

Liberty

"Where Liberty dwells, there is my country." – Benjamin Franklin

The Films of Ayn Rand

by Stephen Cox

Ron Paul and His Critics

by Murray N. Rothbard

The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement
*articles by Benjamin Best, R. W. Bradford
and Tom Marshall*

Witch-Bashing, Book-Burning and Professor
Harold Hill's Lessons in Practical Politics
by Butler D. Shaffer

Also: Reviews by *Ida Walters, William P. Moulton,
Ross Overbeek, and Timothy Virkkala;*
and a short story by *Jo McIntyre*

UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT

Issued April 5, 1933

**all persons are required to deliver
ON OR BEFORE MAY 1, 1933
all GOLD COIN, GOLD BULLION, AND
GOLD CERTIFICATES now owned by them to
a Federal Reserve Bank, branch or agency, or to
any member bank of the Federal Reserve System.**

Executive Order

FORBIDDING THE HOARDING OF GOLD COIN, GOLD BULLION AND GOLD CERTIFICATES.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Section 5(b) of the Act of October 6, 1917, as amended by Section 2 of the Act of March 9, 1933, entitled "An Act to provide relief in the existing national emergency in banking, and for other purposes", in which amendatory Act Congress declared that a serious emergency exists, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do declare that said national emergency still continues to exist and pursuant to said section do hereby prohibit the hoarding of gold coin, gold bullion, and gold certificates within the continental United States by individuals, partnerships, associations and corporations and hereby prescribe the following regulations for carrying out the purposes of this order:

Section 1. For the purposes of this regulation, the term "hoarding" means the withdrawal and withholding of gold coin, gold bullion or gold certificates from the recognized and customary channels of trade. The term "person" means any individual, partnership, association or corporation.

Section 2. All persons are hereby required to deliver on or before May 1, 1933, to a Federal reserve bank or a branch or agency thereof or to any member bank of the Federal Reserve System all gold coin, gold bullion and gold certificates now owned by them or coming into their ownership on or before April 28, 1933, except the following:

(a) Such amount of gold as may be required for legitimate and customary use in industry, profession or art within a reasonable time, including gold prior to refining and stocks of gold in reasonable amounts for the usual trade requirements of owners mining and refining such gold.

(b) Gold coin and gold certificates in an amount not exceeding in the aggregate \$100.00 belonging to any one person; and gold coins having a recognized special value to collectors of rare and unusual coins.

(c) Gold coin and bullion earmarked or held in trust for a recognized foreign government or foreign central bank or the Bank for International Settlements.

(d) Gold coin and bullion licensed for other proper transactions (not involving hoarding) including gold coin and bullion imported for reexport or held pending action on applications for export licenses.

Section 3. Until otherwise ordered any person becoming the owner of any gold coin, gold bullion, or gold certificates after April 28, 1933, shall, within three days after receipt thereof, deliver the same in the manner prescribed in Section 2; unless such gold coin, gold bullion or gold certificates are held for any of the purposes specified in paragraphs (a), (b) or (c) of Section 2; or unless such gold coin or gold bullion is held for purposes specified in paragraph (d) of Section 2 and the person holding it is, with respect to such gold coin or bullion, a licensee or applicant for license pending action thereon.

Section 4. Upon receipt of gold coin, gold bullion or gold certificates delivered to it in accordance with Sections 2 or 3, the Federal reserve bank or member bank will pay therefor an equivalent amount of any other form of coin or currency coined or issued under the laws of the United States.

Section 5. Member banks shall deliver all gold coin, gold bullion and gold certificates owned or received by them (other than as exempted under the provisions of Section 2) to the Federal reserve banks of their respective districts and receive credit or payment therefor.

Section 6. The Secretary of the Treasury, out of the sum made available to the President by Section 501 of the Act of March 9, 1933, will in all proper cases pay the reasonable costs of transportation of gold coin, gold bullion or gold certificates delivered to a member bank or Federal reserve bank in accordance with Sections 2, 3, or 5 hereof, including the cost of insurance, protection, and such other incidental costs as may be necessary, upon production of satisfactory evidence of such costs. Voucher forms for this purpose may be procured from Federal reserve banks.

Section 7. In cases where the delivery of gold coin, gold bullion or gold certificates by the owners thereof within the time set forth above will involve extraordinary hardship or difficulty, the Secretary of the Treasury may, in his discretion, extend the time within which such delivery must be made. Applications for such extensions must be made in writing under oath, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury and filed with a Federal reserve bank. Each application must state the date to which the extension is desired, the amount and location of the gold coin, gold bullion and gold certificates in respect of which such application is made and the facts showing extension to be necessary to avoid extraordinary hardship or difficulty.

Section 8. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and empowered to issue such further regulations as he may deem necessary to carry out the purposes of this order and to issue licenses thereunder, through such officers or agencies as he may designate, including licenses permitting the Federal reserve banks and member banks of the Federal Reserve System, in return for an equivalent amount of other coin, currency or credit, to deliver, earmark or hold in trust gold coin and bullion to or for persons showing the need for the same for any of the purposes specified in paragraphs (a), (c) and (d) of Section 2 of these regulations.

Section 9. Whoever willfully violates any provision of this Executive Order or of these regulations or of any rule, regulation or license issued thereunder may be fined not more than \$10,000, or, if a natural person, may be imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both; and any officer, director, or agent of any corporation who knowingly participates in any such violation may be punished by a like fine, imprisonment, or both.

This order and these regulations may be modified or revoked at any time.

THE WHITE HOUSE
April 5, 1933.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

For Further Information Consult Your Local Bank

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**Special attention is directed to the exceptions allowed under
Section 2 of the Executive Order**

**CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR VIOLATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDER
\$10,000 fine or 10 years imprisonment, or both, as
provided in Section 9 of the order**


Secretary of the Treasury.

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Editorial

Why Liberty?

Does the world really need another libertarian magazine?

There already exists a variety of libertarian periodicals, ranging from local newsletters to national magazines, from personal "zines" to scholarly journals. Given the limited resources of the libertarian movement, the number of libertarian publications is impressive, and the quality of most is remarkably good.

Yet it seems to us that nearly all libertarian periodicals fit into one of three categories: outreach periodicals, house organs or scholarly journals.

In efforts to gain influence or convince others of the correctness of their positions, a considerable amount of libertarian intellectual energy is aimed outside the movement via outreach periodicals. While converting others may be an important and worthwhile activity, outreach periodicals are sometimes rather boring to the intelligent libertarian. Who needs another article on free market garbage collection?

Other libertarian periodicals attempt to expound a certain vision of liberty to the exclusion of other libertarian visions. These house organs usually do a good job as standard bearers of their particular faction, but they often suffer from their narrow scope and perspective. They generally discuss only issues of particular interest to their faction; to the extent they discuss other issues, they do so from a very narrow perspective.

Libertarian scholarly journals offer a wider scope and broader perspectives; they often explore the frontiers of libertarian thinking. But the strictures of scholarly writing limit their content both in scope and style.

Neither outreach periodicals nor house organs nor scholarly journals can offer the kind of lively, provocative analysis that the intelligent libertarian craves.

The Nature of *Liberty*

We propose to publish *Liberty* as a journal produced by libertarians for libertarians, a journal with the space and inclination to discuss issues that interest libertarians, written from an unapologetically libertarian perspective.

We propose to publish lively discussions of these sorts of issues:

- the intellectual and psychological roots of libertarianism and of the hostility to liberty.
- the sort of society that libertarianism entails.
- cultural, social and historical matters from a libertarian perspective.
- the tactics and strategies of those libertarians seeking to libertarianize the world, as well as the strategy and tactics

of those who believe in allowing the world to go its own way.

- the origin and history of the libertarian movement.

We seek to publish uninhibited discussions of these issues, without feeling any need to soft pedal libertarianism or to outline or defend the precepts of libertarianism (except for challenges from within).

We seek a periodical that will discuss whatever interests the intelligent, thoughtful libertarian, without feeling any need to apologize for our beliefs or to placate non-libertarians.

We seek a periodical that does not soft-pedal libertarianism one whit.

Who We Are

The editors of *Liberty* are a diverse lot.

Two of us (Rothbard and Cox) are professional academics; two of us (Bradford and Casey) are entrepreneurs and financial advisory writers; one of us (Overbeek) is an academic-researcher, scientist-entrepreneur.

One of us (Rothbard) has long been intimately involved in the Libertarian Party; two of us (Cox and Bradford) have supported the LP since its inception but only recently joined the party; another (Overbeek) has refused to join the Party because of his disagreement over its loyalty oath requirement; one of us (Casey) eschews political activity altogether, refusing even to register to vote.

The bases of our libertarianisms vary as well: One of us (Rothbard) is a leading advocate of Natural Rights philosophy, three of us (Cox, Overbeek and Bradford) are Classical Liberals more or less in the utilitarian tradition, and one of us (Casey) is an anarchist in the neo-Objectivist tradition of the Tannehills.

We acknowledge our differences of experience, of orientation, of approach. In the pages of *Liberty* we expect we will often disagree, and sometimes disagree with vigor.

But all of us agree on two points:

- 1) We believe that the role of government in people's lives should be radically reduced or eliminated altogether (thus we are libertarians);
- 2) We believe that libertarians need an "inreach" journal—a periodical in which to sort out their differences, share their thinking, etc.

That is why we publish *Liberty*.

R. W. Bradford
Douglas Casey
Stephen Cox
Ross Overbeek
Murray Rothbard

Criticism

"It Couldn't Be Made Into a Really Good Movie" The Films of Ayn Rand by Stephen Cox

Film is a popular art and a cooperative one. It appeals to a mass audience, and its creation requires the collaboration of many artists. The novelist, even the novelist afflicted with editors, has an easier time maintaining control

over his work than does the writer of films, whose scripts must be brought to life by producers, directors, cinematographers, and actors. It is partly because film is a collaborative art that it is so often the art of situations rather than of ideas or characters. A basic situation—boy meets girl, bank robber meets bank, Godzilla meets Tokyo—may survive the process of film-making, and may even be intensified by that process, while subtle character analysis and complex ideas perish. Basic dramatic situations have more obvious appeal to a mass audience than do carefully developed philosophical theses. This helps to account for the fact that film is so often sentimental, in the sense that it presents situations that exploit and confirm common emotional responses rather than suggesting ideas that might challenge them.

As a novelist, Ayn Rand was a devoted anti-sentimentalist, continually challenging commonplace reactions. She did so by writing fiction that attempts to explain why those reactions are philosophically inappropriate. Fiction of her kind requires scope: the arguments of *The Fountainhead* could never be encapsulated in a two-hour, or a twenty-hour, movie. And, of course, Rand was an individualist artist who aspired to total control of her work. When Bennett

Cerf, the head of Random House, wanted her to cut *Atlas Shrugged*, she asked him, "Would you cut the Bible?"¹ Rand seems a very unpromising candidate for filmmaker—yet she wrote three films.²

Most readers of Rand are familiar with only one of these films, *The Fountainhead*. But to get a sense of her struggles with the Hollywood movie, one must consider all three.

You Came Along
Paramount, 1945
Producer: Hal B. Wallis
Director: John Farrow
Cast: Robert Cummings,
Lizabeth Scott, Don DeFore,
Charles Drake, Kim Hunter

You Came Along is the weakest of her films, and probably the most collaborative; Rand's screenplay was a revision of an original story by Robert Smith. The script is dominated by a basic, sentimental situation: a heroic World War II pilot is dying of some rare disease, he meets a heroic woman who marries him despite her knowledge of his impending doom, he succumbs bravely, she reacts bravely. In order to throw the

grim events of the plot into sharpest emotional relief, or perhaps in order to keep the audience awake, the leading characters are forced to be comedians as well as heroes. The pilot and two happy-go-lucky buddies are travelling around the country selling war bonds, and his destined mate is assigned to travel with them as a representative of the Treasury Department. This in itself evokes humor: what a surprise that the Treasury agent is a woman! But travel provides further opportunities for comedy. The pilot arrives late at night in the wrong hotel room; he takes off his pants before discovering that his Treasury Department guide, not yet his wife, is occupying the bed; confusion reigns, etc.

Rand's humor, when evident at all—and it is frequently evident in the satirical parts of her novels—was not of this kind. It's easy to attribute the "comedy" in *You Came Along* to Robert Smith, who during his career got credits for seventeen not very distinguished pictures, of which *You Came Along* was his first.³ It's also easy to imagine that Smith, rather than Rand, was the source of the scenes in churches and chapels and of the religious epigraph (some pretty verses from Longfellow) that comes on the screen after

the movie's titles. It was Rand, however, who apparently decided to include rather than exclude these elements.

Whatever trouble she may have had with them, she clearly had no trouble with the ideology of heroic love that is implicit in the plot. That ideology becomes an ideology of heroic joy; the heroine resembles the positive characters in Rand's novels when she declares that she will never grieve for her husband or feel sorry that she married him. All this conforms to Rand's idea that individuals are ultimately responsible for their emotions and that life need not be painful even if its circumstances are.

Rand's heroine is understood as rising above the very situation from which the film derives its pathos—yet this hardly acquires the script of the charge of easy, situational sentiment. *You Came Along* is a formula picture that arouses highly predictable emotions, and there is nothing in the thought process of the characters that would trouble the audience with thinking. What makes the film endurable is Elizabeth Scott's portrayal of the heroine. Scott is so poised and luminous an actress that she can make the predictable seem, for the moment, meaningful—and perhaps there is a kind of meaningfulness in this. As for Rand's other collaborator, Robert Cummings, who plays the pilot: he was apparently so pleased with his role that he used the name of his character, Robert Collins,

as the name of the comic protagonist of his 1955-59 television series *The Bob Cummings Show* (syndicated as *Love That Bob*), about a fly-boy turned photographer. Popular culture, like an archaeological site, exhibits many strata of debris.

Love Letters

Paramount, 1945

Producer: Hal B. Wallis

Director: William Dieterle

Cast: Joseph Cotten,

Jennifer Jones, Ann Richards,

Gladys Cooper, Robert Sully

Love Letters is a much more interesting film, if only because its central situation is more complex than the rudimentary disease-death-emotional

transcendence situation in *You Came Along*. The plot involves an English officer, Alan Quinton (played by Joseph Cotten), who ghost-writes love letters to another soldier's girl back home. It's essentially the Peter Keating-Howard Roark, parasite-host relationship, and Quinton's buddy even says the Keatingish things that one would expect from a Randian second-hander:

Quinton: She's in love with these letters that you didn't write.
With my letters.

Parasite: What's the difference?

Quinton: She's in love with a man who doesn't exist.

Parasite: Oh well, I'll make a good substitute.

The woman is indeed in love. According to her letters, she is seeking "a man who would look at life, not as a burden or a punishment, but as a dream of beauty which we can make real." Quinton's ghost-written letters are so eloquent, so lyrical, so individual, that she thinks she has found her man. She marries the purported author, not knowing that he is a cad. When he returns from the war, she gradually realizes that his character

So formidable did Rand make herself while her film was being created that she was allowed more influence on production than any other Hollywood writer has ever acquired.

does not match his words—and then he is killed, knifed to death, supposedly by his disappointed spouse, who loses her memory and cannot furnish testimony about the crime.

I need not belabor all the typically Randian concepts for which this situation provides a vehicle. They include the uniqueness of real character, the sanctity of joy and beauty, and the alacrity with which joy and beauty are despoiled by the emotional exploiters of this world. There is the possibility, too, of a typically Randian plot development designed to challenge sentimental assumptions: the development in which an act that appears "obviously" wrong (Roark's destruction of Cortlandt Homes, for instance, or in this case

the murder of the offending husband) is eventually justified as proper in the terms of an unorthodox moral philosophy.

The framework of *Love Letters* is not, however, entirely of Rand's devising. While working for producer Hal Wallis, she found it difficult to discover properties to adapt for the screen. Finally she chose "out of sheer desperation" a novel in which she saw "at least the possibility of a dramatic situation."⁴ The novel was *The Love Letters*, by a prolific but now totally forgotten author, Chris Massie. Massie's writing is a curious mixture of the spiritual and the clinical, of allusions to the Bible and talk of "sex starvation."⁵ His manner exaggerates the worst features of, say, H.G. Wells—the manner of the tough village atheist who has suddenly gotten his own kind of religion. Beneath it all is an uncouth sincerity, a desire to break the quarantine on every sort of emotional sickness. As his autobiography, *Confessions of a Vagabond*, makes clear, Massie had been deeply traumatized by World War I.⁶ His protagonist in *The Love Letters* returns from war unfit for civilian life, and finds that he has "a nostalgia for... well, among other things... the smell of the dead. War stinks to high heaven, but it is the stink of something terribly real..."⁷

Observations of this sort might lead to serious analysis of psychology, but Massie drifts in a less fortunate direction. He is not concerned with the individuality of character that Quinton's letters express: this is Rand's theme. In the novel, the heroine's marriage to the "author" of the letters fails to work because he accidentally dies, not because of his psychological flaws. She loses her memory and returns to what we are assured is a delightful state of innocence (actually of pure banality), in which she happens to meet Quinton and marries him. In the meantime, oddly enough, she is thought to have murdered an old lady whom Massie drags into the plot for no other reason than for his heroine to be accused of murdering her. Eventually, a second old lady confesses to the killing; just at that moment, however, the innocent

heroine drowns in a failed attempt to save a drowning lamb (that's right, an innocent lamb). This bizarre plot provides Massie with evidence for his final judgment that beauty is born to die, that "life is travail and disappointment and tears."⁸ If one wishes to criticize Rand's movie, one should first read Massie's book.

Rand does well to consolidate the plot, so that the killing acquires some significance, even seems poetically appropriate, and so that it becomes the direct result of the misleading letters and therefore of a denial of true identity. She does still better by removing the maudlin ending. Ever the foe of pessimism, she arranges for Quinton and the heroine not only to meet and marry but also to continue enjoying happiness after the heroine's memory is restored and she discovers that it was her adoptive mother, not she, who did away with her husband. But here one suspects a concession to conventional notions of innocence, a concession that deforms Rand's story. Her plot is about the individual self and its aspirations, not about legal innocence. From the judicial standpoint, it may be interesting to wonder if a certain amnesia victim actually slew her husband, but from the artistic standpoint it adds nothing to the script to prolong the mystery of who killed him, only to reveal that it wasn't the heroine who did so. Nothing is added, that is, but predictable sentiments. One is not unhappy when this film finally ends.

Love Letters is competently acted, despite the fact that Joseph Cotten does none of the special things that he could sometimes do, and Jennifer Jones (playing the heroine) has to represent too cloyingly sweet a character ever to be represented in an interesting way. Jones does not really act as if she were "hearing voices and being tickled at one and the same time,"⁹ but you get tired of her anyway. The director, William Dieterle, was a prominent practitioner of *film noir*. He could also practice other modes; he had worked with Max Reinhardt, for instance, on the wonderful film version of *A Midsummers Night's Dream*. *Love Letters*, however, is very *noir*, or at least very shadowy, and the sets are small and few and cheap. But the camera work is exacting; the shots are well

planned and framed, and camera angles are properly expressive of emotional tones. What damages the movie is the empty sentiment of the amnesia-murder plot, a plot that Rand did not or could not make intellectually challenging.

The Fountainhead

Warner Brothers, 1949

Producer: Henry Blanke

Director: King Vidor

Musical Score: Max Steiner

Cast: Gary Cooper,

Raymond Massey,

Patricia Neal, Kent Smith,

Henry Hull, Robert Douglas, Ray

Collins, Jerome Cowan

In *The Fountainhead*, Rand is a much more independent creator of her own film. She was working from her own book, she was attempting to realize her own ideas—not fix up someone else's—and she had every inclination to pester and cajole other people into producing her script in precisely the way she wanted it produced. In this she had a large measure of success; she was no pathetic Peter Keating being "pushed from office to office" while artistic control was lost, bit by bit.

The film's director, King Vidor, was a figure of no small importance in Hollywood, and he did not take Rand's philosophy and mythology with complete seriousness. Discussing the film's centrally important episode, Roark's dynamiting of Cortlandt Homes, Vidor wrote:

[Roark] tried in every way to restore the construction to his original idea [this isn't the way the movie goes, incidently] but was unsuccessful. It was then that he decided to dynamite the face of each building.

To me this seemed a preposterous and impractical solution. I went to Jack Warner, the head of the studio, with the argument that if, when the picture was completed, anyone changed or edited some part of the film and I retaliated by destroying that part of the film, would he forgive my rash action. He replied that he would not but that a court judge might.¹⁰

Nevertheless, Vidor goes on to say that he admired Roark's artistic integrity.

Rand, of course, had none of her director's ambivalence, and so formidable did she make herself while her film was being created that she was allowed more influence on production than any other Hollywood writer has ever acquired. Vidor reported that "when actors wanted to change lines we had to telephone her and ask her to come over quickly and that helped stop a lot of actors changing lines."¹¹ Rand was even permitted to coach Gary Cooper (Howard Roark) for his performance in the impressive courtroom scene. Impressive, but perhaps not impressive enough; Cooper and Rand agreed that "he didn't quite get it."¹² *The Fountainhead* remained, inevitably, a collaboration—yet Rand bears most of the responsibility for its outcome.

Critics have been evaluating her achievement for the past forty years, but it is remarkable how often they seem to have been watching some movie besides *The Fountainhead*. I'm not worried here about hostile treatments, such as Bosley Crowther gave the film in the *New York Times*. Crowther's review does sound as if it should appear in Ellsworth Toohey's "One Small Voice," but he is right about some things; for example, he correctly perceives that Gary Cooper's architecture is "trash."¹³ I am mainly concerned with misperceptions to which friendly as well as hostile critics have succumbed.

Charles Derry, who likes the book, likes the movie, and views it as an example of successfully "collaborative art," emphasizes its visual subtlety by asserting that "Ellsworth Toohey's first appearance is as a black silhouetted figure looming large in the foreground... Toohey, a man of shadowy ideas, is ready to try to dominate when the time is right."¹⁴ In fact, Toohey first appears as a figure walking unobtrusively across the set behind Roark. This image captures not only Toohey's sinister quality, but also the fact that Roark does not—prefers not to—notice people like Toohey.

A small misperception—there are larger ones. Kevin McCann pictures the movie's Roark as "fight[ing] to con-

vert the public and the architectural world to his thinking." In reality, of course, Roark says that he doesn't care what anyone else thinks about architecture; he engages in ideological warfare only when he needs to gain acquittal in court. McGann also reads Dominique Francon's fake attempt at suicide as a real attempt.¹⁵ Derry and Stuart Kaminsky insist on the presence of a certain pattern of imagery, in accordance with which Roark seems to ascend in the camera's eye. "Throughout the first part of the film," Kaminsky says, Dominique "is shown physically above" Roark; "only when she becomes sexually vulnerable does she appear in a lower position on the screen." According to Derry, "Throughout the movie Roark was constantly shown close to the earth.... The camera was often placed above his head, emphasizing his striving to rise." In the final sequence, Derry notes, the camera angle is reversed: Roark has conquered.¹⁶ The truth is, however, that the camera normally takes a level view of Roark; even in scenes in which other characters are understood as looking down on him, literally or figuratively, the lens is normally aligned to him, not them.

