

# Liberty

December 2000

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Creationism:  
Not Just for  
Fundamentalists  
Anymore

## Left-Brained Politics

*by David Brin*

## The Art of Lying

*by Stephen Cox*

## The ACLU Abandons the Fight for Civil Liberties

*by David Bernstein*

## Autumn in Belgrade

*by Stephen Browne*

**Also:** *Bradly Monton* finds too much freedom in Beirut, *David Ramsay Steele* and *Mark Skousen* examine the weird life of Murray Rothbard, *Randall O'Toole* dissects the fallacies of "Smart" Growth . . . plus other articles, reviews & humor.



*"We can afford no liberties with Liberty itself." — Justice Robert H. Jackson*

# Where Is Freedom in the Income Tax Debate?

## by Jacob G. Hornberger



The debate over income-tax cuts between George W. Bush and Al Gore reflected how far Americans have plunged in their understanding of what it means to be free. Bush proposed to cut income taxes by \$1.3 trillion. Gore called the plan "a tax cut for the rich" and proposed his own \$500 million tax cut that purported to target the American middle class. The squabble over the details obscured the real issue that the American people should be reflecting upon — the meaning of human freedom.

When the Constitution called the federal government into existence in 1787, it failed to provide it with the power to levy taxes on income. This was not an oversight. It was commonly understood that freedom entailed the absolute right to keep everything you earned. If government had the power to take the fruits of your earnings, Americans once believed, then your position was no different than that of a slave.

That notion had been implicitly expressed 11 years before in the Declaration of Independence when Thomas Jefferson wrote that people were

endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights and that among these rights were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Each individual is born with certain talents, qualities, characteristics, and handicaps. In order to sustain his life, he uses his own personal abilities to either produce the necessities of life himself or acquire them by entering into mutually beneficial exchanges with others. The product of these exchanges constitutes income to the people engaging in them. Thus, income rightfully belongs to the person who has earned it because it is a direct result of the value that others place on the abilities that he brings to market.

For example, consider an opera singer who doesn't know anything about growing food. She offers her particular talents in the marketplace — singing in operas — and people pay to listen to her. That money rightfully belongs to her because her voice belongs to her. She takes that money — her income — and enters into exchanges with those whose talents lie in producing and selling food, clothing, and the like.

What's important to note is the revolutionary nature of American society that lived and prospered without income taxation for more than 125 years. Throughout history, governments had claimed the authority to tax or confiscate any and all of a person's income. Historically, people

didn't question this power because the common belief among the citizenry was that government was supreme and the citizen was subordinate.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution inverted that historical relationship between government and citizen. For the first time in history, people restrained the power of government to seize any or all of their income. Thus, for more than 125 years, the American people, unlike all other people in history, were free to accumulate unlimited amounts of wealth and there was nothing their government could do about it.

Therefore, it is impossible to overstate the revolutionary significance of the Sixteenth Amendment, which was enacted in 1913 and which granted the federal government the power to levy taxes on income. From that point on, the relationship between government and citizen reverted to the age-old model of government as sovereign and citizen as servant. Because what mattered was not whether the particular percentage of the tax was high or low but rather that government had the power to set the percentage.

For example, let's assume that I have the power to force you to work for me and that I exercise that power by requiring you to work 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, for me. You would acknowledge that our relationship would be one of master and slave. But suppose I

decide to be nice and force you to work only two hours a day for me, four months a year. Has our relationship been changed? Not in the least. You are still my slave because I have the authority to determine the amount of time you are required to serve me.

And this is the situation in which the American people are now mired. By having the power to set the percentage of tax to be levied on income, the federal government is now in the position of master and the American people are in the position of servant. Everyone's income is now effectively owned by the government and, because the government has the power to adjust the percentage of tax to be paid, what people are permitted to retain is actually just an allowance that the master provides the servants.

The tragedy is compounded by misconceptions about the nature of freedom. As the great German thinker Johann Goethe once pointed out, no person is more enslaved than one who falsely believes he is free.

*Mr. Hornberger is president of The Future of Freedom Foundation ([www.fff.org](http://www.fff.org)) in Fairfax, Va., publisher of *Your Money or Your Life: Why We Must Abolish the Income Tax* by Sheldon Richman.*

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# Letters

## Paying Attention to the Words

Sarah McCarthy's "Rockin for a Free World" (October) is wrong in many points. Nixon is no more guilty of the Kent State shootings than the American taxpayers are of the Waco murders by funding the FBI. Nixon did not federalize the national guard, nor is there any evidence he ordered the national guard to shoot the protesters.

Paul Kengor comments that Young's lyrics are slanderous. Based on his comment, McCarthy spends half the article denouncing speech codes and hate speech. Excuse me, but where is Kengor's remark about supporting speech codes or hate-speech legislation? For all the reader knows, Kengor may abhor speech codes just as much as any classical liberal. Kengor is guilty of doing what McCarthy wants him to do, fighting bad words with truthful speech. McCarthy complains about the words that Kengor uses in denouncing Young's song (slanderous, abomination, ignorance, unfairness), and then uses similar words to denounce Kengor (tiresome, zealot). She sets Kengor up as a strawman when she groups him with Swaggart, Bakker, and Gingrich.

She then goes on to write that Neil Young is a saint in her church. She must believe in his sainthood because of the truthfulness of his songs. One of his songs is called "Cortez the Killer." Young continuously describes the Aztec civilization as La-La Land, "where war is never known and people help one another." This lyric is a bold-faced lie. The Aztec empire practiced war and human sacrifice. They sacrificed thousands of their captured neighbors at one festival. Is Neil Young right or is every Aztec historian wrong?

Now don't get me wrong; I enjoy some of Neil Young's songs. It's just that I don't turn off my mind when I listen to lying lyrics.

David Hunter  
Downey, Calif.

## Russell Means Liberty!

What's a guy have to do to be qualified as an LP Presidential candidate in 2004? Russell Means would make a great candidate even if, as Stephen Cox laments, he has "never read Ayn Rand" ("Down the Up Escalator," September). What Means has done is wage a lifelong battle against state-sanctioned injustice.

In 1972, after the Bureau of Indian Affairs, FBI and local police did nothing about the torture and murder of an Indian man in Gordon, Nebraska, Means and American-Indian activists led 1300 protesters into Gordon. There they pressured the local government into seriously pursuing the case and extracted a pledge from the town's police to end racial discrimination.

In 1973, Means met with other Indian activists at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, to protest a corrupt federally-backed tribal government and to plan how to make the feds finally abide by the Treaty of 1868. The result? They were surrounded by the FBI, U.S. Marshals, BIA, Tribal police, South Dakota National Guard, and U.S. military personnel equipped with 17 armored personnel carriers, 130,000 rounds of M-16 ammunition, 24,000 flares, 12 grenade launchers, 600 cases of CS gas, helicopters, and even Phantom jets. In the 71 days of the siege at Wounded Knee, Means and his compatriots were fired on, and they fired back. In an effort to end the siege, Means was elected to take the Indian activists' grievances to President Nixon. The siege ended and Means's efforts were ignored by the government.

In 1981, Means again dodged bullets and bombs when investigating the forced relocation of the Miskito Indians by the Sandinista government in Nicaragua — an action that brought him tremendous criticism from the American Left.

Throughout this entire period,

Means was a major target of the FBI's Gestapo-like domestic counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) — an honor that any libertarian should be proud of.

In a multicultural America of the 21st century, a Means LP candidacy would help underscore that the libertarian message is for everyone. Also, Means's effort to tie in the rich history of North America's Indian peoples, especially their stateless societies and fierce independence, with the American colonists' battles for liberty is brilliant. His cry that "We are all Native Americans" creates a wonderful Story of Freedom that all of us, regardless of race, can identify with and unite around.

Russell Means in 2004? Where do I sign up?

Jay Hilgartner  
Van Buren, Ark.

## Right Facts, Wrong Explanation

In his October review "Socialism in America," Bruce Ramsey acknowledged that the United States is the most capitalist of the industrialized countries. Nevertheless, I detect little moral significance in the distribution of wealth here. Hard work, self-discipline, honesty, and common decency will keep one off welfare and out of prison, but they will not make one rich. Many rich people exhibit none of these qualities.

In explaining the absence of a socialist movement in the United States Ramsey overlooked what I think is the main reason. The working/employee class in the United States has always been heterogeneous, while the capitalist/employer class has always been comparatively homogeneous. Contrary to what Karl Marx maintained, loyalties of race, nation, and ethnicity are usually stronger than loyalties of class. What is more, most in the class of employees have always been ethnically similar to the vast majority of their employers. This has encouraged them to identify upward economically, to feel that they are part of the elite, and to favor policies that benefit those who really are in

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the elite.

We can see this in the libertarian movement. Libertarian writers encourage their readers to identify with entrepreneurs. Most libertarians are ordinary people in mundane jobs who have reason to fear when their bosses seem to be in a bad mood.

John Engelman  
Walnut Creek, Calif.

### Another Explanation

Bruce Ramsey offers several possibilities as to why the Socialists are no longer "a party worth watching." What Ramsey failed to mention is that from the 1950s, the Socialist Party pursued a tactical strategy known as "realignment," in which the party would essentially work exclusively within the Democratic Party. This is something Norman Thomas had urged, having recognized the non-viability of a third party approach.

In 1972, the Socialist Party disbanded and the two main organizations that resulted, Social Democrats, USA and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (today called Democratic Socialists of America) regarded themselves as little more than pressure groups within the Democratic Party. Several union leaders, and several current members of Congress, are said to be members or supporters of Democratic Socialists of America. Interestingly, the one avowed socialist in Congress, Rep. Bernie Sanders of Vermont, is not affiliated with any socialist organization. The Socialist Party disappeared off the political radar by pursuing a tactical strategy within the Democratic Party.

Ramsey is simply incorrect when he says, "The Libertarian Party of today, like the Socialist Party of the early 20th century, is a party of pure doctrine. . . ." The Socialist Party, particularly in its Debsian period, had no "pure doctrine." During this period, the Socialist Party included Utopians, Marxists, Religious Socialists, Syndicalists, etc. There was no unity whatsoever on doctrine, leading Irving Howe to speculate over how the Socialist Party ever managed to survive as a political organization.

Indeed, it was the opposition to doctrinaire approaches that created the Socialist Party in 1901, when many members split from Daniel DeLeon's Socialist Labor Party, and the same anti-

doctrine bias that kept most socialists from joining the Communist Party when that party was formed from the Socialist Party's left wing in 1919.

Mark S. Alper  
New Port Richey, Fla.

### Christian Sympathy

After reading the exchange between Bart Kosko and Stephen Cox about Jesus (September, October), I sympathize with both of them. Kosko, for taking on the formidable task of convincing his audience that the Bible is the biggest and longest-running fraud on this planet. And Cox, because he is not truly free. I thought Kosko was careful to qualify Jesus as an apocalyptic, and Cox smeared him.

