frontiers? "It's just like the Berlin Wall!" they cry. Now, before you say, "That's the silliest analogy I've ever heard — the Berlin Wall was meant to keep people *in* their own country, not *out* of somebody else's!", you should grant the fact that immigration and emigration are, from a purely factual or photographic point of view, the same thing. Every act of immigration is necessarily an act of emigration. If you took

a picture of Osama bin Laden leaving Quebec, it would be the same picture as one of Osama bin Laden entering New Hampshire.

But the philosophical as well as the practical difference is immense. Jason quarrels with Joanna and walks out of their house. Jason has a perfect right to leave. But he does not have a right to leave for *my house*, despite the fact that his leaving her and his coming to me are, to all appearances, the same act. Someone's right to leave East Germany did not entail that person's right to turn up in the United States, Bulgaria, Burundi, or even West Germany. It was simply the right to leave East Germany. If your house burns down, and I am next door to you, you do not have a *right* to come and live in my house. I may let you live there. More likely, I will let you visit. This might be a good idea, but it's up to me. It's not *your right*.

Well . . . but . . . is a nation really like a house? Can the people living in a nation properly decide to keep other people out of it, as a householder might decide to keep strangers out of his bungalow? Yes it is, and yes they can.

A nation's laws and customs are the framework in which its people live their lives. Life involves enormous investment of time and effort. It requires a framework. It requires stability. It requires a certain amount of predictability. It requires the ability to say, Well, I will buy a home in Hillcrest — without worrying about the possibility that Hillcrest may soon be overwhelmed by

immigrants from some Islamic country who decide to ban homosexuality, pork, the Episcopal Church, and slacks on women.

Human life also requires freedom as well as stability — and the more the better, so far as I'm concerned. A real nation is not a prison; but it isn't a tent, either. It isn't something that is constantly being changed and moved. To build a decent house, to make sure that it doesn't collapse like a tent or constrain like a prison, requires an even greater investment than the other projects of human life. It requires an investment in cooperation, self-restraint, commitment to constitutional order, long-continued belief in first principles. A house whose door is always open, a house where everybody has the right to enter, have a good meal, do a little work around the place, and by virtue of his residence, or mere visitation, start remodeling the structure, regardless of its original plan — that is no longer a house. At best, it's a squatters' camp, where anything may happen, as in the squatters' camps that illegal immigrants have erected all over the American Southwest, defying property owners to do anything about it.

To the degree that a nation is like a house, and requires the security of a house, its inhabitants must have the ability to decide whom they wish to invite inside, whom they wish to enjoy the many investments already made in it. If the house is designed to protect individual liberty, its maintenance requires the exclusion of people whose ill-advised decisions might endanger liberty's protective mechanisms.

No one has the right to move to a free country and destroy its freedom. But this is precisely what happens when people who are unused to the political culture of individual liberty, or who disapprove of it, swing the balance of national decisions.

Many libertarians imagine that all economic and political problems will be solved if only the proper economic and political framework is established: free enterprise, limited government, clear recognition of individual rights. But the question is, How can such a framework, such a "house," be preserved? It can't be preserved if people must continually be convinced, by the tens of millions, that liberty is a good idea, better than the welfare state or some structure of political repression and intolerance. It can be preserved only by a culture in which the vast majority of people assume that individual liberty and responsibility are the ultimate political good. Not every culture makes these assumptions.

There is no foreign army occupying Mexico, Canada, or Saudi Arabia. The political systems, the political errors, of these countries are the result of their own political cultures, just as America's political errors result from its own political culture. An essentially libertarian political system must be supported by essentially libertarian cultural assumptions, by a culture in which virtually no one sees a cartoon satirizing a religious figure and immediately concludes, "Somebody should be punished for this."

Yet that is the automatic assumption of many, perhaps most, of the people in this world. In most political cultures, practically no one assumes that there is any difference between "what is right" and "what ought to be enforced by law." In most of the remaining cultures, a majority of people assume that the welfare of individuals is the responsibility of the state. Both sets of assumptions are inimical to a free society; and while some immigrants from the cultures that harbor them come to America in order to escape from them, the majority are inspired by other reasons. The fact that they desire to possess the economic benefits of America does not mean they appreciate the social conditions that allow those benefits to exist, or that they will work to maintain them.

Consider the following sequence of events: the employees of a state government demand a raise, and the government refuses, claiming it is out of money. How do the employees react? In one of this continent's many political cultures,



"That's not going to fool anybody!"

Yes, No, and Maybe

they react by arming themselves with machetes and other weapons, occupying the center of the capital city, seizing government offices, blockading roads, burning buses, and doing everything they can to prevent their opponents from demonstrating against them, until such time as their demands are met. And the employees in question are . . . schoolteachers! Bizarre? Yes, but that's what happened this summer in Oaxaca, Mexico. I'm sorry to be crass, but do you want such teachers migrating to Los Angeles or Des Moines, where they can teach both Spanish and revolutionary tactics?

It would not be difficult for a few million representative citizens of, say, the Arab countries to take up residence in the United States and seriously disrupt or even destroy the American political economy. The cost of immigration is now the lowest in history. For just a few hundred dollars, you can get to the United States from any country in the world. If you already have an uncle or a cousin in the States — something that is very likely — you may find it easy to take up residence and get a job. If not, welfare assistance will not be hard to obtain; no one starves in America. And suppose that you are, indeed, one of the great majority of immigrants who want a job and work hard when they get it. What then? Does this mean that the political and social attitudes to which you have been accustomed will simply disappear? I don't think that they will. I think you will probably keep most of those attitudes. I think that the longer you stay in America, the more self-confidence you gain, and the more you and your children are exposed to modern multicultural propaganda, the more likely you will be to insist that America conform to your own cultural assumptions.

That happened to some degree during the heyday of immigration to America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which was also the heyday of political bossism in American cities — and of the importation of European socialist ideologies into American political life. And those developments were benign, compared to the impact of current immigration on today's liberal cultures. America might learn a lesson

from the turmoil in Holland, where fewer than 10% of the population is Islamic but where maiming and murder are the weapons of choice of Islamic settlers convinced that a liberal society is their enemy, and that they have the right to exploit and destroy it.

Ideally, immigration to America would be restricted to people who understand and support the American constitutional system and the American idea of limited government. But such ideological monitoring is impossible. Most native-born Americans have only a slender hold on the concept of limited government (a good reason not to render the system even more fragile by increasing the numbers of people like them). They will never approve any useful test of ideological sympathies. An oath to support the Constitution is useless. Every president takes such an oath, and you see where that has led us.

The best we can do is to admit immigrants sparingly, not by the tens of millions; to judge their economic fitness by their skills and education, not by their mere presence, and to be especially restrictive about immigration from cultures that do not prepare people for life in a libertarian society. Individual refugees from regions dominated by Islamic fundamentalists should certainly be admitted, but it would be suicide to permit any large or indiscriminate migration. Meanwhile, immigration of professionals or other skilled workers from politically favorable countries should be freed from the ridiculous bureaucratic processes that currently torture and demean people who are trying to immigrate legally, while unskilled illegals continue flooding in.

Parodies of Ourselves?

I know that by this time, the patience of my friends on the other side of the immigration debate has long been exhausted. Modern liberals are gnashing their teeth over my attempt to deny them their best hope of electoral victory, the support of millions of immigrant voters. Economists are shaking their heads over the suggestion that anything could possibly be bad about a cheap source of labor. Church people are outraged by the inhuman suggestion that Americans need not welcome

every single person who wants to cross the border. Libertarian dogmatists are demanding to know why I should call myself a libertarian. And all these peo-

Individual refugees from regions dominated by Islamic fundamentalists should be admitted, but it would be suicide to permit any large or indiscriminate migration.

ple are deplored the hypocrisy of suggesting that "a nation of immigrants" could possibly refuse to admit unlimited numbers of future immigrants.

Well, I'm sorry; I'm not being hypocritical. I'm not saying that I have a right to live in Mexico or France or Saudi Arabia, while denying the right of Mexicans, Frenchmen, or Saudi Arabians to migrate here. As for the "nation of immigrants" cliche: what are we to deduce from that? Every nation is a nation of immigrants. No nation sprang spontaneously out of the soil it currently occupies. The fact that your grandmother, or great-grandmother, or you yourself, originated in some foreign clime . . . what exactly is this supposed to establish — that there should be unlimited immigration for all time to come? When I moved into my present neighborhood, the population was scant and prices were low; that's why I moved in. Then the population increased, prices went up, and it became very difficult for people like me to do what I did in 1986. Is that a moral problem? Should I try to pass a law guaranteeing that people like me should always be able to move in here?

Let's talk sense. The real problem is the price that must be paid for the immigration policy I advocate. Part of the price is greater security at the borders, less fraud-friendly driver's licenses and Social Security cards, and (imagine!) an expectation that public officials will do what they are paid to do — enforce the law. But there is a much heavier price. It

is the denial of entrance into the United States of people whose "crime" isn't any defect of individual character but simply their lack of job skills, or their origin in a culture that is inimical to liberty. This is a bad thing, as bad (for example) as the fate of the many young people who would fail to get a higher education if, as libertarians suggest, education were privatized. Ideas have consequences, not all of them good.

It doesn't please me to make that admission. Honesty compels it. Having made it, I turn to my open-borders friends, hoping that they will admit the unfavorable consequences of their own ideas. But if experience is any guide, the response they are dying to make is this: "Don't you understand? None of the problems you mention are problems of *open immigration*. They are all problems of *the coercive state*. If there were no minimum wage laws, no labor laws, no Social Security, no welfare programs, no affirmative action programs, no progressive income tax, no government schools, no government entitlements in general; if only people who possessed significant property were allowed to vote; if the populace were fully determined to support all constitutional guarantees of individual freedom; *then there would be no problem with immigration*. No amount of immigration could disrupt the constitutional order, and no one would come and stay in this country if he weren't contributing to it economically."

That's what libertarian political candidates and spokesmen for libertarian think-tanks say when they're questioned about the amount of tax money that unskilled immigrants and their families take out of the economy because of the welfare state that is now in place: "Certainly, these government programs need to be reformed. But that has nothing to do with *immigration*." They make the same kind of response when they're questioned about the issue of political culture: "Certainly, there are some problems with Mexico's (or Nigeria's, or Saudi Arabia's) political culture. But they're for Mexico (or Nigeria, or Saudi Arabia) to solve. That has nothing to do with *immigration*."

When I hear that, I wonder whether these intelligent people understand

how foolish they sound, or how much damage they do to the libertarian movement. Interviewers ordinarily laugh them off as irrelevant — not surprisingly, because their response has nothing to do with the political, economic, and cultural problems that are evident to almost everybody else. Does anyone believe that the vast array of government interventions in society and the economy is about to vanish? Does anyone believe that Social Security is about to go away, that the public schools are about to become private, that property qualifications are about to be instituted for voting? Yet action is being demanded to open the gates of immigration now. And every day brings us still more new immigrants, illegal but permanent,

who will vote to strengthen the very aspects of our political life that libertarians want to change.

Alexander Pope once parodied authors who had no sense of reality, authors who wrote things like:

Ye Gods! annihilate but Space and
Time,
And make two lovers happy.

The libertarian equivalent would be:

Ye Gods! annihilate but the facts of
life,
And make our dogmas triumph.

But mere dogmas won't triumph. And they won't help the cause of liberty. It's time to stop believing that they will. □

To Filter the People

by Bruce Ramsey

I favor immigration. America is defined not by ethnicity but by a set of political ideas, and if others will embrace those ideas, I welcome them. I have helped people immigrate here, and they have made good Americans. I married an immigrant.

But I also realize that the very culture that embraces immigrants has certain historical roots and depends on a critical mass of support, much of which has to do with the ability to live a good life here. In today's world of global TV and cheap and easy transport, to throw the doors of America wide open, as they were a century ago, would invite a swamping of American

values. It would destroy the market floor on wages, bringing back servants and Hoovervilles. It would tend to create large blocks of foreign-born people who thought and voted and married in ethnic unity, all of which would undermine the carefully nurtured ethic of antiracism. For these reasons, and others, I have argued against unrestricted

Yes, No, and Maybe

immigration twice in Liberty, in February 1993 ("The Half-Open Door") and in February 2002 ("The Limits of the Melting Pot").

I am not arguing that immigration needs to be further restricted, though maybe it does. Maybe it needs to be differently restricted. I don't know. My argument here is that the absorptive power of any culture is limited, and that if you're dedicated to the political survival of liberty inside America (such as it is), you will have to manage access to America in some way. In doing so you will have to make some uncomfortable concessions to state power — and the closer you look at these concessions the uglier they appear.