About the film's ideas there are many misperceptions. Richard Combs believes that Rand's script "continually declaims against the grovelling mediocrity of the masses and their envious egalitarianism." But neither the script nor the direction has much to say about the "masses," their envies, or their isms; there may be more analysis of their apparent mediocrity in *It's a Wonderful Life* than in *The Fountainhead*. When mediocrity is criticized, it is mainly the mediocrity of the intellectuals and the upper classes that Rand and Vidor seem to have in mind, and that we see on the screen. Combs also claims that the script's political philosophy, which is principally vulnerable, one would think, to the charge of single-minded rationalism, actually "conflates and confuses so many political attitudes in its drive to exalt the Superman that the narrative result is a kind of *Wizard of Oz* nonsensicality."¹⁷ All one can say about this is that Combs didn't like whatever movie he saw. Raymond Durnat, a generally sympathetic analyst, also has difficulty in classifying the film's ideas. Although he fails to specify any very immediate

influence of Vidor's populist or mystical tendencies, he nevertheless argues that "it remains unclear where Miss Rand's [ideas] end and Vidor's begin."¹⁸ This is a curious remark to make about a film whose concept was so thoroughly Rand's own.

The Art of Cooperation

Collaboration, however, had to take place, and it did. Fortunately, Rand and Vidor agreed on the usefulness of a non-naturalistic technique. Rand liked expressionist film, and in her novels she found plenty of uses for the mythic and the mythological.¹⁹ *The Fountainhead* comes as close to mythic expressionism as a film about a rationalist architect could ever come. The mythic atmosphere is partly a matter of the directness and "urgency"²⁰ of Rand's script, which was required to reduce a very long book to its stark fundamentals. Rand was always good with an aphorism, even in her late, tedious years, and the aphoristic style helps her here: "I don't build in order to have clients; I have clients in order to build," Roark declares—succinctly establishing himself as the archetypal creator.

But myth can never be achieved simply by collecting aphorisms. The mythic is a matter of universal problems, essential conflicts, and symbolic acts of sudden, intense significance. It is Henry Cameron (played by Henry Hull) seizing a stack of copies of the *New York Banner*—"the foulest newspaper on earth"—and ripping them to shreds; around him, a crowd gathers and, somewhere above, the camera inspects the scene, as if from a judgment seat. It is Dominique Francon (Patricia Neal) holding a desperate Gail Wynand (Raymond Massey) in her arms and begging him, at his hour of climactic decision, "Don't give in to them, don't give in"; there is a dissolve to his boardroom, where his directors tell him, "You'd better give in"—and he gives in. And of course it is Vidor's close-up of Roark working in the quarry, seeming to express all the creative and destructive energy in the Randian world in the way in which he holds his drill.

In scenes like this last, of course,

the director's insight into the script is more important than the script itself. Throughout the film, Vidor's camera almost unerringly selects the faces, gestures, and objects that are of real thematic or symbolic importance. He lights his sets dramatically so as to emphasize (as if emphasis were necessary) Rand's black-and-white moral contrasts, and he generally places the camera far enough from the actors to convey an impression of reserve and deep seriousness that is suitable to Rand's own seriousness.

The mythic quality of the movie, as I earlier implied, depends as much on what is left out as on what is put in. We never see Roark cooking a meal or riding a subway or going swimming. In this respect, the movie is much starker than the novel. Until the last shot, Roark is never shown working at a construction site; after he gets out of the quarry and achieves his proper station, his work is presented as if it were entirely intellectual, a triumph of mind over matter. The sets are usually stripped of everything that lacks symbolic significance. Roark's offices and the buildings that he designs seem to consist of unnaturally large, unnaturally empty rooms, as if a mythic space were being created by the clearance of all messy, mundane detail. Roark's spaces are in sharp contrast to those of villainous or equivocal people. Toohey's office has plenty of furniture and is well decorated with eighteenth-century portrait prints and a picture of Greek ruins; the boardroom in which Roark is denied a commission displays "decadent" Hubert Robert-like architectural paintings; Dominique's bedroom, a pre-Roark structure, is elaborately baroque; Wynand's pre-Roark dining room is decorated in a heavy neoclassical style and overshadowed by an immense baroque picture; on the facade of the *Banner* building, a metal sign hangs from Corinthian columns—the architectural banner of decadence and equivocation.

One would like to say that all aspects of script and production were adequate to the goal of mythic expressionism. Regrettably, they are not. Rand's dialogue is sometimes much too "urgent" for its own good. It's not mythic but gratingly obvious for the board of directors of the Security Bank to try to make Roark compromise by

telling him, "You realize, of course, your whole future is at stake. This may be your last chance." And the expressionist sets are often not mythically stark but vacant or dull or shockingly bad. Rand failed to get Frank Lloyd Wright as designer of Roark's buildings; he wanted too much money and too much control.²¹ The studio's designer, Edward Carrere, took over, with fear-inspiring results. The film does well at

showing the various ways in which bad architects can ruin buildings; the Cortlandt project that Roark blows up richly deserves to be blown up, as discontented mutterings from the audience normally testify. But the Cortlandt that Roark de-

signs looks like nothing more than a typical government project. The house he builds for Wynand is even worse; it's a hard, ugly, moronic lump—something like a square space-ship filled with cement. Its principal interior embellishment is a lamp with goldfish swimming inside it, lovingly placed in the foreground by King Vidor. In general, Roark's buildings go out of their way to deny his doctrine that "form must follow function."

The film's musical decoration is slightly more successful than its architectural decoration. The score is by Max Steiner, usually regarded as one of the best Hollywood composers; he provided music for *Gone with the Wind* and *Casablanca*. Steiner's *Fountainhead* music tries to be romantic and sparsely modern at the same time; it ends up being over-stylized and repetitive, a theme without real variation. It's simple enough to avoid serious embarrassment, however, and the final few bars provide a climax of what must be called religious feeling.

The cast, of course, is more than decoration; its members are, perhaps, Rand's most important collaborators, and it has to be said that as a group they fail to attain mythic status. One can hardly object to the presence of actors as talented as Gary Cooper, Raymond Massey, and Patricia Neal, but their talents are not necessarily in Rand's line. Only Massey is capable of realizing the compelling strangeness, the uncanniness of myth, and Massey seriously mars his performance by

overacting, as Rand recognized.²² His arresting voice and manner make him, potentially, the right man for the part, and he skillfully captures the sardonic quality of Wynand's personality. But he is too often on stilts; he neglects Wynand's toughness in favor of his self-conscious theatricality. Neal overacts much more flagrantly; she plays her part with an hysterical intensity

Fiction of Rand's kind requires scope: the arguments of The Fountainhead could never be encapsulated in a two-hour, or a twenty-hour, movie. The process of condensation that helped bring the mythic elements into sharp focus also helped to deprive them of meaning.

that fits the character of Dominique all too well and exaggerates the movie's expressionist style to the point of absurdity. She constantly appears to be posing for some slightly deranged portrait-painter residing in the Berlin of 1925. Her interpretation of Dominique merely deepens the mystery of why Dominique is considered a heroine.

Another mystery is Rand's curious idea that Gary Cooper was Howard Roark: "From the time she had begun writing *The Fountainhead*, when she had first considered the possibility that it might one day be made into a movie, Gary Cooper was the one actor she wanted for the role of Howard Roark. His physical appearance strongly suggested Roark to her; she saw him as the archetype of the American hero."²³ Like other people who have gotten their wishes, Rand lived to regret it. Cooper wasn't entirely up to the role, though not being up to it allowed him to mold Roark a little in his own attractive image, "humanizing" him, as many people have said. For examples of good acting, one should look at Cooper's sensitive treatment of Roark's shifting feelings in his scenes with Massey, or in his fine little scene or two with Ray Collins, who plays Roger Enright. (Collins, who had performed as Boss Jim W. Gettys in *Citizen Kane*, is himself an excellent actor, as is Jerome Cowan, perfect in the role of Alvah Scarret.) The crucial objection to Cooper is his age; he is

much too old to play Roark the beginner—just as Kent Smith is much too old to play the neophyte Keating. It is very surprising that Rand thought of Smith (who does turn in a memorable performance of Keating the has-been) as the right "physical type" for his part.²⁴ Is this the "pale, dark haired, and beautiful" Keating of the novel, the Keating who has a "classical perfection" in his looks, whose eyes are "dark, alert, intelligent?"²⁵ Not exactly.

Surprising also is Rand's judgment that Robert Douglas, playing Toohey, "was too forceful," not "slippery and snide" enough.²⁶ The splendidly developed Toohey of the novel is powerful as well as conniving. He is both a small, twisted figure and an immensely forceful presence. And who wrote the script in which Toohey says to Keating with disgust, "Of course I'm your friend. I'm everybody's friend. I'm a friend of humanity. Now, why did you come here? What do you want?" Rand herself made Toohey forceful, as he should be if he is to enact his prominent part in the myth. Perhaps no actor could capture Toohey's complexity, but Douglas does a striking, more-than-naturalistic job with one side of him. The fact that Rand wanted the other side to be emphasized probably reflects her embarrassment at having created a splendid villain who acts as more than a "foil" or "contrast" to the good people—the role in which her later aesthetic theory would cast a villain.²⁷

The Authorized, Abridged Version

The major problem in *The Fountainhead*, however, lies not in its cast, its direction, or its production; it lies in a conflict of media. Rand's great difficulty was that of transforming a complex philosophical novel into a series of mythic scenes, scenes that nevertheless depend on a certain amount of philosophical elaboration if they are to be understood. The process of condensation that helps to bring the mythic elements into sharp focus also helps to deprive them of meaning. Rand was thinking of the conflict of

media when she told Barbara Branden that she was "certain that it couldn't be made into a really good movie"; she had already "told the story in the proper form in the book".²⁸

It is this problem that makes some of the movie absurd. The romantic scenes of the book, for instance, are supposed to symbolize and develop the relations among certain complicated ideas. The romantic scenes of the movie are just romantic scenes, rendered with an intensity which they do not seem to deserve. True, Rand is willing to compromise by getting rid of some of the sexual intensities: Dominique gets married twice, not thrice (thank God—three times would look simply terrible on film), and Roark's role in wrecking the Wynands' marriage is somewhat obscured, as McGann notes.²⁹ But the scene in which Roark conquers Dominique in her bedroom remains, and it is a ridiculous scene. Certain elements of myth defy naturalism so boldly as to make literal versions of them appear grotesque. No one wants to see Homer's battles represented literally, and no one wants to see Daphne literally transformed into a tree while she is trying to escape from Apollo. An elaborately philosophical treatment may, perhaps, demonstrate that the Roark-Dominique romance is human and explicable, but without this treatment, it all looks like a dance of rather awkward bodies. To represent a myth is often to diminish it.

Other parts of *The Fountainhead* are a great deal better than the scenes to which I refer. But the ironic thing is that this "controversial" film is really not capable of stirring up much significant controversy. It can confirm and enhance pre-existing values—or, when viewed by unsympathetic audiences, it can leave these values quite untouched. But it has relatively little power to advocate new values, because it lacks the ability to argue very effectively for them. Compare the laughter that usually greets the romantic scenes with the disgust usually produced by the shots of Cortlandt Homes as redesigned by Toohey's friends. Rand's script is insufficient to convince people that they ought to dislike Cortlandt: how much does the script actually say about architecture, or even about Rand's opinions on the subject? Cortlandt just looks bad. Rand's script is also insufficient to teach anyone not predisposed to such a view that Roark

and Dominique's heroic love ought to be respected. It just looks bad. Rand, we are told, arranged for the first preview of the movie to be held in a working-class community, and she was delighted by its enthusiastic reception. She felt that the audience understood all her ideas: "That's why I like the common man." Yet she herself said, "I didn't even like the script; they wanted the movie to be under two hours, so the script was too short, it wasn't right."³⁰ So how much did her audiences understand?

The Fountainhead is not an intellectually challenging film, though it is certainly better in this respect than Rand's other efforts in the medium. Neither individualists nor anti-individualists are likely to be set thinking by an evening spent with

The Fountainhead cooking in the VCR. Further, knowledge of the movie's intention to be intellectually challenging, and of its failure to achieve this purpose, detracts even from a purely aesthetic appreciation of its technique. If easy sentiment is one danger to the art of film, unrealizable philosophic ambition is another. But at least *The Fountainhead* has ambition, and its ambition involves not just an attempt to present iconoclastic ideas but an attempt to affect its audience's perceptions in daring and distinctive ways. As Stuart Kaminsky says, its anti-naturalistic method makes it "one of the most noteworthy of American films... a strange and courageous effort, rather like a building by Howard Roark."³¹ Rand's courageous strangeness deserves a large share of the credit. □

Endnotes

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20. Durnat, p. 31.
21. Branden, pp. 208-209.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
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26. Branden, p. 208.
27. Ayn Rand, *The Romantic Manifesto: A Philosophy of Literature* (New York: World, 1969), p. 167.
28. Branden, op. cit., p. 185.
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Retrospective

The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement

by R.W. Bradford

In February 1964, Tom Marshall began publication of *Innovator*, "a newsletter of applied philosophy."

Each month, *Innovator's* four pages of tiny type contained an astonishing array of ideas and information about freedom: its meaning, its implications, how it works, how to get it. *Innovator* was more than simply a monthly forum for the nascent libertarian movement, more than a calendar of news and events, more than a place for libertarians to strut their stuff: it was a lifeline to isolated libertarians.

And we were *all* isolated then. There was no libertarian movement: only isolated individuals who had rejected the statist world view. Most of those who were to become part of the libertarian movement were acting in isolation or small pockets within the left or right or the academy.

Many spent their intellectual energy defending libertarianism's more extreme positions. "What! Do you actually mean that we should sell the Post Office? Then who'd deliver the mail?" Others who were to become libertarians accepted most libertarian ideas but feared the idea of total freedom, or feared the expression of that idea.

The dominant libertarian activity, it seemed, was apologizing for libertarianism.

Innovator changed all that. I remember the first issue of *Innovator* I read. Its headline was "Sell The Roads!" It made its case in a logical and sensible way. It didn't apologize for its "extremist" position; it held it high like a banner. It was at that moment that I

first began to realize that the future of freedom did not lie in compromise or apology, it did not lie within the conservative movement. It lay in the proud assertion of our own libertarian ideas and arguments.

Innovator was the first modern libertarian periodical: it did more than simply record the birth of modern libertarianism; it midwived it.

A fair amount of *Innovator* was Tom Marshall's writing. He wrote a few articles under his own name and a variety of pseudonyms, but favored the pseudonym "El Ray." Marshall chose this peculiar name, it is said, because it referred to "the ray" as in "the ray of light." Many thought his name meant "the king", as though it were a Spanish pun. He eventually changed it to "Rayo."

Tom Marshall was always convinced of the merit of maintaining a low profile, warning his friends to keep his pseudonyms secret, maintaining a nondescript office, keeping his residence secret from movement friends.

By 1968, his interests were turning away from organized educational activity toward escaping from the control of the state. "Life in the interstices" had always been one of his favorite strategies, and he had always urged self-reliance in such practical forms as guns and alternative identification.

As the Vietnam War escalated, the civil rights and anti-war movements flourished and the world's states responded by constantly increasing their political power and constantly building even more powerful engines of destruction, Tom Marshall grew more and more convinced that the world of organized society and government was the problem.

To him, the solution to the problem of government was simple: abandon it.

He chose the sparsely populated Siskiyou region of southern Oregon as his habitat. At first he lived in a camper-pickup truck combination with no permanent address, gradually learning wilderness skills and weaning himself and his "freemate" from the social world.

He called his way of living "vonu" (as in "VOLuntary Not vULnerable"). Always the logical engineer, he pursued his vonu freedom methodically. He researched and experimented, writing up his findings and quietly publishing them in his underground newsletter *Vonu Life*.

For a time, he also quietly campaigned for other libertarians to join him in his new way of life. He even offered a sort of "on-the-vonu" training program, complete with coded maps and secret rendezvous.

So far as is known, "vonuism" did

Memoir

Tom Marshall: Innovator A Week in the Wilderness by Benjamin Best

I first met Tom Marshall in Los Angeles in 1967. A tall, slender and bespectacled electrical engineer, he was in many ways a picture of what is commonly recognized as a "nerd." He was what you might call inhibited and at a loss for "small talk." He had an element of formality about him, even in casual social situations, but it wasn't severe. He was much more at ease exchanging information or making plans for action.

He spoke in what sounded like a dialect he made-up himself. Every word was carefully articulated, but spoken with unusual inflection and variation in rate of speech. It was contagious: I have occasionally found myself speaking "the dialect" without intending to. I remember he once used the phrase "sort of" somewhat inappropriately, in a way I thought was an effort to conform to what he saw as my "hip" orientation. Imprecision was not a part of Tom's natural self-expression.

He lived in a run-down part of the city in a shack that looked as if it were about to be condemned. The furnishing was sparse and the grass was long. Yet he was not poor. A more pleasing esthetic environment would have been a waste of money, in his view.

Tom was born and reared in New England. He once told me that one of the great resentments of his youth was that his father (whom he held in high esteem) spent years trying to establish a local public school rather than expending his time and energy on giving Tom a private education.

After working as an engineer in the Bahamas, Tom arrived in the ideologically seminal atmosphere of Los

Angeles in the early 1960s. Harry Browne was at the Henry George School, Joseph Galambos was promoting concepts of competing governments with an emphasis on deference to intellectual property, and the Nathaniel Branden Institute (NBI) was teaching Ayn Rand's Objectivist philosophy to a wide audience.

Tom enrolled in an NBI course, but his prime interest was in applying ideas—in achieving personal freedom through experimentation and direct action outside of the political process. His initial effort, *Preform*, was the first instance of someone attempting to form a new libertarian country. He attracted many intelligent, capable and creative people to the project.

To expand his base of human resources, Tom established The Institute for Social Progress and began to publish *Liberal Innovator*, which was intended to document instances of people achieving economic, social, political and sexual freedom. Although the word "liberal" was soon dropped from the title, *Innovator* continued monthly publication from 1964 until 1968. It was fresh, exciting and creative.

But Tom's urgent desire for freedom was drawing him away from Los Angeles. He published *Preform*/

Inform to document his gypsy lifestyle as a camper nomad. Then he published *Vonu Life* when he and his free-mate moved off the roads and into the wilderness of Oregon.

In the spring of 1972, I visited Tom again, this time attending his "Vonu Week" program in Oregon. What follows is an attempt to reconstruct my memories of that week. I must admit that personal and psychological factors stand out in my mind more strongly than technical details.

My companion for the trip was a woman named Lynn, an attractive person in her early twenties whose orientation was back-to-nature, healthful living, simplicity and "austerity". I had met her at a Free University encounter group and had been favorably impressed when she spontaneously offered a story describing her attempt to build on her own a shelter/retreat in the woods.

Tom mailed a list of code names corresponding to actual names of creeks, roads, and other geographical features of the area where I was to meet him. He later sent a description of how to find his rendezvous spot which made reference to the code names. I had some trouble finding the initial turn-off and considered inquiring at a local store. Lynn suggested

that that would not be a very vonu thing to do. So we ended up driving around a bit more until we convinced ourselves of the correct turn. Later, when I mentioned my difficulty to Tom, he made reference to the store where I could have inquired.

I also had trouble driving "1.6 miles" down the road with a car whose odometer had no tenths of miles. I ended up driving in circles to zero the thing and then trying to estimate. By following a treasure-map-type series of paces and turns at various code-named landmarks, we managed to be at the rendezvous spot at the pre-arranged time. Tom whistled a pre-arranged tune from the bushes and I whistled a pre-arranged tune in reply.

The rest of "Day 1" was as described in the "Programme". Both Lynn and I were impressed to the point of being awe-struck with the speed and efficiency with which Tom went about building our shelter. It was basically a horizontal bed-frame built on the side of a slope, with a polyethylene top and mosquito net. Tom spoke quickly describing what he was doing, but I'm not sure I learned very much. After Vonu Week I was to express the criticism that I probably would have learned more if there had been more "guided doing" rather than just watching and listening.

I will interrupt the story here for some background. I had barely been on a "date" with Lynn, despite the rapid intimacy that develops during an encounter group. In fact, my main interest in the group had been another woman. But at the end of April I asked Lynn to go with me to Vonu Week and she agreed. I then spent the month of May at "Outward Bound," which I had hoped would complement Vonu Week. The emphasis of Outward Bound was almost entirely on building stamina—on pushing a person to the "breaking point". I didn't break, but I may have been too exhausted to use Vonu Week to full advantage.

In any case, the situation was that Lynn and I had just assisted in building the frame for a double bed. Tom left. Lynn had come with me to spend the night alone in a remote section of the wilderness. She was a very sexually at-

tractive young woman. Yet she let me know that while we could sleep together, she did not want to have sex.

On Day 2 Roberta, Tom's free-mate, came to tell us about foods. Tom and Roberta used a division of labor to some extent in the cultivation of their vonu skills. Tom worked on the construction of shelters while Roberta worked on nutrition and the preparation of foods. Although they recognized that this was in keeping with stereotypical social roles, it was nonetheless quite satisfactory for both of them. Lynn, too, seemed to like the idea despite my desire to obtain personal mastery of everything. This is perhaps the ultimate vonu. A desire not even to be dependent on—or feel obliged to—a "free-mate". Lynn took over the sprouting.

Lynn and Roberta seemed to have a lot in common in their nutritional interests. Both had done ten-day fasts. For Roberta it was all associated with overweight and her desire to economize on food. With Lynn it was more a matter of practicing religious austerities and occultis-

I suggested that slugs might be good high-protein vonu-food. Though we found the idea grossly unappetizing, I have, nevertheless, since heard of people who do eat slugs.

tic health ideas with the hope of ameliorating physical problems.

We set up a grinder and there was discussion of ways to prepare hard red wheat for eating. I never did adjust to that diet. I got diarrhea and it was evident to me that my meals were exiting my bowels in the same form as they entered my stomach. This may have been one explanation for my listlessness during the week. I have never had digestive problems with any other food before or since.

At one point a tick crawled onto Roberta during our discussion. When Roberta went to kill it, I taunted Lynn about her religious ideas concerning respect for life. Lynn was annoyed that I brought the issue up, and Roberta still thought the best thing to do was to kill the insect so it wouldn't crawl back. Lynn didn't

want to take responsibility for the decision. I believe that Roberta killed it.

Later, by the creek, I made the suggestion that slugs might be a good high-protein vonu-food. Roberta found the idea grossly unappetizing and I admit to the same response myself. Nonetheless, I have since heard of people who do eat slugs.

We were left with a pile of survival books. Many were checked out of the local library, which I thought was distinctly unvonu. I regret to say that I spent my free time on Day 3 and Day 5 plodding through these books in the listless heat.

On Day 4 Tom came to tell us about camouflage. This involved a lengthy and insufferably boring (for both Lynn and me) lecture-demonstration of camouflaging our polyethylene tent by covering it with a tarry substance and then sprinkling pine needles, leaves, small sticks, etc. on top. I had a sense of Tom lusting over Lynn, as I was doing, which I found a bit amusing and which I thought made him self-conscious, though we didn't discuss it.