The Jesus of the Bible contradicted himself all over the place. For example, in Matthew 5:22 he says: "if you say,

'You fool,' you will be liable to the hell of fire." Then in Matthew 23:17 and Luke 11:40, he calls the Pharisees fools. Then there is Jesus' famous love-your-enemies homily in Matthew 5:44. In Luke 19:27 he defines his enemies as anybody who does not want him to be their king. He goes on to say, "bring them hither, and slay *them* before me." All Cox did was pick his favorite side of Jesus' and the Bible's many self-contradictions.

Quibbling over what Jesus said or did not say is pointless. The Gospels contain not one credible quotation. The first gospel, Mark, is estimated to have been written 40 years after Jesus' death; the last gospel, John, about 65 years. It was plenty of time for the story of his crucifixion to grow to legendary proportions by word of mouth. You can

## From the Editor . . .

The presidential election looms, providing *Liberty's* crack correspondents and analysts with a lot to report and analyze. In fact, in our "Guide to Voting for President," one or another of us makes the case for supporting George Bush, Al Gore, Ralph Nader, Pat Buchanan, Harry Browne, and R. U. Sirius, the "mock the vote" candidate. Of course, we also support staying home on election day.

We have reports from the world's hottest hot spots: Stephen Browne returned to Belgrade to experience the Yugoslavian elections, and Bradley Monton, who reported from south Lebanon the day the Israeli army pulled out, reports on life in Beirut, which may just be the world's freest city when it's not the world's most violent battleground.

Don't think we're ignoring life in these United States. In addition to politics, this issue of *Liberty* features a report on the new battle against science and evolution, this time with Native Americans and their political allies playing the role of fundamentalists. Last month, Steve Slivinski of the Cato Institute argued that the national debt was nothing to worry about; this month, Leland Yeager boldly accepts my invitation for a response, providing an essay that goes far beyond conventional thinking on the subject.

Murray Rothbard was one of the biggest influences on the development of libertarian thought in the last part of the 20th century. Intellectual historian David Ramsay Steele and economist Mark Skousen evaluate his life and influence, in their reviews of a new biography written by one of Rothbard's acolytes.

But life isn't all politics and ideology: other reviewers cast a critical eye at fame and celebrity, science fiction, and a plot to make your life nasty, poor, brutish, and short.

As always, we begin with letters from the smartest magazine readers in the world, who rake us unmercifully over the coals, and *Reflections* from our editors and correspondents, who unmercifully rake the world over the coals!

Bon appétit!

R. W. Bradford

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see how the gospels grew like a fish story if you study them in their historical order. In Mark, Jesus was born a normal sinner; by John he was the God of creation. Add to that the mistakes and intentional changes from hundreds of years of hand-copying. There may have been a historical Jesus, but he surely was not the biblical Jesus.

The Bible has maintained its credibility for so long because very few bother to read it. And of those who read it, they either read it selectively or they don't grasp the significance of what they are reading. The Church is as much an enemy of liberty as the State. A neglected angle of attack against the State is through the Church. It seems to me that libertarians are either uninterested or afraid to touch the subject or, like Cox, they are comfortable with their delusions.

Raymond Hewitt  
Parsippany, N.J.

### A Different Time, a Different Place

As I re-read the September issue, something occurred to me about the question of Jesus Christ, family values, and communism. Since the Kingdom of God, to Jesus, was imminent, matters of family, economics, and politics were strictly beside the point.

The Kingdom was at hand — God is our only Father, and every man is our brother. Why worry about food or shelter? Behold the lilies of the field . . .

Applying modern concepts of political or economic standards to one who was then known was about to be radically changed makes no more sense than challenging the culinary choices of the common carpenter ant. I'd say that Kosko has missed the point of the New Testament.

Eric C. Sanders  
Roseville, Mich.

### Pascal's Fallacy

I found Jane Shaw's piece ("The biggest casino," Reflections, October) on Pascal's wager rather entertaining. I haven't thought about Pascal's contribution to religious non-thought in almost 20 years, since I first encountered it during my Catholic school days.

My theology teacher treated it as a serious argument worthy of profound reflection. I found it ridiculous. The fallacy at the heart of the argument is vividly apparent to anyone whose mind is

not addled by "faith." As logician Raymond Smullyan once put it, "It has always puzzled me that so many religious people have taken it for granted that God favors those who believe in him. Isn't it possible that the actual God is a scientific God who has little patience with beliefs founded on faith rather than evidence?" In other words, Pascal assumes that we know something about the mind of God that may not actually be true, and that we have no way of knowing with any certainty, at least not with enough certainty for a rational mind to be betting his eternal soul (of course, a rational mind does not believe in eternal souls either, but what the heck).

Perhaps part of the reason that religion is so unfathomable to skeptics is that this is what passes for logical argument among theologians and philosophers.

Paul Whitehurst  
Humble, Texas

### The Tuskegee Experiment Was Disgraceful

Ron Greimn's letter (October) about my article "The 'Greatest' Generation" is mistaken in two respects. The fact that the president apologized for the Tuskegee Institute syphilis study hardly renders the medical experiment perpetrated by doctors in the U.S. Public Health Service on unwitting Negroes any less a crime against humanity than it most certainly was. I used the Tuskegee experiment only to get into the more widespread crimes by members of the medical profession and the AEC (and the military) when American citizens were secretly injected with plutonium and exposed to radiation poisoning during the Cold War. One might say the fact that Secretary of Energy Hazel O'Leary and later President Clinton apologized for those atrocities also made those actions okay. There seem to be a fair number of people who think that all one need do to explain away evil actions, or "mistakes," is to apologize for them.

Greimn is partly mistaken when he says there was no effective treatment for syphilis in 1932 when the Tuskegee experiment began. Back in the 20s every prostitute knew about the old 606 (Salvarsan) treatment widely used with some degree of success in Europe and in the United States. In the 30s every

*continued on page 22*

# Reflections

## *Wisdom from the (Middle) East —*

"This is a war of attrition. There is no need for a central command structure." — Hezbollah Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah

The same could be said about libertarianism. — Paul Rako

*A day late and a doctor short —* In a surreal gesture, Castro has offered to send doctors to poor areas of the U.S. and give free medical training to 500 Americans.

One has to wonder: Where was Fidel when the Clintons really needed him? Rather than waiting until 2000, Fidel should have made this offer in 1993, giving a boost to the Hillarycare health proposal. — Martin M. Solomon

*Equal harassment under the law —* The Supreme Court declined to hear the appeal of a married couple in Indiana who sued their employer for sexual harassment. Karen and Steven Holman worked together at the Indiana Department of Transportation. They claimed their shop foreman, Gale Uhrich, touched and propositioned both of them. They sued for sexual harassment under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. But last November the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals held that Title VII "is premised on eliminating discrimination," so that "inappropriate conduct that is inflicted on both sexes, or is inflicted regardless of sex, is outside the statute's ambit."

*Holman v. Indiana* is a masterpiece of sociological law. As the concurring opinion put it, "our cases indicate that the equal opportunity harasser may often not be discriminating against either sex and, as we know, discrimination is the essence of Title VII." Thus the actual behavior of a party, and the actual suffering of a victim, doesn't matter — only whether that suffering was equally distributed. One is reminded of the old canard that democracy is the unequal sharing of prosperity, while socialism is the equal sharing of misery. — Timothy Sandefur

*Reinventing the mosquito —* Now that the West Nile Fever is destined to spread across this great land, Americans must make a decision. Do we use our newfound genetic engineering talents to send the mosquito to extinction or do we let grandma and gramps die agonizing deaths?

Genetic euthanasia seems the only practical alternative

since mosquitoes are quite probably too dumb to be taught to only bite things with feathers. Especially if they're taught in government schools. — Paul Rako

## *Making the world safe for hypocrisy —*

On September 26 the voters of Yugoslavia elected Vojislav Kostunica president, thereby ending the 13-year incumbency of Slobodan Milosevic. There were, as is so often the case in democracies, voting irregularities. Milosevic claimed to be the victim of some of the irregularities and a Yugoslavian court ruled that a runoff election was necessary. But when demonstrators took control of the streets, Milosevic conceded defeat.

Yugoslavia had just been devastated in a humiliating war, largely fought from the air against its civilian population. Not surprisingly, support for its democratically-elected president declined sharply. But despite the massive destruction of civilian infrastructure and the resulting poverty, its people had somehow managed to retain their respect for democracy and its respect for law: the president remained in office until he lost his bid for reelection. Obviously, he was unhappy about losing and dawdled a bit before leaving office, but he also showed respect for democracy and the rule of law by accepting the verdict of the voters.

All this happened in a country whose democratic tradition dated back less than two decades, during which it was engaged in more or less constant civil war and intermittent intervention by foreign powers. Any sensible observer would have to characterize the transition from one president to another as evidence of just how democratic a country Yugoslavia is.

But as nearly as I can tell, there were no sensible observers in the West. Here, the transition was typically characterized as "the return of democracy," or as "the end of dictatorship," after the West's political leaders had threatened to intervene to throw the president out of office and put him on trial for his life.

The obvious comparison is with the recent transition of power in Mexico, where a single party had held control of the legislature and presidency for three-quarters of a century, stomping on dissent and engaging in massive electoral fraud. When the Party of Institutional Revolution finally agreed to accept the verdict of Mexico's voters, no one in the



West talked about "the end of dictatorship," or threatened military intervention if the PRI candidate failed to concede defeat, or threatened to try any of PRI's past leaders for war crimes or genocide. Of course, Mexico had remained a reasonably loyal ally of the U.S. during the entire period of the PRI dictatorship — such a good "friend" that the U.S. government stepped in with a \$50 billion uncollateralized loan when the PRI's mismanagement of the economy threatened its survival.

Consider the case of another country. This country engaged in the most brutal civil war in Western history, a war that resulted in the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of men and the virtual destruction one region of the country by the forces of another. The war was followed by more than a decade of military occupation enforcing a legal reign of ter-

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*By any rational standard, the party of Lincoln acted far more anti-democratically than the party of Milosevic ever dreamt of acting. Yet no foreign power threatened intervention.*

---

ror against those who had challenged the central government's authority, in the process ending both democracy and the rule of law in the parts where the opposition predominated. Even eleven years after the war ended, the political group that had controlled the country during the war refused to relinquish power even after it had plainly lost an election.

The country I refer to is, of course, the United States. At the conclusion of its Civil War, the winning political party enacted legislation denying the right to vote to virtually every voter in the subjugated states. Thanks in part to its suppression of democracy in nearly half the country, this party held onto control for more than a decade. When it managed to lose the presidential election in 1876, despite its having replaced the electorate of the South with its own hand-picked voters, the Republican Party refused to surrender the presidency, finally getting the Democrats to agree to accept the losing candidate as president in exchange for the Republicans allowing democracy and the rule of law to return to the South.

By any rational standard, the party of Lincoln acted far more anti-democratically than the party of Milosevic ever dreamt of acting. Yet no foreign power threatened intervention, and so far as I know, no Republican leader was threatened with incarceration or execution as a war criminal. (If the concept "war criminal" has any meaning, Republican General William Tecumseh Sherman surely qualifies.)

A different time. A different place. Democracy was not yet the world's dominant ideology. And hypocrisy wasn't so bold.