I saw the ugliness up close in 1980. I was a freelancer, and I went to McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary to cover the arrival of the *Marielitos*. In a jolly gift to Jimmy Carter, Fidel Castro had emptied his prisons, put the convicts on boats and pushed them off toward Florida. The Coast Guard intercepted them, and here they were, penned up on a chilly island in Puget Sound.

Legally, they had not been admitted to the United States. Each had to appear at the gray and forbidding Immigration and Naturalization Service building in Seattle to petition a federal employee for admission. I attended a couple of these hearings. One of the Cubans said he had been imprisoned for stealing a shirt. The official didn't believe it — and why should he? As soon as the Cubans arrived at McNeil, they made homemade knives, as convicts typically do. This Cuban could have been a murderer or a rapist. The official — a sort of a judge — denied the application.

I went home and the Cuban went back to McNeil. I thought, the INS (now broken into several parts of the Department of Homeland Security), is one powerful outfit. Native-born Americans have no idea how powerful it is. And yet, would I have admitted those Cubans to the United States? Would I have allowed Cuba, and every other country in the world, to offload its convicts on me?

No.

The open-borders folks would have to say Yes.

But that means I am siding with fed-

eral authority. And it can be a very discretionary authority, as I saw with the *Marielitos*.

Consider the view from China. The U.S. government maintains an embassy or consulate in four cities. To get a visa to enter the United States, Chinese have to apply in person (which Americans do not have to do, to go to China). This may mean traveling to a distant city and standing in line for hours. Applicants have only a couple of minutes with the overworked State Department employee, who is instructed not to admit any person likely to stay in America illegally. It is a judgment call, and over his decision there is no appeal.

The open-borders folks would say: get rid of the visa. Jettison the State Department employee. I would not, though that employee's exercise of raw authority bothers me.

It is the same with the border fence with Mexico. Intellectually, I am not against it. If you don't control your borders you cannot keep anyone out. This is not the Berlin Wall, which was designed to hold people *in*. Still, it looks like the Berlin Wall. It does not feel good.

Libertarians might concede to barriers at the border, or at foreign consulates, or keeping out foreign prisoners, but immigration control requires more than this. It requires controls *inside* the country.

The current system in America is that the federal government tries to control the borders, and undoubtedly blocks many people from entering. But some do enter illegally. Much of the attempt to catch and deport them relates to employment. The last time I changed jobs, in 2000, I had to show my birth certificate to prove that I was a legal resident. Obviously not every business requires this, or if it does, the certificates may easily be forged, because businesses are raided by federal immigration police. As I write, the orchard owners are complaining of a shortage of labor caused by immigration enforcement.

My modern-liberal friends blame the failure of enforcement on the greed of private employers. They advocate giving more power to the federal government. In Congress there are bills about database systems and such, and one very quickly gets to the idea of a

national ID card. I am not opposed to ID cards ("Privacy Unbound?", Liberty, July 1999) but I want to limit how often I would have to show one, and for what.

Where I live, the Mexican consulate issues ID cards to Mexicans, some of them here illegally. The city of Seattle accepts these ID cards, and has forbid-

To throw the doors of America wide open, as they were a century ago, would destroy the market floor on wages, bringing back servants and Hoovervilles.

den police to ask for proof of citizenship. The idea is that such requests will be racially and ethnically discriminatory — that is, that the police will demand papers of people who look like Mexicans. Well, yes. That is what would happen, and in this city that is not tolerable. We don't want to have a class of persons who are afraid to call the police. We don't want people who refuse to send their kids to public school, or refuse to go to the public hospital, or refuse to check out a book from the public library, for fear of the *federales*. Everywhere the local government touches the people, where I live it has chosen *not* to enforce the immigration laws.

If you squeeze private employers more, some of them may be put out of business. My state produces more apples than any other, and almost every apple is picked by a person of Mexican ethnicity, illegal or not. Picking quickly without bruising the fruit is a skill, and also hard work. I suppose my state's apples do not have to be picked by Mexicans; several years ago when I crossed the 49th parallel into the Okanagan Valley, I saw that the apples were being picked by previously unemployed French Canadians. I was told that the Quebec government paid their airfare to British Columbia in order to get them off the dole. The Americans believe their industry would be dead without Mexicans, and

I cannot prove they are wrong.

The U.S. farm organizations want any tightening of immigration rules to come with a migrant-labor program, which would allow Mexicans to har-

The border fence with Mexico is not the Berlin Wall, which was designed to hold people in. Still, it looks like the Berlin Wall. It does not feel good.

vest crops and return to Mexico. Probably this is necessary for the continued farming of crops harvested with hand labor. I suppose Americans could live without such crops: recently the last asparagus processor has left my state, replaced by imports from Peru. Probably the former asparagus land is being used for some other crop, and the former asparagus pickers are doing something else. Yet I do not want to be too eager to consign whole industries to the wastebasket of history.

Suppose, then, a migrant-labor program. Having a new group of people with restricted rights raises a new set of issues. Can they change jobs? Can they organize under federal labor laws? Can they eventually become citizens? What if they quit and walk into the sunset? How *enforceable* is the system?

Americans are not competing with Mexican farm workers, so labor's voice hasn't been heard much. But illegals from Mexico do not stick to farm work. In my area, many roofing crews and drywall subcontractors are all Mexican, as are the employees of all Mexican restaurants and many KFCs, Jack in the Boxes, and McDonalds. Who is legal and who is not I do not know, but some are not legal. It's difficult to prove it, but logic tells you they are depressing the wage rate. Open the immigration doors, and this would happen much more. Ordinary Americans would have servants. It would be a

new world, and a lot of people would not like it.

Politically it is more acceptable to have foreign competition at the top of the wage scale. In my area this includes the software writers at Microsoft. Its policy is to hire the smartest software people in the world. It employs them in Dublin, Tel Aviv, Beijing, and Madras, but it wants some of the best of them in Redmond, Wash. There is value to America in that, and in offering them citizenship: these are *very* smart people. They are an asset to the economy — and also the gene pool. But having an employment-based visa system also requires discretionary federal power and employer involvement with the state.

The employers have a business quota. Much larger are the country quotas, which are designed to spread out immigration so that it is not dominated by one country. Immigration from many sources is better for the Melting Pot. And yet if you look at the totals of immigration, it is not that spread out. Mexico is the original home of 10.8 million residents of the United States. China, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, comes in at 1.8 million; the Philippines, 1.5 million; India, 1.4 million; El Salvador, 1.1 million; and Vietnam, 1 million. The country quotas regulate the inflow, but imperfectly. Still they *do* matter: I know people who waited ten years to immigrate because they were in a place with many more applicants than allowed by the annual quota.

Currently, much of the quota is filled by family members. It works this way: one person gets in, perhaps as a foreign student who is hired by a U.S. company that sponsors him. He files for his brothers and sisters, and their spouses and children, and perhaps his parents. Once his in-laws are in, they may file for *their* brothers and sisters, etc. This may take years, and not all the brothers and sisters, etc., will want to come, but still it amounts to much of the immigration to the United States.

This system is popular with its beneficiaries. That is even more the case with refugees and political asylees. With asylees, you may have persons who are extremely grateful to be ad-

mitted to the United States, and who are more dedicated to liberty than the people here. I have met those, and was glad the government admitted them.

Sentiment is a tricky thing. There are good people everywhere in the world. Any system of immigration control will slam the door in the faces of some of them.

Finally, there are the illegals already here. Some of them have been here ten or twenty years. Many are upstanding people, even business owners who have provided a livelihood for others. They have had children, and according to the 14th Amendment, as interpreted by the courts, those children are American citizens. The parents are illegal and the kids are legal. Then what? Deport the parents and leave the kids? What of the kids who are illegal, because their parents brought them across the border when they were 2 years old? Are they to be denied entrance to the state university, even though they speak English, have graduated from high school, and show every sign of fitting in?

And thus we arrive at the idea of amnesty, which appears to be a humane, workable compromise at the moment, but undermines the system in the long run.

For all these questions I offer only some answers, all of them subject to challenge. Controlled immigration — the half-open door — is a messy position. It means setting up a system

The Americans believe their industry would be dead without Mexicans, and I cannot prove they are wrong.

of filters run by the state. To call them "filters" brings to mind the filtering of dirt in engine oil, or of bacteria in drinking water. These are *people*.

The whole idea of it makes me uncomfortable, but I am resigned to the necessity of doing it. □

Roman Virtues

by Michael Christian

Rome was no libertarian paradise, but many of its contributions to the happiness of the individual are still in use today.

In the summer of 1992 or 1993, while cycling in western Europe, I had the opportunity to read what Caesar wrote almost two millennia ago about the same place. I learned how closely some characteristics of the ancient world resembled those of the modern world.

This summer, when I toured Italy, the writings of another Roman, Pliny, showed me how intimately I could identify with the ancients themselves, and with some of their ideas about government.

Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus was a 1st- and 2nd-century Roman better known to us as Pliny the Younger. He's the fellow who wrote a couple of famous letters describing the explosion of Vesuvius. Apparently intending to reveal himself to posterity, Pliny made a careful selection of his letters and published most of them before he died. He achieved his goal. Although he died nearly 2,000 years ago, if you read his slim volume of correspondence, you will end up knowing him much better than you know most of your own acquaintances.

I'm no classicist, but during that trip I took in the early 1990s I learned to love reading the ancients and seeing their works in stone. I cycled with friends through Spain and France. We rode for more than two weeks with heavy saddlebags, going by easy stages similar in length to those of a Roman army on the march. More than once we rode over Roman roads and Roman bridges.

Descending from the Pyrenees into France, we stumbled across a Roman aqueduct and contemplated the genius of Roman engineering. There were no crowds of tourists. There were no signs, just a little dot on our Michelin map indicating some kind of archaeological site. Another dot represented the village where we spent the night. In the morning, we went

looking for the site, expecting to find a small heap of stones. Instead we found a structure spanning a stream at a height of 75 feet, supported by eight round, unadorned arches of various heights but equal width.

It was a small aqueduct, as these things go, but it obviously would have required tremendous labor to build, the landscape being broken and steep. Momentarily I wondered why the Romans would go to such trouble to move water around when there was a stream, flowing in high summer, right beneath the structure. A bit of exploration made the answer obvious, even to modern city dwellers who thought of water mostly as something that comes out of a tap.

The stream itself, lying below the banks where plants could grow, was useless; water does not flow uphill, and without irrigation, the banks of the canyon were a desert. Therefore, the Romans captured water from a small tributary, well upstream from the aqueduct. They channeled it in an imperceptibly sloping canal parallel to the canyon. The canyon slopes more steeply than the canal, so that, by the time the canal reaches the site of the aqueduct, it sits eight stories above the canyon floor.

At that point, the Romans had half of what they wanted: a source of water, flowing well above the land that they wanted to irrigate, on the near side of the canyon. The other half of what they wanted was the same thing on the far side. That's why they built the aqueduct.

I know all this with certainty, because the aqueduct is still working, still carrying water from far upstream to the apricot orchards that grow today on the terraced banks of the canyon. Exploring that scene made me want to know the Romans better. I admired their planning and investment and the beauty

You may think that a little African village in the bush has no government. In fact, it is all government, all the time.

and durability of their works. That's when I borrowed Caesar and read his book, "The Conquest of Gaul," which describes his successful military campaign in what is now mostly France.

A few years before, I had lived in Africa. There, particularly in the villages near the Sahel, I saw what really ancient, traditional societies are like. They are terribly foreign to me and mostly disagreeable. They are, to use a highly colored word, "uncivilized," at least by my cultural standards.

You may think that a little African village in the bush has no government. In fact, it is all government, all the time. It is a collective that dominates the lives of its members and permits no competing institutions. In a sub-Saharan community, the individual appears to count for nothing. The family, the village, and the tribe are all. There is no privacy and little room for private life. Also, there are no aqueducts, and no roads or bridges built to last forever. There is no plumbing, and there are no Plinies.

I believe that the primitive motivations of family and tribe are the roots of tyranny.

This is a truth to which Rousseau was blind. His free and noble savage never existed. Man always had family and tribe to restrain him. Rousseau thought that man's natural nobility was assaulted and debased by competition and strife among men in society. Competition and strife had to be severely restrained by law, enforced by government. By submitting completely to the authority of a democratic collective, the individual could gain protection from his fellow man. Rousseau believed that his ideal government was legitimate and beneficent, because it would emerge from collective consent (as opposed to divine rights, royal rights, or rights established by tradition). The government would do good. It would do the will of the people. It would constrain and educate the individual.

To me, this "social contract" is just a philosophized and aggrandized version of my African village. In it, the individual has no natural rights and "good government" replaces property rights and competition. Rousseau's vision of government as the expression of a collective will is the perfect playground for the tyrannical urges of familial and tribal man. Power-hungry men want to be chiefs of tribes and fathers of nations. (In Africa, where the tribal affiliation of the current tyrant can determine one's lot in society, the power-hungry men are sometimes both chiefs of tribes and fathers of nations.) Instead

of the noble savage tamed in Rousseau's controlled society, one sees the emergence of the ignoble savagery of familial and tribal man reproducing his primitive oppression on a bigger scale.