Our campsite was on the borderline between public and private land. Tom suggested that in the event of being discovered by park rangers or private owners one could say he/she had intended to camp on the opposite side of the border. Tom also had a very sharp eye for private planes—when one passed overhead he would tell us to hit the cover. He suggested that we go for nude walks to help develop vonu self-consciousness about planes and possible confrontations with people from "that society". Lynn seemed to like the idea and I now curse myself for not having done it. It would have been a good way to help Lynn get over some of her hang-ups and to help me get over some of my hang-ups about her hang-ups.

Tom also gave us a few cock-and-bull stories which we could give to park rangers if they came upon us. They seemed so ridiculous I didn't bother to remember them. I don't think he had much ability to identify with the psychology of park rangers.

I commented to Tom about the fantastic weather and the beauty of outdoor life, but he said "it's not that

great". Later, there must have been some overcast or light rain. I was startled to see a circular rainbow over our heads. It almost seemed like a supernatural halo, a "sign." But Tom was unimpressed and had no interest in the physics of the phenomenon despite the fact that he had never seen it before.

Tom also mentioned the possibility of letting me use a rifle with a silencer with which to shoot a deer.

Lynn, being a vegetarian, would not eat it, but she did not want to be responsible for influencing my choice or conduct in the matter. I decided against shooting a deer.

I asked Tom many theoretical questions. These were matters he dealt with only in print, he said. Meeting with libertarians almost always dealt with questions of "nuts and bolts". I remember asking him about the problem of the vanishing wilderness. I also asked him why a person who avoids human contact should have such high ideals for social relations. He replied that in a big city people can move from one person to another until all of these persons get wise to his/her "game". But vonuans value their relationships, which are necessarily few. He said the ultimate basis for his libertarian morality was his desire for the best possible relationship with Roberta. I asked about him and Roberta having children. He said it would be too dangerous in a community of only two, but in a community of four, one person could safely be pregnant.

I wasted Day 5 much as I had wasted Day 3. Lynn went off by herself for a long while which gave me cause for worry. But it was just a long walk and a swim. Lynn was thoroughly enjoying herself. I am certain she would have lived there if I had chosen to. She indicated as much.

Day 6 proved to be more social than the schedule implied, probably because of Tom and Roberta's great trust and affection for us. And Lynn seemed more positive about them than she was about anyone she had known in "that society".

We went for a swim in the local swimming hole. We all stripped naked. Roberta was the first in the water. Tom bragged about the high durability and

comfort of his shirt which he had found in a public dump. He also made remarks about libertarians and hippies being alike in their practice of nudism. Tom had practiced "social nudism" prior to meeting Roberta or breaking with "that society".

We were allowed to visit Tom and Roberta's base camp—something definitely not in the schedule. It was a large polyethylene tent on flat

I asked Tom if they had enough money to live in the woods indefinitely. "It's getting to be that way," was his reply.

ground. I only vaguely recall their "famous" foam bed. Roberta outdid herself by the preparation of a variety of tasty "vonu foods", including forms of candy. Tom conceded that one of the hardships of wilderness vonu is the absence of ice cream. Considering that they ate a great deal of stored food, I asked Tom if they had enough money to live in the woods indefinitely. "It's getting to be that way," was his reply.

For some reason, the day ended in Tom's camper. We all sat at a kitchenette table where I talked about Outward Bound and Lynn mentioned her negative first impressions of me, which amused Tom and Roberta. Tom said that we could remain at our campsite for several days if we wished, but I replied that I was scheduled to begin a welding course. After Lynn and I had left the camper, Lynn commented about what an "empty" feeling she had gotten when leaving.

Lynn never really understood the "libertarian" aspect of the discussions Tom and I had, and insisted on classifying it as "political". I think that Lynn felt threatened by the intelligence of her associates. She made comments about the "slowness" of Tom and Roberta, which I took to be a cheap attempt to impress me. I was also resentful of my own sexual frustration and her religious excuses which removed the matter of sex from the field of discourse. When we got back to town I parted company with her permanently. I admit I didn't even discuss

it with her—I left it for her to figure out. As shamefully, I included many negative references to her in my letters to Tom and Roberta.

I got back to town a day earlier than I needed to. Somehow, a mere week away from "that society" had thrown my awareness of time off a day. Of course, Vonu Week was only six days, but I just hadn't thought about it. I never thought, "this is Day 3". I had asked Tom how he would be aware if there was a nuclear war. He said something about having radio.

That was the last time I saw Tom Marshall.

Tom Marshall was an acutely fear-filled individual who lived in constant expectation of nuclear war, economic collapse, social chaos and a totalitarian state. He was also an intensely and minutely conscientious and trustworthy person. By his own admission, he had little interest in—or understanding of—humor.

I can't say what relationship existed between Tom's political paranoia and his inhibitions in social situations, but I'm sure the two were related. He wrote under his own name, as well as "El Ray" and a number of other pseudonyms. I saw no pattern behind the choice of names. He gave me a stern warning that he did not want references to the fact that "El Ray" was not a real name—yet why did he choose such an unlikely appellation, and later alter it to "Rayo"?

Tom had been expecting a nuclear war from the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis when he told his employer he was heading for the hills and promptly did so. In 1967 he was convinced that complete economic collapse would occur within five years. He would be safely entrenched in the woods while others were dying in a bloodbath or suffering famine and totalitarianism.

Tom seemed to find the "status games" in "that society" intolerable and was unable to relate to most people very fruitfully. Roberta found the same to be true. Relating to people in "that society" only made them feel lonelier. Tom later wrote to me expressing interest in the "psychological

Essay

Libertarians and Coercivists

by El Ray

A Libertarian is a person who holds (for whatever reason) that no one has a right to use coercion (initiate the use of physical force or threat thereof).

Most libertarians hold that one may use physical force in self-defense and/or retaliation *against* coercion; distinguishing between coercion and *non-initiated* force appropriate to a situation.

The opposite of a Libertarian is a Coercivist, a generic term for persons who inflict or advocate coercion.

Two main subcategories of coercivists are:

Felons who personally coerce others;

Statists who seek organized coercion by a State.

Most "conventional" political categories are simply different varieties of Statism—"rival gangs of looters" who fight over who has the right to coerce and for what purposes coercion may be used. These include:

Socialists who advocate government ownership of major industries;

Fascists who advocate government regulation and taxation of private business;

Conservatives who advocate government regulation in accordance with tradition;

Liberals (not to be confused with *Classical Liberals*) who advocate economic

"equalization" through coercion;

"States-rights" advocates who prefer coercion by small States at a local level;

"One-world" advocates who prefer coercive control of the entire earth by a single government;

Nationalists who advocate coercion which increases the "power" of a particular State; and

Racists who advocate coercive subjugation of certain races.

These categories are by no means mutually exclusive. Thus the American government might be described as predominately fascist-libernationalist.

Most States make a determined effort to indoctrinate their subjects (and especially children) to support the present State policies (whatever these may be) through direct and indirect control of education, information, and entertainment media. So, until very recently, almost all persons have been coercivists, and differed with their rulers (when they differed at all) only on petty details. This has been the case not only in Communist Russia and China, but in America as well; the American government has been a "pioneer" in socialized educa-

tion and mass propaganda.

The best known divergent bodies of opinion in America—the "radical right" and the "radical left"—are unfortunately not very radical. The "right-left" polarization has reflected not so much a genuine desire for liberty (at least on the part of the leaders) as class special interests. While many persons on both the "right" and the "left" claim to want freedom, their advocacy is only partial and inconsistent. Thus the "radical left" tends to oppose censorship and conscription, but endorses coercively-financed "welfare programs". Similarly, the "radical right" opposes "medicare" and income taxes, but demands tougher laws against "pornography".

Libertarian opinion, however, takes the best of both "left" and "right" and goes far beyond—to a consistent advocacy of freedom; the total separation of State from all voluntary activities. Since only the libertarian is genuinely radical—only the libertarian truly seeks liberty, only the libertarian can provide a durable and effective opposition to the welfare-warfare state.

Libertarians can be subcategorized according to methods advocated for achieving and/or preserving liberty. Libertarians include:

Limited government advocates who seek a non-coercive central

government, financed by voluntary means, and having as its principle functions national defense and appellate judiciary. Such a government is hypothetically achieved by ideological education, culminating in legal transformation of the existing government.

"Autarchists" who desire to be left alone by the government but otherwise do not especially care about it (and believe that those who want it should be allowed to have it). Autarchy is hypothetically achieved as individuals discover ways to "opt out". More and more persons cease supporting and "sanctioning" the State, and it gradually atrophies. Most autarchists differ from competitive government advocates (below) in opposing retaliatory force and/or in opposing the delegation of self-defense. And most autarchists differ from communitarians (below) in advocating market trade between individuals.

Competitive government advocates who envision private police companies which competitively offer defense services to customers. Such protection agencies might hypothetically begin in relatively chaotic areas where no State is able to maintain "order", gradually growing and expanding their services to residents of States—offering protection against the State.

Communitarians who seek voluntary collectivism in small (usually agrarian) communities or cooperatives; trade (or barter) being predominantly between communities. Many communitarians base their ideas on fundamentalist religious beliefs. Examples of existing (and economically quite successful) "voluntary communist" communities are the Hutterite *bruderhofs*. Existing communes exploit "legal interstices" within the State. Most communitarians, like autarchists, believe the State will whither away as more and more persons "opt out" by forming cooperatives.

Decentralists who advocate partitionment of large States into many smaller States; culminating in a world of thousands of independent City-States. The decentralist would have relatively little concern re-

garding the form of government of any particular minstate, counting on direct and indirect competition to keep most of them rather free most of the time and on personal mobility to assure *his* freedom, "Iron Curtains" being impossible for minstates. Many decentralists expect a catastrophic economic collapse to so severely weaken the central governments of large States (such as America and Russia) to permit regions and political subdivisions to establish autonomy.

Anarchists who advocate destruction of coercive States through retaliatory force against the rulers. In the hypothetical anarchic society which follows, criminals are discouraged and the growth of new States is discouraged by intensive personal cultivation of self-defense. Not all historical anarchists have been libertarians. A libertarian anarchist might advocate rioting, but only against the State and state-held property; he would not (intentionally) seize or destroy non-coercively acquired property. Most other libertarians oppose rioting for tactical reasons. The Watts riots were not "anarchy"—both the rioters and the police were coercivists.

Many libertarians favor multiple approaches to liberation.

Since a durable completely-free society has not existed on earth, there is no proof that *any* of the hypothesized libertarian societies can be established and endure. However, the existing States—especially the larger nations—are so utterly immoral and rampantly destructive that fear of unforeseen consequences could hardly deter one from seeking freedom.

States have been by far the biggest thieves and most brutal murderers throughout history. Beside the murder of millions of Jews by the Nazi State, the murder of millions of kulaks by the Russian State, and the murder of millions of innocent residents of Dresden, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki (without even the excuse of military expediency) by the American State, the most depraved of private felons pale in significance.

Most of the economic/technological progress has been the result of free enterprise; notable

private inventions include the steam engine, the cotton gin, electric generator, telephone, internal combustion engine, airplane radio, and antibiotics. The history of States is a chronicle of death and destruction; *their* most notable "inventions" have been the cross, the rack, the guillotine, the gas chamber, and the atomic bomb!

Every major coercive State has used the threat of "foreign" States to distract the attention of subjects from its own violence; this is a Statist con game as old as recorded history. Thus the American rulers try to justify domestic totalitarianism as a "defense against communist totalitarianism" even as they aid communist governments in the enslavement of their own people, and even as the communist States, in turn, exhort *their* subjects with fear of "American imperialism." But when, as in the present case, States are merely quarreling over who shall rule the slaves, it is seldom worthwhile to aid or abet *either* side. Rather one should regard *both* as mortal enemies and develop means of personal defense. □

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Lecture

Witch-Bashing, Book-Burning, and Professor Harold Hill's Lessons in Practical Politics

by Butler D. Shaffer

I have long considered Meredith Willson to be one of the most astute political commentators of this century. You no doubt remember him as the composer of *The Music Man*. If you do, you will recall the scene in which Prof. Harold Hill—a fast talking salesman newly arrived in River City, intent on selling band instruments and uniforms to the local booboisie—runs into an old friend and begins to inquire of him: "what do people talk about in this town; what gets 'em stirred up; what's new in town?" As Hill's friend is informing him of the new pool table that has generated a good deal of interest among River Citizens, the wheels begin to spin and whirl inside Hill's head. In another moment or two, Harold has corraled many of the locals in the town square, singing to them of the dangers of "pool halls" "right here in River City." "That's Trouble, with a capital 'T', and that rhymes with 'P', and that stands for 'Pool'!" He and his rather witless friend later play the roles of *agents provocateur* to repeat—as voices from the crowd at a town meeting—the dangers of undisciplined youth frittering away their time at the local pool hall. After they have succeeded in whooping up the crowd into frenzy of action, Prof. Harold Hill emerges with an offer to form a "River City Boy's Band"—with instruments and uniforms to be supplied at a handsome price—and the boobs quickly line up to be fleeced.

I have wondered, as I watched Harold bilking the bumpkins, how different the rest of us really are from these River City denizens who so eagerly parted with their money and en-

The author originally delivered this lecture at the 1986 *Eris Society* Convocation in Aspen, Colorado. © by Butler D. Shaffer, 1986

rolled their sons in a scheme concocted out of fears generated by those who stood to profit from assuaging those fears. Astute observers will quickly see the parallel, here, to the national defense racket. "We got Trouble, with a capital 'T', and that rhymes with 'C', and that stands for 'Communism,'" the politicians have been warning us for nearly forty years now. In getting people stirred up over the very fears he helped plant within the minds of his victims, and then offering—for a price—protection against those fears, Harold Hill was playing the consummate political or religious leader. Meredith Willson—through this snake-oil peddler Harold Hill—has updated Machiavelli for us, bringing realpolitik to Main Street America.

In my book, *Calculated Chaos: Institutional Threats to Peace and Human Survival*—I sell books, not band instruments!—I develop the idea that institutions not only create conflict, but require conflict for their success in organizing and controlling people. Violence, social discord, economic dislocations, and wars are not inadvertent consequences of institutional behavior: they are, like pool halls in small towns, the means by which institutions generate and demand "services." If institutions

are to succeed, they must carefully nurture and manage these sources of human conflict,... to "keep the game going," so to speak. While my book addresses institutions generally—carefully distinguishing those non-institutional forms of social organization that do not generally produce conflict—here I shall simply focus on the ways in which political and religious institutions generate and sustain social conflict; fostering and exploiting the fears of men and women who are then only too happy to turn over everything they have—including their children—and submit to the authority of political leaders. Those who understand economics will, of course, quickly see the logic of all this: the more fears we have, the greater the demand we will generate for the services of those who promise to protect us from what we fear.

Let us begin by examining one of the oldest of these protection rackets, the "national defense" game. Ever since tribal leaders learned how much more obedient their fellow tribesmen were when faced with the threat—real or imagined—of the "Nine Bows" who lived on the other side of the mountain, organizing for "mutual protection" against foreign invaders has been the keystone for all political power and authority. Consider the advice given by Machiavelli in 1513: "A prince

should therefore have no other aim or thought, nor take up any other thing for his study, but war and its organization and discipline, for that is the only art that is necessary to one who commands." That things haven't changed any in the intervening years is reflected in the twentieth-century observation of the late Randolph Bourne:

"War is the health of the State. It automatically sets in motion throughout society those irresistible forces for uniformity, for passionate cooperation with the Government in coercing into obedience the minority groups and individuals which lack the larger herd sense....(I)n general, the nation in war-time attains a uniformity of feeling, a hierarchy of values culminating at the undisputed apex of the State ideal, which could not possibly be produced through any other agency than war."

When we fear other people or conditions, in other words, we become like children who submit themselves to the unquestioned authority of parents. It has long been the function of institutions—largely through government and religious schools—to see to it that we do, indeed, remain as children.

There are many times, of course, when institutions face significant threats to either their established position, or to the carefully-nurtured mindset that keeps their followers docile and obedient. When that happens—as, indeed it is happening throughout the world today—those institutions often respond with a frenzied fury that intensifies violence and human suffering. When the early Christian church was endeavoring to solidify its power under the Emperor Constantine, it began destroying competing religions—including what has been one of the more decent and intelligently-based Christian groups, the gnostics—actions that included the burning of heretical texts. During the age of science, when the doctrines of the Catholic Church were called into question by such men as Copernicus, Galileo, and others, the church began persecuting free-thinking individuals as heretics. This persecution had a tremendous chilling effect on the thinking and expressing of views regarding the nature of life and the universe that conflicted with

established church opinion. At about the same time, the Catholic Church was faced with the liberating influences of the Reformation movement, and responded with bloody, vicious, and depraved practices of the Inquisition to crush—or burn at the stake—those who dared to have an opinion that deviated from that of the priesthood. When these Protestant churches managed to get established, they, too, responded with terrorizing campaigns to root out and persecute "witches" and "sorcerors".

American history is also represented in this exercise of tyranny over the human mind and soul. The institutional order of Massachusetts—left in a state of uncertainty by the restoration of the English monarchy in 1660 (replacing Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth), as well as the Court of Chancery's 1684 annulment of the Massachusetts charter (which left land titles in doubt) and restoration in 1689—responded by trying and hanging "witches."

More recently, when the depression and the consequences of World War I befell Germany in the 1930's, Adolph Hitler and his Nazi party were able to persuade many—perhaps most—Germans that Jews, gypsies, communists, and homosexuals were to blame, and that only by purifying the Aryan race could Germany reclaim her "greatness" in the world. When the post-World War II American Nation-State was left without any viable "enemies" around which to organize the American public, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee helped to identify a "threat" in the "international communist conspiracy." The power and wealth-consuming capacity of the American government was not about to recede!

If you will observe with an energized awareness the behavior of institutional leaders, you will see this pattern being repeated over and over again: when institutional power and authority is threatened in any way, institutional spokesmen will respond by identifying "others"—be they foreign or domestic—as "threats" to us all. In this way, institutional leaders play the game of "divide and conquer," separating one

person or group from another, and getting us accustomed to looking upon our neighbors—and not the State—as a danger to our well-being.

Few will deny that recent decades have produced a continuing decline of respect for and interest in political and religious institutions. Even our last two presidents have had to campaign as "outsiders" who would come in to dismantle the power of the federal government, and to "get the government off our backs." That the Carter and Reagan administrations have both contributed to enlarging the powers of the Nation-State at far faster rates than any of their predecessors is another matter. What is of central concern to the political state is the fact that more and more people are disinterested in, distrust, and disrespect political institutions. In the face of this waning popular sanction for the State, how have political leaders responded? How have they tried to overcome the "sales resistance" to further aggrandizement of State power? By following the example of Prof. Harold Hill. Just look at the record:

1. In an effort to find some plausible "threat" that will cause us to submit to more policing and regulation of our lives, a campaign has been afoot—and kept active by a most compliant news media—to convince us of the threat of illegal drugs. ("That's Trouble with a capital 'T' and that rhymes with 'D' and that stands for 'Drugs.'") Trusting that we have become sufficiently conditioned to accept this as a major "threat" to our well-being, one institution after another—from professional sports to government agencies to business institutions—have lined up to announce mandatory drug-testing to which we are expected to submit;

2. As a result of airline hijackings, we long ago accepted the so-called "terrorist" as a threat to our lives and safety. ("That's Trouble with a capital 'T' and that rhymes with 'T' and that stands for 'Terrorist.'") Forget that these "terrorists" are only emulating the butchering practices of other nation-States—and often of the American government to which these groups respond; and forget, as well, that some of these "terrorist" groups have been supplied by former C.I.A. employ-

ees—not unlike the U.S. and Russian governments each arming both sides in international conflicts: the point is that, in accepting the State's designations of others as "terrorist threats," most of us have been willing to submit to having our bodies and personal belongings searched at airport and public buildings;

3. Fearful that new religious organizations might effect a substantial change in human consciousness—much in the same way that earlier societies feared the rise of Christianity, and later of Protestantism, and then Puritanism, Mormonism, etc.—the established order has

been telling us of the "threat" we face from those religious groups which are not members of the National Council of Churches (ie., the so-called cults). ("That's Trouble with a capital 'T' and that rhymes with 'C' and that stands for 'Cults!'") Though we enjoy babbling our bromides about the nation's commitment to "religious freedom," we carefully ignore the religious oppression practiced by (a) the F.B.I.—in raiding the offices of various newly-emerging religious organizations; (b) the I.R.S.—in charging such groups with violations of the Internal Revenue Code (I have long maintained that if Jesus were to show up today, he would experience the same statist tyranny as before, except that he would be crucified by the I.R.S., not the military); and (c) courts—awarding tens of millions of dollars in damages to disgruntled former church members who charge that they have been "brainwashed" or subjected to "mind control" by methods which, on the surface, differ not one whit from those practiced by established religions. Is an adult who continues to participate in the activities of a so-called "cult" any worse off than a child who has been dragged off, by his or her parents, for a lifetime of indoctrination and humiliation at the hands of Catholic, Lutheran, or orthodox Jewish church leaders? Where are the anguished cries against Baptists holding children under water until they confess "I believe"; or the revulsion against the mutilating torture of circumcision practiced upon babies by Jews; or the

righteous indignation directed against Catholic churches for isolating young men and women from their families in distant convents and monasteries?

Those who see the "cults" as instrumentalities of "brainwashing," but fail to recognize the conditioning practiced by other religions, do no more than state a preference for certain poisons. This notion of "brainwashing" is but a variant of the

Substitute the words "poverty" or "racism" for "pornography" in the Meese Commission Report and it would read like a 1960's Ph.D thesis in Sociology!

centuries-old proposition that men and women can lose volition over their own minds; that, somehow or other, people can become "possessed" by sinister forces and need to be "freed" by others in order that their "true" wills can emerge.

It is no idle coincidence that this current persecution of "cults" is also wrapped up in new campaigns against "witchcraft." For a generation that has sent men to the moon, and discovered the keys (i.e., quantum mechanics, the theory of relativity, DNA, etc.) that may unlock the long-hidden secrets of the nature of matter and life itself, the spectacle of grown men and women giving serious attention to fears of "witchcraft" and "Satanic worship" must raise doubts about how advanced we really are. People who have learned to master the tools of a technology that were produced not by adherence to articles of faith, but by the employment of intelligence and reason, will nevertheless crowd into churches to hear neo-medieval minds inform them how playing rock music backwards—they never inquire as to how or why a teenager would play such a recording backwards!—will reveal hidden Satanic messages. The remedy sought by these devil-dowers is a predictable one: get the government into the business of supervising the lyrics of rock music and the sale of the recordings;

4. A more recent example of this

fear-peddling syndrome is to be found in the recently-announced report of the Meese Commission on pornography. A front-page newspaper photograph showing Attorney General Edwin Meese—standing before a bare-breasted statue of a woman—briefing reporters on a report he had admittedly not read, attests to the intellectually dishonest nature of this so-called "study." I can imagine Mr. Meese breaking out into song: "That's Trouble

with a capital 'T' and that rhymes with 'P' and that stands for 'Pornography.'" What the commission — and those who support this puritanical Pecksniffery—want,

of course, is for governments—be they state, federal, or municipal—to exercise greater control over what people are permitted to think about, read about, and talk about. The State's enemy is what it has always been: the free minds of free people. The remedy is, once again, to shackle those minds under the guise of "protecting" us from having us become aware that other people enjoy sex. (I am reminded, in this connection, of H.L. Menck-en's classic definition of a "puritan: one who lives with the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy.")