— R.W. Bradford

**Dear Mr. Osgood** — Less than a month before a presidential election in which energy policy is a hot issue, "Sunday Morning" aired a segment about the Alaskan National Wildlife Reserve that favored one side of the argu-

ment about whether to explore for oil there. If all that one knew about the topic were what could be gleaned from that segment, answering to the question "to explore, or not to explore?" would be a snap. And that's the problem. It isn't an easy question. A balanced piece would have left the viewer struggling with the difficult choices.

So, what is a viewer to think? This viewer thinks "Sunday Morning" wrestled with its conscience and lost. Sorry if that seems a bit harsh. It's meant to be helpful. The show is usually such a delight, to see the gold standard dropped and journalistic currency debased into a cheap political alloy is sad. In an odd way, the advertising revenue generated by the ANWR segment was itself transmuted in the process. It became a form of soft money. Perhaps a future "Sunday Morning" segment will explore the corrupting effects of such soft money on American politics, just to be fair.

Oops. Looking back at this message, I see that I didn't tell you which side of the argument I thought your segment favored. But then, I didn't have to tell you that, did I? Honestly?

— S. H. Chambers

**More laws, more lawlessness** — We were remodeling the old jail in Telluride a few years ago when I found a book that had fallen down between some walls. I dusted it off and found that it was the 1908 Session Laws of the State Legislature of Colorado. All of the laws of Colorado fit in one volume. Murder, rape, assault, stealing, and trespassing were all against the law in 1908. That time may not have been entirely peaceful, but it was an era when people could walk around most towns and cities without fear.

Today in Colorado we have 33,000 laws and the volumes that hold them stack up about four feet high. Few people have ever read any of the laws, and fewer, not even legal scholars, could possibly understand all of them. Fewer still feel any kind of safety in them. Since most of the laws and regulations cannot be understood, and because of their sheer numbers cannot possibly be enforced, lawlessness is commonplace, and even in vogue.

People tell me: "Look at the mess we are in, mobs of men attacking women in broad daylight, people caught in the cross fire of drug-dealing gangs, missing and murdered children, insane drivers, and drugs and guns in every government school. Is this what the libertarians want?"

This is our existing society which has been born in an unholy union of failed government programs, paid for by the sweat and labor of the American people.

A recovering drug addict and alcoholic once told me, "If you hang out in a barber shop you are going to get a haircut." That's what I tell the youth of my county, and they get it. They know the truth about drugs better than anyone, especially drugs like Prozac and Ritalin given to them by their doctors, schools, and parents.

Estimates are that 20 percent of our children go to school every day high on legal prescription drugs. The medical drugging of our young people is one of the biggest disgraces in the history of this nation.

Some people are just not meant to sit in a classroom for 16 years. A little more than one hundred years ago the young people were the heroes of the day. They were the cowboys and pony express riders, young mariners on the ocean and builders in a land abundant with freedom and opportunity.



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**Making Terror Your Friend** — In a world overrun with authoritarian creeps, Doug Casey highlights the attitudes and techniques that set him apart from the controlled masses. (audio: A418; video: V418)

**End the Drug War or Forget About Freedom** — Alan Bock journeys to the heart of darkness in America's failed effort at drug prohibition. The casualties of the war, says Bock, are a lot of harmless people and your civil rights. (audio: A419; video: V419)

**Why the Great Depression Lasted So Long** — Robert Higgs explains how government, not free markets, caused the Great Depression; how the New Deal prolonged

it, instead of curing it; and why World War II didn't bring the Depression to an end. (audio: A216; video: V216)

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Today we routinely drug many of our potential heroes into conformity.

During my last campaign a number of young people came up to me on the street and said, "You're Sheriff Bill Masters! I just wanted to meet you. I wasn't even going to vote 'till I heard your message. It's nice to hear someone speak the truth."

It appears to me that today's young people have a strong libertarian streak in them. They don't trust government. They are convinced that they don't need government to care for them or direct them. They don't want to work five months a year just to pay taxes, and they don't want to be enslaved to pay for the older generation's retirement.

The way to deal with America's drug problem is to respect and defend life and property. The libertarian values of "Liberty, Responsibility and Community" should be the motto found on the side of every police car in the country.

— Sheriff Bill Masters

***I see a lawsuit in your future*** — Recently the Attorney General of Florida filed suit against the Psychic Readers Network because they were not using "real" psychics. Apparently homeless women were recruited to read off of scripts and keep customers on the phone as long as possible. I fear that my friend over at 1-900-GIRL might not be exactly as she represented herself either. I'm shocked. Most injured by the suit will once again be the people on the bottom rungs of the economic ladder.

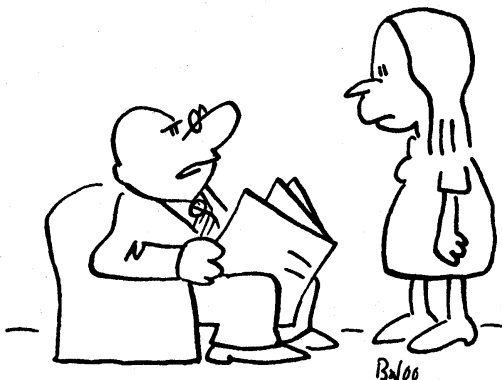
I cannot fathom that in the year 2000, people have to be protected from "psychics." The standard proof is that anyone who can predict the future has no need to talk on the phone for \$4.99 per minute. "Okay, I'm getting a reading here, you're single, female, overweight, live in a trailer, never graduated high school, and don't know if your loser boyfriend really loves you. . . ."

"Wow, you must be a psychic!"

"No, I've just been working here long enough to see the pattern."

The Attorney General's Office reached a settlement with Access Resource Services of Fort Lauderdale, which operates the former Psychic Readers Network, allowing people to work as telephone psychics so long as they sign a "vow of clairvoyance."

This is the second in a series from the Florida Attorney General. The first, the famous Publishers' Clearinghouse suit, protected people stupid enough to believe they were



"You agree with me? — What's your little game?"

winners, and just had to order a couple magazines to collect \$10,000,000.

— Tim Slagle

***Reheating the news*** — Once again, the debate on global warming resurfaces, despite that here in Chicago we just finished the coldest summer on record. And there's no question which side the major media is on, despite their claims of "neutrality." I suspect that truth lives midway between Rush Limbaugh and NPR, and I visit there often. At least Rush admits he's a Republican, I've never heard Peter Jennings even admit he's Canadian.

The Kyoto treaty is a model of what the government has in mind. It calls for freezing energy usage to 1990 levels. But not everywhere, only in the "developed world." When supply dwindles, the price increases. Some people on the economic borderline will most certainly die from cold or heatstroke.

Is there a vested interest from Big Oil in maintaining the status quo? Of course. But that interest is mine too. Less disposable income means lower Comedy Club attendance, means a day job for the drunkard. Does anyone have a vested interest in regulating carbon consumption? Absolutely. More government regulation means more government jobs, means bigger power base for those in the ruling class. Leftists love the idea because they hate free markets. Why they hate capitalism I don't know, I doubt Ralph Nader would be worth \$4 million in a social utopia.

I don't put much credence in alleged prophetic abilities. And that human life spans are increasing worldwide seems to belie dire predictions. Perhaps we should make climatologists sign a "Vow of Clairvoyance."

— Tim Slagle

***New and unimproved!*** — When I was twelve years old, I attended a "junior high school"; my son at twelve goes to a "middle school." Public schools systems switch from one format to the other without much justification. Do your sixth graders lord it over the younger kids? Then make them the youngest in a middle school. Are the high school freshmen at sea? Make them the "seniors" of a junior high.

I worry that we face a similar mindless switching from government control to privatization. Selling off state-owned enterprises and deregulating government-controlled businesses are all the rage, as they should be. But when I hear that, say, Ecuador has privatized some of its government-owned forests, I wonder.

Private ownership is not a panacea; it must be backed by protection of property rights, access to free trade, and freedom from confiscation of assets and profits. Russia's turmoil and the financial crumbling of "crony capitalist" countries make that clear. If privatization is just another fad, promoted at modish international conferences and fostered by newly enlightened loan-making and grant-giving bureaucracies, it won't survive. The institutions that guarantee people exit and choice (thus making suppliers accountable) are necessary for an economy to prosper. Without them, we will constantly be readjusting structures and formats with little effect, just as the public schools have done for half a century.

— Jane S. Shaw

***The new Praetorians*** — One day, when my father was a boy in a little town in the midwest, he heard

that President Harding would be coming through town on a train, and that his train would arrive about noon. That was just a few minutes away, so my father got on his bike and went down to the station, where he found that the president's train was already there. My father looked up, and on the rear platform of the sleeping car he saw Mr. Harding standing alone, looking down at him. The president was probably glad to see him, because he was the only one there. President Harding waved at my father, and my father waved back at him. Then the train pulled out, taking Harding on his last trip; he died a few days later in a hotel room in San Francisco.

Many years later, Teddy Kennedy, making one of his numerous campaigns for the presidency, flew into San Diego for a speech at the University of California. During his trip from the airport to the university, the freeway was closed —

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*When President Washington went on tour, he traveled in an unpretentious carriage with no attendants but a driver and valet.*

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12 miles of it — and the many limousines of his entourage were preceded by 54 motorcycle policemen. From my gawking position on the lawn, I could see more ninja warriors stationed on every roof. I could also make out Senator Kennedy, striding from his car surrounded by burly young men with wires in their ears and guns at their hips. The senator did not wave at me, and I did not wave at him.

Something had obviously changed since the days of Harding, and it wasn't a change for the better. It was a revolt against simplicity, a revolution against the old American idea that your significance depends on who you are, not on how many guys you're traveling with.

It's true that public figures have certain legitimate concerns for their security. If the presidency had not become imperial, of course, there would be fewer of them: great power leads to great resentment, to great fantasies of resentment and revenge. And changed conditions, however regrettable they themselves may be, do not fully account for the phenomenon.

Before my father encountered President Harding, three presidents had been slain by assassins' bullets, former President Roosevelt had been gravely wounded by a gunman who showed up at one of his speeches, and a man who believed that he was the rightful heir to the throne of France had attacked President Jackson on the steps of the Capitol with a gun that happened to misfire several times. So President Harding, like all other presidents, was always "in danger," and knew it, but that didn't mean that he had to surround himself with a regiment of guards on his every public appearance. It never occurred to him to close a major railway station — as Clinton closed a major airport — because he wanted to get a haircut and all traffic must stop while he waited for the barber to appear.

When President Washington went on tour, he traveled in

an unpretentious carriage with no attendants but a driver and valet. He often arrived at destinations where he was not expected. People came around a corner and, lo and behold, there was General Washington! He got marooned in New England villages where the law forbade travel on the sabbath and he had nothing to do for entertainment but attend church in the morning and go back to church in the afternoon.