How fitting, I saw, that Rousseau's ideas should have become part of the architecture of socialist thought.

But Rome transcended the family and the tribe. Rome did not respect all rights, but it protected many rights, including rights of property, at least in Pliny's time. Rome two thousand years ago was more like America today than is today's West Africa.

From a cold, objective point of view that struck me as modern, Caesar contrasted Roman civilization with that of the Celts. Caesar wrote about people, landscapes, politics, and strategies in terms I understood. He seemed a lot less foreign to me than the people I had known in Africa.

Roman civilization was organized on a grand scale. Roman institutions — cities, armies, political classes — were so big that they necessarily dissolved the tribal bonds that inhibited the Celts, and they left a lot of room for individuals to express themselves. The Roman Empire made the world a smaller place. At the full moon of empire, you could put your feet on a Roman road in southern Italy and walk to the western extremes of Europe; essentially, you could walk to the end of the earth, just as you can travel to the end of the earth from any point in America.

So there I was in the early 1990s, part of an unmotorized army of three, crossing the old Roman Empire on Roman roads and Roman bridges, and reading a Roman general's account of his conquest of those very lands. Reading Caesar under those circumstances was like traveling through time to observe its great events from a distance that was close, but safe.

Then, this year, Pliny brought me closer still to the Roman world. He took me right into a Roman citizen's courthouse, parlor, bathroom, and bedroom. He took me into his private thoughts. In his letters, Pliny paints himself bit by bit, until you see the whole of him. He reminds you of people you know. You can easily imagine what it would be like to converse with him for hours on many topics.

He was an upper-class Roman, but he was from the provinces, not the city, and he improved his social standing dramatically, just as a self-made man might do in our own society. A complex society had a place for his particular talents. He worked hard and traded favors. He developed deep exper-

The primitive motivations of family and tribe are the roots of tyranny. This is a truth to which Rousseau was blind. His free and noble savage never existed.

tise in the fields of law and public administration. He was the cream that rose to the top of a society that had room for individual merit.

I know that Rome was no libertarian paradise. It was in

many ways a police state; it was sometimes ruled by tyrants. It wallowed in racism, class distinctions, and slavery. But there's no denying that it made room for many good men like Pliny to improve themselves relentlessly, to thrive, and to exercise freedom.

In my African village, Pliny would surely have been frustrated for life. His talent and competence would have received little reward. His love of letters could never have emerged. I wonder how many Plinies, and how many other great individuals, are suffering and going to waste in Africa and North Korea and Iran and Cuba today.

I was wondering that when I came to Pliny's letter on public versus private ownership (Book 7, Letter 18).

Caninius Rufus asked his friend Pliny for advice on how to give his native town the legacy of an annual feast. In his answer, Pliny tells Rufus that he could endow the town with the necessary capital but notes that "there is a danger of its being dissipated." Then he says that Rufus could give land to the town so that the income might pay for the annual feast, "but it would be neglected as public property always is."

Finally Pliny comes up with a complicated scheme just to keep the necessary assets in private hands for as long as possible. The scheme is to convey the property to the city, which will then convey it back to the donor charged or burdened with an annual rent sufficient to pay for the annual feast. In other words, after the reconveyance, the town will have a claim on the first fruits of the property equal to a fixed annual rent, and dedicated to the charitable purpose specified by the donor.

Pliny concludes that only by his scheme, keeping the assets that benefit the town away from ownership by the town, can Rufus be certain that the town will actually profit: "The principal is secured for the town, the interest is certain, and the property will always find a tenant to cultivate it because its value greatly exceeds the rent charged."

The recommendation is complicated, ingenious, and thoroughly motivated by Pliny's well-grounded suspicion of government. And the notion that government will waste or misuse property seems to be uncontroversial; Pliny treats government waste as a given. Though he is a very thorough

advocate (and a famous, experienced lawyer and orator), he provides no support for the assumption that government is a poor manager. He knows that nobody will dispute the assumption.

Of course, Pliny is advising Rufus to adopt an endowment structure that would reduce the value of his property, because the property would be burdened with a sub-market-value lease in perpetuity. He recognizes the drawback. "I am well aware," he says, "that I appear to have paid out more than the sum I have given, seeing that the fixed rent charge has reduced the market value of a fine property." But he finds it necessary, and he sympathizes with Rufus' aspiration to benefit the public: "One ought to make personal and temporary interests give place to public and permanent advantages, and consider the security of a benefaction more than one's own gains." The only way to do that is to keep the government from owning the property in question. Government would manage the endowment so poorly that Rufus would be better off underselling a leasehold interest than giving any principal or property directly to the local authorities.

Yet there is another important thought in this letter. It suggests a great virtue of Roman government. For all its failures, that government protected real property rights so well that Pliny and Rufus could have confidence in the maintenance of elaborate title and leasehold rights far beyond the grave. It would be folly to let the government manage your bequest, but the government did, at least, keep and enforce a good land registry.

All the collectivists and statists — the socialists, the communists, the fascists, the populists, the Democrats, and the Republicans — will tell you that good government means doing right. I think that good government means doing less.

Good government is the smallest government you can get away with. This is the essential insight that Rousseau never had. It was perceived by some of our founding fathers. But they were a bit less original than I thought. Thanks to Pliny, I now know that bad governments have been demonstrating this truth for at least two thousand years, and that Pliny knew it too. □

Letters, from page 6

together in one sentence is like saying that after the ratification of the United States Constitution there was a Civil War. True, but an awful lot happened between those milestones. That is without quibbling over whether there was a "consensus of local churches." In the last half of the 2nd century Tatian (c. 173), implicitly, and Irenaeus (c. 185), explicitly, emphasized the four gospels. That Irenaeus lived in western Europe while Tatian lived in the Middle East means that a consensus about the four was widespread by that time, but this is not the same as saying that everyone agreed. After all, Irenaeus' position that there are only the four was stated so vigorously precisely because he was doing combat in an environment where

there were many different opinions.

We do not have exemplars — not even fragments — of the canonical gospels from the 1st century, so we only infer their existence before AD 125. To be sure, this is a fair inference because Christian writers in the early 2nd century do speak of gospels as if they had been around before their time, but this inference is also a double-edged sword because if the gospels existed during a period when we have no exemplars at all — the 1st century — as well as when we have only a few fragments — the 2nd century — then they existed for a long period during which we can't know whether or how much they differed from later versions of them.

From the beginning of the 3rd century, substantial but incomplete portions of the gospels have survived,

and from the 4th century, a couple of complete New Testaments have survived. The gospel of Judas seems to come so late in history only until we realize that, regardless of when it was composed, to have survived from the 3rd or 4th century as a complete or nearly complete text means that it has fared as well as or better than most of the standard gospels.

Consensus about the gospels, part and parcel with the question of who was a "real" or orthodox Christian and

continued on page 53

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Paving the 50 States

by Randal O'Toole

The interstate highway system ran more than two decades and \$100 billion past projections, but by the standards of government programs, it's been a smashing success.

Fifty years ago, President Eisenhower signed the bill creating the Interstate Highway System, one of the most successful federal programs ever. Interstates opened up the country to the average family that could not afford plane or train fares; they enabled rapid, low-cost movement of freight; and they greatly increased highway safety. But they also took far longer to complete than originally projected and many of the routes, particularly in cities, were subject to acrimonious conflict.

Here are just a few indicators of the success of the Interstate Highway System:

- Interstate highways make up less than 1.2% of the mileage of all roads in the U.S., yet they carry nearly half of all heavy truck traffic and nearly a quarter of all passenger traffic — that's roughly a trillion passenger miles and more than half a trillion ton-miles of freight per year.
- Since the Interstate Highway System was created, per capita miles of driving have tripled without any rise in the share of personal incomes spent on driving.
- When combined with freight containers — which, coincidentally, were also developed in 1956 (or 1955, depending on which history you read¹) — the Interstate Highway System greatly contributed to the 90% reduction in shipping costs during the 20th century.
- As the safest roads in America, the interstates played a major role in the 76% reduction in auto fatality rates (from 60.5 to 14.5 fatalities per billion vehicle miles) over the last 50 years. A decade ago, Wendell Cox estimated that interstates save more than 6,000 lives per year.²

The Interstate Highway System was the classic product of the Progressive-era ideal of scientific managers running publicly owned programs in the public interest. Most Progressive programs began with a high level of esprit de corps that sooner or later descended into bureaucratic infighting, budget maximizing, and political pork-barreling.

Because of the way it was designed, the Interstate Highway System remained above the fray for longer than most such programs. Yet federal transportation policy ultimately succumbed to pork-barrel politics, so it is worth reviewing just why the highway system succeeded while federal transportation spending today is mired in earmarks and inane rail projects.

What Made the System So Successful?

Three factors made the Interstate Highway System work: decentralization, the engineering mindset, and incentives. Although it was a federal program, the Interstate Highway System was actually planned, designed, built, and maintained by state highway departments. The Bureau of Public Roads (later the Federal Highway Administration) enforced minimum standards, such as lane width and curvature — most of which had been developed by the state engineers — but otherwise was really little more than a pass-through funding agency.

The state highway agencies were historically independent

of politics, having their own sources of funds in the form of state gas taxes and other highway user fees. Most states had highway commissioners appointed by their governors, but decisions on the ground were made by the civil engineers who

Planners traded away safe and efficient transportation in order to increase congestion and transfer highway money to expensive transit projects.

worked for the highway bureaus. As highway historian Bruce Seely says, the engineers were the policy makers, at least from the 1920s through the early 1970s.

Engineers were exactly the type of scientific managers the Progressives had in mind when they advocated public ownership of roads, dams, and other resources. Engineers concentrated on things they could quantify, like safety, efficiency, and durability. They established two clear goals for transportation improvements: safety and the efficient movement of passenger and freight traffic. Interstate highways were the highest expression of these goals.

Initially, incentives reinforced the engineering view. With their funding coming from gas taxes and other user fees, highway engineers had an incentive to build roads in places where they would be used. They resisted pork-barrel attempts to build "roads to nowhere" because such roads would not generate enough usage to pay for themselves.

Congress added to this incentive with a formula distributing federal gas taxes to the states based on state populations and road miles. While Congress tinkered with the formula when reauthorizing the gas tax every six years, once the formula was in place each state knew almost exactly how much federal funding it would get and would have an incentive to spend this money as effectively as possible.

Given congressional politics, such a formula seems sensible. Yet Congress failed to create a similar formula when it started funding mass transit in 1964. Nor did it impose a formula when it started distributing a share of gas tax revenues to public transit agencies in 1981. With no formula in the law, the default transit formula became "first-come, first-served," leading transit agencies to seek the most-expensive transit solutions they could find in order to get "their share" of federal transit funding.

Why Did Federal Transportation Policy Fail?

When Congress was debating the Federal-Aid Highway Act in 1955, engineers estimated they could build the entire system in twelve years for \$23 billion. In fact, the system was not declared complete until 35 years later at a total cost of \$129 billion. Even today, some short sections remain unfinished.

After the system was more or less complete, the money kept pouring in. With no firm goal for the money, it might not be surprising that Congress turned highway funds into pork. The truth is a bit more subtle and involves the transfer

of policy-making and planning power from engineers to urban planners. One reason for this transfer was the inflation of the 1960s and 1970s.

Induced by the Vietnam War, this inflation was largely responsible for both the delays and the increased construction costs. Inflation revealed that gasoline taxes were a poor method of funding highways because a cents-per-gallon tax could not keep up with rising construction, fuel, and other costs.

Things might have been better if the taxes had been charged on a percentage basis, rather than in cents per gallon. But even that would have proven inadequate in the 1970s, when Americans responded to higher gas prices by buying more fuel-efficient cars. Between 1973 and 1983, total driving increased by more than 25%, yet the fuel consumed went up by only 5%.

Congress and the state legislatures raised gas taxes, of course. But increases failed to keep up with inflation and improved fuel efficiency. When you fill your gas tank today, you only pay half as much tax for every mile you drive as your parents paid in 1960. To make matters worse, inflation in construction costs has been greater than the general rate of inflation.

Tolls are an obvious supplement to gas taxes. But, with the exception of routes that had been tolled prior to 1956, Congress forbade the use of tolls on interstate highways. With a shortfall in funds, construction slowed, but the growth in driving did not. Environmental studies required after passage of the National Environmental Policy Act delayed construction and drove up costs still further. When new urban interstates finally opened, they were quickly clogged by the previous growth in driving, leading to the myths that new roads induced driving and that cities "can't build their way out of congestion."