I suppose the institutional order has Gutenberg to blame for all of this. After all, his invention of the printing press made possible the free expression and exchange of ideas and information, a process that necessarily dilutes the authority of both Church and State. When men and women were able to read the Bible, or the theories of Copernicus, Galileo, or Servetus, it was inevitable that most would become attracted to the sentiment that they, as individuals, were as capable of discovering the truth as a Pope, and that they need not rely on the authority of priests or the holy nature of emperors in order to live well. It is this inherent tendency for rational and scientific processes to remind men and women of their own capacities for intellectual judgment that has always been the religionists' principal objection to free thought and the sciences.

It should also be noted that a puri-

tanical sentiment is not confined to Christianity: the communist government of Russia has long enforced very prudish moral standards, as does that contemporary butcherous religious tyrant, the Ayatollah Khomeini. That the feminist movement has also embraced these puritanical sentiments is, again, evidence of the fear any institutional order—including ideologies—have with free minds engaging in free, self-directed activity.

I must admit to having been amused by the methodology employed by today's fundamentalist conservatives in creating the Meese Commission report. This report is, after all, riddled with the very social premises that have given right-wing politicians and clergymen much fodder for

speeches and sermons. Conservatives who, in the 1950's and 1960's, were berating the "social sciences" for their advocacy of social change, now rely on their own stable of social scientists for "evidence" that pornography causes social problems. Substitute the words "poverty" or "racism" for "pornography" in this report, and it would read like a 1960's Ph.D thesis in Sociology! Conservatives have also been critical of "behaviorism"—the idea that people can be reconditioned by changing their environments, a practice that gave conservatives one of their pet epithetical phrases, "social engineering"—but here are the same conservatives proposing a little "social engineering" of their own: "if only we could put an end to 'pornography,'" they suggest with the same self-assurance of a liberal attacking "poverty" or "racism," "all will be well in America."

But what, above all else, I find most disturbing in this report is its underlying assumption that books, movies, records, and magazines can "cause" people to commit criminal acts. Apparently the Commission heard from some violent types who said that they went out and raped after reading a sexually explicit magazine. I am not surprised by this admission on the part of criminals: since the social scientists first proposed to them that poverty, or racism, or a broken home explains the

"cause" of their criminal acts, criminals have always been willing to embrace any excuse to absolve them from a sense of personal responsibility for their actions. I do wonder, however, if the Commission thought about asking any of these same witnesses if they might also have read what was, for me at least, my first introduction into sexually-explicit writing: the Bible. Perhaps this book should also be included in a proposed list of books to be banned, particularly considering the propen-

Violence, social discord, economic dislocations, and wars on not the inadvertant consequences of institutional behavior: they are, instead, the means by which institutions generate and demand "services."

sity for many killers to argue that God had ordered them to murder an entire family.

But as an intellectual proposition, the idea that printed ink causes crime is about as absurd as the previously-mentioned notion that playing rock music backwards will produce Satanic messages. The entire proposition, in fact, runs contrary to my admittedly limited understanding of Christian beliefs in "free will." I have ruminated, at length, for a fitting parallel for the Meese Commission Report and have concluded that, in conferring upon such inanimate objects as books, films, and records, the power to cause evil events to happen, the Commission has embraced the doctrine of "witchcraft!" I will not know for certain, however, until I have had the opportunity of reading the Report—backwards, of course—to see if it contains any hidden Satanic messages!

5. There have been other persons and groups running about identifying various other alleged "threats" to our well-being, threats that can only be alleviated by expanding State authority over our lives and restricting our freedom of choice and action. Jerry Falwell tells us of the "Trouble with a capital 'T' and that rhymes

with 'G' and that stands for 'Gays.'" The feminists inform us of the "Trouble with a capital 'T' and that rhymes with 'D' and that stands for 'Discrimination.'" Not to be left out are the misanthropic followers of Lyndon LaRouche who sought, in California, a ballot measure requiring the incarceration of all persons with AIDS.

Nor would our inquiry be complete without mentioning those various groups that have sought to identify illegal aliens as the source of any num-

ber of "threats." At first it was argued that these aliens were "taking away" jobs that somehow or other "belonged" to people who did not have them, and that the only solution was to increase the policing of

America's borders, to institute INS gestapo-like raids on work places, and, further, the requirement for every American to carry a domestic passport! When this bit of fascist rot failed to drum up much enthusiasm, the arguments on behalf of these remedies were amended. Next it was said that illegal aliens were the source of the illegal drugs that were coming into this country, and that the only solution was for an increased policing of America's borders. Now, Reagan administration officials and other public nuisances are trying to hype this proposal even further. Now we are told that illegal aliens are the source of illegal drugs, communist infiltration of America, and terrorist groups in America—all of this in addition to the aliens taking away the jobs of people who do work only aliens will perform! And what is the latest remedy for all of this? Having the United States military patrolling America's borders and "assisting" local law enforcement officials! If such a proposal should become law, American citizens could—like their counterparts in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union—know the full benefits of "being protected" by a system of "law and order." Soldiers patrolling the streets of America, stopping any of us on the streets and demanding that we present our "identification papers" or face arrest. And in support of such

Fiction

Options

by Jo McIntyre

It was just a few minutes before lights out, they knew, but the girls were reluctant to break the cozy mood. This atmosphere of warmth and solidarity were rare at the Woman Training School. Rose felt it, too, and knew she had to make one last try. Her visit would be over at the end of the week and she hadn't made any contacts yet.

"Did your grandmother tell you stories?" she said, casually. "Mine did. She always started by saying, 'Not so long ago, my dear, when I was just your age...'"

Several girls looked up and caught her eye. They blinked once and looked down again. "Ah ha! Not a totally dry well," Rose thought, as she formulated the theme for her grandmother story.

"In the days before Stabilization, Grandmother told me, her grandmother had a little candy store on Third Street." Rose paused to make sure her audience was with her, then went on. "Grandmother said she always interrupted at that point to ask about the candy. She craved those luscious descriptions of dark and light chocolates, parti-colored hard candies, chewy taffy caramels, jelly beans and marzipan in fantastic shapes."

"Stop, stop," the girls cried. "Get on with the story. Tell us about the candies when we have had a better dinner."

Rose looked at them with compassion. Dinner had been skimpy again and sweets were scarce now, anyway. How little they know about the abundant pleasures we once had. No one had protested the detail about a woman having a store, perhaps a good sign.

"One day an elegant woman of about 40 came into the shop. She seemed so self-contained and confident, she must have been an opera

singer or a factory owner." There was a stir of disapproval and a murmur of protest.

"Girls, girls! Remember this was 200 years ago!" Rose reassured the uncomfortable ones, while looking for signs of interest.

"The woman had on a huge red scarf, a long sweeping earth-orange skirt, knee-high burnished brown leather boots and thick, richly embroidered jacket. Under the jacket, as she moved, I caught a glimpse of a small-ivory handled pistol."

A collective gasp stopped Rose in mid-story. An armed woman was unheard of now. She looked at the girls who had blinked earlier. They nodded a warning that she had gone as far as she could go.

"Oh, my goodness," Rose said, hastily, with a little laugh. "Look how late it has gotten. Perhaps I can finish the story tomorrow."

"I hope so," said one girl. "That was just getting exciting. Your grandmother must have been a wonderful story-teller."

"Humph," grumped another girl. "She probably wanted to be an independent woman."

"No, indeed," corrected Rose, quickly.

She knew that an adverse report could be submitted to the State Compliance Office by anonymous informants. She could lose her job as

a roaming lecturer, and even spend some time in a remote re-education center, on far less evidence than the suspicion that she harbored notions of independence, or possessed relatives who had. She had to remain free to act in coming weeks as the day of the option approached.

"My grandmother relied completely on her husband and her sons her entire life," she said, firmly. "Before that, of course, her father looked after her. The candy store her grandmother had was just a plaything, a reward from her husband for producing five sons in just six years."

There, that should keep them quiet. With that many sons and the authority in her voice, a potential informer would be warned that she was dealing with an important personage. The girl who had liked the story looked a little disappointed, and over in the back another student looked up with a sign of irritation in her eyes. Pay dirt!

Just then the lights-out bell rang. The girls scrambled to be in bed before the dormitory matron came through on inspection rounds. By midnight, the entire building was quiet. The night duty guard in the downstairs lobby dozed.

In far-off corners of the world, in what had once been national capitals and now were called regional urban centers, computers hummed busily in vain attempts to plan the world's econ-

omy. They tried to bring order into commercial, manufacturing, and basic resource production activities carried on by millions of people all over the earth. In other corners of the world, printing presses clattered and radio and television broadcasts droned, spinning out hundreds of thousands of words, accusing, excusing, and protesting that things were not going as expected.

The scapegoats chosen to take the blame for the failures were: women. Women were continuing to resist orders, laws, and regulations designed to make them stop being independent. "Being independent" was never defined, even after the Ruling Council adopted a law making it illegal.

It was an understood concept, just as "anti-trust" or "social justice" had been understood two centuries earlier by other ruling councils. That had been in the days when there had been legislatures, parliaments and congresses. Then the world peace that so many people had sought had come. Now there was one Ruling Council, the World Stabilization Council, devoted to creating and maintaining stability, certainty, and security in a world with an infinite number of variables.

One way to reduce the number of variables they would have to deal with and make achievements of stability possible, world leaders decided, was to remove half of the population from the question. Hence the effort to eliminate independence in women and independent women. Women were forbidden direct participation in the economy. Their every move had to be approved by a Protector. The Ruling Council's law was called the Family Protection Act.

Putting the Act into effect hadn't been as hard as world leaders had feared. All they had to do was build on two attitudes that already existed before they began. In fact, the attitudes existed since time began.

One was the idea that women were alien and different and, therefore, to be feared; the other was the idea that women bring forth life and, therefore, are to be revered. Independent women were a clear threat to either attitude. An unexpected ally had been women

themselves. Even as The Group was forming, many other women were supporting the Family Protection Act.

The women of Rose's family had not supported the Act. Unlike many women of her generation, Rose knew their story and many other stories as well. Since history was not taught in government schools anymore, hadn't been since the 1930's, decades before Stabilization had begun, Rose's mission, first of all, was to pass on the

A bystander would have seen a huddle of women gathered around the man and child, and then drift quickly apart. The man lay lifeless on the asphalt.

knowledge that things could be different.

Her pupils had to know that there could be abundance: enough food to eat, clothes to wear, and fuel for heat, light, and transportation. Now, of course, was added the second, earthshaking mission. She and the other honored members of The Group were presenting the Options to Inner Circles all over the world this month.

"But first I have to find them," she mumbled to herself, as she rolled over in bed and checked her watch. "I have to find the ones who will listen and understand." Close to 1 A.M. It's time to go.

She sat up and glanced around. There was no sign of motion anywhere among the sleeping forms in the long, open dorm room. She arose and walked toward the community bathroom. She wasn't worried for herself. The extra water she had drunk before lights out would provide an alibi if a snooping matron or guard questioned her presence in the bathroom at this hour. She passed from the dimly-lit hallway into the bright, tiled room and glanced at herself in the wall of mirrors over the long row of sinks.

"You look magnificent for a 60-year-old woman, Rose," she said to herself. Iron-gray hair; trim, sturdy body; wide-apart, unafraid eyes, when not discreetly hooded by heavily-lashed lids. She stared at her im-

age with approval. There was a woman who knew her own mind!

She peeked into the shower stalls ranged along the walls next to the sink. No one there, either. A minute or two more now. Rose glanced at her watch again. The fifty-ninth minute clicked by. The hall door opened and in walked one of the girls who had blinked at the story-telling session.

"I am not a doll," she said softly, pressing her palms together and bowing slightly.

"I have no leader," Rose replied, with an answering bow. She and the girl looked up at the same time and smiled at each other.

"I'm Zallie," the girl said. "I'm pleased to meet another mem-

ber of The Group, especially an honored member." Only Honored Members, she knew, initiated storytelling sessions with the phrase, "Not so long ago, my dear, when I was just your age..."

"Is it safe to talk here, or should we take more precautions?" Rose asked.

Zallie was assuring her the room was safe, when suddenly the door opened again. They both jumped and faced the intruder, ready to take drastic steps if necessary.

"I am not a doll," the newcomer said, softly, bowing. It was one of the other girls who had blinked during the storytelling. Rose had not expected her, but knew the Guidelines provided for a meeting of three members of The Group in unfavorable surroundings under "certain circumstances."

"We have no leader," Rose and Zallie replied, returning the bow. Rose didn't want to waste any time, knowing they had only a few minutes. She put her arms around the girls' shoulders and their heads came together in a triangular huddle.

"I would like to visit a meeting of your Circle," she said. "Are you an Inner Circle or an Outer Circle?"

"We are an Inner Circle, but there is an Outer Circle nearing completion within the dormitory," Zallie replied. "Marda here just joined us."

"I only want talk to the Inner Circle with its established members," Rose said. "The matter I have to bring up is not for newer members who have not

completed their training in self-leadership and instruction in how free insitutions operate. I did notice two likely recruits for your Outer Circle at the storytelling session tonight."

Zallie nodded. "I think I know who you mean," she said. "We have had our eyes on them for some time." She and Rose made sure they were both talking about the same girls, then turned to Marda.

"I've only been a member of The Group for a few months," Marda said, nervously. "I'm still processing the information I have gotten. But this summer between terms I was shown to several prospective Protectors. The time of my Promising can't be far off. Can you help me get away?" She looked pleadingly at Rose.

"Well, that certainly qualifies as a 'certain circumstance,'" Rose thought. Aloud, she said, "I'm sure we can arrange something, dear. We can talk about it tomorrow. Maybe you belong at the Alpine retreat, hm? Now, Zallie, is Friday night too soon for a meeting? My lecture series ends Thursday, so the officials here will think I have left."

"That would work very well," Zallie said. "Everyone in our circle lives right here on campus."

"I'll slip back into town in disguise Friday night to join you then," Rose said. "Until then-- for Freedom!"

"For Freedom!" both girls answered, then they all slipped away to bed again.

The First Mother certainly knew what she was doing when she established the Guidelines for the Group, Rose thought, as she snuggled up back in bed. Even if one of us is caught, she cannot betray the others, for she doesn't know who they are. The Present Mother seems to be following in her footsteps. I wonder how the women will greet her proposal?

So much has happened since the eve of Stabilization, when the First Mother and twelve of her closest friends saw what was coming. They established a company of women who would be able to offer protection and comfort to their sisters right under the noses of their official Protectors, yet would be invisible to them. They set guidelines, signs, and principles, the litany and the protective secrecy for The Group.

The secrecy could be breached under two "certain circumstances," Rose recalled. One: an Honored Member, such as Rose, could make a meeting possible or permit a meeting; Two: an extraordinary circumstance could force a member to reveal herself in the outside world.

The second case occurred rarely. Rose had been present at one such event when she was twenty, shortly after she had been initiated into an Inner Circle. A young girl, about 10 or 11 years old, was being brutally beaten in the parking lot of a huge shopping mall in a Chicago suburb, in what was once the United States.

A short, weak-looking, middle-aged woman stood watching for a moment, then did something Rose had only practiced before. The woman quickly took a large, heavy black shawl out her handbag and draped it over her head like a monk's hood, at the same time giving a loud, shrill whistle.

Instantly, four other women materialized within 50 feet of the disturbance with their own shawls already in their hands. Rose's whistling joined theirs as she reached into her large handbag for her headcovering. As the women raced toward the weeping, struggling child, they tossed the shawls over their heads and shoulders, leaving their hands and arms free.

For just a moment, a bystander would have seen a huddle of hooded women gathered around the man and child. Then the group broke up and drifted quickly apart. It was over in a few seconds. The man lay lifeless on the asphalt. The child was pushed into the nearest vehicle and told to keep her head down. The car began to move before the doors were closed all the way.

Rose jumped into the passenger seat, taking off her scarf as she closed the door. "I am not a doll," she said, breathlessly.

"I have no leader," the woman replied, grimly. Then she smiled, to break the tense mood. "What Circle are you from?" They exchanged information and took turns comforting the abused child. The girl would be sent to one of The Group's strongholds abroad.

"Judging by the way the tyke was

resisting her 'Protector's' educational efforts, I'd say she'll make a fierce Warrior Member," the woman said. Funny how things work out, Rose mused. Forty years later that girl became The Group's Present Mother, by unanimous acclamation. She is certainly one of the strongest-willed, most intelligent P.M.s we have ever had.

Rose's lecture today was the next to last in her series, "How to Keep the Living Space Comfortable for Your Protector." The series was her cover and enabled her to travel freely, a rare privilege for a woman, even a widow with many sons.

"If they didn't take the girls from their mothers so soon," she thought, not for the first time, "they wouldn't have to teach home economics in school. Of course, it is all part of the indoctrination process, instilling the idea that everything has to be taught by an expert. The worst thing, I suppose, is that men are caught in this web of dependence, too."

"Hunh? Wh-what?" Rose started as a voice intruded on her reverie.

"Would you like a little more coffee, Mrs. Kohlman?" There was Zallie, with a coffee pot in her hand and a twinkle in her eye. She could see that Rose was a million miles away, but she needed to let her know where the meeting would be. They had agreed the cafeteria on campus where Zallie worked was the best place to meet to avoid arousing suspicion.

Rose accepted the coffee refill and considered where the best place on the circle meeting agenda would be for the P.M.'s announcement of the coming choice. In the usual format, meetings began with the opening ritual, continued with the listing and disposition of emergencies and the lesson for the night, and ended with the closing song. Guess I'll substitute her announcement for the lesson, Rose decided. It certainly will be something for everyone to think about.

That Friday night, in a basement recreation room, a crowd of giggling, chattering women waved sweet good-byes to two departing men: the husbands and Protectors as well as owners of the basement and building above.

"Now don't you girls go spending too much of our money," one of the

men admonished with a coarse guffaw.

"We won't," said his wife, submissively, covering her eyes with thickly mascaraed lashes. She trailed him up the stairs to the entrance hall to answer the doorbell. "We can only spend what you authorize us to spend," she reminded him.

"Glenda!" she cried, as she opened the door. Her meek expression changed for a moment and was replaced with surprise. The men brushed past Glenda, hardly noticing her. Why should they, thought Beelah, the hostess, she is the perfect picture of dependent womanhood, as I hope I am. What is she doing here? Is she one of us?

Glenda read the expressions crossing Beelah's face and as soon as the men departed she said, quickly and quietly, "I am not a doll."

Beelah solemnly met her eyes, blinked once, then smiled her surprise.

"I entered this Inner Circle last month when you were out of town," Glenda explained. Just then, Zallie came rushing up the stairs. "Did you hear the doorbell?" she asked, excitedly. The responsibility of taking care of the intricacies of setting up the meeting had weighed heavily on her young, untested shoulders.

"Yes, but it was just Glenda," Beelah replied. "Why don't you wait here for the H.M.?" A few moments later, Rose arrived. As Zallie took her cloak, they stepped down into the rec room, which suddenly became quiet when the two women appeared at the top of the stairs.

Rose surveyed the women in the room. There were young and old, slender and plump, ugly and beautiful. The only common bond, now that they were alone with one another was the look in their wide-open eyes: free, determined, intelligent.

"I am not a doll," she intoned, beginning the litany. "I am not a doll," the assembled women replied together.

"I have no leader," she continued. "I have no leader," they answered.

"Service to myself is my highest duty," she said, and heard it echoed.

"Service to my Sisters is service to my Self." Statement. Echo.

"Freedom is my goal; independence is the path I choose to reach it."

"To gain independence, I dedicate my Self to learning and cooperation."

"For Freedom!" Rose's voice rang out, clear and confident.

"For Freedom!" the women answered, giving a cheer and then settling down to hear Rose's message.

"Emergencies?" she asked. There were only a few. Someone wanted an auto repair manual; another needed help getting and hiding a computer; and finally, someone needed the ser-

One way to achieve stability, world leaders decided, was to remove half the population from the equation. Hence the effort to eliminate independence in women and independent women.

vices of an abortionist, fast.

Members of The Group had access to all of that information and more; the pleas came from women who were not members. All women knew about The Group and many used their services, but few had the courage or stamina to join.

The next item was messages from the Circle to the P.M.

"I think I can speak for all of us," Beelah said. "Our message for the P.M. is a simple thank you for developing the technique for managing abusive men. The problem had threatened to get out of hand recently, but we haven't had to spirit a bruised child or wife out of here since we instituted the program. The subliminal suggestions administered during sleep have all but cured the problem."

"Thank you, I'm so glad to hear that," Rose said. "I'm particularly pleased since I worked on that project. It may interest you to know that we have done dozens of translations. There has been a drop in all kinds of physical violence all over the world since we began to distribute the package. Any other comments?" Rose waited, but there were none.

"I'm so glad you mentioned that program, because it reminds me to tell you we have other, equally so-

phisticated, non-coercive, but even more powerful tools for restoring or instituting a sense of self-control and responsibility in the minds of brainwashed people everywhere. These tools, in fact, will be used if one of the options is chosen..." She paused.

"First let me back up a bit. We've reached the core of the Circle meeting. As you know, we usually have a lesson in self-defense, medicine, history, economics, or math at this point. Tonight, the P.M. message encompasses all those subjects. Like a major conjunction of the planets, the world itself is now approaching a critical point that may well be unrepeatable and irretrievable, at least for the next few centuries.

"The Ruling Council is on the point of achieving total control of every action. For one moment, a day at the most, the condition the Councilors think is what they want forever will exist. The condition that will finally be achieved is the Stability they have been seeking.

"However, like land-use planners, or other religious people, who always think that no testing of their theories is needed, the Ruling Council's theories about what is a desirable, attainable, and maintainable situation haven't been tested. The Group has made those tests."

Rose outlined in detail the carefully-controlled experiments of varying sizes and the results that were so unexpected that The Group's experimenters repeated them many times before they believed the outcomes.

"We learned that total stability cannot last," she said. "The Equilibrium Point is like a mountain peak that has a giant ball on top. The tiniest natural breeze, or a little push, can set it rolling without hindrance back down the mountain.

"The Ruling Council thinks its efforts will create an end point, not an equilibrium point. While they have spent almost two centuries pushing the ball up the mountain, we have been studying both the ball and the mountain. We now know exactly when the equilibrium point will be reached and what can happen when the ball begins the descent."

She suggested that women who were interested in more specifics should

learn more at The Group's Alpine retreat, but said that essentially there were two ways the ball could roll: toward freedom, or back toward tyranny.

"We can supply the push to freedom's side," she said. "The fall toward tyranny won't need any help."

"Surely you don't intend to overthrow the present rulers and substitute our own women in a ruling matriarchy?" cried Zallie, in dismay.

"Oh no," replied Rose. "There is an order that arises when all individuals are free to act according to their own needs and wants that is called spontaneous order. One name for that kind of order is the free market, and where it has existed cooperation and prosperity have existed side by side. Our studies indicate there is a 70 percent probability of succeeding in establishing a free market throughout the world during this very vulnerable period we are entering. That is the Reform Option.