In 1854, President Pierce went to the Capitol to sign some bills. When he was finished, he walked into the rotunda to wait with his secretary and the Postmaster General until his carriage showed up. A drunken young man from South Carolina approached him, shook his hand, and insisted that he have a drink with him. Pierce, who was known to have a problem with alcohol, "freezingly" refused, and went for his carriage — whereupon the young man hit him with a hard-boiled egg. Pierce had him arrested, then changed his mind and sent his Attorney General down to the jail to have the charges dropped. In the meantime, the young man had tried to kill himself with a penknife, but the president's common sense brought the national and personal emergency to an informal end.

Writing to former President Jefferson, former President Adams excoriated one of their mutual acquaintances for saying that he, Adams, had "few Friends." In a remark that every TV commentator in the year 2000 would find grossly "unpresidential," Adams declared that when he heard that, "I wanted to whip the rogue . . . till the blood come." Yet he added, in a relieved as well as an ironic tone, that some people talked "a great deal about 'The Dignity' of the Office of President, which I do not find that any other Persons, public or private regard very much." Presumably, Jefferson understood what he meant, and sympathized. That's one reason why those men remain the great Adams and Jefferson, while people like Teddy Kennedy and Bill Clinton will always remain . . . people like Teddy Kennedy and Bill Clinton.

The other day, I saw a news film of George W. Bush moving through a crowd. His coat was off and his shirt was soaked with sweat. There were some of the usual high-paid bouncers following him, but they were no hindrance to the exuberant people shaking hands with him and hugging him and pushing papers in front of him to sign. Bush, obviously a little dazed, accepted someone's autograph book, patted his pockets for a pen, failed to locate one, and walked away, still holding the book.

This is both bad and good. I wish that Bush and all the rest of them would emulate the example of Harding, who "campaign'd" for office by making polite little speeches from his front porch. And I hope that the guy got his book back, somehow. Still, I was happy to see that none of the burly men in sunglasses was sent huffing off to find the Governor a pen. There's something to be said for confusion and inadvertence. In fact, if Bush is willing to make inadvertence a part of his program, I'll send him all the pens he needs.

— Stephen Cox

*The information byway* — After more than a year and a half in which to search for rationalizations, a few tech gurus and journalists have come to Al Gore's rescue. Apparently, when Gore said during a March 1999 CNN interview that he "took the initiative in creating the

Internet," he didn't really mean it. A couple of the Internet's actual founding fathers, Vinton Cerf and Robert Kahn, released a statement in late September that said, in part, "We don't think, as some people have argued, that Gore intended to claim he 'invented' the Internet. Moreover, there is no question in our minds that while serving as Senator, Gore's initiatives had a significant and beneficial effect on the still-evolving Internet. The fact of the matter is that Gore was talking about and promoting the Internet long before most people were listening." Even if one accepts their view that Gore didn't intend to take credit for inventing the Net, the episode offers a good example of a politician drastically inflating his own importance for political gain. After all, the Internet's precursor, ARPANET, was commissioned by the Defense Department close to a decade before Gore was first elected to office, and today's decentralized commercial Internet is a pretty far cry from anything helped along by Gore's cheerleading efforts.

There's an even more dangerous undertone in Cerf's and Kahn's strategic extrication, however, made explicit in Scott Rosenberg's Oct. 5 column in *Salon* — the idea that techno-

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*There's no reason to be thankful for the government's technological largesse. Indeed, government action probably short-circuited a much quicker, cheaper and more efficient route to cyberspace.*

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logical advances like the Internet are only possible with government assistance. Rosenberg writes, "The Internet didn't spring full-blown out of some scientists' heads, nor did it just grow, like some techno-Topsy powered by the mysterious magic of the marketplace. It emerged from the world of government-subsidized university research, and every step of the way along its passage from academic network to global information infrastructure was shepherded by the state." There's certainly no denying this. Rosenberg thinks that "Libertarians and conservatives are uncomfortable admitting this," but can't imagine why. Admitting that the Internet as we know it today would not exist without government's heavy hand isn't much different than admitting that our highways and telephone lines are products of government programs.

But just because the development of the Internet included a large dose of government, there's no reason to suppose that government involvement was the only possible means to reach the end we have today, or even that it was the best means.

It's not too hard to envision an alternate history in which government stayed out of tech research — one in which private universities decided it would be beneficial to build a network that would allow them to easily share resources and research. A world where businesses piggybacked onto the system much sooner, and where private letter-carrying firms realized the commercial potential of this new form of com-

munication long before the sluggish U.S. Postal Service.

And even those who are intent on seeing government's involvement as a benevolent presence have to recognize that the things most people know and love about the Internet today aren't a product of infrastructure itself, but the choices and interaction of countless individuals who use, abuse and test the limits of this new toy, creating a beautiful mess of spontaneous order. The fact that the foundations the government laid are being used in ways that it never intended or imagined is what makes the Net what it is. Human ingenuity will eventually break through the limits of any artificial protocols.

In the end, it doesn't matter that the government funded most of the Internet's early developments. It matters even less that Al Gore spearheaded a few pieces of tech-friendly legislation and did a few splits and high-kicks on the sidelines. There's no reason to be thankful for the government's technological largesse. Indeed, government action probably short-circuited a much quicker, cheaper and more efficient route to cyberspace. It's one more chapter in the never-ending story of government intervention — whenever anything good happens, government partisans like to pretend it couldn't possibly have occurred without Big Brother's help.

— Eric D. Dixon

**Selective intimidation** — When the network television program *60 Minutes* reran its story on Dr. Wen Ho Lee, the Taiwanese-American nuclear scientist alleged to be a spy for mainland China, I was reminded of a history of cunningly selective prosecutions in this country.

Sacco and Vanzetti, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Timothy McVeigh, among others. Each prosecution seemed designed to scare a potentially radical minority in America (respectively Italian immigrants, Jewish communists, and independent militias).

Each prosecution depended upon marshalling media opinion based upon stereotypes prevalent at each time — that some swarthy Italians wanted to sabotage WASP America, that some dark-haired Jews wanted Stalin's Russia to take over America, and that rednecks were predisposed to mischief.

My own sense is that Sacco, not Vanzetti, was guilty of murder in a botched bank robbery, that the Rosenbergs were wanna-be spies who lacked serious secrets (unlike Klaus Fuchs before them), and that McVeigh was a pawn in a sting operation that failed when a truck carrying explosives inadvertently exploded. (Regarding the latter, see Hoffman's elaborate, 500-page exposé, *The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror*, 1998; Ambrose Evans-Pritchard's *The Secret Life of Bill Clinton*, 1997, tells of likely government complicity in the bombing.)

Now consider that Dr. Lee, who came to America at age 26 in 1964 to do advanced study at Texas A&M before working for decades at Los Alamos, is specifically accused of downloading classified files onto his office computer. This is technically illegal, but apparently done frequently by scientists in his position.

Dr. Lee was also accused of failing to report a suspicious contact during a government-authorized trip to mainland China in the mid-1980s. From this flimsy evidence, coupled with the myth that Chinese-Americans are ultimately loyal

to China, some have concluded that Dr. Lee must have passed nuclear secrets onto aliens whose facial structure resembles his.

Since the "evidence" is so thin, why is he being prosecuted? He cited the fact that he is the only oriental in the Los Alamos lab. If that's why the Feds went after him, regardless of whether he is eventually prosecuted, it is reasonable to suspect he is the victim of a selective prosecution, accompanied by publicity, designed to scare the hell out of all Asian-Americans, as indeed it probably shall, just as previous selective prosecutions made super-patriots of many Italian-Americans and many American Jews.

Dr. Lee is so far luckier than Sacco and Vanzetti, not to mention the Rosenbergs: he survives with his life.

— Richard Kostelanetz

**That notorious one percent** — The Gore campaign has made much of the fact that Bush's proposed tax reduction would be favorable to the "richest one percent" of the U.S. tax-filing population, although the Bush plan would be even more favorable to the poorer 99 percent, that is, Bush would make the tax system more progressive.

Gore's misuse of arithmetic can be criticized in a number of ways, but one is particularly worth noting, if only because I have so far seen no one raise this issue anywhere in the media.

"The richest one percent" means the highest one percent of income recipients in any single calendar year: those making more than \$330,000 in that year. What I have not seen stated, and what seems to be often overlooked, is that the people who actually make up this highest one percent change every year. Not all of them are the same people this year as they were last year; not all of them will be the same people next year as they are this year. Consequently, the percentage of people who at some point in their lives will be in that top one percent is a lot bigger than one percent.

There are, of course, a few people like Bill Gates who, we may assume, will be in that top one percent until they die. But this group is not one percent of the population; it is a much, *much* smaller group. And even many in *this* group (including Gates himself) didn't start out in the top one percent.

Some people make a killing with a superb investment decision, have a hit record, or earn a terrific year-end bonus, taking them into the top one percent for just one year, or a few years, of their lives. Most people, however, earn more money as they get older, until their earnings peak at somewhere between 50 and 60 years of age, then their income declines as they cease to receive a salary and spend their retirement savings. To a large extent, "the rich" means those about to retire. To a large extent, "the poor" means the young.

So what percentage of taxpayers will, for at least one year of their lives, be in the top one percent? I don't actually know whether it's 20 percent, 30 percent, or 40 percent. I doubt if anyone knows, as official statistics usually ignore individual movement *between* groups of income earners, and studies which specifically look at such movement are few and far between. Two such studies, however, are cited by W. Michael Cox and Richard Alm in their book, *The Myths of Rich and Poor*.

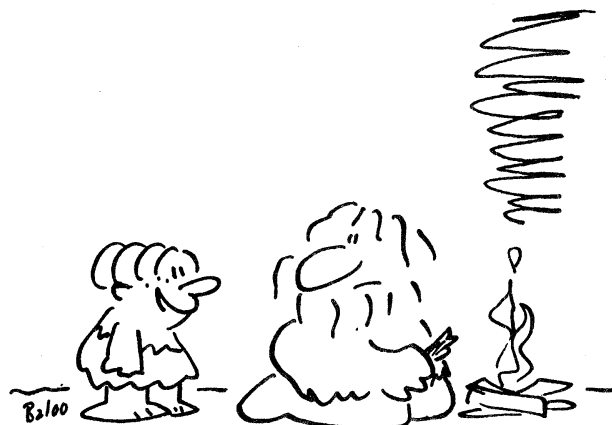
Most discussion of these issues is in terms of "quintiles" or fifths: the richest fifth, the second richest fifth, and so on. A study by the U.S. Department of the Treasury compared 1979 with 1988. It found, for example, that looking at the bottom fifth, that is, the lowest-income 20 percent in 1979, 86 percent of that bottom fifth had risen to a higher quintile by 1988, with 15 percent rising to the highest fifth — don't forget that's only the number who reached the top fifth starting from the bottom fifth.

The other study was by the University of Michigan, and compared 1975 with 1991 — a much longer period than the Treasury study. The Michigan study found, for example, again just mentioning here those beginning in the bottom fifth in 1975, that more than 75 percent of these had made it to the top two fifths by 1991, with nearly 30 percent reaching the top fifth. Over 25 percent of those in the second-lowest quintile in 1975 had reached the top quintile by 1991 (*The Myths of Rich and Poor*, p. 73–74).