Today, many people believe that neighborhood-destroying interstates were imposed on cities by heartless engineers. The truth is that the engineers' original plan called for the interstates to bypass cities. It was only the intervention of big-city mayors and downtown interests that led Congress to amend the bill in 1956 to route interstates through cities, not around them. The mayors and downtowns were supported by urban planners of the day who saw interstates as a way to clear slums that they believed were blighting the inner cities.

Would cities have been better off without freeways penetrating into the hearts of downtowns? Answering that question could take an entire book, but the short answer appears

Although it was a federal program, the Interstate Highway System was actually planned, designed, built, and maintained by state highway departments.

to be "no." The freeways did nothing to accelerate residential suburbanization, which began long before 1956. The freeways may actually have protected some jobs in downtown areas

by reducing inner-city congestion, but they encouraged the growth of other jobs in suburban areas at the intersections of beltline roads and radial roads.

In any case, controversies over freeway locations, increased costs, and the apparent failure of freeways to reduce congestion caused engineers to fall out of favor. Urban planners promised they could do better than the engineers at accounting for the "public interest," such as the effects of transportation on land uses, air pollution, watersheds, neighborhoods, and other resources.

Unlike the engineering standards of safety, speed, and durability, however, planners had no scientific way of measuring the public interest. Back in 1950, in a book published by the Bureau of Public Roads to promote the idea of an interstate highway system, an economist named Shorey Peterson argued that it was best to stick to readily quantifiable engineering standards. Attempting to account for "the public interest," Peterson noted, would lead to "the wildest and most irreconcilable differences of opinion" and make transportation funds "peculiarly subject to 'pork barrel' political grabbing."

Peterson's prediction came true. Prior to 1980, Congress left road location decisions to state engineers. In 1982, however, it included a handful of earmarks, or pork-barrel projects, in its transportation bill. These steadily grew to some 7,000 earmarks in the 2005 bill. By placing politics above efficiency, these earmarks reduce the effectiveness of federal transportation spending.

Earmarks in Highway Reauthorization Bills³

Year	Earmarks
1982	10
1987	152
1991	538
1998	1,850
2005	7,000 (approx.)

Meanwhile, with no scientific basis for the comprehensive planning they had promised, many planners decided their role was simply to get people to drive less. They traded away safe and efficient transportation in order to increase congestion and transfer highway money to expensive transit projects — ideas that gained them the support of transit agencies and rail construction companies.

Despite the problems, Congress ratified the takeover by urban planners when it imposed a comprehensive planning process on state and regional transportation agencies in 1991 and allowed metropolitan areas to spend "flexible funds" on either roads or transit. At the same time, Congress allowed states to start tolling federally funded roads. Although experiments in such tolling began slowly, new tolled interstates can now be found in Colorado, Minnesota, Texas, and other states.

What Should Congress Do Next?

Congress will reauthorize the gasoline tax in about four years and debate has already begun about what new policies should be included in this law. Some people think Congress should turn at least 15 cents of the 18-cent federal gas tax over to the states.⁴ Others think Congress should develop a grandio-

ose, 21st-century version of the Interstate Highway System.⁵ Between these two extremes, here are a few things that should be considered based on the lessons of the last 50 years:

1. Congress should repeal all of the long-range transportation planning requirements it has imposed on states and regions. At best, these requirements have delayed congestion

Engineers were exactly the type of scientific managers the Progressives had in mind when they advocated public ownership of roads, dams, and other resources.

relief; at worst, they have created opportunities for special interest groups to control regional transportation policy to the detriment of the residents of those regions.

2. Instead of long-range planning, Congress should emphasize that the number one priority of federal transportation funding is safety and the number two priority is the efficient movement of passengers and freight.

3. Congress should also repeal the legal ties between federal transportation funding and air pollution. The evidence clearly shows that pollution is reduced by controlling emissions at the tailpipe, not by attempting to control how much people drive.

4. To restore decentralized decision-making, Congress should resist the admittedly powerful temptation to earmark the next transportation bill. Earmarks are only necessary to override local judgments about the best way to spend funds, and local judgments are likely to be better than the opinions of politicians and central planners, especially if the local judges base their decisions on quantitative criteria such as safety and efficiency rather than the subjective beliefs that transit is morally superior to autos or that highways reduce people's sense of community.

5. Congress should eliminate flexible funds and distribute federal transit funds based on the populations and annual number of transit riders in each metropolitan area. Including transit ridership in the formula will give transit agencies incentives to fund cost-effective projects.

6. Congress should consider replacing the 90-10 formula under which federal gas taxes pay for 90% of interstate highway construction. A 50-50 formula would spread federal funds to more roads and give more states incentives to consider innovative ways of providing the local match, such as tolls.

These steps would increase the effectiveness of federal dollars, restore control of transportation decisions to engineers, and reduce the incentive to treat highway user fees as a pork barrel. □

Endnotes

1. http://drgw.free.fr/WP&YR/History/Fifties/Modernisation_en.htm
2. <http://www.publicpurpose.com/freeway1.htm#safety>
3. <http://www.heritage.org/research/budget/bg1924.cfm>
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5. <http://tinyurl.com/mzl6a>

Objectivism, Alive and Well

by Lance Lamberton

There's only one place to find Objectivist yoga, both
Brandens, and a filmable "Atlas Shrugged" screenplay.
Come to Orange County.

Jeff Foxworthy has made an indelible mark on the American lexicon with the phrase: "You might be a redneck if . . ." In the same spirit, minus the self-deprecating humor, you just might be a libertarian if you are reading this issue of *Liberty*. And once upon a time it was almost unheard of to become a libertarian without passing through the portals of Ayn Rand's philosophy of Objectivism.

Ahh yes. Those were the days. The late '60s, when the modern libertarian movement was born. Now, chances are that when you meet a libertarian, he has not read anything Rand has written. However, the wide dissemination of her ideas, largely through her novels "The Fountainhead" (1943) and "Atlas Shrugged" (1957), during the late '50s and '60s, gave birth to the movement as a popular force, and explains, whether you know it or not, why you are holding this publication in your hands right now. Bottom line: Rand is very, very important to libertarianism's past, present, and future.

Since her death in 1982, organizations have formed to spread her ideas through the wider culture and protect her philosophy from misrepresentation and heresy, especially from those who claim to be her adherents.

A good example of an organization in pursuit of the latter purpose is the Ayn Rand Institute (ARI), founded in 1985 by Ayn Rand's "official" heir, Dr. Leonard Peikoff. Affiliated in the early days of ARI was the founder of what is now The Objectivist Center (TOC), Dr. David Kelley. In a nutshell, ARI represents the "orthodox" wing of Objectivism, whereas TOC represents the "reform" wing.

According to Kelley, the genesis of the schism was the 1986 publication of Barbara Branden's biography, "The Passion of Ayn Rand." While the biography paid tribute to the

ideas and influence of Rand, it also chronicled the dogmatism, intolerance, purges, and excommunications that were rife within the inner circles of Rand's cult-like following. Even worse, from the ARI perspective, was the revelation of Rand's affair and subsequent break with Barbara's husband, Nathaniel Branden, whom Rand once regarded as her key disciple and the person best suited to carry forth her philosophy upon her death.

Kelley likened the ARI response to Barbara's biography to a circling of the wagons: an "us" versus "them" mentality pervaded ARI and its adherents. Into this maelstrom, TOC was born, and just this past July, TOC held its 17th annual weeklong conference in Orange, Calif.

It did not disappoint. Originally, the focus of the conference was to engage scholars in the finer points of Objectivist philosophy. While this is still important, the conference has since branched out to engage participants not only in philosophy but also in politics and culture, aesthetics and application. So if philosophy is your thing, Tibor Machan's lecture on Wittgenstein or Shawn Klein's lecture on "Empiricism Without Skepticism" would be just what you went to hear. Prime examples of application would be Molly Johnson's lecture on "Homemaking" or Jay Friedenberg's "Yoga Practice for Ob-

jectivists." Topics on aesthetics were largely scheduled in the evening, and sometimes included musical performances, such as "Romantic and Jazz Music" performed with commentary by Roger Bissell and Ben DiTosti.

For libertarian-Objectivist attendees the sessions on politics and culture held the most appeal and indeed the most

Both Barbara and Nathaniel Branden presented lectures, and they appeared together in a forum for the first time in 35 years.

"star power." Both Barbara and Nathaniel Branden presented lectures, and they appeared together in a forum for the first time in 35 years.

I was especially impressed with Barbara's talk "Rage and Objectivism." Undoubtedly drawing on her own bitter experiences, Barbara described the destructive behavior of orthodox Objectivists, some of whom brand anyone who disagrees with them as "evil," claiming that ideas, in and of themselves, as opposed to actions, can be evil: what one thinks determines what one is.

This approach, Barbara warns, is a major turn-off to those new to the philosophy, and creates the phenomenon of "recovering Objectivists." Objectivists cannot hope to bring others to virtue by condemning them as evil simply because they might have some mistaken ideas. The approach squares with TOC's emphasis on an honest explication of ideas within a community of shared interests. TOC's executive director, Ed Hudgins, put it well when he said that the group is "more open to vetting controversy. Therefore, our approach is to ask does it square with Rand or with reality?"

Having said that, one would be hard pressed to overestimate the animus between various groups of Objectivists. James Valliant, author of "The Passion of Ayn Rand's Critics," a book critical of the Brandens, held a rival book-signing nearby during the conference. Now that's passion, albeit misdirected. It's dispiriting when people within the Objectivist movement (and the libertarian movement as well) exert more energy attacking kindred spirits than taking on the real enemies of liberty, statists of the left and right. To quote Robert Bidinotto, editor of TOC's magazine, The New Individualist: "When we agree on 95 percent of the issues, we don't need to conduct jihad over the five percent where we disagree."

For me the highlight of the week was the pair of guest speakers who are not Objectivists: Howard and Karen Baldwin. It is their company, the Baldwin Entertainment Group, which plans to turn "Atlas Shrugged" into a movie. This has

been a cherished dream of Objectivists for years, but I am convinced, after listening to their plans, that the dream is soon to become a reality. Here are the particulars:

- The Baldwins already have an impressive track record of success; their company was behind two recent and highly successful movies: "Ray" and "Sahara."
- The movie will be a trilogy, similar in length and scope to "The Lord of the Rings."
- The first draft of Part I has already been written by a very talented screenwriter who "respects and embraces the book." According to David Kelley, who has seen the script, "it is true to the philosophical spirit" of the book.
- Lions Gate is lined up for distribution and marketing.
- They are looking for a big name to play the heroine, Dagny Taggart, so that the movie can get into international markets. Nicole Kidman's name has been mentioned.
- They have aggressively scheduled the start of filming for April 2007.
- Their budget, for Part I alone, is \$40–45 million.

The driving force behind the film is John Aglialoro, a TOC trustee, and the chairman and CEO of UM Holdings (the company that makes Cybex exercise equipment). He purchased the rights to the movie from Peikoff in 1992 and has been tireless in his determination to make this dream come true. The next big step in the project is to pick a director.

As the conference was drawing to a close, I had an opportunity to visit with Kelley and ask him what TOC hopes to accomplish by holding these conferences. His answer was wide-ranging. He said they were opportunities to explore and develop the philosophy further. He cited as an example the groundbreaking work being done in the field of cognitive science, which was the subject of Dr. Jay Friedenberg's lectures on the subject. Kelley also emphasized the desire to

The film version of "Atlas Shrugged" will be a trilogy, similar in length and scope to "The Lord of the Rings."

forge an Objectivist community, where attendees renew their interest in the philosophy and carry their enthusiasm and ideas to their friends, families, and the larger culture. Kelley sees this as an "inreach" program.

As of this writing, the dates and location for next year's conference have not been set, although TOC likes to alternate locations from east to west coast, so as to maximize participation. Rand willing, I hope to take in the whole conference next year. Objectively speaking, and based on my first exposure, it should be great. □

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Only a Mother Could Love

by Tamara Wilhite

*"What's wrong with it?"
Shania went cold. The nurses rushed about, taking her squalling child out so quickly that she couldn't see it. Her partner's dark face was even darker with worry. He'd seen it. And he said nothing as the doctor focused on taking care of her.*

The specialists talked to each other, but not to the parents themselves. Shania's partner disappeared. She hoped it was to go home and sleep, and not somewhere else. She dared not wonder if he'd be back.

An Indian in a white lab coat finally paid attention to her. "Ms. Merrill?" "Yeah. That's me."

"I am Dr. Singh. I am the resident geneticist with the hospital. I'm here to discuss your child."

"Is it okay?" Shania asked.

"Yes. Your son is fine — alive. I came to ask you a few questions. Do you have any European ancestry?"

"I don't think there's any more than the average African-American."

"And the child's biological father. Do you know his genetic history?"

"The biological father is my partner."

"Ah. Good. We have his genetic history on file. Is there any history of albinism in your family?"