"But wait," she said, raising her hands to forestall any more questions. "There is more. Not everyone in The Group favors this option. There are two others for you to consider.

"Remember the space programs of the mid-1900s? Most people today think the programs stopped before the year 2000, when Stabilization became the primary goal of world leaders. But

even at that time private efforts to build space vehicles had been going on, largely unreported as far as the public was concerned. so when government space programs halted, it was easy for the private efforts to go underground, since nobody was paying any attention to them anyway."

As The Group began to grow in numbers, wealth, and knowledge, one of the main areas of concentration had been space exploration, Rose explained. Scientists and engineers, disillusioned with Ruling Council policies, had quietly relocated to the Alpine retreat, which had become a haven for dissidents. The Group now had the capability of sending a large number of colonists into space.

"Not too long ago, one of our exploratory parties found an uninhabited, but habitable, planet, far, far away," Rose said, softly. "There is just one problem. We need a certain minimum number of people to guarantee at least a 70 percent chance of success in settling the New World. But given limitations on space-ship size and on the materials we can carry out with us, there will not be enough fuel to get back anytime in the next 100 or so years."

"Why can't we do both?" asked

Beelah. "Have a free society here and set up a free society on the New World?"

"We all wish we could do that, I'm sure," Rose said. "But if enough people choose to resettle, there won't be enough people here on earth left to apply the right amount of pressure to that ball to reform our present system. We only have enough people and resources for one of those options."

There was a soft groan from the group, then Glenda spoke up.

"I think I can guess what the third option is," she said. Some of the other women nodded soberly, but a few of the younger ones looked puzzled.

"Yes, the moment of truth is fast approaching," Rose answered. "Those of you who want to have an effect on your own and the world's future are invited to come to The Group's Alpine retreat within the next month, where the options of Reform or Resettlement will be chosen.

"The third option? You can do nothing at all. If enough of us do nothing the moment for change will pass and we will continue as we are now, gradually sinking into poverty and barbarism as renewed efforts to create Stability simply and slowly destroy civilization.

"What will it be, Sisters?" Rose challenged. "It's up to each one of you." □

→ from page 18 *Professor Harold Hill's Lessons in Practical Politics*

measures, the State would be able to count on the lobotomized conservatives who, long ago, learned their social catechisms: "how else are we gonna protect our freedoms," and "if ya ain't got nothing to hide, why would you be afraid?"

Well, if you haven't learned by this point in your life that the State does not exist to protect you, but that you exist to protect the State, there may be little hope of your comprehending what it means to be free. We should be able to see—if we will have the courage and intellectual honesty to look—that the police and military work not to protect you and me, but to protect the State from you and me. Ever since we were dragged into our first school or church, we have been fed the consistent lie that the institutionalized world in which we live exists for no other purpose than "to

serve and protect" us (words taken from a slogan painted on the sides of police cars in many major cities). When someone comes along to challenge this big lie, it is the challenger who is charged with being in error—in fact, with being unpatriotic or heretical or a public enemy—and not the system that feeds on this lie.

But you need not—and ought not—take my word for anything I have said. You have already had enough "believing" fed into your mind by the schools, the churches, and other inculcators of the faith in institutionalism. All that you need to determine whether I am speaking the truth or not is a mind that is open, that is free to question anything and everything,... particularly to ask those questions we are not supposed to ask.

If you begin confronting all the managed news that is fed to you each day by an electronic priesthood; if you are willing to dig beneath the superficialities of its presentation and to ask the questions that are implicit in the news stories—but are never asked—you, too, will discover the sham that passes for fundamental truth in our institutionalized world. For when you begin to ask: "cui bono" ("who benefits?") from this system of contrived and managed social conflict, you should be able to see how the "trickle down" theory really works: that there are a lot of upstream hogs who are getting more out of the trough than you are, and that their priorities—at your expense—are dependent upon your believing that the trough has been put there for your benefit and, further, that you are controlling the flow. □

Reviews

Hackers: Heroes of the Computer Revolution

by Stephen Levy, Dell, 1985 \$4.50

The Micro Millenium

by Christopher Evans, Telecom Library, 1980 \$3.95

Parallax

Ross Overbeek

Parallax refers to a shift that occurs when viewing a scene from two different perspectives. It's what allows depth perception. I have picked these two books as somewhat differing perspectives on the computer revolution. Together, they offer some wonderful insights, as well as entertainment.

Hackers covers three main aspects of the computer revolution: the early artificial intelligence groups at MIT and Stanford, the early hardware hackers, and the game hackers. These groups included some of the wildest, most imaginative individuals that have graced this planet during the last century. It is a powerful, fascinating chronicle, the story of inventors, entrepreneurs, and gifted geniuses—those who started a revolution that will ultimately be more profound than the industrial revolution.

The Micro Millenium, on the other hand, is an attempt to offer an assessment of computing technology for the intelligent layman. Occasionally, Evans moves into a less-than-sober outlook characteristic of those who have seen the vision and are trying to communicate it to heathens, but his optimism is infectious and his insights are worth considering.

It is the juxtaposition of these two works that offers such a compelling view of what has happened and what might be coming. Let me offer an example. In 1975, a reckless entrepreneur

named Ed Roberts decided that the world was ready for cheap, home-built computers. He coauthored (with his designer Bill Yates) an article in *Popular Electronics* describing the Altair, a computer that could be built from a \$397 kit supplied by Roberts' firm, Model Instrumentation Telemetry Systems. Roberts gambled on the hope of selling at least 400 of the units. MITS got over 400 orders in one day, and the micro revolution was off and running. This is the background that is offered in exquisite detail by Levy. Evans points out that the computer revolution might reasonably be dated from this period in 1975 when computers became accessible. Before then, computers were expensive and only a fairly limited number of people had access to their capabilities. Certainly, they were of major significance, but 1975 was when the revolution really started (or, if you prefer, when it moved into high gear). It has been 12 years since Roberts and Yates wrote that article describing a system that didn't even completely exist at the time the article appeared. Here's how Evans describes this rate of progress:

"But suppose for a moment that the automobile industry had developed at the same rate as computers and over the same period: how much cheaper and more efficient would the current models be? If you have not already heard the analogy the answer is shattering. Today you would be able to buy a

Rolls-Royce for \$2.75, it would do three million miles per gallon, and it would deliver enough power to drive the Queen Elizabeth II. And, if you were interested in miniaturization, you could place half a dozen of them on the head of a pin.

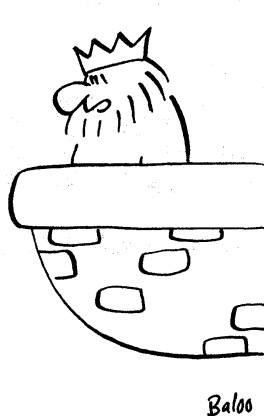
This may seem overdone to some, but let me point out that Cray Research plans to sell a machine next year that will have over 8 gigabytes of main memory (that's 8 billion characters of main memory) and 16 processors (each a little over 6 times as fast as a Cray I). The processors and main memory of this machine will fit into a volume slightly larger than a loaf of bread. That's more memory than existed in the world when I was a graduate student.

The term "hacker" sometimes draws savage attacks from some of my friends in business. To them it connotes someone who is not particularly serious, is somewhat "bent", and may have destructive tendencies. To avoid reading "Hackers" because of this antipathy to the very term would be a mistake. The book is a fascinating history of real people performing acts that can only be described as heroic. True, some of them were stupid, much of their folk wisdom is just "silly", and aspects of their culture were counterproductive. But look what they did. Look what they are doing. It's not over yet; it's just beginning.

About two years ago, I read in the *Wall Street Journal* that the internal circuitry for a VAX 11/780 (a computer which, at the time, was worth over \$100,000) would be available by 1990 for about \$1. Clearly, anyone designing a new coffeepot will have to include one of these computers into the product. For an extra cost of, perhaps, \$5 you will be able to tell your coffeepot to start your car, set your alarm clock for the next day, or even indicate when you actually want coffee at some point



"I'm afraid you'll have to pay your taxes again—Some 13-year-old kid broke into our computer and erased everything."



in the future. Sound flippant? Wait and see.

In any event, the computer revolution may be carried a great deal further than most people realize. Currently, there is an amorphous set of ideas grouped into a technology called "expert systems." These systems are designed to replace human experts for specific, well-delimited tasks such as medical diagnosis or circuit layout. While there is a great deal of hype (with few accomplishments), there have been enough successes to cause tempered optimism. The idea behind these systems is actually to encode some of an expert human's knowledge in a form that can be manipulated by a machine. This basic notion has been understood from the earliest days of computing. In some limited areas the tools now exist to make it a reality. Suppose this technology continues to grow over the next decade until gradually human experts really do learn how to build expert systems for computers. Then we could talk about building an expert system for the construction of expert systems. In this way a machine could play an active role in extending the spheres of its own expertise. This rather intriguing idea is described in some detail by Evans (although in slightly different terms) in his discussion of the "ultra-intelligent machine".

There is a great deal of material in these books that cannot help but stimulate anyone with an active mind. On the other hand, there is also a great deal of nonsense. I cannot help but shudder at the reaction of libertarians to the explicit attacks on property that were made in the early hacker culture

at MIT. Indeed, the attitude that software should be "free like the air" lives on within remnants of that culture. The potential to run major bureaucracies

using massive databases may well be a threat that dampens some of the enthusiasm that these books naturally engender. These issues are repeatedly brought up by my libertarian friends, but I confess that they leave me cold. It's not that the threats are not real; no, it's just that they are so relatively minor when compared to the dreams. We are watching the development of an extremely significant technology at explosive rates. People in the research labs are seriously considering problems that would have been considered science fiction only a few years ago. These people are dreaming; they are building. Heroes have emerged and others certainly will. It is a period of transition, excitement, and potential. I urge you to take the time to enjoy studying history that would make great fiction, if it were not real. □

***Vanguard Management* by James O' Toole, Doubleday, 1985 \$19.95**

Sic Transit Excellence

Ida Walters

Management "excellence" is the key to corporate financial success, according to the collective wisdom of a number of best-selling business books. Excellent companies are entrepreneurial and innovative, respect employees and customers, offer high-quality products and services, and are good citizens of the realm. Other companies may succeed at the expense of all these things—but never, it is always hinted, for long.

Put that way, it is hardly surprising that the word "excellence" has animated the corporate body like no other in memory, emblazoning and ennobling all to which it is applied. The idea that financial success results from a principled corporate existence elevates body-rubbing mercantilism to the sublimity of enterprise, indicates "higher" commitment. Anybody can cut deals, talk bottom line, get the product out the door. But such people are clerks compared to those who speak of excellence. *In Search of*

Excellence (Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman, Jr., Harper & Row, 1982), the book that gave the corporate world this elevating image—which has been aggressively kept alive by sequels, clones, and *Businessweek* magazine,—is still selling briskly after five years. A man not usually given to buying pop-management books said to me recently, upon finally succumbing: "It has stood the test of time."

What has not stood the test of time is the companies the book touts as excellent. In fact, none of the many recent books on management excellence has been able to produce a list of companies that endures for very long. The companies in *Search*, for example, "had a half-life of about six months," according to James O'Toole, a man you can count on to keep track of such things.

O'Toole, professor of management at USC's graduate school of business, spent four years searching for "excellent" companies for his own book, *Vanguard Management*. He found eight which he believed could serve as future models for all large,

publicly held corporations. By the time the book reached bookstores, however, three of them—Atlantic Richfield, Levi Strauss, and Control Data—were no longer in the vanguard.

Some critics actually noticed this and leaped on *Vanguard's* less fortunate corporate examples, citing them as proof that the principles espoused in the book were misguided. O'Toole responded, quite correctly, that one cannot logically disprove a proposition simply by discrediting the examples used to illustrate it.

Nice try, but still on the hook. Unlike the authors of *Search* and similar books, most of whom had gone into the highly lucrative "advice" business and taken to the lecture circuit, O'Toole is an academic with an embarrassingly "popular" book on his hands and a reputation to worry about.

Also, unlike the others, he seems actually to have been curious about why so many companies touted as excellent suddenly found themselves, in his words: "up to their collective crotches in crocodiles." (This is O'Toole's cleaned-up way of ending the currently popular business joke that begins: It's hard to remember that your job is to drain the swamp when you're up to your...)

At any rate, the results of O'Toole's curiosity were published in a magazine he edits called *New Management*, and later excerpted in a magazine called *Across the Board*, where I happened to catch it. I was rather hoping he'd help lower the excellence rhetoric a notch or two, but no. He had something entirely different in mind.

O'Toole first attempts to rescue the whole concept of excellence by jettisoning a pesky group of once-excellent companies that have fallen into disrepute, or at least into disarray. These are, of course, many of the high-tech firms that boomed in the early 1980's when the various lists of excellent companies were being compiled. At the time, these companies appeared for all the world to be captained by managerial geniuses, but O'Toole believes a prima facie case can be made against the once-fabled "right brain" style of management, which favors intuition, informality, hugging, white wine busts, and the like.

He also notes that a trip to Silicon Valley today would reveal, with a few

remarkable exceptions, that yesterday's "progressive" managers have turned into get-tough, left-brain clones of garden-variety tyrants commonly observed in non-Aquarian corporations. In hindsight, he says, "we now see that their hot-tubs-and-sabbaticals approach was more a consequence than a cause of being on the ascent side of the product cycle."

Little insight here. Plenty of people

(even though *Businessweek* didn't see fit to quote them) had the foresight to see that high-tech start-ups were in clover while demand exceeded supply and out of clover when the opposite occurred—and that the lack of neckties, executive parking spaces, and a hierarchical organizational structure had little to do with either.

In dispensing with the denizens of Lotus Land, O'Toole can't resist a few

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parting (and quite gratuitous) shots. He calls them "charismatic, splashy, larger-than-life, obsessive characters," and contrasts them with the leaders at Motorola, one of his (as yet un-fallen) vanguard companies. Motorola's leaders, he says, are "thoughtful, careful, analytical types who are dedicated to institutionalizing the structures, systems, and habits that empower all employees to do their own jobs without constant coercion and direction." He also says that the egotistical stars of high-tech companies appeared to have trouble recognizing, much less sharing, the real currencies of organizational life—money and power.

What I find interesting is this: whatever made O'Toole imagine that a 19-year-old starting a computer business in his garage would have a management style even remotely resembling that of a 55-year-old who had spent 30 years climbing the pyramid of a \$2 billion corporation.

O'Toole next deals with those companies that stumbled off his own vanguard list. He totally rejects the cynical conclusion he claims Wall Street and other critics drew: that these companies slipped because they were intent on doing well by doing good. In fact, O'Toole claims the opposite—that faced with a crisis, these companies didn't stay the course, didn't remember that management is a moral undertaking. Control Data, for example, "violated the very principles on which its philosophy rested." Levi Strauss "aborted its historical principles" by "succumbing to short-term amorality." Atlantic Richfield's reaction when the price of oil plummeted "was to abandon the very characteristics that had led to its distinction." (He doesn't mention Herman Miller and John Deere, two others on his list who appear to have stayed the course, but have recently become lackluster performers because of weak demand for their products.)

O'Toole asserts that "no company ever got into financial hot water by taking the high road, by behaving ethically, by respecting employees, or by putting something back in the community." To his credit, he admits that this doesn't guarantee financial success and, moreover, that companies that do none of these things often succeed. In effect, he is

confirming, as it were, what those who run companies have always known, though they would go to the rack before ever publicly saying it. The inflexible rhetoric of most corporations is the warm and fuzzy stuff of which pop-management books are made.

O'Toole says, by way of getting to his main point, that most managers have been "led to believe that success is made possible only by taking the low road, by pursuing the quick buck." But thanks to the excellent companies that he and others like him have profiled and publicized, the world at long last knows that excellence is not the enemy of profits.

His main point: people now know they "can choose to conduct their work lives by the same high principles with which they conduct their private lives."

My reaction to this, and possibly yours too, is: Oh, please! But O'Toole really believes it, really believes that the existence of companies such as Motorola, Dayton Hudson, and W.T. Gore "dispels the myth that the only way to succeed in business is at the expense of employees, customers, and society."

Remember as you read this that this trio are the only stars still shining brightly in a cluster that just three years ago contained eight. Also remember that O'Toole has described the leaders of one of them, Motorola,

as "thoughtful, careful, analytical types who are dedicated to institutionalizing the structures, systems, and habits..." Something about this makes me think of the kind of people you would look for to handle mental patients.

O'Toole ends his article with: "If managers come to see that they can succeed by taking either the high road or the low road, won't many of them choose the higher course, even if it is more difficult? If some of these managers should then fail, as many must in a capitalist economy, won't they at least have the comfort of knowing that they gave the effort the best of everything that was in them."

O'Toole, who is neither scholar nor charlatan, reverts in the end to Sunday School teacher. He tried selling principles by tying them to profits. He found, however, that doing good is not always correlated with doing well, that is, not always correlated with having the right product, at the right time, and at the right price, which is what financial success in business is really all about.

O'Toole doesn't much like this; it isn't sufficiently "high road" to satisfy his weakness for saving souls. He thus fails to recognize that it is the only thing of value he has to say in a business culture dominated by pop-management pap that says excellence, per se, is always rewarded. □

A Conflict of Visions: Ideological Origins of Political Struggles by Thomas Sowell, William Morrow & Co., 1987 \$15.95

On The Shoulders of Hayek

Timothy Virkkala

In the world of ideas, there are few things quite so neat as a discrete dichotomy. Good and evil, us and them, moral and immoral, sacred and profane—the list goes on and on.

In *A Conflict of Visions*, Thomas Sowell offers yet another such distinction, one involving the kinds of "social visions" that play a large part in our world of conflicting ideologies. Like most dichotomies, it is not without its problems, but it does shed a good deal of light on an area of much confusion.

"One of the curious things about political opinions," Sowell begins, "is how often the same people line up on opposite sides of different issues." This, he claims, is because these perennial opponents differ on the most basic level, ie. in their views on the nature of social causation. This outlook is often a "gut-feeling" or a "precognitive act," and is rarely abandoned by the demonstration of a conflicting fact.

Now, conveniently for Sowell, the realm of social visions is not crowded with the multitude one might expect, but is limited to two. They are the

constrained and unconstrained views of human nature.

Those who think in terms of the constrained vision stress the inherent limitations of human nature, and tend to deal with social problems in terms of trade-offs, not in all-or-nothing attacks on the status quo. This does not mean that these people are necessarily conservatives. On the contrary, nearly every example Sowell gives of thinkers with this sort of vision has an extensive agenda for reform. It does mean that their view of the ways in which human beings can change emphasizes the "moral limitations of man," and they tend to place their trust not in lofty ideals, moral suasion, or sweeping legislative programs, but in the structure of incentives that individual human beings actually face in their daily lives. Laws, morals, and "reason" (or Reason) only form a part of that structure.

Thinkers with the unconstrained vision, on the other hand, seek solutions to social problems, not trade-offs. They tend to scorn compromise, and they abhor social systems that emphasize it. Human beings are seen as *potentially* capable of acting with the utmost degree of care and breadth of vision; human frailties, vices and narrowness of vision are ascribed to perverse traditions, laws and ideologies—not to the nature of man.

Sowell's "paradigm cases" of the two visions are Adam Smith and William Godwin. Two better examples could hardly be found: not only do they provide straight-forward statements of their respective visions, they also prove to be ideal catalysts for libertarians to confront their own visions, as well as their reservations about Sowell's discussion of the problem.

His exposition is both clear and concise—something we have come to expect from this author. Nevertheless, there are some problems with the work, and several areas of possible confusion.

First, it is somewhat ironic that though Sowell's stated intention is to explain the persistent differences in political philosophy, Smith and Godwin arrive at very similar political conclusions, despite their radically different ways of looking at the world. Both are part of the libertarian tradition.

So the use of Smith and Godwin as archetypes is more likely to confuse li-

bertarians than non-libertarians; which might limit his book's appeal to Sowell's libertarian brothers. Still, there may be an advantage in this seemingly infelicitous choice of examples: it highlights the limitations of the explanation and the anomalous position of libertarianism within the spectrum of political ideologies.

And Sowell recognizes this. Neither Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill fit very well into one camp or the other, and his discussions of them are very interesting. His discussion of libertarianism also explicitly recognizes the limitations of his dichotomy:

"Inconsistent and hybrid visions make it impossible to equate constrained and unconstrained visions simply with the political left or right. Marxism epitomizes the political left, but not the unconstrained vision which is dominant in the non-Marxist left. Groups such as the libertarians also defy easy categorization, either on a left-right continuum or in terms of the constrained and unconstrained

visions. While contemporary libertarians are identified with the tradition exemplified by F.A. Hayek and going back to Adam Smith, they are in another sense closer to William Godwin's atomistic vision of society and decision-making dominated by rationalistic individual conscience than to the more organic conceptions of society found in Smith and Hayek...

"Logically, one can be a thorough libertarian... and yet believe that private decision-making should, as a matter of morality, be directed toward altruistic purposes [as did Godwin]. It is equally consistent to see this atomistic freedom as the means to pursue purely personal well-being. In these senses, both William Godwin and Ayn Rand could be included among the contributors to libertarianism."

I suppose this sort of explanation will not sit well with many libertarians, particularly those influenced chiefly

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by Rand, but I find it extremely compelling. I believe that the chief thing wrong with contemporary libertarian thought is that it does not strike a proper balance between the egoistic and altruistic extremes, and that what constitutes a "proper balance" is a constrained vision, not the unconstrained visions all too common in the movement. Unfortunately, the thinkers who I believe best made this balance, Herbert Spencer and Gustave de Molinari, are not discussed by Sowell.

Far more controversial, however, are his discussions of the "Visions of Power" in Chapter Seven. He argues that "much more of what happens in society is explained by the deliberate exertion of power—whether political, military, or economic—when the world is conceived in terms of the unconstrained vision [rather than in terms of the constrained vision]"—a statement that I admit makes me a bit uncomfortable. Much worse, however, are the discussions of war and crime under the section "Force and Violence" within that chapter. Like a mainstream economist who considers Macroeconomics before Microeconomics, Sowell treats war before crime, and his discussion of the typically constrained vision of war is essentially Reaganite. It is here that a discussion of Molinari would have been most helpful, for Molinari also believed that "wars are a perfectly rational activity from the standpoint of those who anticipate [some] gain," but his response is considerably more ingenious than Sowell's standard conservative rationale for a military build-up.

Of course, a "purely" constrained vision is impossible. Sowell admits that almost no one has a pure vision on either side, and I certainly do not wish to sound as though I support a rigidly "constrained" viewpoint. But I do think that one of the chief problems with so much of libertarian theorizing is that it tends to be so "unrestrained"—so dogmatic and uncompromising on all levels, including its basic view of the world. A healthy dose of the constrained *Weltanschauung* would do the movement a world of good.

And there is probably no better place to begin than with Sowell's introduction to the problem. Aside from the section on power, I detected only one misjudging of the quintessentially constrained vision: his labeling of the vi-

sion as a "tragic" one. The vision is not necessarily any more tragic than it is "comic"; it is simply "unromantic." Of his characterizations of the unconstrained vision, I am quite content—though less qualified to comment, I suppose.