Such numbers don't allow us to determine the turnover in the top one percent, but they do suggest that it is likely to be quite high, almost certainly the great majority of that one percent over a few years — especially if we're aware of two other facts shown by statistics: that far more income comes from labor services (salaries) than from property ownership (interest on savings) and that most rich people were not born rich.

The fraction of the population at any given time who at some point in their lives will be in the richest one percent *could* be above 50 percent, but my guess is that it's probably somewhere between 20 and 40 percent. This fraction will tend to be higher if population is increasing, whether by natural means or by immigration (as long as the immigrants are young). Furthermore, the Bush plan reduces taxes overall, and reduces taxes most dramatically on the low- and middle-income recipients, making it easier for them to move up. There would be an increase in upward mobility and therefore in turnover at the top. The fraction of the population who would be in that top one percent for at least one year of their lives would be increased.

So when Al Gore speaks of "the richest one percent" he's not just referring to the Bill Gateses, the Stephen Kings, the Oprah Winfreys, and the Al Gores. Though he may not know it, he's talking about a much more substantial section of the population, quite likely including you and me, and if



"Nice invention, Dad — can I stay up late tonight?"

not, certainly including numerous folks you and I know — many of our friends and family members.

— David Ramsay Steele

**Pump & dump professionalism** — A more recent selective prosecution that I find similarly alarming, though less fearsome, involves a 15-year-old named Jonathan G. Lebed (which is Russian for swan), who lived in suburban New Jersey. No doubt bored by the lack of amusements typical of his environment, this young man cooked up a scheme for purchasing cheap stocks, sending false inflationary information about the stocks to Internet message boards, and then selling the stocks that went up. This exemplifies what is called “a pump and dump operation.”

Though the number of investors engaging in some p & d deception to some degree is probably innumerable, few seem to have been as successful or as young as Mr. Lebed, who multiplied his money spectacularly. And fewer still operated under his logistical disadvantage. Imprisoned in a public high school during normal trading hours, he couldn't monitor his investments to the degree that most speculators do. Instead, he had to leave behind limit orders to sell his holdings at pre-established prices and then discover when he returned home the results. (Talk about trading with one hand tied behind your back.)

We know about Mr. Lebed because he was caught, while many other practitioners of p & d remain anonymous. The newspapers said that in exchange for immunity from prosecution he agreed to return his profits (though it did not explain to whom and how). All is well that ends well; he's back in school.

But hold it. Such a smug conclusion misses the first lesson: that pump and dump is such a simple deception that even fulltime schoolboys can do it. It follows that if kids can so easily deceive otherwise prosperous adults, everyone perusing message boards — *everyone* — should be skeptical, realizing in advance that message boards can be arenas of deception (and that most of the time the government will not rescue those who are deceived). Nobody following any of his disinformation was under the illusion of purchasing a blue chip.

The second lesson is that Lebed's case was made public precisely because he was so young and thus more vulnerable to acknowledging a common crime. How can a kid fight back if his parents, with whom he lives, have already apologized for him, tying both hands behind his back, so to speak?

The third lesson is that the computer moxie of young peo-



“A self-made man, eh? — I think you used too much yeast.”

ple frightens adults who must exploit social power to intimidate kids, much as the scientific intelligence of Asian-Americans frightens, the entrepreneurial skills of Jews frightens, and the passion of Italians frightens.

To my senses, the prosecution of Jonathan Lebed is every bit as selective and exploitative as that focussing on Dr. Lee. One reason why I feel obliged to defend young Mr. Lebed is that I could imagine myself cooking up such a scheme as a bored suburban teenager several decades ago. Instead of censure, I would want to congratulate him for earning on his own initiative enough money to pay for university tuition, taking the burden off his parents. As an anarchist predisposed to the “redistribution” of wealth, I see small justification for his reimbursing the investors deceived by him, especially since I'd wager that most of them are wealthier than he is.

For now, may I wish Mr. Lebed a speedy trip from suburbia to the college of his choice.

— Richard Kostelanetz

**From republicans to democrats** — “Of course I know that the kiss was spontaneous! How do I know? I'm a woman — I can tell. You can't fool a woman about those things!” “Are you going to vote for Gore because of that?” the radio interviewer asks. “You'd better believe I am!” she says. “I want to vote for a Real Man — and Gore is a Real Man!”

And on this slender basis — which one is a Real Man — she will cast a vote which will help to decide the fate of millions, an entire national policy, peace and war. What makes him qualified to decide such things? The Kiss.

“But America is a democracy.” That is what American high school students are taught. And history has almost made it true: Since the Electoral College has become a sham, it is no longer the majority of the members of the Electoral College, but a majority of the voters in each state, who decide who is to be president. And, thanks to a constitutional amendment, senators are now elected by popular vote. It was such features that were to distinguish a democracy from a republic — and the U.S. was begun as a republic.

Lord Acton wrote:

The view of pure democracy, which we are accustomed to associate with American politics, were almost entirely unrepresented at the convention. Far from being the product of a democratic revolution, and of an opposition to English institutions, the Constitution of the United States was the result of a powerful reaction against democracy.

James Madison wrote:

In all cases where a majority are united by a common interest or passion, the rights of the minority are in danger. What motives are to restrain them? . . . Respect for character is always diminished in proportion to the number among whom the blame or praise is to be divided. Conscience, the only remaining tie, is known to be inadequate in individuals; in large numbers little is to be expected from it.

Alexander Hamilton wrote:

It has been observed that pure democracy, if it were practicable, would be the most perfect government. Experience has proved that no position in politics is more false than this. Three ancient democracies, in which the people themselves deliberated, never possessed one feature

of good government. Their very character was tyranny. And Plato considered democracy to be the second worst form of government, second only to tyranny — to which he said it always led. And John Adams said that if the U.S. became a democracy, that would be the end of freedom on earth.

Rose Wilder Lane said it best:

Neither the states nor the citizens elected the President. His duty within the Republic was only to execute the laws made by Congress. But in world affairs he was the Republic's substitute for a king . . . He directed the Republic's course in world affairs. So that he might be completely free to do this, the President was not to be elected by (and therefore dependent upon) either the citizens or the states. Temporary popular motions or changing public opinion were not to touch him. Local interests were not to be able to bring pressure upon him. . . . The President represented all Americans. No group had any claim upon him. And many a President in time of crisis . . . since that freedom was taken away from his high office, must have silently cursed the Amendment that plunges him to the neck in a mob of short-sighted, local-minded, clamoring men, clutching and pulling at him with a thousand hands. Today that Amendment does not let the captain of this ship of State make one clear decision unhampered by the ignorance and prejudices and fears of all the passengers on all the decks and all the men playing poker in the ship's bar. An ocean liner could not be navigated for a day under such conditions.

At the brink of the chasm of unlimited democracy, where should we now turn? Return to the republican convictions of the Founders? Give it up as hopeless and become anarchists?

Libertarians will not agree among themselves on this one, but at least we may agree on how far we have strayed.

— John Hospers

**Tenth Amendment: up in smoke** — The United States Supreme Court recently issued a stay which prevents the Oakland Cannabis Buyers' Cooperative from providing medical marijuana to those who qualify according to California Law 11362.5, sometimes called the Compassionate Use Act and better known as Proposition 215.

Federal law states that there is no medical use for marijuana and any use of it is illegal under federal statute. About that there is no disagreement. What is in dispute is related to whether or not 535 members of Congress have the right to make medical decisions for every single man, woman, and child in America and overrule the medical judgement of physicians. Part of the dispute is over the disagreement about the medical efficacy of this innocuous weed. Also, part of the disagreement is over whether or not individuals have the right to use whatever substance they wish if they feel the use of that substance benefits their lives. But neither of these issues was at issue before the Court: the issue it faced was whether the federal government has the right to overturn a state law enacted by initiative. Can Congress tell the people they do not have a voice in making the laws for their state, or tell a state legislature that they, too, do not have the right to make laws for their state if those 535 people in Congress do not like the laws they pass?

In the last few years, the people of seven states and the District of Columbia have passed propositions which would allow the use of marijuana for medical purposes. In addition, the Hawaii legislature passed similar legislation. All of these laws were passed by significant majorities and have the support of the majority of the voters. The only significant opposition to implementation of these laws has come from prosecutors, police officers, and the federal government. Michelle Kubby, wife of the Libertarian candidate for governor of California in 1998 and noted medical marijuana advocate, Steve Kubby, have stated, "This is no more about marijuana than the Boston Tea Party was about tea." She is right. It is not about what is good or bad, it is about power and control. This is really an issue that goes to the very roots of our constitutional government. It is an issue that will have far reaching effect on whether or not the Constitution is still the basis of our government or if we are now a government of the Congress, by the Congress and for the Congress.

The law allows patients to have an unlimited supply of marijuana for any medical purpose they desire as long as they have a doctor's recommendation. This complicates drug enforcement because prosecutions for sale of marijuana are not based on actually catching people selling. They are based on the quantity of marijuana possessed or how it is packaged and stored: if the quantity of marijuana in possession of an individual exceeds a certain amount, the law presumes that it was intended for sale and that its owner is a drug dealer. If there were a legitimate, legal use for marijuana, mere possession could not imply intent for illegal sale. Prosecutors would actually have to prove that marijuana was actually sold for non-medical use.

California's constitution specifies that initiatives passed by the voters become laws and that no government entity may disobey or ignore them, but police and prosecutors refuse to implement Proposition 215. Nearly every day, ninja-suited SWAT teams break into the homes of people who have harmed no one and destroy or seize their property