"Any what?" The doctor explained the condition. "No. None of that." Albinism? Had her partner said it was too pale to be his? Were they accusing her of cheating, or of bad genes? "What's wrong with the baby?"

"The child was born with unusually fair coloring. We are trying to track down the cause of the problem."

"What can I tell you that the medical computers can't?"

"Did you ever have genetic alteration procedures done while you were pregnant?"

Shania felt the room close in. "No. Absolutely not. I don't believe in that sort of thing." Shania would have considered it — if someone else had paid for it. She wouldn't spend her money on a fancy illegal procedure that might or might not help her kid in the long run.

"Were either of your genetic parents altered?" Was he trying to give her a way out of something she didn't do?

"No."

"Did you have any kind of protein manipulation done in the past nine months — "

"No. No fancy medical stuff. Just the regular pregnancy visits." She'd

skipped the recommended pre-pregnancy planning visits, to save money for indulgences before getting pregnant. Was that the cause of whatever was wrong with her baby?

"Your hair is brown, as is the child's. If it is not a genetic alteration, did you dye it?"

"No way! Hair dye can cause birth defects, even before conception. I had a PT treatment." That had been one of the indulgences. Dr. Singh looked puzzled; he must not watch fashion vids. "PT is for Perfect Tresses. It's also for protein transmission — the proteins that affect hair color, produced by the body. Well, you can have anti-proteins made. They used anti-proteins that turn my black hair to brown. I could have been blonde, but that required another injection." And that cost money she didn't have, even after cutting corners.

The doctor asked quietly. "Did you have this done while you were pregnant?"

"No way! I had it done beforehand."

"How long is this supposed to last?"

"I don't remember."

"Your hair is still coming in brown. The anti-proteins must have been in your bloodstream throughout the pregnancy, and affected your son during his development."

"It only affects hair color."

"Was it injected directly into your scalp?"

"Into my arm. I wouldn't let anybody come near my head with a needle."

"Where was this done?" Shania rolled up her sleeve. "No. I meant, where was the procedure done." Shania rattled off the name of her beautician. The doctor hurried out the door.

Shania settled back into the bed and wondered if she'd ever see her partner again.



Two days later, Dr. Singh came back, wheeling her son in on a bassinet. Her partner was a few steps behind, practically dragged in by an attendant.

The light brown hair and pale skin made her think the baby was white. Was that the only problem? If it was something really bad, he would've been put to sleep already. Her son, with his broad nose and pronounced chin, looked a lot like his father. But when the baby boy opened his eyes, they were gold: not brown, not even hazel, but a yellowish gray that might have been blue in anyone else. "How did this happen?"

"The hair coloring treatment you received appears to be a long-lasting anti-sense protein. It is manufactured to exactly

counteract the body's natural coloring protein so as to produce an intermediate coloring, in your case, brown. The anti-sense protein you received has remained in your system, affecting

your hair and affecting your son."

Shania's partner looked relieved. It wasn't his fault. Shania self-consciously ran a hand through her hair. Who would have thought a no-maintenance hair coloring would cause something like *this*? "Will he look normal after the stuff wears off?" Shania asked.

"No."

"Why not?" her baby's father asked.

"In adults, the coloring genes are set at conception unless genetically altered. In your son's case, the anti-sense protein

When the baby boy opened his eyes, they were gold: not brown, not even hazel, but a yellowish gray that might have been blue in anyone else.

turned off his body's natural coloring genes while he was developing in the uterus. Once a gene is turned off, it is rather difficult to turn on."

"So give him a coloring gene," her partner demanded.

"Do the melanin thing they do for white people on vacation," Shania asked.

"Any treatment would be as temporary as your wife's hair treatment. It would last 18 months at most. He would require repeated treatments for life." Dr. Singh realized his transgression. "I'm sorry. Your partner's hair treatment. Furthermore, it would not affect his eye color. It would not be the permanent solution you are seeking."

Shania stared at the squirming newborn. Her son. Paler than people she'd made fun of in school for being melanin-challenged. He had her partner's face. Her son looked nothing like her except for having the same hair. *Her hair. Her fault.*

"Damn, Shania, didn't you get any kind of warning that this might happen? Didn't they have a 'Don't use if pregnant or might become pregnant' warning?"

Shania spat back, "No! They didn't. And they should've, shouldn't they?" As she stared at the pale baby, a ghost of an idea formed in her mind.

Dr. Singh interjected, "If you are unable to accept the child, we can find an adoptive home rather quickly. Lighter skinned children are easy to place — "

"No. I'm keeping him." Her former partner stormed out. "Talk to other doctors about what we can do to make him look more normal, more like me. And a lawyer. We need to talk to a lawyer."

Dr. Singh nodded vigorously. "Your partner seems determined to abandon you and the child due to the . . . obvious condition. Would you like to speak to a counselor as well?"

"Just get me a lawyer first." *Her fault. Her son. Her problem* to resolve. If he was so strange that he had only his mother, he'd still have his mother's love. And if she had full custody of the baby, she'd get to control the whole settlement of the lawsuit looming in her mind.

Her baby was starting to look precious indeed. □

If it was something really bad, the baby would've been put to sleep already.

Reviews

"At Canaan's Edge," by Taylor Branch. Simon and Schuster, 2006, 1,039 pages.

Seeking the Promised Land

Timothy Sandefur

Branch's "America in the King Years" trilogy began with the 1988 Pulitzer Prize winner "Parting the Waters," which covered the period leading up to the Kennedy assassination. It continued in 1998 with "Pillar of Fire," which ended with the killing of Malcolm X. Now, Branch concludes the trilogy with a book about the years from 1965 to 1968, when Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated on a Memphis hotel balcony. "At Canaan's Edge" is not only a monument of research but a moving drama. It reads like an ancient tragedy — scintillating, cruel, inevitable — as we witness King and his fellow travelers gradually descend into the deepening violence and cynicism of the Vietnam era. The whole thing has the foreboding of a smoke cloud.

In some places, Branch gradually boils up tension from a mixture of nostalgia, betrayal, indignation, and fate, as in chapter 23, which may be the best thing ever written about the 1960s. Identity politics dawns with the legal controversies over defining "race," then rises through layers of meaning in the life of an Alabama bishop whose grandfather tried to end slavery by preaching, but who could not bring himself to stand against segregation a century later. Meanwhile, in Rome, Hanoi, and

Washington, old class hatreds begin to calm and new ones begin to swell; the Catholic Church moves toward dropping its hostility toward the Jews, and the American government begins to drop century-old immigration restrictions on Asians. Yet bombings in Mississippi and murders in Alabama plague civil rights workers, and the conflict in Vietnam leads disturbed pacifists to set themselves on fire in front of the Pentagon and the U.N. building in New York. The first word of this chapter is "ferment," and it is well chosen.

Elsewhere, Branch reveals the savagery of institutionalized racism in sickening flashes of lightning, as when he describes a grand jury hearing conducted on Sept. 13, 1966. Seeking indictment of Klansman Tom Coleman, for blasting with a shotgun two preachers who dared register Alabama sharecroppers to vote, the state's moderate segregationist attorney general called Rev. Richard Morrisroe to the stand. Morrisroe had been severely injured, and his friend Rev. Jonathan Daniels had been killed, while other friends ran for cover in an eerily vacant town square. The attorney general asked Morrisroe to remove his shirt to reveal his scars.

By exhibiting a priest on the witness stand in dramatically torn flesh, [the attorney general] intended to shame Tom Coleman's claim of self

defense.

A grand juror broke the charged silence. "Father, may I ask a question?" he said. When Flowers nodded approval, he continued abruptly, "Did you kiss that nigger girl in the mouth?"

Morrisroe shuddered. "Sir, I've never embraced a woman in my life," he said. Scattered giggles punctuated further speculations of prurient interest in Ruby Sales and Gloria Larry, ignoring testimony that they had turned to flee with Jonathan Daniels the instant Coleman surprised them.

It has been a long time since a book moved me to a physical reaction, but I felt nauseated as I read this passage.

Meanwhile, among civil rights activists we see an astonishing, inexorable tale of mounting despair, well symbolized by Stokely Carmichael, under whose leadership the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) drifted toward the racist violence of the Black Panthers. The best word for the trend, if not for the book itself, is *disintegration*, a word that became literal in 1967, when SNCC finally voted to exclude its white members. Loyal Bob Zellner and his wife walked sadly away, saying to themselves, "I will not accept any sort of restrictions or special categories because of race." But by that time, King's movement for brotherhood was being called passé by posses

of swaggering semi-intellectuals who emulated Che Guevara and posed for photos with shotguns and berets.

"I have learned to hate," boasted one. Even those who began by speaking only of equality and freedom found themselves demanding racial preferences and increased government con-

"At Canaan's Edge" reads like an ancient tragedy — scintillating, cruel, inevitable.

trol over private lives. As Clint Bolick has written, the civil rights establishment lost its moral bearings in the late 1960s, a tendency that led to "a profound transformation of the concept of civil rights" in which "equality of opportunity [was] replaced by equality of results, colorblindness by race-consciousness, individual liberty by group reparations." The three years covered by this book are when the change took place.

As with all tragedies, there is a sense of destiny about it all. At the end, the tragic hero usually pauses and wonders where it all went wrong. "There must have been a moment, at the beginning, when we could have said — no," says a character in a Tom Stoppard play. "But somehow we missed it." Maybe that moment came for King on March 9, 1965, when, after two violent failures and several days of negotiations, he once more led marchers over the Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama.

He had violated a federal court order to come this far. On the other side stood a seething crowd of cops and na-

tional guardsmen. But halfway across, the troopers withdrew, and King faced a breathless moment. "If he stepped ahead," Branch writes, "the thrill of heroic redemption . . . could give way to any number of reversals . . . all with marchers compromised as flagrant transgressors of the federal order. If he stepped back he could lose or divide the movement under a cloud of timidity. If he hesitated or failed, at least some of the marchers would surge through the corridor of blue uniforms toward their goal."

King chose to turn around. Things were never the same again. His idealistic young allies in SNCC sarcastically sang "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me 'Round" as they headed back to their church meeting place. And although King immediately flew into negotiations that culminated in a successful march across the bridge, some of his most valued allies felt so sharp a sting of betrayal that they never trusted him again.

It's the sort of conflict an idealist often faces: confronted with the seemingly "realistic" need to put aside a worthy goal, he must choose: will he back off and try to navigate the murky waters of compromise, or will he demand, and thus risk losing, everything? It is along such weak points that coalitions fracture, often leaving a cynical debris of disappointed idealists and burned out compromisers.

It is tempting to see King's decision to use diplomacy at the Pettus Bridge, rather than to march through hostile troops, as the moment when he ceased to think of himself as a citizen and began identifying himself with the political establishment — indeed, the moment when the Civil Rights Establishment was born. Yet that instant symbolized,

and did not spark, the disintegration of the Civil Rights Era from a movement for liberty into a movement for privilege and entitlement.

As King and his allies drifted away from freedom and toward "democracy," away from equality and toward race balancing, away from the Declaration of Independence and toward the Great Society and the War on Poverty, there were other moments that stood out: Lyndon Johnson's speech at Howard University three months after Pettus Bridge, when he told the crowd that "freedom is not enough" and that he would seek "not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result"; King's decision to speak out against the Vietnam War, which alienated moderate supporters and distracted the public from the civil rights agenda; James Meredith's March to Mississippi in June 1966, when King and Stokely Carmichael shared their idealism for the last time, and Carmichael took up

In history, there is no one moment "when it all went wrong." There is only the gradual falling of the leaves.

the call of "Black Power" instead. In history, there is no one moment "when it all went wrong"; there is only the gradual falling of the leaves.

But there is a fundamental cause for this failure: the lack of a coherent theory of freedom and equality that could resist both corrosion by collectivist hangers-on and the disillusionment of idealists. King's belief that America would "rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed" needed to rest on a clear understanding of that creed, yet that was precisely what he lacked. He led the single most successful reaction ever seen against the progressivist ideology that held that society should be controlled by experts entitled to restrict individual liberty in the service of the collective good. Yet his own understanding of the relationship of the individual to society was tragically tainted by that same ideology. His belief in the principles of equality and liberty could not resist the

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collectivists pulling at him.

This becomes most obvious in the bitter irony of his position on Vietnam. While he was leading a massive and heroic resistance to the oppression of southern people by their own state governments, he simultaneously embraced the view that Vietnamese communists had the "right" to oppress southern Vietnamese people in the name of "national self-determination." His entire domestic project was to illustrate that the supposed right to "self-determination" could *not* be grounded on violating individual rights, and that no government that sought to enslave its people could lay claim to legitimacy — yet he devoted his energies to defending a regime that did precisely that in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnam War, he claimed, "put us against the self-determination of a vast majority of the Vietnamese people." Yet southern racists accused King of the same meddling when they defended segregation. The same King who began by chiding modern liberalism for being "so bent on seeing all sides that it fails to become committed to either side . . . so objectively analytical that it is not subjectively committed," and who insisted that liberalism must "be thoroughly committed to the ideal of racial justice and . . . not be deterred by the propaganda and subtle words of those who say, 'Slow up for a while; you are pushing too fast'" — ended by defending the power of communists to impose tyranny on a defenseless people. It is not that King was wrong to oppose America's involvement in Vietnam, but his position on the issue lacked the philosophical integrity necessary to preserve a vision through the pressures of such trying times.