Students of F.A. Hayek will certainly notice that it was from Hayek that Sowell took the idea, but, I submit, it has gained something in the taking. In Hayek's terminology, the dichotomy was between constructive and critical rationalism, but his exposition was marred by a number of problems, including straightforward advocacy of the critical, non-"constructivist" (unconstrained) vision. In *A Conflict of Visions* Sowell never argues for his (elsewhere declared) preference for the constrained (Hayekian) vision, but instead simply demonstrates the differences between the two visions. This contrast will, I suspect, convince more people of the Hayekian vision's superiority than Hayek's own arguments ever did.

Which all goes to prove at least one thing: Thomas Sowell is a first-rate thinker. His lack of pure originality is more than made up for by his consummate ability to rework the ideas of other men. "If I have seen further than others," said Sir Isaac Newton, "it is because I stand upon the shoulders of giants." It does not denigrate Sowell to notice just on whose shoulders he sits: what counts is the clarity with which he sees the "conflict of visions." □

Booknotes

Winning at Zoning

by Dudley S. Hinds, Neil G. Carn,
and O. Nicholas Ordway
McGraw-Hill, NYC, 1979
(and subsequent eds.) \$25.00

Although not written from a libertarian perspective, this book does proceed from a strong pro-property viewpoint, and the authors are cynical and jaundiced toward zoning, though stopping short of outright rejection. The main virtue of the book lies in its wealth of information on how to cope

with all varieties of property-use restrictions. Virtually every recourse which has ever been used to overcome such regulations—zoning-board hearings, judicial appeal, the electoral process, public pressure—is spelled out in detail, complete with success/failure ratios. If you've just bought a parcel of land only to discover that it is zoned B-21/A162 (poodle clipping service only) you need this book. —WPM

Lucifer's Lexicon

by L.A. Rollins
Loompanics, 1987, \$5.95

Those who developed a taste for the L. A. Rollins' joke definitions that at one time or another graced the pages of *Reason* and *New Libertarian* will welcome this compilation of neo-Biercisms.

Most of Rollin's definitions are characterized by wit and cleverness; many are tinged with sexism or racism; some are nasty or peurile; a few are simply lame old jokes.

But all reflect the peculiar idiosyncrasies of Rollins' peculiar mind. Where else can one find such definitions as:

"Censor, *n.* One who enlightens the world by burning books...

"Freedom, *n.* One's preferred form of slavery.

"Full-figured girl, *n.* An aging actress with big boobs.

"Good Citizen, *n.* An obedient slave.

"Libertarian Movement, *n.* A herd of individualists stampeding toward freedom."

The aphoristic impact is occasionally weakened by Rollin's digressions (sometimes running pages), often for no reason other than to introduce a related joke or to introduce the reader to the phantasmagora of holocaust revisionism.

Even so, *Lucifer's Lexicon* is a joy to read. —EOW

Do You Believe In Magic: The Second Coming of the 60s Generation

Anne Gottlieb
Random House/Times Books, 1987
\$19.95

If you're the type of reader who just can't resist grabbing any tome dealing

with "The Sixties," then by all means buy this one, for that is indeed its subject. If not, don't bother. A more maudlin, clichéd, self-congratulatory piece of tripe would be hard to envision. The book's thesis is simple to summarize: We of the Sixties generation (that is, of course, those of us who had the politically and culturally correct viewpoints) were the most, well, *wonderful* people who ever lived. There just wasn't anybody who had ever been as educated and knowing and caring and compassionate and laid-back and with-it as we. The reader is given a long succession of mini-biographies of (mostly non-famous) Sixties people more or less known to the author. Needless to say, no anomalous lives are sketched—no Republicans, no industrial workers, no servicemen, no farmers, no stenographers—just upper-middle-class people who were and are so very caring and compassionate and open and with-it and.... Excuse me, I fell asleep.

—WPM

The Book of America: Inside Fifty States Today

Neal R Pierce and Jerry Hagstrom
W.W. Norton & Co., 1983
(and subsequent revisions) \$25.00

Older readers will remember the late John Gunther's interminable "Inside" series of books—*Inside U.S.A.*, *Inside Europe*, *South America*, *Africa*, and so on, each of them updated every few years. The above book is self-consciously in the Gunther tradition, and the authors display both the virtues and the shortcomings of their mentor.

On the one hand, *The Book of America* is a cornucopia of information about each state—historical, political, demographic, economic, cultural, and sociological. It avoids the graph and chart, almanac-like format with which other state by state surveys have bored or intimidated the reader. All the facts are presented in a lucid and intelligent narrative style. If you are thinking of moving to some distant state, read the relevant section in this book first.

Now for the bad news. The authors' knee-jerk, unreflective "progressivism" (their term) is absolute, their value-judgments relentless and shrill. In their eyes, everything is obvious. Re-

publicans are bad. Democrats are good (except for southern, white Dems—they're bad, too). Massachusetts and Hawaii are progressive, the sunbelt is reactionary. The higher a state's residents "tax themselves" the better. The more laws and regulations the better. Only governmental actions really count. States are rated almost solely by the percent of the "social product" which is relegated to "the public sector."

It is in this respect most of all that the authors have succeeded in continuing in Gunther's footsteps, for the latter was the sort of glassy-eyed left-liberal who always gave the impression of a perfect serenity of thought, undisturbed by any distant imaginings of a possible alternative viewpoint—a mind truly at rest. If Pierce and Hagstrom could have adopted only *some* of Gunther's legacy, they would have turned out a better product.

—WPM

Soldier of the Mist

Gene Wolfe

Tom Doherty Associates,
New York, 1986, \$15.95

Gene Wolfe is the author of several books that fall loosely within the science-fiction category, including one with the provocative title *Free Live Free*. His latest work, *Soldier of the Mist* relates the diary of Latro, a head-wounded soldier in Greece of 479 B.C. Each morning Latro's injury causes all conscious memory of the previous day to fade to oblivion by noon, leaving him a timeless life mitigated only by the promptings of his companions and his own record (inscribed upon the scroll that Wolfe has recovered for the modern reader).

Accompanying this loss of memory was a gain in perception, for Latro enjoys regular converse with various avatars from the Greek pantheon—all the while they remain imperceptible to his fellows. Latro's psychological condition is reminiscent for me of Julian Jaynes' depiction of ancient man as lacking "consciousness" (narrowly defined) but possessing communion with and direction from internal deities arising through the intercourse of his twin cerebral hemispheres.

Wolfe's narrator moves within a milieu that provides interesting perspectives on today's social preconceptions. Compare the case for panarchy or com-

peting agencies of retaliatory force to the following exchange concerning Sparta:

Io interrupted. "Is Pausanias one of your kings? And do you really have two?"

"Sure we've got two," Basias told her. "It's the only system that works."

"I'd think they'd fight."

"That's it. Suppose there was just one. A lot of people have tried that. If he's strong, he takes every man's wife, and the sons, too. He does whatever he likes. But look at us. If one of ours tried that, we'd side with the other. So they don't..."

Such occasional observations side-light the main appeal of the novel's unique setting within pre-Socratic Greece and Latro's eternal now. *Soldier of the Mist* is a memorable reading experience.

—SS

A History of Private Life From Pagan Rome to Byzantium

Paul Veyne, editor
Arthur Goldhammer, Translator
Belknap/Harvard \$29.50

History is much more than the record of "great men" and their deeds, as this book clearly demonstrates. The several authors vividly describe what everyday life was like in "pagan" Rome, "Christian" Rome, Roman North Africa, etc., and explain the customs, mores, economies, and laws that constituted the style of human interaction in those civilizations.

And, aside from their intrinsic interest, these sorts of concerns are absolutely necessary to deal with if one wishes to understand the political goings-on of ancient times. And considering how ancient history is "used" by many conservatives, a book such as this one is a good tool in the hands of the libertarian. I defy any reader of this work to find any evidence that Rome "fell" because of a deterioration of morals: by almost any modern standard Romans were grossly "immoral" from the very beginning, and, if anything, improved somewhat over time.

A History of Private Life is a joy to read and not in the least bit tedious. I look forward to the next volume in the series.

—TWV

The problem with conservatives is not merely that they are against liberty, but that they haven't had a new idea since the Regency.

Conservatism Redux

William P. Moulton

Most libertarians enjoy an occasional bout of conservative-bashing. It can be amusing to respond to the more cretinous assaults on liberty from that quarter, even if one's responses are merely verbal. It is difficult to resist a smirk when some *National Review* staffer warns that "anarchists" and "nihilists" are "infiltrating the freedom movement," or when Russell Kirk, in the pages of *Modern Age*, links us to Italy's Red Brigades, or when yet another pseudo-psychiatric "expose" of libertarianism emanates from the Randian cultists.

There are times, though, when conservative attacks must be taken seriously, not because they seriously wound, but because they illuminate the antiquity and staying power of some of the intellectual and emotional barriers which we must eventually overcome. Is this important? I think so, because there is a solid core of statist belief which is anchored in what can be described as a right, rather than left, mindset. It is my belief that this set of views constitutes libertarianism's most fundamental and long-lasting intellectual opposition. What I will examine here is one recent, and unusually explicit, presentation of old-time anti-liberalism.

The specimen I am trotting out for review is an article by William Hawkins in the January '87 issue of *Chronicles* magazine. It is an important contribution, one which harkens to an earlier age of the liberal-conservative dichotomy when the line separating these value systems was more clearly drawn. The content and method of Hawkins' arguments are, in fact, redolent of the polemical wars of the days of the Regency. This engagement of fundamental issues casts light on the nature of modern conservatism, and

that gives Hawkin's essay an importance that should be addressed. But first, a slight digression.

The reader will be familiar with the generalities of the conservative attack on modern libertarianism. From William Buckley's seminal article "Some Conservatives and the Real World" and Mrs. Frank O'Connor's exposure of libertarians as whim-worshipping Kantian hippies, through Russell Kirk's dismissal of us as "chirping sectaries" nihilistically devoted to destruction (re: Red Brigades) and Ernest Van Den Haag's statement that we "went to Stalin's school" (ah, but did we pass?), the allegations—except for a few odd-ball Birchite and Randian emendations—have been fairly standard.

Libertarians are against tradition, of course, and traditional values. (The Randians add "against any values, against values as such.") They reject the cement that holds civilization together, making the practice of "true" liberty impossible. They are of course anarchists, every one of them, and would bring on social chaos followed by totalitarian repression. They are rationalists, and wish to impose utopian dreams on the rest of mankind. (Here again the Randians diverge, maintaining that the central darkness of libertarianism is intellectual nihilism, its hostility to the very existence of thought.) Out of the real fever swamps comes the idea that libertarians are consciously working for the communists, or—for readers of *The Spotlight*—that they are part of the Zionist-Capitalist-Communist free trade axis, striving to set up a one-world dictatorship under the hegemony of the Mosad. Despite differences, nearly all on the right are agreed that libertarianism is utterly bad, and that any notion of cooperation is akin, in Russell Kirk's phrase, to mixing fire and ice.

However, the mainline conserva-

tive commentators, at least, have usually held to one claim which might serve to ameliorate the wretchedness of their argument. They have at least claimed to be the true heirs of the liberal tradition, and therefore the custodians of the ideal of liberty in its modern expression. (Again, a few reject such a claim, but we're dealing with generalizations.) But the Buckleys, Rushers, Buchanans, and Kristols have never been totally comfortable with the classical liberal *Zeitgeist*, and the result is a conflict which remains unresolved. This tension is apparent in the strange one-foot-in one-foot-out ambivalence toward freedom that pervades conservative journals and that results in well-known anomalies of the "sales-tax bad, conscription good" variety.

All of which brings me again to the essay in *Chronicles*. For those of you not enrolled among its readers, this is the monthly magazine published by the Rockford Institute, a conservative think tank centered in the Illinois town and college of the same name. The journal is mainstream conservative in outlook, with mild High Tory leanings, literate, and relatively scholarly. Its enthusiasm for the free market is definitely under control, and while it features excellent articles on such subjects as the failure of socialism and the bureaucratization of modern life, these are balanced with warnings against succumbing to the siren song of libertarianism or against putting undue emphasis on mere matters of liberty. The latter, while not actually denounced, is seen as a possible distraction from such essential issues as manners, religion, and the preservation of national culture. The attitudes of at least some of *Chronicles'* contributors might be stated as: "Bureaucratic tyranny is bad enough but it's not as bad as actually being free."

Hawkins' piece is called "Economic Ideology and the Conservative Dilemma." Its author is the research director of The South Foundation, which is not unlike the institute which publishes *Chronicles*. I can say without diffidence or irony that reading this essay was by no means an unenjoyable task. There is something gratifying in seeing arguments, even distasteful ones, presented without cant and without that camouflage born of mere convention which gives an air of evasion to so

much modern political discourse. What Hawkins gives us is the voice of true conservatism, colored to its roots by its origin as a reaction to the industrial revolution, the rise of the middle class, and the decline of the European *ancien regime* following the French Revolution.

Now it is a commonplace that American conservatism is different from European conservatism. If Hawkins were merely an anomaly, a European in an American body, so to speak, this review would not be necessary. It is my belief, however, that Hawkin's views are really close to the heart of conservative thought even in America, and that he is doing a service by presenting in fundamental form the real arguments against the liberal order insofar as they emanate from the right.

Hawkins argues that "If conservatism is to establish itself as the dominant philosophy of government and society, it must jettison classical liberalism. This means rediscovering a conservative view of economics, for it is only the prevalence of 'free market' economic theory that permits libertarians to exercise influence on the right." The alliance between classical liberals and conservatives, he says, is completely artificial and untenable, an unnatural development arising from the growth of socialism during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This coalition "has never been more comfortable than the coalition between the West and the USSR during World War II." He then proceeds to a denunciation of liberalism. Every known error regarding free market economics and the nature of the liberal order is paraded before us, together with a few that were unknown, at least to me. (I do not recall any previous acquaintance with the notion that classical liberalism literally *impoverished* Britain and therefore set the stage for its decline.)

Hawkins constantly, and correctly, reminds his readers that conservatism's first enemy was liberalism, not socialism, and he regrets that the fires of that early battle have cooled. "Is modern conservatism fit to rule...? To the extent that modern conservatism is dominated by classical liberal ideas, the answer is no." He sees not only the

conservative movement but society itself as corrupted *primarily* (this is important) by liberal values, and only secondarily by collectivism and statism. Indeed, to him the modern left is simply a nuance of liberalism. "The arguments used in public by the left have stressed libertarian more than socialist themes and have more often echoed

"The arguments used in public by the left have stressed libertarian more than socialist themes and have more often echoed the speeches of Paine and Cobden than those of Marx and Lenin."

the speeches of Paine and Cobden than those of Marx and Lenin.... To the extent that the right has been infected with the same ideas, it has been inhibited in the fight against the left."

After raising this spectre of anarchy and chaos, Hawkins goes further: "But the state has a larger role to play in the economy than just the protection of property." He quotes favorably the justification of mercantilism by the historian Robert Reynolds: "It was a great asset that European governments put their whole strength behind mercantilist enterprise, and considered the devising of ways and means for making their merchants richer and stronger a valid activity..." Hawkins also believes that Japan's success was caused by a centrally planned economy under the auspices of MITI. He imagines that in some unspecified manner classical liberalism ruined Britain, that the "England of Mill and Bentham, Cobden and Gladstone slid quickly into decline [and] liberalism better explains England's fall than does its rise." We are also presented with the hoary statist cliché that "Conservatism and socialism each have positive theories of government, but liberalism has only a negative theory." In every way, in short, the liberal order is seen as a plague that descended upon the people of the western world, blighting their communities and their lives, eviscerating the social order, and leaving behind wasted lands ripe for totalitarian repression in the succeeding century.

Still more economic and social indictments are presented, but it seems unnecessary to list them. My purpose

is not to savage William Hawkins or *Chronicles* magazine, but to reach an understanding of the attitudes that mobilize so much of right wing thought in our time. There is no need to resort to the sort of "research" typified by the Randian Peter Schwartz in his booklet *Libertarianism—The Perversion of Liberty*. This practice consists of "shopping for quotes" by scouring every imaginable printed word that could conceivably be said to originate among one's ideological enemies, picking out the most dubious or controversial or, for that matter, stupid examples regardless of context or source, and then stating that each quotation represents the essential values and ideas of the targeted group. What I wish to emphasize is not my belief that most of Hawkins' analysis of classical liberalism is wrong, but that the ideas he articulates still possess great power on the American right.

What is the value system that animates Hawkins' writing and his brand of conservatism? It is in every respect that of the early post-Burke conservatives (Burke was in so many ways a liberal, especially in his economic thinking, that his role in conservative thought, though profound, is also ambivalent). I am thinking of such writings as those of the Regency-era Poet Laureate Robert Southey (1774-1843), especially his *Colloquies of Thomas More*.

What sort of society do Southey and his modern counterparts defend? Essentially, the *ancien regime*, the European social order which antedated the French Revolution—a society characterized by a semi-feudal hierarchical social structure, in which property in land is relatively secure but seldom bought or sold outside of a small proprietor class; in which avocations and professional status are generally hereditary and there is little social mobility; in which rights are neither general in application nor even fully conceptualized, but are merely specific adjuncts to one's role in life. (There are other important aspects of the *ancien regime*, such as absolute monarchy and a state church, but these are not usually advocated by modern Ameri-

can conservatives.)

Now such a vision of the social order is not wholly unattractive if one is wallowing in nostalgia or indulging in the romantic antiquarianism of the dilettante. As a prescription for the modern world, and especially for the United States, it is a disaster. To the extent that one can even imagine it being reinstated, it would mean the end of our still considerable economic dynamism and social mobility and their replacement by a hierarchical, stagnant, caste-ridden polity, guided by "positive theories of government."

Such a vision is also a prescription for tactical disaster. For although the conservative movement is extremely diverse, the motif that unites its many factions is not so much a formal set of ideas as a general feeling of animosity toward the power of the state over people's lives. This feeling is usually diffuse, unfocused, and inconsistent, but it unites on a loose tactical basis the Christian parents who want to run their own schools, the young businessman trying to operate under a deluge of regulatory harassment, and the gun-owner who doesn't like being treated as a criminal. This attitude, however feebly it may be articulated by many conservatives, is part of the classical liberal tradition. In no sense do its roots lie in the old European right. To cast off this legacy would be to reduce the American right to a coalition of single-interest pressure groups sustained by little more than some vague sense of a shared common enemy—e.g., godless communism or "secular humanism." Such a coalition might hold together for a time, but it is not clear how distinctly "conservative" it would be. After all, many of the so-called social issues, notably anti-abortion and anti-drug concerns, cut across both party and liberal-conservative lines.

For conservatism to jettison its classical liberal aspect would be to render it a drifting hulk, intellectually dead and strategically confused.

What is the lesson that we, as libertarians, should draw from the persis-

tence of strong anti-liberal ideals on the right? To note that many conservatives wouldn't recognize freedom if they stumbled across a barrel of it on the sidewalk is to merely grasp the obvious. To realize that some conservative intellectuals reject libertarianism with a malign hatred, and that no cooperation (let alone "fusion") with such a

"If conservatism is to establish itself as the dominant philosophy of government and society, it must jettison classical liberalism. This means rediscovering a conservative view of economics, for it is only the prevalence of 'free market' economic theory that permits libertarians to exercise influence on the right."

person is possible, is no surprise to those of us who were raised on planet Earth.

The importance of all this is strategic only in the sense that in assessing alternative modes for the spread of any set of ideas it is necessary to understand the manner in which others think. Proselytizing is, after all, an entrepreneurial activity, and one of the keys to it is market research. Those who hold traditional conservative views are one of the groups targeted by libertarians, so the examination of such ideas as Hawkins' is useful.

But the greater importance of an analysis of the conservative movement lies in the conceptual realm. Libertarians are very gradually being given enough information, from both friends and enemies, to answer the question "Who are we?" Even after our two decades as a coherent movement, there is not yet a consensus on this matter. Are we simply "conservatives with a difference?" Are we classical liberals, or possibly, as some argue, the descendants of a quirky, radical element that existed on the fringe of nineteenth century liberalism? Are we perhaps, as the media tend to view us, a mix or "fusion" of right and left?

There are those who believe that the question is meaningless, that libertarianism is vital and diverse enough to encompass all of the above and more. This is probably close, at least, to the truth. Yet there is a reason to be concerned about our general relation-

ship to the conservative movement. Many libertarians, including me, believe that the left, however much harm it has caused and however vital it may appear to be in some segments of society, is well past its peak of intellectual potency and is rapidly exhausting the wellsprings of its life. To paraphrase Matthew Arnold, whereas once leftist thought dominated the western world, today we hear only its "melancholy, long, withdrawing roar." If this prognosis is accurate, and the collectivist left does in fact recede gradually from the intellectual shore, the primeval liberal-

conservative rift will inevitably come back into focus. In such a scenario our libertarian sentiments may come to be represented by a more general classical liberalism.

When that time comes, the principal stumbling block on the path to a free society will be that same movement which, having lost its libertarian elements during the past fifteen years, is forever telling Americans that they have too much freedom and not enough authority in their lives, and that they must be protected by the state from the ravages of drugs, sex, internationalism, divorce, irreligion, free trade, pornography and assorted other manifestations of Satan in the modern world.

So what, really, should we do regarding our relationship with the conservatives? The answer is: the same as we should regarding our relationship with the left. We must exercise prudence, temperance, common sense. Both conflicts and alliances ought to be chosen with clear understanding, and in light of clear goals. Finally, in the matter of exposition and apologetics, it is not necessary to engage in the sort of invective that characterizes some of our opponents. It is well to heed the advice of Salah-ah-Din and not invite the enemy to our tent merely to spit on him. And we must keep in mind, even when engaging an ancient foe, that in the fullness of time there are no fortresses which Liberty cannot storm. □

Politics

The Libertarians' Quandary

Chester Alan Arthur

Four years ago, as the Libertarian Party's presidential nominating convention approached, the nomination and the future of the Party were in serious doubt. Only one person—a radio talk show host from Florida—had declared an interest in the nomination. Then, just before the convention, he withdrew his candidacy and disappeared mysteriously.

Two candidates emerged: longtime party activist David Bergland and scholar Earl Ravenal. Attorney Bergland was known mainly for his vice presidential candidacy in 1976, when he had been the compromise candidate of a deadlocked convention. Professor Ravenal has long been a sort of kept scholar of the Koch-financed Cato Institute.

Both were familiar with libertarian theory. Both were intelligent. Both could think on their feet. But neither was very exciting.

In an act of rebellion against the Koch largesse and the control it brought, party members nominated the longtime party activist Bergland over Koch minion Ravenal. The Ravenal/Koch forces immediately walked out of the convention and the party, taking Koch's millions with them.

The rest is history. Bergland's campaign barely made a ripple. The Party nominee's vote plummeted from the Koch-financed 1980 totals. Before long, libertarians were talking about the im-

plosion or collapse of the movement.

Things looked worse and worse as the 1988 election approached. The 1985 convention in the awful heat of Phoenix was poorly attended. The National Committee chose Reno as the location and the California Party as host for the 1987 nominating convention. Then the California Party withdrew its bid, and NatCom selected second choice Seattle as the location and the tiny Washington State Party as host.

In the 1986 elections, the Party's highest elected official, Rep Andre Marrou of Alaska, lost his re-election bid. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Nevada.