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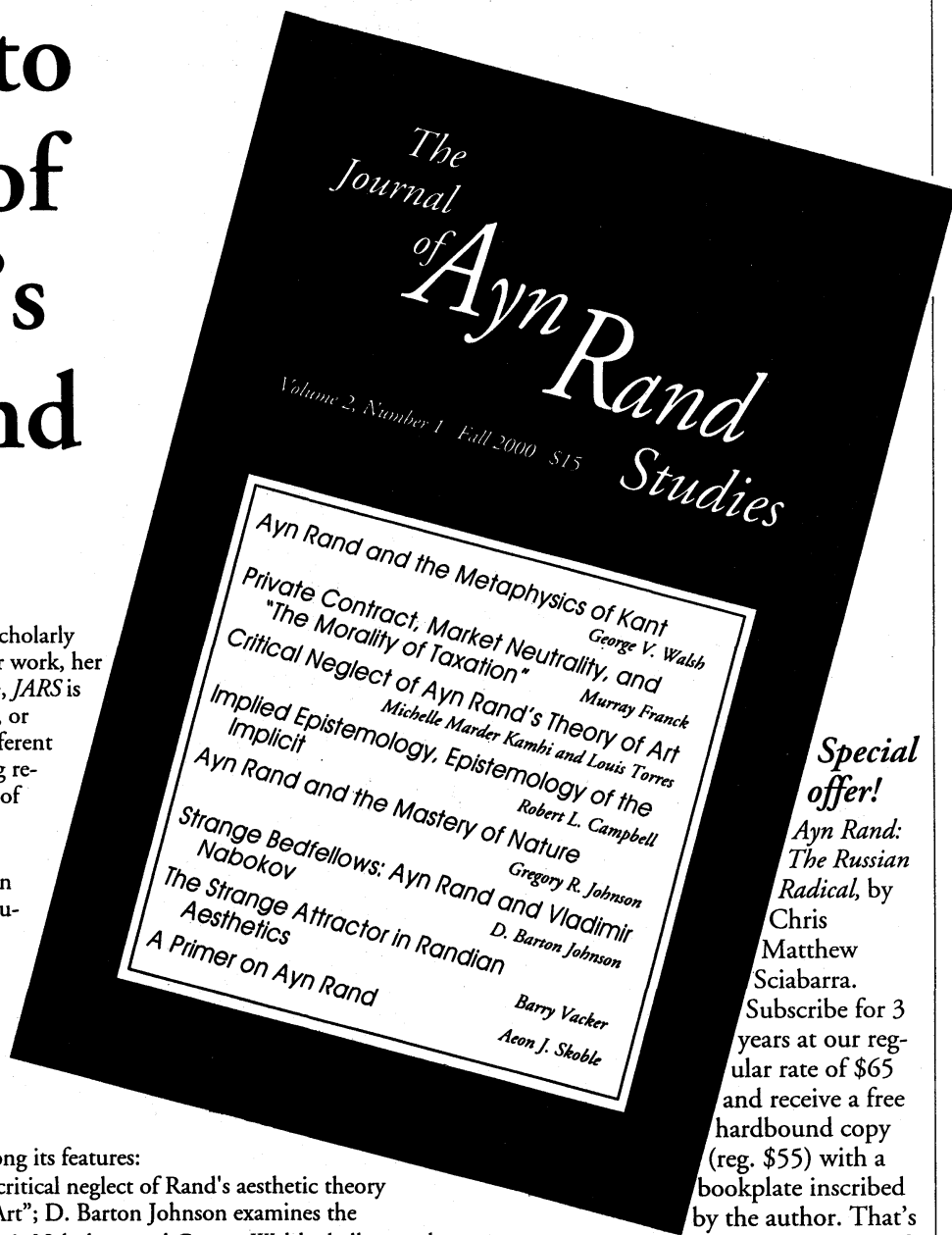
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for the crime of marijuana possession. California police argue they are making no judgment and will let the courts settle the issue.

That is what the case that the Supreme Court will hear is about. The Court will have to decide if the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights have any meaning in the 21st century. Why is this an issue over the U.S. Constitution? Because the Constitution is a limiting document which grants certain powers to the federal government and specifically denies the federal government the authority to do others.

Stated simply, the Constitution enumerates the powers of the federal government and then plainly states that those enumerated powers are all that the federal government has. Other powers belong to the states or to the people. In none of those enumerated powers does it give Congress the power to regulate what plants may be grown, what medicines may be used, or what laws a state or people of a state can pass, as long as those laws do not take away the rights and responsibilities of the Constitution. Plainly, any regulation of this sort must be done at the state level, if at all.

The Court would do well to remember the words of James Madison, the father of the Constitution and the principle author of the Bill of Rights: "The ultimate authority . . . resides in the people alone." If the people can no longer hold an election and change the laws, being forced to suborn their wishes to the Congress, they no longer hold the ultimate authority. They are mere chattel of those who rule them. They are no more than slaves.

If the Supreme Court holds that these elections can be overturned by the will of Congress, which election will be next? The great American experiment will have failed. We will have allowed ourselves to once again be ruled by an all-powerful government instead of remaining an all-powerful people.

— Richard E. Pearl Sr.

***An old soldier never dies, dammit*** — On Oct. 16, White House drug policy director Barry McCaffrey announced that he will resign before the next president takes office.

McCaffrey's drug war has been cruel, costly, and counter-productive. More than three million marijuana users have been arrested during his five-year regime, and his fight against medical marijuana has caused untold pain and suffering among the seriously ill.

Indeed, a new FBI report released on Oct. 15 revealed a record number of marijuana arrests in 1999. According to the annual *Crime in the United States* report, there were 704,812 marijuana arrests in 1999 — 88% of which were for possession, not sale or manufacture.

Despite this all-out war, drug use in the United States has actually increased since 1995.

Not surprisingly, McCaffrey is lying about his focus and accomplishments. For example, his resignation announcement says that he has "made prevention of drug use Goal One of this country's anti-drug strategy" — yet the federal budget for domestic law enforcement is more than four times the budget for prevention.

The mainstream media have responded to McCaffrey's announcement by gushing with praise, repeating his lies unchecked and overlooking the myriad of controversies he's

been involved in over the years, e.g., paying television stations to influence the content of their shows, tracking Internet users who type certain drug terms into their search engines, and getting the United States involved in Colombia's bloody civil war.

Perhaps McCaffrey's enormous expenditures for anti-drug ads in the popular press have bought him these undeserved accolades. Long gone is the time when a general who lost a war and caused such extensive havoc in his homeland in the process had only one way to resign with honor: harikari.

— Chuck Thomas

***No comment*** — Two wrongs do not make a right. But two "No comments" can make interesting news.

With official sanction and permits, anti-gun "Million Moms" expected 1,500 people to join their march across one of the busiest traffic bridges in east-central Bethlehem, Pa., on Oct. 2. But after word got out that defenders of the Bill of Rights would line the pedestrian walkway to watch, the number of "Moms" marchers dwindled to about 75.

Meanwhile, Congress was threatening to cut highway funds to states which do not reduce their legal definition of "drunk" to a blood-alcohol level of 0.8 percent. A columnist for a newspaper based in neighboring Allentown asked "Moms" march leader Helen Ruch whether she thought enforcing drunk driving laws might be a more effective way to reduce violence than new gun control laws. Ruch refused to comment.

On Oct. 6, columnist Paul Carpenter quoted her "No comment," explaining that Ruch had once been arrested, having failed field sobriety tests with a .162 blood-alcohol level after being asked to step out of her car. Someone asked Carpenter if he'd gotten into trouble with his bosses for writing about Ruch's prior. He answered "No comment," his standard response to inquiries about internal policies and politics at the Tribune-owned newspaper.

But someone took it to mean Carpenter's job might be in jeopardy, and said so in e-mails to friends. Within a couple of days, in what Carpenter described Oct. 10 as "the most amazing deluge of letters I have ever seen," literally hundreds "from every corner of the nation" had arrived, virtually all supporting both Carpenter and the Bill of Rights. He said that in his 35 years in the news biz, he had never seen anything else like it.

What a shame that those all-too-few in the media who do defend all of the Bill of Rights hear expressions of support from the rest of us so seldom.

— Ken Sturzenacker

***Surrendering the streets*** — A specter is haunting Europe, the specter of neo-fascism. Across the European Union, this specter is taking on different shapes. In France the National Front, and in Austria the People's Party have had quite astonishing and depressing successes at the ballot box. Chilling as those far-right electoral victories may be, they pale in comparison to some recent events in Germany, where the east of the country is held in the grips of the deadly violence of right wing mobs.

According to the *Tagesspiegel*, a well-respected German daily paper, 93 people have been killed in the last ten years by neo-nazis. Recent months of repeated attacks on foreigners or simply foreign-looking Germans in the eastern part of

the country culminated in June in the cold-blooded murder of an immigrant from Mozambique who had lived in Germany for years, was married to a German woman, and had two children. Late at night, on his way home from meeting friends, he was assaulted by three skinheads, two 16-year-olds and one 24-year-old, who had just met hours before. They beat and kicked him, took off his clothes and let him lie bleeding to death in a park. The perpetrators were speedily arrested, and in August they were sentenced to seven years and life, respectively. Spectators of the trial found it most blood-curdling that the defendants showed no remorse and proudly proclaimed "hatred for foreigners" as their motive.

During the trial, German minister for the economy Werner Mueller proclaimed that right-wing violence was bad for German economic growth. I am sure that not only German citizens were distressed to discover the complete moral depravity of their country that was now analyzing the murder of a human being, husband, and father in terms of its effect on "economic growth."

One might infer from this that Germany is being overrun by a horde of brown-shirts, ready to sweep away the center-left government of the second German Republic, but nothing could be further from the truth. Even according to the most pessimistic appraisals there are fewer than a thousand violent skinheads in the country. So what is the reason for their apparent domination of the streets in many cities in eastern Germany?

It is striking that no civilians have stood up against the neo-fascist thugs. Even in instances where a handful of skinheads have attacked people in open daylight, no one came to the victim's defense. Is it sympathy for neo-nazis which is showing here? No, research shows that German sympathy

for the extreme right, is negligible. Germans haven't resisted because of fear: the fear of a hundred people to face five violent youthful thugs, the fear of a whole citizenry to stand up for their convictions against a tiny minority of people who are willing to put themselves at risk to attain their goals or simply to kill someone. What we are facing here, and it takes no particularly libertarian mind to come to this conclusion, is the fruit of a government which is determined to isolate its citizenry from every peril that daily life might offer. People are "protected" from unemployment, old age, sickness; from employers' paying low wages, or expecting more work in return for higher wages; from retailers opening their shops on Sundays or offering their goods for too much or too little money; from bad weather . . . and from anything else you can think of. Being isolated from any minor peril that life might offer, nobody seems able to face up to threats to his own freedom and his own country. That Germany's east has been under communist rule for 45 years exacerbates this tendency, but ten years of life in a democracy still has failed to foster any moral courage in the population. Ten years after achieving a republic, all too many East Germans do not seem to be prepared to stand up for it.

But, that it is not the history of communist rule alone which is causing right-wing radicalism to flourish is proven by the recent demonstrations of neo-nazis in Schleswig, western Germany's northernmost state; what we are seeing here is not an inexplicable resurrection of a dead ideology. We are simply witnessing the harvest of the seed the apostles of socialism have been sowing for so long. They did not expect people to be able to work out the basic questions of their own lives, or to notice when their freedom was taken away. How much can they expect people to stand up if their neighbor's freedom and right to life is threatened? — Oliver Becker

# Politics

**Why I'm for Gore** — I get SO scared when I think of all the things that might happen if Gore isn't elected that I can hardly even sleep at night. I mean he and Clinton worked SO hard to give us this new economy with the Internet and everything and what if Bush is elected and he just screws it all up? I mean, I try to save, but, it's like — all the bills! The cell phone, and cable, and my Visa on top of the car payment and the rent, I just CAN'T. And the interest! If I lost my job? Omigod. I don't even want to think about it. I filled up my car the other day? It cost TWENTY DOLLARS? And it wasn't even on empty! My sister says those oil companies are just out to screw us any way they can. You know what? Gore took some oil out of his reserves and that's why the price came down. And it's not just that. He's going to help me retire and pay off all my debts by 2012. That's what he says anyway. Don't get me wrong. This isn't just about me. When I think of all the gays and lesbians

who can't get into college because of affirmative action, it just makes me SO angry. What are they supposed to do, STARVE? It's just so mean-spirited. Did you see Gore kiss that homeless woman who picks up beer cans out of the ditch to pay for her drugs? That's what I mean about him. He's not as cool as Clinton, but that's not necessarily a bad thing, you know? No, really, it's like, the president can be TOO cool? And Gore's not? I mean, you know, it's like, when he kissed his wife? Flipper? SO GROSS. But they were kind of cute? Like a mommy and daddy thing? Not like a Monica thing? But he says that when he's president abortions won't be an issue and drugs will be free. Not like dope. Like medicine? And guns! Don't get me started! I wish they would just GO A-WAY! It's not like that in Europe. I had a friend who went there and she told me she felt SO safe. Even at night. And the air was really clean, which is another thing: Bush wants to drill for oil in the NATIONAL PARKS! What's