Branch, alas, says little about such paradoxes, and in fact seems to share some of King's philosophical blind spots. While he is perceptive enough to respect the nuances of the whole spectrum of ideas within the civil rights movement, his attitude toward the Republican Party is tainted with something very much like prejudice. He is absolutely convinced, for example, that Ronald Reagan was a racist, even calling him an "anti-civil rights governor" like the gun-toting Lester Maddox of Georgia, or Lurleen Wallace of Alabama, who stood in for her rabidly

segregationist husband George.

Branch appears incapable of believing that one could have nonracist reasons for opposing the Great Society. He says, for example, that Reagan thought "government was bad . . . at least when aimed toward the purposes of the civil rights era," ignoring the fact that Reagan at the time consistently opposed government interference in everything from environmental policy to health care to mining for copper on the ocean floor. Notably, Branch cannot cite a single instance of Reagan's making even a trivially racist remark; he twice quotes a Reagan campaign commercial describing riots and crime with the sentence, "our city streets are jungle paths after dark," because that is the closest thing to racism he can find in a politician who was simply devoid of the flaw.

Branch then quotes someone as writing, "In Irving Kristol's famous apothegm, 'a neoconservative is a liberal who has been mugged by reality,' it's not difficult to guess what color the mugger was." This is simply a childish smear aimed at Reagan's perfectly valid concern with the growing welfare state — an institution, by the way, that has profoundly regressive effects on blacks. For a writer who can follow the evolution of so confused a thinker as James Bevel — who went from serving as King's right-hand man to running for vice president under Lyndon LaRouche — Branch shows an embarrassing will to portray the Republicans as a monochrome collection of reactionaries and racists.

Reagan's support for Proposition

14, for example, which repealed California's Fair Housing Act, had nothing to do with racism; it had to do with his legitimate concern that the law interfered with the rights of private property owners. The same is true of Goldwater's

Branch appears incapable of believing that one could have nonracist reasons for opposing the Great Society.

qualms about the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Branch ignores these points, regarding interference with property rights as irrelevant to what he sees as the expansion of freedom. That such expansion comes at the expense of the freedom of property owners, black as well as white, matters little to him.

Such matters aside, "At Canaan's Edge" is everything that the conclusion of Branch's trilogy ought to be: a sweeping, tragic, moving, and definitive chronicle of an awesome and disillusioning age. The Bible tells that God warned Moses not only that he would die before reaching the promised land, but also that when the Israelites did arrive, they would find there a plague of leprosy in a house, and that they would have to cleanse, and if necessary, dismantle the house. As Branch reveals, the civil rights movement set out in pursuit of a land of dreams, only to be

Calling All Economists!

"How could you observe the Invisible Hand? Economics is not what can be observed but the reasoning that cannot. Without it, empirical data is a meaningless jumble. There is economics without the jumble, but not without the reasoning, and without the Chicago School altogether, but not without the Austrian."

Friedman's anecdotes without logic are no different from those of ballplayers not changing their socks so long as they keep getting hits, except that, in the one case we call it blind faith and superstition, and in the other technical economics.

There is no such thing, just economics and non-economics; and, distinction in 'technical economics,' for slinging the bull around with the best of them.

Is economics a professional or amateur science? By equating the profession with the science, Skousen begs the question. The profession is a trade union, catering to its lowest common denominator, at the expense of the science."

For *Observing the Invisible Hand*, a review of Mark Skousen's Tale of Two Schools of Free Market Economics, see *Intellectually Incorrect* at intinc.org.

contaminated by collectivist theories of racial balancing and paternalistic government. The dreamers of today

should cleanse the house, and set it on its proper foundation in equality and individual rights. □

"World Trade Center," directed by Oliver Stone. Paramount Pictures, 2006, 125 minutes.

From the Ashes

Jo Ann Skousen

Oliver Stone's "World Trade Center" is the second in what will undoubtedly be a long line of box-office films about the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. The first of those films, "United 93," was an ensemble piece, with no single standout character, no back stories, no celebrity actors, and several real-life air controllers reenacting the events they experienced that day. The result was a taut, real-time documentary, portraying the terror of the passengers but ending just before the plane crashed.

By contrast, "World Trade Center" is a more intimate look at the event, following the story of two Port Authority police officers, John McLoughlin (Nicholas Cage) and Will Jimeno (Michael Pena), who were trapped in the elevator shaft of the shopping concourse between the two towers when the first tower collapsed. Watching the despair of the doomed passengers on "United 93" was horrifying, but watching these policemen become buried in the rubble of the collapsing towers was almost unbearable. I've walked out of

films in the past that were simply too vulgar or too dumb to endure, but I have never before felt the panic I did in this theater, wanting to get out of my seat and away from the emotions I was experiencing. There may indeed be some fates worse than death, and being buried alive is one of them.

One reason for my visceral reaction is that the memories of that day are still fresh. Our family had just arrived in New York five days earlier. All day long we heard fire engines racing down Broadway, right outside the house, and all night we heard the military jets and helicopters overhead. We could see the smoke billowing from the towers when we walked down to the Hudson River. It was a day of confusion and crisis that no one will forget.

Some critics and reviewers have billed "World Trade Center" as a "feel good" movie with a happy ending, simply because it ends in a rescue. But the ending is far from happy. It comes as a relief, yes, and with an overwhelming respect for the men and women who risked their lives to search for survivors. Thousands of people were evacuated that day, and 20 were rescued from the rubble. But 2,749 people died in the attack, and hundreds more suffered terrible injuries. Stone never loses sight of that grim fact, even while demonstrating the joy of two families.

A friend of mine, a doctor, rushed to St. Vincent's Hospital that day, just a few blocks from the towers, anticipating a long grueling week of treating survivors. The more gruesome reality is that he had very little to do. In a scene reminiscent of the song "Empty Chairs and Empty Tables" in "Les Miserables," Stone films an empty commuter train at the end of the movie to emphasize the enormity of the losses.

Stone virtually ignores the official organized rescue efforts in order to focus on the two trapped men and their families' vigils. He highlights two unofficial rescuers, one a former Marine and the other a former paramedic. Both seem to have slid off track in their lives, but participating in the rescue helped them regain their focus and self-respect. If there is a happy ending at all, it is in the connectedness, compassion, and good will that erupted in the aftermath of the attack. As John McLoughlin explains, "We are people taking care of each other because it's the right thing to do."

Castigated in the past for playing loose with the facts and for his heavy-handed politics in such films as "JFK" and "Nixon," Stone leaves politics out of this one. He tells his story the way it happened, using as his consultants the people to whom it happened. Even when demonstrating the confusion and conflicting reports that plagued the initial rescue efforts, he casts no

I have never before felt the panic I did in this theater, wanting to get out of my seat and away from the emotions I was experiencing.

blame. Some may consider his silence itself to be political, but I consider it respectful. The result is a tight, emotional, engrossing film that feels accurate, regardless of how you may feel about who or what caused the attack and how it should have been handled afterward. Painful to see, it is nevertheless worth seeing. □

"The Case for Shakespeare: The End to the Authorship Question," by Scott McCrea. Praeger, 2005, 280 pages.

"A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599," by James Shapiro. HarperCollins, 2005. 394 pages.

Who Was Shakespeare, After All?

Justine Olawsky

If what Evelyn Waugh wrote is true — "personal experiences are a novelist's capital, to be hoarded, and spent only with prudent avarice" — one may wonder what he thought of the canon — the plays and poems — of William Shakespeare. Would he have viewed with suspicion the life experiences of a fairly provincial man of middle-class roots and habits, whose family only recently had entered the gentry, an actor of little distinction whose only known travels encompassed the limited circuit of London and the surrounding counties? Or would he have seen the potential for the greatest works of English theater flowing from an individual genius who transcended his narrowness of exposure?

If he doubted that the William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon was the William Shakespeare who authored "Hamlet," Waugh would have found good company during the past 200 years. As far back as the middle of the 19th century, previously murmured rumors of the Authorship Question came into their own, as academics and laymen alike started smelling something rotten in the state of English literature. Once the gates of doubt cracked open, a flood of speculation poured forth. Deception, conspiracy, and cover-up were the bywords of the people who are called the anti-Stratfordians — and

everyone had a favorite suspect for the true authorship. But fortunately, William Shakespeare has his supporters still.

Two of the best recent arguments for his authorship come from very different sources. The first is "The Case for Shakespeare: The End to the Authorship Question" by Scott McCrea. This may be the most fun you can have in the frustrating world of conspiracy-mongering and conspiracy-countering. The author knows how to take an intimidating subject and render it lively and accessible. McCrea delights in thrusting the rapier of logic, crying out to the doubters, "If you quarrel, I am for you. I stand as good a man as you!" Many readers will say, as I do, "Yes, and better."

The book is constructed as a defense, its first part asserting the claims of William Shakespeare's authorship; the second demolishing the rival claims. McCrea starts with the arguments of the detractors. He is fearless in confronting the difficult questions. What of Shakespeare's meager education? What of his wildly divergent signatures? What of his less-than-elocquent last will and testament? Why did his will not bequeath his books and papers? What of the doggerel adorning his grave marker?

To these problems, McCrea provides reasonable and well-researched solutions, using each one to make his

case for Shakespeare stronger and more plausible. For instance, anti-Stratfordians find in Shakespeare's will a dearth of poetry and expression that seems unreasonable for such a great poet. McCrea answers this doubt by examining other wills that were executed by Francis Collins, the man who prepared the will for Shakespeare. He finds that "its lack of emotion, which kindles the doubts of the anti-Stratfordians, might be significant if such a lack were unusual, but a quick glance at other Collins-prepared wills shows us that it's not. . . . Like his modern counterparts, Collins must have discouraged (or simply ignored) any of his testator's sentimental adjectives or clauses; these, he knew, could lead to lawsuits and wrangling among beneficiaries. Then as now, verbal artistry was hazardous in legal documents" (p. 48).

Addressing the claim that a great author could not have failed to bequeath any books or papers, McCrea does the research and provides a nimble answer: books were not usually bequeathed separately from other goods, unless there was a positive need to bestow them apart from the rest of the estate; and manuscripts were usually kept in the property of the acting troupe for which the playwright wrote. In fact, "[m]anuscripts and books are missing from the wills of playwrights Samuel Daniel, John Marston, and James Shirley, and there are no books mentioned in the testaments of writers Thomas Campion, Reginald Scot, and even Sir Francis Bacon" (48).

One by one, McCrea thrusts his blade into the fallacious flesh of doubters, and draws red blood. My favorite part of the book begins when McCrea turns his attention to the canon itself and examines what it can tell us about the author.

Anti-Stratfordians love to transform him into a man of extensive learning and expansive travels, and they point to the writings to prove their points. McCrea points to the writings to prove the opposite. One assertion of the heretics

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is that the author was a well-educated man — a university scholar, considering his command of language. But there is nothing in Shakespeare's background to indicate that he studied at a university; from what we know of his timeline, this is highly improbable; therefore, the author cannot be Shakespeare.

McCrea says, essentially: OK, let's make it a given that the author was a university man. Greek was a required subject at both Cambridge and Oxford. Surely, then, the author must have known Greek. Ah, but what does the canon show us? Is it rife with classical allusions? As a comparison, McCrea considers the work of John Taylor, "the poet and watertaxi-driver, who 'avowed his failure to get through the Latin accidence, and his ignorance of all languages but his own,' [yet who] has a greater number of classical allusions in his small body of work than occur in all the Shakespeare plays" (66). Furthermore, when Greek authors and philosophers are quoted by Shakespeare, he is evidently using texts that were translated into Latin or English, rather than those in the original language. As McCrea says, "He had small French, less Italian, good Latin, and little if any Greek. His plots he took from sources, and his dialogue he often contrived by re-writing others' passages. He was a man of superior imagination and observation, not extraordinary experience" (221).

The second half of the book continues in the same light-hearted yet serious manner. McCrea reviews the claims of the various people who have been suspected of writing Shakespeare's plays, identifying the few in this long parade

who are worthy of more than cursory attention. Then he zeros in on the darling of the modern heretics: Edward de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford. Here is an erudite fellow who appears to have all the

bethan audiences clamored for Italian settings and costumes and storylines, so that is what the author gave them, to the best of his ability.