At year's end many libertarians feared the 1987 nominating convention would be a financial disaster and fiasco. No one showed interest in the Presidential nomination. Some doubted the nominating convention would take place at all.

Things began to change in early 1987. Former Congressman Ron Paul and Indian activist Russell Means expressed an interest in the LP nomination. Each had a significant national reputation and following. Neither had ever been a Libertarian Party member.

Ron Paul had been a Republican member of the House of Representatives for 6 years before giving up his seat in a futile campaign for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1984. He had gained a reputation in Congress as an opponent of just about all government spending. He also gained considerable following for

his anti-paper-money, pro-gold views. After his electoral loss in 1984, Paul began to publish a hard-money investment letter and went into the gold and rare coin business.

Russell Means had gained fame by leading an armed Indian insurrection against the U.S. government at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1970, and had since remained at least peripherally in the public eye by befriending controversial black leader Louis Farrakhan, approaching Muammar Qaddafi of Libya for aid to American Indians and supporting the Indians along the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua in their revolt against the Marxist central government of that tiny backwater.

Suddenly, Libertarians no longer faced the problem of no prospective candidate for the 1988 election. Now they had two nationally known figures vying for the nomination.

"The Implosion is Over!", headlined the *American Libertarian*.

The interest of two major national figures in the LP nomination is certainly a novelty—a novelty that most activists interpret as a genuine opportunity for the LP to play a major role in American politics. How times have changed!

Whether these developments will prove to be a stimulus to the Libertarian Party or to libertarianism or to liberty remains to be seen. In the meantime, LP members are asking themselves a lot of questions: Are these guys really libertarians? Who would make the better candidate? Does the LP have an opportunity to play a significant role in the 1988 election?

"Are These Guys Really Libertarians?"

In the past, LP Presidential nominees were long-term libertarian activists. John Hospers, the 1972 nominee, had long promoted libertarian ideas

both academically and politically and had published an introductory book on libertarianism (imaginatively titled "Libertarianism") a few years prior to his nomination. Roger MacBride, the 1976 nominee, had been a long time libertarian writer and had proved his loyalty to the LP by jumping the Republican Party and casting an Electoral College vote for the Hospers-Nathan ticket in 1972. Ed Clark, the 1980 nominee, had done yeoman's service to the Party as its candidate for governor of California in 1978. And David Bergland, the 1984 nominee, had been the Party's VP nominee in 1976 and had a long record of party activism.

But Paul and Means are clearly different.

Ron Paul has been interested in libertarian ideas since he read Mises in medical school in the 1960s, but his party affiliation was Republican until early this year. He had been elected to the House of Representatives on four occasions, where he had time and time again raised libertarian points of view in Congress and used the power of his office to raise libertarian objections to a wide variety of government programs.

But along the way, Paul had occasionally offered support to his Republican Party colleagues, including some who had LP opposition. And in the course of establishing the most libertarian voting record in Congress, he had occasionally supported measures that included provisions that most libertarians dislike. And he has consistently taken one position that most (though not all) libertarians disagree with: he has argued that abortion is wrong and that the states should be free to regulate or outlaw it.

In sum, Ron Paul spent the past decade acting as a crypto-libertarian, using his energy to promote libertarian ideas and objectives within the framework of conventional politics.

Russell Means' relationship to libertarianism and his support for libertarian ideas is far more tenuous.

Hardly anyone even suspected Russell Means was a libertarian until *Reason* published an interview with him in its November 1986 issue. The interview, conducted by long-time LP activist (now Means campaign chairman) Larry Dodge, concentrated on

Means' views on the plight of Indians in the world.

The ideological content of the interview was just about nil, so far as libertarians were concerned. Yes, Means did speak about "self-determination for our people": That could be considered libertarian, I suppose; but it could also be considered Marxist. And he did advocate the elimination of "every federal and state agency on this reservation." But he did not advocate any of the broad anti-government measures that characterize libertarian thinking. The closest he came to advocating any specifically libertarian ideas that I

It is easy for Libertarian Party activists to sell short the appeal of the LP to outsiders.

could find in the interview was his advocacy of "a continuation of our age-old system—individual entrepreneurship based on the good of all."

But the interview did demonstrate at least that Means had heard of libertarianism and was not openly hostile to it.

Since LP activists Honey Lanham and Larry Dodge approached Means early this year with the suggestion he run for the LP Vice Presidential nomination (Means quickly advised that he was only interested in the top of the ticket), Means has explored (so he says) libertarian theory and found an ideological home. Without even knowing it, he has explained, he has been a libertarian all along.

But still, many LP members have doubts about the sincerity and depth of both Paul's and Means' libertarianism.

Given the libertarian-come-lately status of both candidates (especially Means), it is perfectly reasonable to ask why either would want the LP nomination if he is not really a libertarian. But it is impossible for anyone to look into another man's soul. Maybe both men actually are highly motivated by the love of liberty... but the question remains.

What could possibly motivate a person to seek the LP nomination aside from a profound belief in the im-

portance of human liberty?

It is easy for LP activists to sell short the appeal of the LP to outsiders. For all its shortcomings as an electoral machine (3 state legislators elected in Alaska in 16 years of party activity is not terribly impressive) the LP offers an aspiring politician at least one very valuable asset. The LP has demonstrated that it has the financial resources and dedicated cadre to put its Presidential nominee on the ballot in most states.

The LP nomination is just about the only way to get on the presidential election ballot, aside from capturing the Republican or Democratic nomination. Sure, one could try to organize his own new party or mount an independent campaign. But the LP is virtually the only third party to obtain widespread ballot status in recent years. And the only successful independent candidacy (John

Anderson's exercise in megalomania in 1980) began with some impressive showings in a major party's primaries.

It is plain that neither Paul nor Means has the personal popularity or the financial means to mount a serious campaign for a major party's nomination or to launch a new third party. That leaves the LP route.

What's more, Paul and Means are both jobless politicians. The LP nomination offers each a chance to appear on the national news and an outside shot at appearing in televised presidential debates--in short an opportunity for the same sort of ego-trip that John Anderson enjoyed in 1980.

The nomination offers both men a chance to improve their professional status. A losing campaign would increase Means exposure and improve his lecture fees, or further improve Paul's reputation among hard money types and stimulate his coin business.

"Who would be the better candidate?"

Whatever the depth of Paul's and Means' commitments to libertarianism or the LP, most LP members are delighted to have figures of their stature and ability seeking the nomination. For many LP activists, the sincerity of the candidates' belief is irrelevant.

What the LP is looking for, they argue, is a salesman for liberty and for the LP. And it is well-known that some of the best salesmen do not fall for their own sales pitches. And it is undeniable that both Means and Paul have significant strengths that would help promote libertarian ideas and strengthen the Libertarian Party.

Let us, therefore, examine each candidate in terms of what he can do for libertarianism and the LP. A good candidate must have the ability to sell his ideas, to get the media to give him (and his ideas) extensive free coverage, to raise money to finance the campaign, to attract new members to the party, and to crash the major parties' presidential debates.

Paul and Means are both well equipped to handle these chores.

And if the candidate has the charisma to lead America into a new libertarian era, so much the better.

Salesmanship

Russell Means has established that he is an intelligent, quick-witted and powerful speaker. He is able to think on his feet, to respond powerfully to attacks on his views and disarm his critics, and to diffuse hostility directed toward his positions.

Since his association with the LP began a few months ago, he has quickly assimilated enough libertarian insights (or clichés) to handle himself very well in debate—better than many long time LP member/candidates.

Those who have followed Ron Paul's career had doubts at first about his ability to explain the libertarian vision. Paul has been an adequate public speaker, but in adversarial situations has shown an unfortunate tendency to stumble, mumble and put his feet in his mouth.

His appearance a few years ago on PBS Late Night, for example, was an outright embarrassment. His press conference at the California LP Convention earlier this year was better, but still not up to the standard of glibness that most libertarians expect of their spokesmen.

But Paul has continued to polish his skills; his recent performances have shown considerably better forensics. And there is no doubt he is an intelligent man whose forensic abilities

will continue to improve.

Advantage: Means by a small margin.

Mediagenicity

Means has a long record of capturing media attention as an Indian leader; there is no reason to believe he would do worse as a libertarian. His costume is photogenic, his manner imperial, his style dramatic. His notoriety as a leader of a criminal insurrection should serve him well.

Paul may have more trouble infatigating the media thanks to his right wing image. But his substantial positions, plus his record in Congress and as a member of the Gold Commission make him a figure of genuinely national importance who will be difficult to ignore.

Advantage: Means, again by a small margin.

Fund-raising

As a member of congress, Ron Paul's energetic opposition to just about all government spending, his strong advocacy of sound money and his criticism of the elitist conspiracies that control much of international finance gained him a large following among a substantial element of the American right. Paul went to this national following to raise funds—some \$2.5 million—in his abortive race for the Senate in 1984.

He kept his mailing list of 120,000 names intact after he left office, using it as a sales list for his coin business. Paul's campaign staff includes several people with impressive track records in mail order fund-raising. The Paul campaign is confident that it can raise substantial amounts of funds from its own mailing list.

Means ability to raise funds for sources outside the Libertarian Party is unknown and probably negligible.

Advantage: Paul by a wide margin.

Ability to build the Party

Despite the fact that most past growth of the Libertarian Party has come from the political right, the LP chose to direct its primary marketing effort in 1980 (its last major national campaign) toward the left. Now may

be a good time to change that strategy.

As American conservatives have become convinced that the election of Ronald Reagan did not signal a reverse of the growth of government, the right is more and more susceptible to libertarian arguments. Not all of the Reagan right, of course: the religious crazies and freedom haters have no use for libertarians. But much of the Reagan right has never been comfortable with Reagan's infatuation with so-called "social issues." Hard-money conservatives are especially upset with Reagan's attacks on financial privacy in the name of "the war on drugs."

This is precisely the segment of the American public with whom Ron Paul is most popular. His mailing list—already more than 5 times the size of the LP's mailing list—would be a fertile ground for recruiting new LP members. If only 2 people out of every 100 on the Paul list joined the Party, its membership would increase by 46%.

Russell Means' ability to build the party remains highly speculative. He has said that he can recruit large numbers of Indians into the Party, but to date there has been no evidence of his actual ability to do so.

Advantage: Paul by a wide margin.

The Presidential Debates

Means has made a big deal of his ability to crash the major parties' presidential debates. "I can assure you," he told the California LP convention, "I will be in the Presidential debates. Can you imagine them turning me down? the League of Women Voters—nobody—can turn me down." At the Washington State LP convention, Means bragged "I have excellent contacts with the League of Women Voters," and reportedly promised "to break down the doors" at the debates if denied participation.

Paul has made no such claims or promises.

But realistically, Paul probably has as good a chance as Means. For one thing, as a convicted felon, Means gives his major party opponents a built in excuse to refuse to appear with him. I can hear the major party candidates now: "Do we want to sanction his criminal actions—to dignify his criminal record—by appearing on the same platform with him?"

Paul may not be able to morally blackmail the liberal bimbos of the League of Women Voters as effectively as Means. And he may not be willing to "break down the doors" if denied participation. But his mainstream credentials as a former member of Congress and his greater credibility (thanks to his better-financed, more visible campaign) should compensate for his lack of moral suasion.

But realistically, whether the LP nominee can crash the debates will depend largely on factors beyond his control. Can the major candidates agree to debate? Will both major party nominees be willing to debate the LP nominee? The answers to these questions will likely be determined by considerations of political expediency: what each major candidate views as his potential gain or loss from agreeing to debate at all and to include the LP candidate in the debate.

Advantage: None for either candidate.

Charisma

Much of what Means has said in his campaign to date could most charitably be characterized as political poetry. It may not make much sense literally, but it surely sounds good. When Means speaks of forsaking the debating society mentality, of reaching out to people's pride, of taking the battle to the streets, he strikes a resonant chord with many libertarians.

But what sense do these notions actually make? Libertarianism is fundamentally a rational ("debating society") response to the problems engendered by the growth of the state: forsaking our "debating society mentality" is to abandon our greatest weapon. "Reaching out to people's pride"—isn't that a favorite slogan of statist? "Taking to the streets"? C'mon, let's get serious.

On the other hand, these notions have a lot of appeal as poetry. When Means says them these words somehow sound inspiring.

In short, Means has that ineffable quality called charisma—that ability to stir emotions, to inspire, to lead.

Ron Paul, on the other hand, has the charisma of a baked potato.

Whether charisma is a desirable attribute for libertarians is a moot

point, however. Do libertarians want a leader who inspires us to action by appealing to irrational notions? I for one have my doubts.

At any rate, whether charisma is a plus or minus, two facts are apparent: Russell Means has charisma. Ron Paul doesn't.

Does anybody care what the LP does?

Whether Paul or Means is ultimately the LP nominee, one thing appears certain: the LP has a chance to gain a far wider audience and get far more votes in 1988 than in the past.

If Ron Paul is the LP candidate, most of the votes he gets will come from the political right, votes that would otherwise likely be cast for the Republican nominee. If Russell Means is the LP candidate, most of the votes he attracts will come from the political left, votes that would otherwise go to the Democratic nominee.

If the 1988 election is close and the LP nominee runs an effective cam-

paign, the outcome may be determined by whom the LP nominates. A Ron Paul campaign could take enough votes to swing the election to the Democrats; a Russell Means nomination could take enough votes to swing the election to the Republicans.

In at least two recent elections in which it appeared the LP would gain most of its votes from the right, supporters of the Democratic candidate have attempted to help the LP candidate by contributing funds to his race. In California in 1984, the LP Senate candidate turned down contributions from supporters of Alan Cranston, the Democratic incumbent. In Illinois in 1982, the LP Senate candidate accepted contributions from supporters of Democrat challenger Paul Simon.

All this raises an interesting question: have either of the two major parties (or its supporters) made contributions to either campaign? It seems it would be in the Democrat's interest to support Ron Paul, and in the GOP's interest to support Russell Means.

Hmmm...

□

Life or Death in Seattle

Murray N. Rothbard

The libertarian movement, and the Libertarian Party, face a unique opportunity in the elections of 1988. After six long, dreary years, the miasma of Reaganism has suddenly been lifted from the American scene. The glorious light is suddenly here, and the dark "tunnel" is over, thanks to the joyous revelations of Iran/contra gate. Reaganism is ended, and the Reaganites are in shock and disarray.

Until the end of 1986, the Great Communicator had all too neatly performed his historic task of transforming the anti-tax and anti-government sentiment of the late 1970s that helped bring him to power into a statist regime that led the bemused public into an orgy of flag-waving and "feeling good about America (i.e. the American government)." The Administration that

had promised to get government off our backs, not only added to back-breaking burdens, but also brought government in unprecedented fashion into our bedrooms and even bathrooms.

And all the while countless people who should have known better kept hailing Ronnie as some sort of libertarian hero. The worst of all Reagan's sins was to bring back with a bang what we all thought had been exorcised in the 1970s: trust and devotion in the government, and particularly in our Maximum Leader in the Oval Office.

But with Iran/contra gate, or Gippergate, the carefully crafted return to trust in government lies in shambles. For this reason alone, for the first time since 1980 there is hope that libertarianism can flourish once more.

Surely it is no accident that the "takeoff" period for libertarianism was the era of rising hostility to govern-

ment in the 1970s: in particular the late-1970s eruption of public sentiment against high taxes, inflationary recession, the Vietnam War, and Watergate. It was this anti-government climate that fueled the exponential growth of the Libertarian Party from the first national MacBride for President campaign in 1975-76, to the Clark campaign for governor of California in 1978 (coinciding with the glorious and unexpected victory of Proposition 13), and onto the Presidential campaign of 1979-80. It is also no accident that the decline of libertarian institutions and of the Libertarian Party coincided with the blight of the Reagan Era.

But now, with the sudden death of Reaganism, there is a plastic juncture in American history. No charismatic leader has appeared in either major party, and the field consists of a lot of turkeys who are scarcely known to the American electorate. This unique window of opportunity perhaps accounts for the unprecedented competition for the 1987 Presidential nomination of the Libertarian Party.

But this also means that Libertarians have a particular obligation to think carefully about their choice of candidate, and to make sure that this rare golden opportunity is not muffed. For we have an unprecedented chance to leap into the mainstream of American history, to have a strong and even decisive influence on American politics.

Fortunately, one of the announced candidates for President is uniquely positioned for making libertarianism a permanent and burning issue in American politics. Former Republican Congressman Ron Paul of Texas began his four terms in Congress as a dedicated and principled free-market spokesman. Over these eight years, and in the three years since he left Congress, Ron Paul's libertarian commitment has deepened and radicalized, until now he embraces the entire gamut of libertarian principles from personal freedom to non-intervention abroad. A deeply honest man, Ron Paul always scorned the typical Congressional path of logrolling, compro-

mise, and "going along to get along." He never went along, but he won the respect of many of his colleagues who hailed him in private for having the courage to stick to truth and principle.

In the course of his libertarian crusades in and after Congress, Ron Paul also won the respect and admiration of a huge number of men and women throughout the country. With a high national profile, and a mailing list of

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120,000 supporters, Ron Paul can bring an enormous amount of credible publicity to his views. He makes his impact by speaking for the principles of liberty, and for their application to the crucial issues of the day—not by stunts or his personal mystique. He can also bring in a great deal of money from thousands of grassroots supporters, attract a huge and unprecedented number of votes, and increase membership in a Party that has fallen by 20 percent in the last few years.

In short, a Ron Paul candidacy would bring votes, money, recruits to the cause, and would enormously increase the awareness of libertarian views and principles among the American public. Why, then, is there any contest? Why isn't Ron Paul nominated virtually by acclamation?

To answer this important question we have to face up to some hard if unpleasant facts. Even though libertarianism was very much the dominant political movement during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, today it is the movement of only a radical minority. For liberty to triumph in the United States (and eventually throughout the world) libertarianism must become a mainstream movement, converting if not a majority, at least a large, critical minority of Americans.

But here we face an inner problem and a paradox not only for libertarians, but for any radical, minority ideologi-

cal movement. For marginal movements attract marginal people. Such movements are filled with what Germans call *luftmenschen*, people with no steady jobs, incomes, or visible means of support; the sort of people who instinctively alienate the mainstream, bourgeois Americans, not so much by the content of their ideas, but by their style, lack of moorings, and "counterculture." But that means that

if a serious opportunity should arise, as it arises this year, for the movement to make a great leap into Middle America, into genuine influence in our society, that Libertarian *luftmenschen* will react not with enthusiasm but in fear and trembling. For far greater than their

professed love of liberty is their hostility to bourgeois America. As one critical observer of the party has harshly charged: "they want the Party to be a social club for crazies."

Ron Paul and his wife Carol are the sort of Americans to set the crazies' teeth immediately on edge. Ron is a physician, has a steady income, and Ron and Carol are heads of a large and happy family. They are "just folks," and would be welcomed with open arms—except for their ideology—as candidates in either of the two mainstream parties.

Even though Ron is a new LP member, there is no clash of ideology whatever between Ron and long-term party members. The problem is not ideology; it is culture. Unlike ideological differences, culture clashes cannot be fought out through argument or discussion. Since the *luftmenschen* constitute a large group of articulate Party activists, what is needed is for them to search their souls, and to ask themselves: "OK, do we want libertarianism to win, to make a big dent in America, or do we not? If we don't want to win, why be in a political party at all? Why not simply form a social club and forget victory? And if we're really devoted to liberty, how can we not do our best for liberty to win? Are we really libertarians, or are we just playing around?"

Ron Paul has been faced with an intense and often hostile grilling since he has announced for the presidency, and

that is perfectly proper. Newcomers to the Party, especially those running for President, should always be scrutinized carefully. But it has become clear that there are no ideological differences.

Ron Paul's one disagreement with the radical and principled LP platform—his view on abortion—has been run into the ground as a mask for the savage cultural hostility of the crazies to bourgeois America. As a notorious ideological "purist" myself, how can I countenance Ron's "deviation" on the abortion issue, especially since I myself am a dedicated pro-choicer who believes that *Roe vs Wade* is a namby-pamby sellout of the pro-choice position? One answer is that surely 99 ⁴⁴/₁₀₀ percent is pure enough, even for Ivory Soap. Surely purists can be rational and not be fanatics, or are we going to go the Randian route and excommunicate someone for preferring Bach to Rachmaninoff? Abortion is one issue where I consider the wrong position is not self-evidently absurd or unlibertarian. Although I believe the idea that a fetus is human and deserves the protection of human rights to be wrong, it is surely not self-evidently absurd or evil. Therefore we should agree to disagree instead of going to war to the ideological knife.

The critical point for Libertarians is that Ron Paul has no intention whatever to bring up the abortion issue during his campaign. He does not intend to turn the campaign into a crusade against abortion, since he regards abortion as a state and local—not a federal—issue. If the pro-choicers were rational, one would think that they would be happy with this settlement of the problem.

If Ron Paul doesn't intend to make abortion an issue in his campaign, why in the world should his pro-choice opponents keep harping on it? All the yowlings of his opponents, insisting on knowing his precise views on various bills or amendments, what penalties he would impose on abortion (this in a movement and a Party that has never reached a consensus on any punishment theory whatever!) and even who Ron would appoint to the Supreme Court (!) are manifestly idiotic and beside the point. It makes no sense for Paul's opponents to keep yammering about the abortion question, unless it is to stress the one ideological play that

they can possibly raise as a camouflage for their bitter cultural hostility to a middle-class person with a steady income and a real-world job.

If Ron Paul is not going to crusade against abortion, then what among the panoply of libertarian themes does he intend to stress? Here is one of the most exciting aspects of the Ron Paul campaign. In contrast to some Libertarian campaigns of the past, Paul will not waffle and will not equivocate on libertarian issues. He will not cozy up either to the liberal or to the conservative Establishment. He will not fly under false colors. What Ron Paul will do is to resurrect a libertarian "populist" coalition in the best sense, stressing instinctive libertarian themes that awake a resounding echo in the breasts of Americans. Here are the issues he promises to raise:

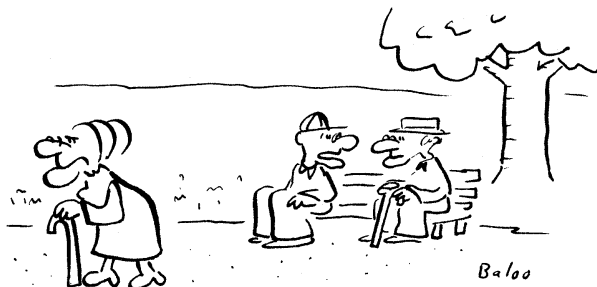
- Opposition to taxes and the IRS, and calling for adoption of the Liberty Amendment and repeal of the income tax.
- The separation of money from the state, and consequently the abolition of the Federal Reserve and a return to a gold-standard.
- Purely free markets and free trade.
- Personal liberty: which means opposition to the draft, draft registration, drug laws, sodomy laws, and gun control.
- Opposition to all foreign intervention, which means abolition of all foreign aid as well as military meddling. In short: "bring the boys back home."

Here is an exciting vision, not only of pure libertarian principle, but for activating millions of Americans, in at last providing them with credible leadership for opposition to taxes, paper money, bank manipulation, invasions of liberty, and foreign wars that they instinctively hate, but where no leadership has been offered from either major party.