THAT all about? He is just SO stupid. It's like, why should we DRILL for oil when we can just BUY it? DUH!? I really am VERY concerned about the environment. My best friend's brother Jason? He worked in Texas? And he says that there are oil wells and pipelines and refineries everywhere down there? And he goes, "if Bush is president he's going to make the whole country JUST LIKE TEXAS?" And I go, "thanks, but no thanks?" I mean, like I'm gonna go around with big poofy hair and some stupid COWBOY HAT? And that's why I'm for Gore. — Tiffany Hendersen

**The Slagle-Nader debate** — On Oct. 9, Green Party candidate Ralph Nader was a guest on Chicago talk radio station WLS, with host Jay Marvin. I couldn't stand listening to his recycled Marxism a moment longer and picked up the phone. I

was far too angry to conduct a rational debate with the candidate from the party aligned with the color of envy; however, it was enormously cathartic to publicly say to his face, (or his ear), what we all say behind his back. Here's how it went:

*Tim Slagle:* Mr. Nader, since you are a proponent of Universal Health Care, have you ever considered Universal Legal Care, to provide access to lawyers for all Americans? Right now everybody has access to a doctor, but access to attorneys is only available for the rich. The prison system is full of minorities because poor people cannot afford the same attorneys as rich people.

*Ralph Nader:* Well right now we have public defenders and legal assistance networks, which are there to assist lower-income individuals in paying for attorneys.

*Slagle:* Yes, but wouldn't it make more sense to nationalize the bar association and allow the government to regulate how much attorneys can make? We could limit settlements, provide affordable legal assistance for every American and use the surplus to fund health care, and programs for poor children.

*Nader:* Well, I think our caller is being a little sarcastic.

*Slagle:* Oh, no Mr. Nader, I'm dead serious. Right now government has been corrupted by millionaire attorneys. I'm sick and tired of rich attorneys telling doctors how much money they can make. How much are you worth Mr. Nader? (silence)

*Slagle:* Come on, Mr. Nader how much are you worth? Four million, I understand.

*Jay Marvin (the host):* Yeah, but Mr. Nader is not an attorney.

*Slagle:* No?

*Marvin:* You're not an attorney, right Mr. Nader?

*Nader:* (sheepishly) Yes, I am.

*Marvin:* What?

*Nader:* Yes, I am an attorney.

*Slagle:* Got you there, Jay.

*Marvin:* Yeah, but you're not a practicing attorney...

*Slagle:* Well, I stand corrected.

At this point, my line is disconnected. — Tim Slagle

**Russell means what?** — Russell Means all but announced his candidacy for the Libertarian Party's 2004 presidential nomination at the LP convention in July. But that is not his only political activity. Italian-Americans in Denver planned an Italian Festival to be held on Oct. 7, two

days before Columbus Day. Means joined protesters against the festival.

"Opposition groups and the organizers signed an agreement," reported *The New York Times*, "that all references to Columbus would be eliminated in exchange for a promise of a peaceful protest."

"I respect their right to march and celebrate their heritage," Means said. "But I don't

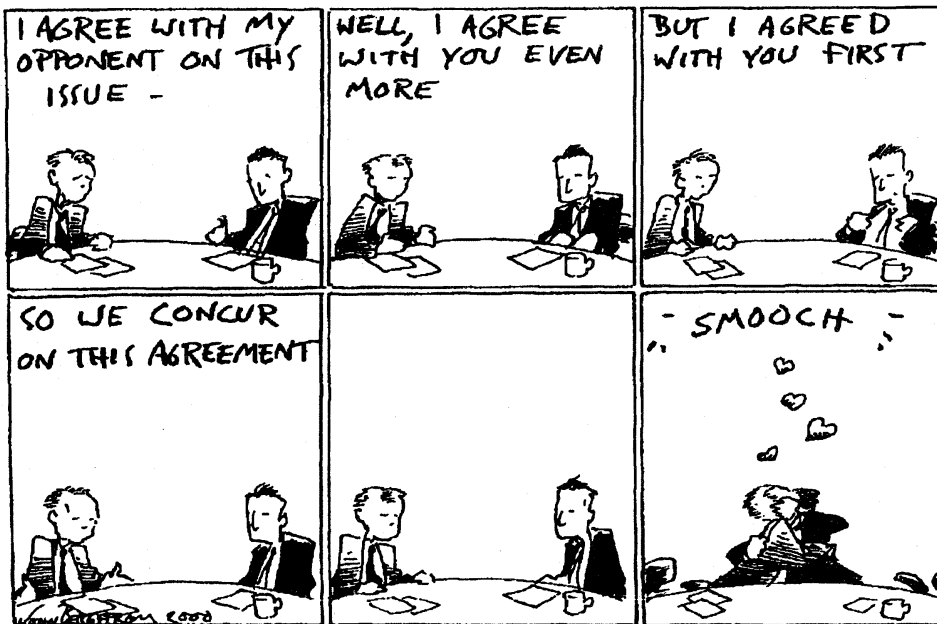
believe the First Amendment, as the Founding Fathers designed it, is to protect hate speech."

I suspect most Libertarians think the Founders actually favored protection of all forms of speech, and see threats of violence, unless peaceable people agree to restrict their own speech, as a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the First Amendment. Perhaps Means will not have the smooth walk to the nomination that his supporters expect.

— R. W. Bradford

**Stuffing and badgering** — On October 14, the Browne campaign's e-mail newsletter *Liberty Wire* issued an "action alert," asking supporters to do two things: (1) "Please take a moment right now" to vote for Browne in an online poll conducted by MSNBC; and (2) to call in to C-Span's *Washington Journal* and ask its guest, Tim Russert, "a question related to the show's topic — but cleverly preface your remarks with a question regarding whether he plans on having Libertarian presidential candidate Harry Browne on his show." (The Browne campaign was unhappy that Russert's interview program, *Meet the Press*, had invited Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan to appear, but not Browne.)

With 25 days left, this is what the self-proclaimed best-organized, best-prepared, and best-financed LP presidential



campaign in history has stooped to: stuffing the ballot box in a meaningless online poll and badgering a TV talk-show host while he is a guest on another network's TV talk-show broadcast.

Russert may well be a legitimate target in his own offices; but giving the man a hard time while he is the guest on another network is way out of line . . . especially when *Washington Journal* is the one which gave Harry Browne the live, in-studio airtime Feb. 14 to make his candidacy in 2000 formal and official.

— Ken Sturzenacker

***Subliminal agenda*** — By the middle of October, George W. Bush appears to be the first presidential candidate in my memory who wants to lose, initially looking less competent and less knowledgeable than his opponent. My sense is that he realizes the U.S. presidency is not for him. What he wants is a booby prize that would be more suitable for him — the presidency of major league baseball.

— Richard Kostelanetz

***Where there's smoke*** — On Sept. 25, campaign manager Perry Willis wrote the following in a "special message" to Browne supporters in that day's edition of *Liberty Wire*, the "official e-mail newsletter" of the Browne campaign:

Because of the allegations floating around, many people "know" that . . . today's campaign staffers make enormous salaries . . .

Of course, none of those (or many other) allegations has even a grain of truth in it. But mean-spirited individuals have repeated the accusations often enough that good Libertarians have found themselves thinking there must be some substance to at least some of the allegations.

The following day, *Liberty Wire* published a letter from "Maggie McIntyre, Orange County, CA" which praised the campaign for paying its staffers so well, and promised twice that she would "be forwarding another donation today."

Well, maybe "Maggie McIntyre" is happy that the Browne staff is so "paid well" without knowing just how well-paid it is. But a lot of people apparently are not. Of course, there is an easy way to stop rumors of "enormous salaries." Willis could make public the salaries of campaign staffers. So I asked Willis how much money staffers and consultants are paid. I posed the same question to Jim Babka, Browne's press secretary.

Willis told me that he would "think about it" and would get back to me the next day. Babka didn't answer at all.

I'm reluctant to draw any alarming conclusions from this. For all I know the staffers are underpaid. But one thing I am pretty sure of: if this "allegation" really lacks "even a grain of truth," as Willis claims, the campaign should be more open and responsive to its critics and to the news media. By not answering perfectly legitimate questions, it gives itself the appearance of wrongdoing.

— R. W. Bradford

***Hitting the hot spots*** — Whether by coincidence or not — HB2000 press secretary Jim Babka said it was not planned — Harry Browne's travels for personal appearances and fundraisers have taken him mostly in states rated as tossups, where the outcome of the presidential race was generally considered too close to call during several weeks prior

to the election.

In six consecutive nights, starting on the Sunday of Labor Day weekend, Browne held six fundraisers in Florida. He did three in Michigan, where he will need at least 20,555 votes to make certain the LPMI maintains its status as a major party. Add to that three each in Illinois and Ohio, plus two each in Wisconsin and Washington state (with a private two-and-a-half-hour visit to Microsoft's main campus in Redmond), and Browne seems to have spent the bulk of his time and energy in states where a strong turnout for the LP could mean enough votes to make the difference between Bush and Gore. These 19 stops in just six states make up about 60 percent of Browne's fundraising travels. (The exception is California, where Browne also made five fundraising stops and the race is not thought to be close.)

Browne's 622,000 votes will, I expect, come as much as the result of the efforts of his campaign as they will the 1,450 other Libertarians who are running nationwide. Experience shows that where there are strong local LP candidates, the top of our ticket receives a larger percentage of the total votes cast. Browne should finish fourth overall, but well below the 5 percent most of the media consider the threshold for success — the lowest a candidate can go and still be eligible for matching funds from the FEC.

— Ken Sturzenacker

***Al Gore and the first casualty*** — Al Gore has a credibility problem. He made wild claims like inventing the Internet, being the topic of *Love Story*, and raising 10,000 chickens.

Al Gore was also a Military Journalist in Vietnam. That could explain why Americans stateside actually believed we were winning that war.

— Tim Slagle

***1996 all over again*** — Many of us have wondered how it is that Harry Browne, Howard Phillips, Pat Buchanan, and Ralph Nader have received so little coverage from the news media this year.

All four of them were involved in the 1996 presidential competition (though Buchanan was gone before the Republican convention) and the temptation was to believe that all of them should do better this time out.

Perhaps the media inattention and near invisibility in the polls of all but Nader are the logical result of 1996. All four dragged their old 4-year-old strategies and rhetoric into 2000, fleetingly fooling only a few with their claims of massive gains.

Once the media and voters got their first look at these reruns, most quickly moved on to the two new roadshows, Bush and Gore.