McCrea's evidence seems conclusive. But wait! There's another book, the fascinating "A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599," by James Shapiro. He also makes a good case for Shakespeare's authorship of the canon, though that doesn't seem to have been his main intent. "A Year in the Life" is one of those really nifty books that can be enjoyed by both Shakespeare scholars (my dad) and Shakespeare novices (me). Shapiro weaves a tale, part history, part speculative biography, of an extraordinary year in both Elizabethan England and Shakespeare's body of work. He packs the narrative so full of historical facts and literary lessons that you feel you are seated at the proverbial feast of fat things. I love this kind of book, and Shapiro's craft with the written word makes him worthy of the genre — and his subject.

The book begins with men on a winter's night in 1598, men armed with tools and moving in secrecy, using hands red and rough with the frost of a particularly unkind December to tear down a theater — *The Theatre*, the home of the acting troupe, the Chamberlain's Men. This is Shakespeare's group, the group to which he belongs as both an ensemble player and, more importantly, a playwright. They are tearing the building down because of a dispute with the leaseholder, and they will move its materials across London to the site of what will become *The Globe*. That is the inauspicious start of a pivotal year in the life of the Bard; a year in which, as Shapiro writes, "[A]t age thirty-five, Shakespeare went from being an exceptionally talented writer to one of the greatest who ever lived. Put it another way: how, in the course of little over a year, did he go from writing '*The Merry Wives of Windsor*' to writing a play as inspired as '*Hamlet*'?" (xvii).

This book makes the case for Shakespeare as author by showing him actually working as an author, month by month, season by season. Shakespeare the playwright comes alive; his plays are shown to be intimately involved with the turbulent times and the middle-class environment in which he lived. We see him eating, sleeping, trav-

One by one, McCrea thrusts his blade into the falacious flesh of doubters, and draws red blood.

experience that Waugh could desire. De Vere was well-traveled, learned, fluent in French, knowledgeable in history, a patron of the theater, and, most importantly, a nobleman well acquainted with the language and manners of the highest classes. McCrea is not intimidated by this formidable fellow; he shows, indeed, that de Vere's very accomplishments put him out of the running for the authorship.

A man who had traveled the Continent as extensively as the earl, especially a man who had spent as much time in Italy, would never have made the mistakes in geography that Shakespeare consistently makes. He is very vague in his descriptions of Venice, Florence, Verona, and other distinctive locations, using adjectives like "fair," "old," and "sweet," and omitting reference to such landmarks as the canals of Venice, the Ponte Vecchio of Florence, or the impressive gates of Verona (73). McCrea asks incredulously, "Are we to

believe that a writer — any writer — who had been to Venice could set two plays there without mentioning canals?" (74). The author had a knack for giving seacoasts to land-locked cities like Padua and Milan, and putting mountains in the way of flatland routes, like the one from Mantua to Milan. The truth is, Eliza-



"You'll have to get the kids to explain it to you — it's something called the 'internet.'"

eling, doing business, keeping current on new publications and abreast of current events. Of even greater interest, we glimpse his creativity and hard work. The chapter about the writing of "Hamlet" will erase any fancies you may have harbored about Shakespeare never blotting a word. The "official" version of "Hamlet" is as long as it is — and it is mighty long — because he reworked it so often, and his literary heirs included every word of every draft, lest they lose something precious. It was never meant to be a four-hour play.

Equally compelling is the history of the times, especially when Shapiro relates the events of 1599 so well to passages of the plays that were written that year. How was the composition of "Henry V" affected by the Irish campaign and Elizabethan censorship? Did that ill-fated Irish adventure and the uncertainty of a possible Spanish invasion that became known as the "Invisible Armada" influence the tone of "Julius Caesar"? What of the perennial conflict between Catholicism and Protestantism, heightened in tension by an aging and heirless Queen — was that struggle reflected in the plays? Was the anxiety that Shakespeare saw in his

eration, and then tear him down in the next? Unfortunately, yes. The legend of William Shakespeare, the Bard of Avon, grew exponentially from his death up through the 18th century. He was given mythological abilities, prodigious attributes; he seemed, from the vantage of less-than-scrutinizing scholars, to have

sprung fully-formed from the brow of deity. With a setup like this, it's not difficult to foresee the coming fall.

But neither the lionizers nor the detractors are fair to the man who was William Shakespeare. He was a man of deep genius and powerful talents, true. Yet he was also a craftsman who worked

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Tamara Wilhite is the author of the short story anthology *Humanity's Edge*, available through amazon.com.

As far back as the middle of the 19th century, academics and laymen alike started smelling something rotten in the state of English literature.

travels between London and Stratford over consecutive years of poor harvests translated peripherally into his comedy, "As You Like It"? Did the rise of a new literary format called the "essay" lead Shakespeare to experiment with the device most famously associated with him, the soliloquy? These fascinating questions are explored and answered in "A Year in the Life of Shakespeare" — putting the man and the author in the context of his times, and restoring his credibility. Such a man could indeed write such plays and sonnets.

Is it human nature to build up a man to heroic dimensions in one gen-

diligently at his trade and drew sweet waters from the wellspring of middle-class Elizabethan life. How sharper than a serpent's tooth Shakespeare might have found the thankless anti-Stratfordians who, having been nourished by those waters, now call the well bitter and shallow! As McCrea writes, "A man

who has given us so much deserves, at the very least, recognition for his accomplishments" (xiv). Both of these Shakespearean histories will contribute to defanging that serpent and restoring the reputation so richly deserved by this singular contributor to English literature. □

"An Inconvenient Truth," directed by Davis Guggenheim.
Paramount Classics, 2006, 100 minutes.

Inconvenient, Indeed

Thomas Oakeson

Midway through my viewing of "An Inconvenient Truth," this summer's highly touted movie about global warming, I realized that I'd just paid \$7 to attend a *lecture* — given by Al Gore! Drawn to the theater by the film's media hype and fawning critics, I was expecting to see a high quality documentary with cool science and nice graphics, at least as good as those on PBS Nova. After all, the film had a decent budget and a 90% approval rating by the critics, so it ought to be pretty good, right?

Well, not so fast. I did get a *little* of what I expected, but not without a whole lot of Al Gore thrown in. Included were boyhood stories, a review of the 2000 Florida election recount, and video footage from his days as the "hip" senator crusading for global warming awareness. (I couldn't help but recall the more "unhip" part of his Senate legacy as the crusading advocate for the PMRC — Parents Music Resource Center — who sought to control the contents of pop music with a ratings system even John Denver opposed. This inconvenient episode of his Senate history has been conveniently buried.)

These personal stories attempt to segue into the film's main issues, with a

political style worthy of, well — Al Gore. For example, he tells a drawn-out story of almost losing his son in an auto accident, then uses it to make the non sequitur argument, "What we take for granted might not be here for our children."

He also tells the story of his sixth-grade science teacher who, when asked if the continents of South America and Africa ever once fit together like "puzzle pieces," responded, "No, they did not." Gore can't resist another jab at the Bush administration with this story, claiming that this teacher is now a science adviser to the Bush administration, while the student who astutely asked the question is now a drug-addicted bum.

The film can be visually convincing when Gore lets the pictures speak for themselves. We are shown several before and after pictures of glaciers that have shrunk over time; we see coastal glaciers in Greenland falling into the ocean and are led to agree with Gore's hypothesis. But the film overlooks the possibility that an increase in Greenland's intracoastal ice could be forcing the coastal glaciers out into the sea, the result of *expansion*, not rising temperatures.

Gore bases much of his campaign against Big Warming on the consensus of 928 articles written for scientific jour-

nals between 1993 and 2003, claiming they all share his views. But this "consensus" of scientists may not exist. MIT atmospheric science professor Richard S. Lindzen, in his July 2, 2006 op-ed for the Wall Street Journal Online, cites the research of Benny Peiser, who checked the work of the source Gore used and found that only 13 of the articles "explicitly endorsed the so-called consensus view."* Lindzen takes issue with roughly a dozen different claims Gore makes in the film and questions his credibility altogether.

When one considers the power of nature itself, it begins to seem rather hubristic to blame man for the recent fluctuations of global temperatures. Volcanoes, for example, are particularly harmful to the atmosphere, injecting into it a number of greenhouse gases, among them carbon dioxide. The explosive force of the eruption of Mount St. Helens in 1980 was equivalent to that resulting from the detonation of 27,000 Hiroshima-size atomic bombs — an event worse for the atmosphere, in one day, than the manmade damage done to our atmosphere during Earth's entire existence. In short, while greenhouse gases, and particularly carbon dioxide, do present a problem, they are not the

The eruption of Mount St. Helens in 1980 was worse for the atmosphere in one day than the manmade damage done to our atmosphere during Earth's entire existence.

only problem. The earth's climate fluctuates, with or without man's contribution.

It also helps to understand the role of water in regulating the earth's temperatures. The earth's rotation is not perfectly smooth. The axis of rotation wobbles slightly. This and other factors can disrupt the circulation of the

*Peiser found 1,247 articles when he searched the ISI database using Oreske's (Gore's source) parameters. These 13 were taken from the 1,117 articles with abstracts (neither Peiser nor Oreske assessed the other articles).

oceans and the heat distribution of the planet. The oceans' dynamics influence the weather, and the circulation of the ocean's water is key to understanding how earth regulates its heat — especially important since water covers 70% of

the earth's surface.

Despite its obvious weaknesses, the film is worth seeing, if only for the amazingly beautiful views of earth taken from satellites, particularly the time-resolved pictures showing a complete

rotation of the earth. It is an earth worth saving, from whatever may endanger it. But Gore's alarmist evangelism and suspicious motives prevent the serious, nonpolitical viewer from taking his evidence seriously. □

Letters, from page 37

who was a heretic, was a long, messy argument that was not finally sorted out until the 4th century when the most organized, hierarchical faction got hold of state power, declared what was orthodox, and suppressed heterodox opinions. While we do not know that the community that produced the gospel of Judas ever had local or wider influence, we do know that, if they did, this would have been officially and deliberately forgotten.

To say, as Cox does, that it "was without apparent influence in antiquity" is as perverse as observing that Christianity and classical liberal ideas were without apparent influence in Stalinist Russia when nobody was allowed to talk or write about them. This raises several intriguing questions: who preserved the gospel of Judas and why, especially after it became a serious offense simply to possess it? Did they read it and, if so, to whom? Why did the book matter to them?

Still, as Cox says, the book's existence cannot prove that its story is true, and, in and of itself, it doesn't demonstrate that its doctrine belongs to 1st century Christians; yet what neither the nattering press nor, apparently, Cox realize is that the thesis of the gospel of Judas — that Judas did not betray Jesus but helped him turn himself in so that the authorities would not harm his flock — is not original but is, rather, a confirmation of this very thesis as found in other ancient sources, namely Matthew, Mark, Luke, and perhaps especially John. I won't go into the whole argument here, but key to it is the recognition that while the Greek word *paradidomi* (*para* = up; *didomi* = to give) is translated 51 times in the New Revised Standard Version of the New Testament either as "to hand over" or "to give up" (also, four times as "to entrust" and twice as "to arrest"), it is translated as "to betray" only in reference to Judas (37 times) even though there is another word, *prodótes*, which more properly suggests treachery.

Curiously, the Church never both-

ered to change the word in the Greek text from "give up" to "betray," saving the opportunity to commit that sin for the translators. Translations in every language from Latin to English use an equivalent of "betray" where the Greek says "give up." The texts of the canonical gospels, of course, include other suggestions of betrayal such as "The devil had already put it into the heart of Judas son of Simon Iscariot to betray him." Even here (John 13:2) the word is actually "give up" not "betray." Besides, such comments sound too much like an editor-narrator clumsily interpolating his opinion into the text, nudging us in the ribs so we get the new party line on Judas. (An awful lot of John is narrated from a suspiciously abstract and distant perspective.) It is interesting that while some of the Pauline epistles seem to refer to a betrayal, others, such as Ephesians 5:2 and Romans 8:32, say that Jesus gave himself up — translating the verb *paradidomi*; it is a good thing that translators have not been consistent or else they would have made Paul say that Jesus betrayed himself.

Early Christian scholars ignored the discrepancy, probably sensing that it would not be good for their health to question it. By now, Bible publishers get away with it because it has become tradition and, besides, most people stopped reading Greek long ago; so you can be assured that the monkeys with the typewriters don't know anything about this.

Miles N. Fowler
Charlottesville, Va.

Cox responds: Mr. Fowler makes the literary history of the New Testament more mysterious than it is. No 1st-century manuscripts of the NT have come down to us, but this is hardly suspicious. Very few ancient authors are represented by manuscripts that come within 500 years of their originals. A fragment of a copy of John's gospel has been reliably dated to the early 2nd century, indicating that the original was produced in the 1st century. This gospel is commonly, and with good reason, regarded as intentionally supplementary to the other gospels, which came

before it. Papias, a figure of the early 2nd century, says that the gospel of Mark, on which the gospels of Matthew and Luke were partially based, was itself based on the preaching of Peter (died c. AD 65). It is noteworthy that the NT never mentions the destruction of Jerusalem (AD 70) as something that has already taken place.