If not Ron Paul, consider the alternative. The opponents of Ron Paul are latching on to his major opponent, Russell Means, American Indian leader. I maintain that the promoters of Russell Means are being grossly irresponsible to the Party and to the libertarian cause to which we all owe overriding allegiance.

Let us assume for a moment that Russell Means is a sound, tried and true libertarian, a man of libertarian principle. It would still be grossly inappropriate to support Means because of the direction and the constituency that he would naturally and inevitably attract. If Ron Paul's constituency is the oppressed mainstream of America, Mean's constituency is the Sioux Nation. By nominating Russell Means we would be making a complete laughing stock of the Libertarian Party. We would be announcing to the world what it had already suspected: that we don't want success, that we don't want to win the hearts and minds of the American people, but that we want to advertise ourselves as a marginal collection of crazies. To nominate an Indian leader for President would mean the death of the Libertarian Party.

But Russell Means has a genius for getting publicity, say his supporters.



"Effie and I broke up -- couldn't agree about Coolidge."

Sure, but what kind of publicity? We don't, or shouldn't, want publicity for its own sake; in that case we could simply rob banks, or streak at high noon in the town square. We want credible publicity for our ideas. We want to bring people to libertarianism, not convince them of what they suspected already—that we're all a bunch of screwballs.

How do we know that Means is a principled libertarian? In contrast to Ron Paul, who has a long public record, Mean's views and background are murky. And, most abominably of all, a palpable double standard has been at work in LP state conventions where Paul and Means have appeared. While Paul has been grilled harshly and repeatedly, Means has been treated with kid gloves. Why is this? I fear that a double standard, a reverse racism is at work, here as in much of American society, that since Means is a member of an oppressed minority, it would be shameful to ask him the tough questions. At Atlanta, when for once Means was asked some tough questions—about his reputed opposition to private landed property and his possible tie-in with U.S. imperialism in Latin America—the questioner was (falsely) denounced from the floor in a brazen argument *ad hominem* that allowed Means to slide out of really answering these questions.

And so libertarians should ask Mr Means tough questions, and are entitled to thorough and candid answers. For example:

Is Means opposed to private property in land?

Is Means opposed to modern technology? (If so, it would be strange for a Party of computer mavens to select him as their spokesman.)

Where does Means stand on U. S. imperialism in Central America? Did the CIA, or Colonel Oliver North, or Elliot Abrams, support Mean's trip to the Miskito Indian country of Nicaragua?

The choice for the Libertarian Party at Seattle this Labor Day weekend is crystal-clear. It is hardly popular or fashionable to say this, but it is not true that there are two (or possibly more) worthy candidates in the race, each of whom would make a fine candidate for President. To say that would be to play the role of a mindless Party hack, for

whom public relations has overwhelmed far more vital considerations. Instead, the choice is a deeply moral one, a striking contrast of good and evil.

On the one hand, if the party selects Ron Paul as its nominee, it will vote for deeply held principle and for an exciting anti-Establishment campaign that can and will make libertarianism a powerful force in American politics.

On the other hand, if it selects Russell Means, it openly rejects

mainstream America, it chooses a shadowy figure whose libertarian credentials are dubious at best, and it advertises itself as a laughing-stock.

We must put it in the starkest possible terms: if the Libertarian Party selects Ron Paul, it votes for growth, for prosperity, for life itself, and for setting out on the road to victory for liberty. If it chooses Russell Means, it commits *hari-kari* in full public view in Seattle.

For the Libertarian Party, the choice between Paul and Means is a choice between life and death. □

The Matter of America

David Sheldon

Russell Means has been described as a wild card, a cipher, an enigma. But, for all his charisma, despite his mystique, there is no mystery about him. He is simply what he says he is: a leader of an oppressed people.

What is striking about him is his sense of poetry, his intensely mythological imagination. He begins each speech to libertarians by speaking in his Sioux language, declaring that he has at last found his true allies. He speaks of his place of birth as a traditionally sacred place of his people.

What separates him from other candidates for the Libertarian Party presidential ticket is that he is the first publicly religious leader that has dared offer himself to the Libertarian Party. So what needs to be explained is not so much Russell Means, but, instead, his many libertarian supporters—people well known, for the most part, as intensely non- (and even anti-) religious.

Myths for Libertarians

Of the several definitions for myth, the most popular is the least interesting. "An untrue belief or story!" In this usage, "myth" is merely a weapon for

polemicists. It merely provides a tool for argument, not inquiry.

The anthropological and literary definitions have much richer meanings. What is important to the anthropologist and the literary critic is not the truth or falsity of a belief or story, but how the story is used. Myths, in anthropological terminology, are experienced in a particular way. They have an important place in the culture of which they are a part: they impart a sense of awe, or reverence in their listeners, and influence how the people behave. They are integral with the religion or customs of their culture, and have an ethical import. They help make up the mores and morals of the culture.

The literary critic, on the other hand, takes a step back from this view of the myth. He is not concerned with how the myth affects the behavior of the people who created it, but merely how it can be experienced by the lone appreciator.

"Myth" can be legitimately used in a value-free sense. Furthermore, it is possible that there might be true myths. C.S. Lewis, the Christian apologist and literary critic understood this very well, and insisted not only on the aesthetic value of the mythopoeic, but also on the actual truth of his Christian mythology—all the while insisting that

it was, indeed, mythology.

Myths are not limited to religions, however. Science, in Karl Popper's words, "must begin with myths and the criticism of myths." But it often ends with them too: even today the accounts of long ages of slow change and monstrous beasts are often experienced as mythology, as hoards of dinosaur-crazed third graders should attest.

And politics, of course, is filled with myths. Ideologues tend to use history as a sacred text to defend their positions, and the fact that they do so does not necessarily invalidate either the history so used or their arguments (no matter how our suspicions are aroused).

In the United States, the place of the Constitution in the life of the nation has led more than one observer to characterize the Constitutional process as the "secular religion" of the people. Constitution-worship is not limited to right-wingers such as the Birchers. The stories surrounding it and our experience of it are heavily mythological. Ronald Dworkin, the well known "liberal" legal theorist, believes that this mythological/religious aspect is part of the genius of the American Constitution.

Toward this religion, as so many others, the libertarian must be considered a heretic. We have our own myths, and place our respect elsewhere. Our tales of American history do not often mesh well with the more traditional American approach. Our history runs a slightly different course.

We tell how colonists threw off an imperial rule, justifying their actions by recourse to the idea of "certain inalienable rights... to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." We go on to relate how those same revolutionaries turned back on their official justification, and avoided granting that same liberty and sovereignty to African slaves and the Indian nations. In the crises that inevitably followed, America gave up the ideal of a Republic of free men, and became an empire.

Of course, we tend to keep our emotions low-keyed. We are the children of the Enlightenment, and are inexperienced in the use of myth. To us, a myth is untrue. Just like Marxists, we like to think that every argument we use, every story we tell is backed up by science.

The libertarian ideologue calls him-

self a philosopher, and says: Mythology: Who Needs It?

The Noble Savage

There is something a little pathetic in all this: it is born out of narrow-minded thinking and a lack of self-reflection. One suspects that many libertarians have fooled themselves, and do not really know why they are libertarians.

Many libertarians, during their formative years, undergo a period when they feel an intense alienation from the rest of society. Libertarianism (especially in its Objectivist variants) meets a specific psychological need: a justification for this alienation, for not belonging. Egoism becomes the explicit doctrine of many libertarians not only because of its sheer simplicity and elegance, but also because it provides a foundation for the intransigence of the libertarian loner. It justifies what is felt to be the commonly understood "unforgiveable" sin: unicity.

But most libertarians are not really egoists: many embrace libertarianism not simply as a way to justify their differences with the rest of society, but also to reach out on terms that are respectable. Few libertarians join the Libertarian Party because they really believe it is in their self-interest, understood in the usual egoistic fashion. Most, one suspects, join out of a desire to be a part of a movement to help humanity. Libertarianism rests not on a theory of rational self-interest, but on rational other-interest.

This explains much better the psychology of the Libertarian Party joiners than does the dominant theory of egoism. It also explains why the arguments of Erwin Strauss's *The Case Against a Libertarian Political Party* have had little impact. Its arguments simply do not apply to those who are dedicated to the Party. "Big L" Libertarians are instead closet "altruists," of a moderate sort.

And it also explains why so many of them have become so enamored with Russell Means. These latter day Noble Savages with their State-of-Nature theories, their feelings of alienation and their repressed desires to belong, are easily attracted to the poetic mythology of Russell Means.

And his myths fit easily into the li-

bertarian mythology. It is easy to agree with Means when he claims that the European-American treatment of the Indians was a fatal flaw in their efforts to build a good society: what good could come of not respecting the rights of a whole race?

And when Means claims that the American Indian, is, by his culture, an anarchist, what could be more thrilling? The Noble Savage is no longer a point of theory, it is a living... myth, right in front of us.

Reasonable Doubts

Libertarians, as a number of surveys have shown—though we hardly need a survey to tell us the obvious!—are remarkably "irreligious." They seem to be as godless as the proverbial commies. What religions they do represent are statistically out of sync with the rest of the nation: More "new religions" than Jews, more Jews than Mainline Protestants, more Catholics than Conservative Protestants. And whatever religion a libertarian may believe, among other libertarians, it is very private.

The avoidance of religious rhetoric within the movement is a result of the underlying distrust of the standard rhetoric: religious rhetoric is seen as traditionally an influence against, rather than for, the pluralistic social order libertarians want.

And this also explains why Russell Means is the exception to this prejudice: his religiosity is not threatening. When he speaks of the "sacred colors of man," (referring to the various races) it is interpreted as a poeticism, as part of a non-threatening piety that truly does respect human diversity. We can get into that.

Still, there are doubts. The biggest doubt about the advisability of running Means as a Libertarian (aside from the obvious question as to whether he is actually a Libertarian, something more than just an ally) should probably be whether other Americans would buy his mythology, whether the average American would be inspired by his religiosity, or turned off by it, find it ridiculous. Libertarians, so out of sync with the mainstream of American culture, are probably unqualified to decide.

Other doubts also arise. Though his mythology may be infectious, our ra-

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tionalism persists. On the face of it, his myths are often myths in the common sense of the term: simple untruths.

He speaks of a monolithic Indian culture, but the historical evidence is all against such a notion: customs varied from tribe to tribe, and there were thousands upon thousands of tribes. Perhaps over the several centuries of oppression they have converged, but that is not his line of argument.

He has also insisted on the idea of an American genesis for man: a notion that most anthropologists find ridiculous. But he seems to actually believe it, and believe it with the same conviction with which he holds all his other mythical notions.

How can libertarians tolerate such nonsense? Because, I suppose, they are deemed harmless. They do not threaten. They are tolerated as poetic license. And the poetry is appreciated as far better—and perhaps far more effective—than any of the libertarians' feeble attempts at stirring the heart-strings. It surely has more beauty than the standard libertarian rationalism.

And it feels so good. Russell Means may, or may not, "speak American"—but he does speak to many libertarians. He speaks to the libertarians who want to belong to a movement that will do good, will "save mankind"—a movement that will be as noble as their dreams.

As any reader can guess, I, too, am

tempted to support Russell Means. I can easily imagine myself as a delegate at the Seattle Nominating Convention, casting my vote for this remarkable man. I can almost hear the crowds... I can imagine myself—for the first time in my life—actually enjoying this sort of thing. I can imagine believing that my vote is significant, important in a way it has never before been. But even in my dream I feel a vague discomfort, a nagging doubt. I am sure that most libertarian would call this feeling "the voice of reason," but I beg to differ: a better word would be guilt, a sense of sin.

Not, perhaps, an unreasonable feeling to have, upon entering the realm of mythology. □

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Tom Marshall: Innovator

adaptation" skills which allowed me to live in "that society".

My own "subthreshold" impulse toward vonu living in the wilderness was related to a sense of people offending me, boring me, hurting me, or being too dishonest. Also, I have long had a deep sense of alienation from others which I don't understand very well. I found it hard pretending to like people when I didn't (there were few people I liked) and felt this was a reason why I would not be able to sustain a job and survive in "that society". And I had doubts about politico-economic and military stability. I suspect Lynn's sexual problems and her view of men as wolves had a lot to do with her search for a way out. Unfortunately, the path she chose seemed to incorporate the

wishful thinking of religious evasion.

Tom's intense rationality and integrity are what inspired those who knew him. Even his seemingly irrational fears had substance in the later 1960s when nearly everyone had a sense that the world was changing radically and quickly in unpredictable ways. America was at war and the hostility of China and the USSR made nuclear holocaust a real possibility. Many were looking for A Way Out.

Tom stopped publishing *Vonu Life* in 1972, evidently (in part) because he was tired of "libertarian bullshitters" who were all talk and no action. I continued to correspond with him until early 1974.

In his last letter, he wrote: "My thinking has undergone major chang-

es in the last several months on interfacing, 'alternate economics,' interrelations in general... I, too, am becoming very dubious as to the value of all 'libertarian club' involvements... We do not intend to use the 'libertarian club' in the future as an avenue for gaining non-anonymous friends or associates."

If Tom is still alive, he would be in his mid-fifties, but not the life-style pioneer he saw himself—for where are his followers? If self-sufficiency is to be a tool for self-liberation, I believe it must be combined with the kind of invisibility Tom sought to cultivate. Otherwise, it is, at best, a fair-weather freedom.

If Tom found an escape hatch, it was evidently to his liking. He never returned. □

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The Mystery Man of the Libertarian Movement

not grow. His trainees returned to civilization, unwilling to abandon their Big Macs for pine needle sandwiches. As his survival skills increased, he moved deeper and deeper into the woods. And he got tired of publicizing vonu.

No one has heard from Tom Marshall since early 1974.

Some people speculate that he grew weary of his paranoid lifestyle and returned to straight society to live an "ordinary life." Others speculate that his increasing alienation and desire for isolation led him deeper into the wilderness, where he died a cold

death in the rains of the Siskiyou Mountains, miles from civilization.

But others—those who knew him most intimately—believe he succeeded in achieving vonu, that he continues to live today, deep in the mountains of Southern Oregon, living a fulfilling life as a hunter-gatherer, free at last of the oppression of the state.

A few hundred miles north of the Siskiyou National Forest where Tom Marshall was last seen, in a small town

on the edge of another National Forest, the Sheriff spoke to a reporter from a big city newspaper.

Sheriff Robert Holder told the man from the Seattle *Times* that he plans to trade his police car for a four-wheel drive vehicle.

His county, it seems, contains some of the most inaccessible land in the West. "I've heard stories that we may have a subculture, clusters of people who live in a very primitive way in remote wooded parts," he said. "But it's hard to evaluate what's really going on there." □

Contributors

Chester Alan Arthur is the pseudonym for an observer of the political scene who agreed to write on the condition that his anonymity be maintained.

"*Baloo*" is the *nom de plume* of Rex F. May, whose cartoons appear in numerous magazines, including the *Wall Street Journal* and *National Review*. Mr May is the editor of *The Trout in the Milk*.

Benjamin Best was editor and publisher of the pioneer libertarian weekly *Idea Catalyst* in 1966.

R.W. Bradford, publisher and associate editor of *Liberty*, is also the publisher and editor of the investment newsletter *Analysis and Outlook*.

Stephen Cox, an associate editor of *Liberty*, is Associate Professor of Literature, University of California, San Diego.

"*El Ray*" is a pseudonym of Tom Marshall, who is the subject of a retrospective and a memoir that are featured in this issue of *Liberty*.

Jo McIntyre is a free-lance writer living in McMinnville, Oregon. Her writing has appeared in *The Oregonian* and the *American Libertarian*.

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David Sheldon describes himself as a "life-long denizen of the Ecotopian region of North America."

Timothy Virkkala is assistant editor of *Liberty*.

Ida Walters is a writer living in Detroit, Michigan.

Ethan O. Waters is a voracious reader and a collector of aphorisms.

Coming in the next issue of *Liberty*:

- Associate Editor Douglas Casey's account of his travels as "hobo" in *I Ride the Rails*.
- A libertarian defense of Robert Nozick's use of rent control laws in his dispute with Erich Segal.
- The outlook for the Libertarian Party is examined in *Re-arranging the Deck Chairs on the Titanic*.

"Available by subscription and wherever extremely obscure libertarian publications are sold."

Terra Incognita

United States

In a dispatch from the U.S., the London *Economist* reports the widespread American awareness of the Constitution during its Bicentennial Year:

45% of the American public identified the phrase "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need," as a direct quote from the U.S. Constitution, according to a recent Hearst opinion poll.

San Francisco

An insight into why some Americans subscribe to the dictum, "I do not choose to be a Common Man," as reported in the *Wall St Journal*:

In an effort to become more "entrepreneurial," Levi Strauss & Co developed a fashion line called Common Man Apparel. "These clothes are for the young guy who lives fast and hot because he thinks he'll be nuked tomorrow," said a Levi manager.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A Soviet citizen re-affirms his faith, after nine years of living in America, as reported in the *Seattle Times*:

"I got fed up with all those freedoms, which actually mean the liberty to be of no use to anybody," said Alexander Belikin.

Tacoma, Washington

A libertarian's vision of a better tomorrow, from a letter from Richard Shephard, director of the 1987 Libertarian Party Convention:

"No kidding, this is our chance to make a big difference in the Libertarian movement. I say let's grab it. Let's show the rest of America what true commitment to freedom and liberty looks like! Let's set the standard for third party conventions, and put the Libertarians on the map once and for all! We can do it through our commitment, and I am committed to your commitment."

Somebody ought to be committed.

Israel

Evidence of the progress of science under the protection of the Zionist State, as reported in the *Omaha World-Herald*:

Israeli researchers using a computer say they have found encoded messages in the Bible. They said that this gives new support to the belief that every word of the Bible is divinely inspired.

The researchers said that in the Book of Esther they found a reference to the hanging of 10 Nazi war criminals on Oct. 16, 1946, and in the Book of Deuteronomy the word "Holocaust" was hidden.

Las Vegas

Latest entertainment sensation from America's Sodom and Gomorrah, as reported in *The Wall St Journal*:

At a conference on urology in Las Vegas, a British researcher astonished an audience of doctors and their wives by interrupting his talk to exhibit an erection he had induced in himself by the use of a new drug. Commented Dr Irwin Goldstein of Boston, "It was really impressive."

When Jim Morrison did this, he was arrested...

Wyandotte, Mich

Evidence that the culinary arts are flourishing in the backwaters of southern Michigan, despite efforts of government officials to censor it, as gleaned from *The Wall St Journal*:

Val Vangieson, chief food director of Wayne County, has banned the sale of a regional favorite at a popular local restaurant. The Indian Lanes offered its clientele a dinner of muskrat, cooked with tomatoes, onions, Liebfraumilch, pepper, garlic and soy sauce until Mr Vangieson interfered.

Restaurant patron Henry LeBlanc protested, "I've been eating 'rat for years. It's a very vegetarian animal, you know. Whether it's a rodent or not is arguable." Johnny Kalakowski, proprietor of the restaurant, vowed to take the battle to the streets. "I'm fighting for tradition," he said.

Little Creek, Delaware

An anarcho-capitalist's dream came true, as reported by *alr*, magazine of Americans for Legal Reform:

Mayor Wesley Kuhns and four commissioners resigned from their municipal offices after learning how much liability insurance for their small town would cost. A special election was ordered to fill the vacancies. No one filed as a candidate for any of the positions. The election was never held.

Paris, France

Fond memories of the Stalinist era, as recalled by Jacques Verges, attorney for Klaus Barbie, former Gestapo chief known as "The Butcher of Lyon":

"People always talk about Stalinist terrorism. They forget the lyricism and friendship."

Manila, The Philippines

Evidence of the commitment to liberal Western values by Mrs Corazon Aquino, in sharp contrast to the brutality of the Marcos dictatorship she replaced, as reported in *The London Economist*:

"A church organisation, the Canada-Asia Working Group, has reported that during the first seven months of the Aquino administration, there have been 238 cases of torture, 43 kidnappings (and presumed killings) and 38 arbitrary executions."

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Evidence of how socialism elevates the spirits of mankind, as reported in the *London Economist*:

In 1984, alcoholic beverages accounted for 17% of all retail sales in the Soviet Union.

Alton, Illinois

Announcement of interest to adulterers and homosexuals from conservative philosopher Phyllis Schafly:

"We're not going to let homosexuals come in and dictate to us laws or make us accept them or recognize them as someone entitled to just as much respect as a family. I do not feel that they are just like ordinary people."

"If they had stayed in the closet like adulterers do, nobody would bother them."

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Suppose someone told you that there is a gold coin, that is relatively scarce, available in stunning Proof condition; the coin is a genuine Commemorative coin of one of the world's great nations; and that the coin is available at a price about 35% above its melt value.

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1 The Canada \$20 is genuinely scarce: only 377,688 were minted. See the chart below comparing it with other coins.*

2 The Canada \$20 is a relative bargain, priced far cheaper than other, comparably rare gold coins. As you can see from the chart, the Canada \$20 is trading at a price per ounce more than 50% lower than the Statue of Liberty \$5—despite the Statue's much higher mintage. The \$20's premium is more than 45% lower than the Canada \$100 1980, despite their similar mintages. It's also far cheaper than MS-60+ specimens of U.S. issues, despite their significantly higher mintages.

3 Since the introduction of the \$100 commemorative gold coin in 1976 and Maple Leaf in 1979, Canada has moved into the forefront of the world's gold coin producers. More and more collectors, especially in the U.S., are seeking the coins of our neighbor to the north.

4 The Canada \$20 was issued in 1967, at which time it was illegal for Americans to acquire gold coins. Consequently, very few Americans acquired specimens at the time of issue. Most of the mintage was sold to Canadian collectors, but a very substantial portion was sold to European collectors. As more and more Americans seek the Canada \$20, its price is likely to rise.

* Data as of 5/6/87



5 The Canada \$20 is Canada's first modern gold issue, and is required by collectors seeking a complete set of Canada's modern gold coins.

6 The Canada \$20 is a commemorative coin of genuine importance, issued to help celebrate Canada's 100th birthday.

7 The Canada \$20 is unique among Canada's gold coins: the \$5, \$10, \$50 and \$100 gold coins have each been issued for at least 6 different years, and all are still being produced. The \$20 was issued only in 1967. It is a one year type coin!

8 The Canada \$20 is a Proof coin: a specimen of the pinnacle of the mintmaster's art.

9 Because the Canada \$20 was issued without protective packaging, relatively few survive in choice condition in comparison with other modern issues.

10 The Canada \$20 is a legal tender coin, with established markets worldwide.

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Coin	Mintage	Condition	Price	Cost/Oz	Premium
Canada \$20 1967	330,688	Proof	\$325	\$ 614.59	35%
Canada \$100 1980	300,000	Proof	375	750.00	65%
U.S. Statue/Liberty 1986	500,000	Proof	375	1550.39	241%
U.S. \$10 Indian 1932	4,463,000	MS-60+	1000	2067.28	355%
U.S. \$20 St. Gaudens 1928	8,816,000	MS-60+	850	826.87	81%
U.S. Liberty 1904	6,256,797	MS-60+	800	878.55	87%

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by Feynman

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