To question the four canonical gospels and exalt such alternatives as the so-called gospel of Judas, Mr. Fowler relies on evidence that does not exist. He suggests that earlier versions of the canonical gospels may have been different, and that the gospels we have today may have been produced by sinister editorial processes — even though, since no such earlier versions exist, "we can't know" anything about them. He suggests that a large and authoritative nonstandard tradition may have been suppressed without a trace by a church possessing the omnipotence of a modern totalitarian state. But there is no evidence that the gospel of Judas had any influence in antiquity, or even that it was produced by a "community" or that it "mattered" to anyone — except, perhaps, its author. There is strong evidence, coming from modern statistical study of ancient manuscripts (David Trobisch, "The First Edition of the New Testament" [Oxford, 2000]), that an edition of the NT existed in the 2nd century, and that it resulted from a consensus of local churches. As Mr. Fowler says, consensus doesn't imply unanimity. But "curiously," to use his term, none but the "standard" NT documents ever attained anything like a consensus in its favor.

As for *paradidomi*, it's a Greek verb of many uses, which must be translated in various ways, depending on its various contexts; it's used by Xenophon and others to mean "betray"; and in the NT it's properly translated as "betray" both where Judas is concerned and where he's not (see Matthew 24:10 in both the NRSV and the King James Version). But you can interrogate Greek verbs till the cows come home; the canonical gospels still have nothing good to say about Judas. Just read them.

Columbus, Ohio

Another strike against Big Tobacco, from the *Akron Beacon-Journal*:

Lawyers for a man sentenced to death in the slaying of his ex-girlfriend want the conviction thrown out because the judge barred jurors from smoking during deliberations, making them antsy and overly eager to finish the case.

The Licking County jury deliberated for six hours before convicting Philip Elmore of aggravated murder and other charges in the death of Pamela Annarino. A week after the guilty verdict the jury needed three hours to recommend the death sentence.

Gloucester, England

If Klingon knives are criminalized, only criminal Klingons will have knives, notes the *London Daily Mail*:

Gloucester police kicked off a five-week "knife amnesty," during which now-illegal knives may be turned in without penalty, by displaying a number of weapons seized from house raids, among them a five-foot stainless steel replica of a sword carried by Klingons in the "Star Trek" series, known as a *bat'leth*.

Inspector Mac McGarry wielded the sword, which he said had been sharpened to kill, saying, "It is a particularly nasty weapon that can, literally, take someone's head off. We are very glad it is off the streets."

Dublin

Advice from the Almighty, conveyed by the *Irish Times*:

After the National Museum of Ireland revealed that a thousand-year-old prayer book discovered in a bog was found open to Psalm 83, supporters of Israel in its current attack on Lebanon sought to invoke the book's discovery as a divine message of support because the psalm is a plea to God not to allow Israel's enemies to destroy it.

However, museum officials issued a clarification that the psalm referring to Israel is in modern times numbered as Psalm 84. The one dating from medieval times instead referred to a "vale of tears."

Alton, England

Putting the fun in fundamentalism, from the *Yorkshire Post*:

Alton Towers, Britain's biggest theme park, was to open on September 17 for "National Muslim Fun Day" — with halal food, a strict dress code, and prayer areas.

Music, gambling, and alcohol were to be banned for the day and theme park rides such as "Ripsaw," "Corkscrew," and "Charlie and the Chocolate Factory" all segregated by sex.

But the event's organizers, Islamic Leisure, have called off the event, citing lack of interest.

Newport, Ind.

Protecting our nation's local fundraisers from poor attendance, from the *Martinsville Reporter-Times*:

State homeland security officials have told Vermillion County to stop using electronic emergency message boards, paid for with a \$300,000 grant from the Department of Homeland Security, to advertise fish fries, spaghetti dinners, and elementary school carnivals.

Minneapolis

The right of the people peaceably to assemble, reviewed by the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*:

Participants in a "zombie dance party," in which a group of young friends dress in sometimes outlandish attire and congregate in public places to dance to music from portable stereos carried in bags on their backs, were taken into custody under suspicion of "simulating a weapon of mass destruction."

Police inspector Jane Hartau said the group refused to provide their names and intimidated passersby with their "ghoulish" makeup, adding, "Given the circumstance of them being uncooperative . . . why would you have those [bags] if not to intimidate people?"

Coopertown, Tenn.

Among the achievements in office of Coopertown Mayor Danny Crosby, alleged in *State of Tennessee v. Crosby*:

Harboring a dislike of blacks, and claiming that "everyone should own one," he swore in a new officer on Martin Luther King Jr. Day with the words "Happy James Earl Ray Day," and has referred to blacks driving with their stereos playing as "those goddamn jungle-bunnies bumping their bugaboo music."

He instructed police to arrest Gloria Swanson, a critic of his policies, for DWI, even if it meant planting a liquor bottle in her car. Of Swanson, Crosby has said that she "operates a lemonade stand in her backyard and gives blowjobs," and that he would like to stick a Taser in each of her ears and give her his "green Georgia donkey dick."

Crosby attempted to get a police report concerning suspected domestic abuse of his wife to "disappear" from official records and databases.

Boulder, Colo.

Obstacle to the revival of an old trade, reported in the *Denver Post*:

Robert Hibbs was arrested after demanding money and attacking an off-duty deputy with a golf club. Police said that Hibbs insisted he was a troll and owned the park bridge the deputy was trying to cross. Witnesses said that Hibbs was demanding \$1 from joggers and bikers who attempted to cross the bridge.

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(Readers are invited to forward news clippings or other items for publication in Terra Incognita, or email to terraincognita@libertyunbound.com.)

BANNED

BY MARXISTS, KEYNESIANS
AND AUSTRIANS

Why would a history of economics create so much controversy?

Dr. Mark Skousen's book, *The Making of Modern Economics*, was pulled from the library shelves of the University of Philippines, a hotbed of Marxism.... censored by Keynesians at Columbia University....and blacklisted at the Mises Institute.

Skousen's "tell all" history doesn't pull any punches. Nobody's favorite pet economist — whether Marx, Keynes, Mises, or Friedman — escapes unscathed (although one economist is rated #1 for his "system of natural liberty" and becomes the heroic figure of the book).

What caused the Marxists on UP campus to ban Skousen's book? His chapter on "Marx Madness" provides a devastating critique of Marx's theories of capitalism, labor, imperialism and exploitation, and why most of his predictions have utterly failed. Plus it reveals Marx as a dismal failure in family, finance, and politics. This chapter alone has converted many Marxists into free-market advocates. (In Communist China, this chapter was translated into Chinese from "Marx Madness Plunges Economics into a New Dark Age" to "Marx and Classical Economics")!

Why has Skousen been censored by Keynesian professors at Columbia? They don't want students to read his chapter on Keynes and Samuelson, what one economist has called "the most devastating critique of Keynesian economics ever written."

Why does the Mises Institute refuse to list Skousen on its recommended list of free-market authors? Despite the fact that his book is the only one-volume history written by a free-market advocate with 3 chapters on Austrians, it has been censored due to two favorable chapters on the Chicago school and how they have dominated the profession....words they don't want their students to hear. (Plus they dislike what he says about Murray Rothbard, their patron saint.)

How to Order this Book

The Making of Modern Economics is a 501-page quality paperback, fully illustrated, and available from the publisher (www.mesharpe.com), Laissez Faire Books (www.lfb.com), or from Eagle Publishing (address below). It sells for \$31.95, but Liberty subscribers pay only \$24.95, plus \$4 postage & handling. (Hardback copies are also available for only \$39.95, plus P&H.)

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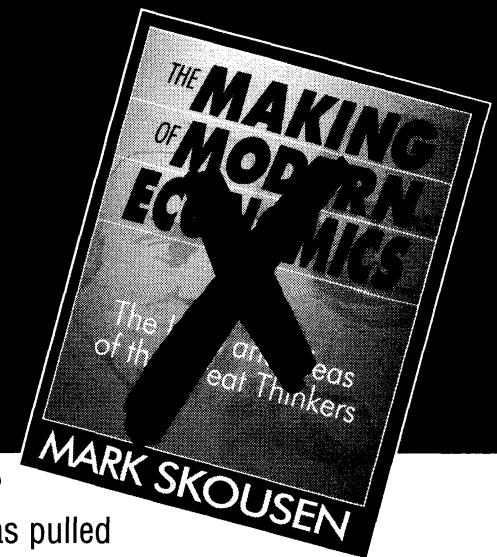
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— Anonymous reviewer on Amazon

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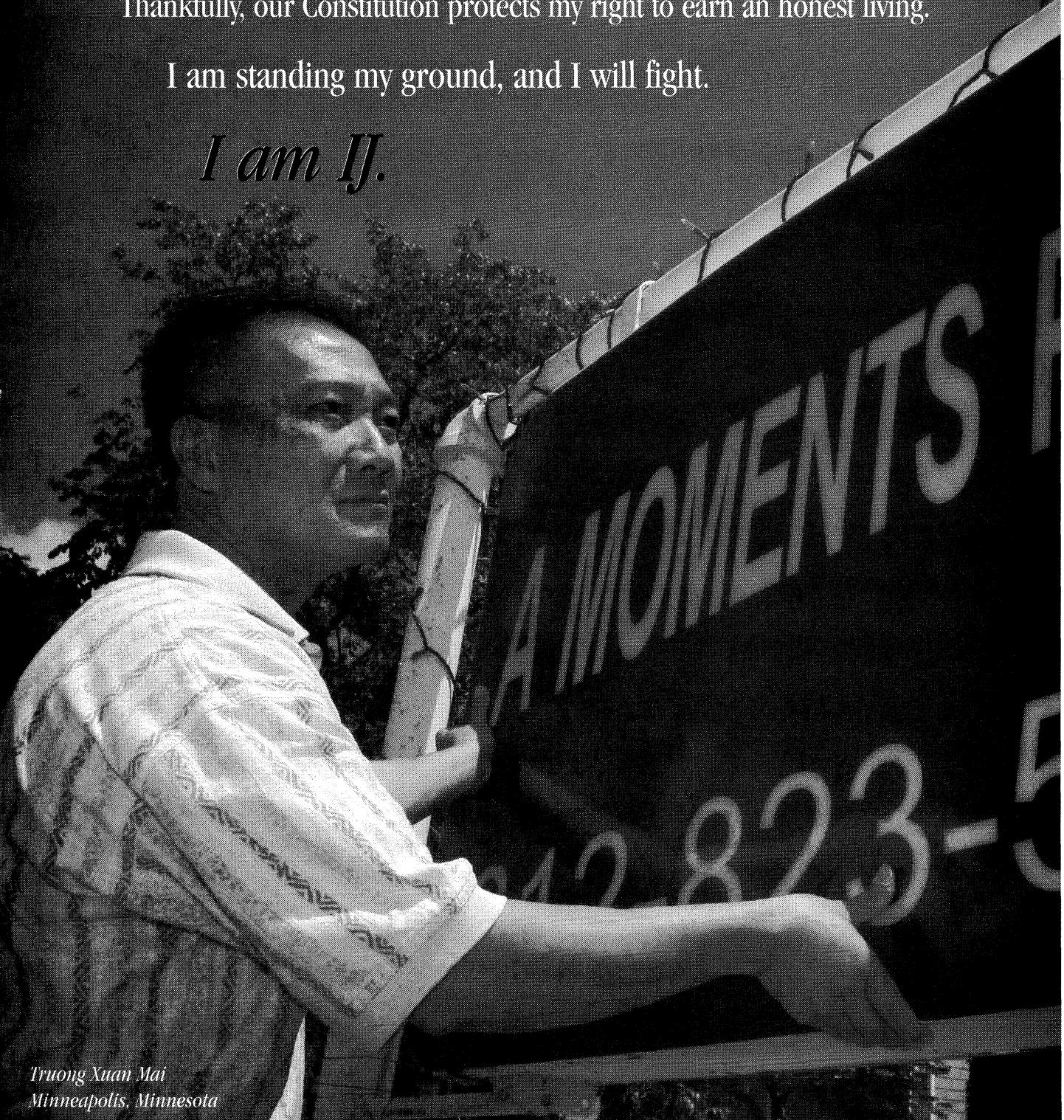
I escaped oppression by communists in Vietnam.

Now, a Minneapolis bureaucrat seeks to take away my American Dream
of providing for myself by hanging signs.

Thankfully, our Constitution protects my right to earn an honest living.

I am standing my ground, and I will fight.

I am IJ.



Truong Xuan Mai
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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