— Ken Sturzenacker

***Abandoning our best issue*** — The worst thing about the 2000 campaign is the failure of the Libertarian Party to do anything different than it has done in the past: the same issues, the same talk-radio appearances, the same paucity of advertising, the same campaign that failed so ignominiously in 1996.

It breaks my heart when I run into people who tell me they're voting for Nader because of his vocal opposition to the war on drugs. The war on drugs is the real "third rail" of American politics, the issue that is suicide for almost all major party candidates. Yet in a recent national poll, 28 per-

cent of Americans called for the repeal of all drug laws and another 27 percent were "not sure" on the question. The 46 percent of Americans who favor these laws may be enough to keep a major party candidate from winning an election, but if a party could get the votes from even a tenth of the people who favor legalization, it would get about 3 million votes — which is about six times the vote total that the failed Harry Browne approach got in 1996.

This is an issue that the LP should *own* — we've been opposed to the drug war since the day it started. For a long time, I've wondered why Browne is so reluctant to make it a major issue in his campaign. In an online newsletter, Michael Sensor offered one possible explanation:

Let's talk about that "insane War on Drugs" for a second. Who's affected the most by that war?

Not the drug-fancying ex-Republicans that Browne seems to want to attract to the Libertarian Party. They can generally get their drugs fifth- or sixth-hand and don't have to worry about going to open-air drug markets or the like. Rather than taking a trip up to, say, Kensington (North Philadelphia's toughest drug neighborhood, for those of you not in the area), the people Browne seems to be targeting are the type of people who can ask a friend to score them some real kind bud, who then asks another friend, who has a friend who knows a friend who hangs out with someone who has a source.

Or something like that.

And, of course, if these suburbanite SUV-driving would-be (or ex-) hippies happen to get caught, which happens at times, they can afford good lawyers. No problem at all.

No, the people affected the most by the War on Drugs are the poor and minorities. Folks whose neighborhoods are infested by "pushas" plying their wares. Folks whose kids have to dodge bullets shot by gang members warring over turf. Folks who get caught with a few grams of crack for personal use and get fed into a cold, hard, compassionless criminal-justice system, run by overburdened public defenders, overzealous prosecutors, and fire-eyed judges. Folks who end up doing hard time for possession or use of soft, victimless drugs.

I suspect Sensor is right: Browne won't campaign on drug legalization because he fears it will alienate the conservative Republicans whose support he's always pursued, though seldom won.

Is it too late for the LP to reclaim this issue? I don't really

### Forecasting Harry Browne's Vote

In the last two issues of *Liberty*, editor R. W. Bradford has fearlessly forecast that the nominee would get about 450,000 votes on Nov 7. On Oct. 17, *Liberty* invited several prominent LP watchers to make a similar forecast:

David Bergland, former LP chair	500,000 to 1,500,000
R. W. Bradford, <i>Liberty</i> editor	419,000
Steve Dasbach, LP national director	refused to forecast
Jim Lark, LP Chair	622,000
David Nolan, LP founder	529,000
Bruce Ramsey, <i>Seattle Times</i>	369,000
L. Neil Smith, Ariz. LP presidential nominee	250,000
Ken Sturzenacker, Pennsylvania LP Chair	622,000
Perry Willis, Harry Brown campaign manager	600,000

know. If the Greens get 5 percent of the vote — and the \$13 million federal subsidy that goes with it — they'll certainly run a major campaign in 2004. I understand that Nader accepted the anti-drug-war plank in the Green Party platform only reluctantly and I suspect that Greens are far more committed to environmental national socialism than they are to ending the drug war, so they may back off from it, like the LP has backed off from it.

But I hope it isn't too late for the LP, especially in view of the alternative, which would be continuing to waste money and effort in a never-ending and futile effort to become a factor in American politics.

— R. W. Bradford

**Al Zelig?** — You heard what Al Gore said to Courtney Love? He strolled over at a Hollywood party, says Love, and announced, "I'm a really big fan." Knowing about Al, Ms. Love cross-examined him. "Yeah, right," she said. "Name a song, Al." The answer came limply back: "I can't."

Small stuff, sure, but it was the same limp response when he was asked about his illegal fundraising at the Buddhist temple: "I didn't realize I was in a Buddhist temple." Right, there was nothing to even hint that he was at Hsi Lai Temple and not a gas station or grocery store. Hey, just last week in the frozen food aisle I ran into 50 bald guys in orange robes swinging balls of incense who wouldn't stop tossing envelopes of cash into my cart.

By now, most of us can see that it's moved past the normal level of political duplicity to something weirder. With Bill Clinton, at least, the lying was to save his hide. With Gore, it's more like he's turning into Leonard Zelig, the human chameleon in the Woody Allen film, fitting himself flawlessly into every setting. At *The Tennessean*, he was the star reporter who got "a bunch of people indicted and sent to jail." And in Vietnam, he was no Senator's son: "I pulled my turn in the perimeter at night and walked through the elephant grass and I was fired upon." On the tobacco farm: "I've hoed it, I've dug it, I've sprayed it, I've chopped it, I've shredded it, I've spiked it, put in the barn and stripped it and sold it." And in the first presidential debate, Zelig popped right up when George Bush was talking about some fires in Texas: "I was down there," said Gore, "when the fires broke out."

He says he was there, too, as "the author" of the Earned Income Tax Credit, the "co-sponsor" of the McCain/Feingold campaign finance reforms, the "principal author" of the Superfund law, and as the inspiration for *Love Story* and Hubert Humphrey's 1968 speech at the Democratic National Convention. And on abortion, he "always, always, always" supported *Roe v. Wade*. And, lucky for us, on top of being the one who "found" Love Canal, he was there from the start to get the Internet on line and set up the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Busy boy, that Zelig, the kinda guy who comes from a family where dad fights for civil rights while mom hums union songs and sis heads off to become "the very first volunteer in the Peace Corps."

Nice stories, all, but not exactly true, just like it's not true that Al's dog got a better deal on arthritis pills than his mother-in-law, or that Sarasota High is short of chairs, or that 79-year-old Winifred Skinner has to scrounge for alumni-

*continued on page 59*

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**"Letters,"** from page 6

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major medical textbook on syphilis recommended the arsenic and bismuth treatment which supplanted the 606 preparation. Neither treatment was fully effective, but they did help and were regularly prescribed by doctors. Even though penicillin, discovered in the early 40s, was not available to citizens during the war, it did become available after the end of the war in August 1945, and the Tuskegee syphilis experiment continued until 1972 when the *New York Times* first exposed it. Thus, the Tuskegee blacks were denied state-of-the-art treatments at all times during the syphilis experiment, and many of them died as a result. To say, as Greimn does, that the American citizens subjected to the syphilis experiment "were probably better off because of the neglect they received" is heartless and disgraceful.

Merrel Clubb  
Missoula, Mont.

### **Pro-Life = Pro-Choice**

I read your Sarah McCarthy article, "Walking the GOP Abortion Plank" (November), with interest because I have been trying to formulate my words for similar discussion to send to our representative government. My view is this: anyone who claims to be "pro-life" must also be "pro-choice." To deny a woman the choice of having a pregnancy terminated means that she will be required to bring unwanted children into the world, to be raised without love and guidance from loving parents, and more likely to make mistakes in their lives as adults.

It's not surprising that crime has dropped in recent years. Since *Roe v. Wade*, more children have been raised with love and care. Such people are much less likely to make mistakes in their lives that would lead them into crime!

Duane Grindstaff  
Kent, Wash.

### **Sex, Pleasure, Abortion**

Sarah McCarthy exposes the "pro-life" hypocrisy for all to see. But she doesn't ask why people would hold such hypocritical beliefs. Perhaps their motive is something less easily stated and debated than the ongoing trench warfare of fetal humanity.

I think the real issue is the meaning

of sex. If sex is for enjoyment, then a morning-after pill has the moral status of an anti-hangover pill, and abortion is a medical issue like alcoholism. But if sex is for procreation, then abortion enables, even encourages, its misuse. And fetal humanity is its product.

This is a much harder problem to dispute. But disputing it has one great advantage: it might be solved. Victory is in principle possible. While in the trench warfare of fetal humanity, skirmishes may be won but victory by either side, in the lifetime of anyone now living, is clearly impossible.

Tom Porter  
Reseda, Calif.

### **A Liar and a Deceiver!**

As a pro-life Republican, I want to tell you that Sarah J. McCarthy is a liar and a deceiver.

She knows perfectly well that a law permitting abortion to protect the "health" of the mother means abortion on demand. The Supreme Court has forced this meaning on the American people in all states over our objections.

She falsely claims that a "life of the mother" exception, which no pro-lifer has ever objected to (let alone refused), would not permit anyone, under any circumstances, to choose abortion to save her life.

Her other examples do not involve the life of the mother, and the mother should not have the right to choose to kill a child just because the child is already disabled. Why not legalize the entire Holocaust if you want to do that? It did start with disabled children. Look it up in the history of the time.

Let me explain my position. In no particular order:

1) I look at a prehuman fetus and I see a subhuman Jew. Therefore, I look at an abortuary and see a capitalist Auschwitz, and I look at an abortionist and see Dr. Joseph Mengele putting the profits into his own pocket instead of serving his country.

2) In Oregon, there is another problem. Abortion is already an anti-black Holocaust funded by the state. Do you really want to print a defense of anti-black Holocaust?

3) And of course, you won't print this paragraph, no matter what: A pregnant woman is only half-sane. Her sex hormones are screwing up her brain. She should not be allowed to

decide to kill anyone but herself, and that only because suicide while pregnant, even if unsuccessful, is never punishable anyway. A pregnant suicide is always of unsound mind.

4) When abortion was illegal, most women who now get one would not have. They say so to pollsters, and I believe them. Americans are mostly law-abiding, which is why the Civil Rights Act did change so many minds.

5) All abortions in America are illegal anyway. It is a newly-proven scientific fact that all abortions, even with the IUD or with RU-486, are death by torture and that all women who choose one are child-abusing mothers for that reason. To make abortion legal, the doctor should be required to ask the mother which painkiller he is to inject into the baby (or the cord) so he will not feel the pain of being ripped to shreds, of being burned to death, of being strangled with his own cord, or of having his skull ripped open and his brain sucked out. Then abortion would no longer violate the cruelty-to-animals laws of all fifty states.

6) If a woman's life is 75 years, as the Census bureau claims, then nine months is not all of it, it's only 1 percent. I think a woman should be told that she put the baby there, and she can spend 1 percent of her life cleaning up the mess she made and the baby didn't. Rape is the only crime McCarthy thinks the child of the criminal should get the death penalty (death by torture), but the criminal himself shouldn't.

McCarthy is misrepresenting my position by lying about all six of my reasons. It's not her body she's deciding about, she's killing a stranger she never met, and murder should be illegal. So long as embryo transplant is possible, abortion should be too. Tell the surgeon to put the baby on the small bowel of the adoptive parent. Even a father can carry a baby on the small bowel.

Please correct the fraud you have published.

Rachel Rempel  
Newberg, Ore.

*Sarah McCarthy responds:* Even a half-sane woman should have more rights than a cell clump, though she might not be able to write a sensible letter to the editor.

# The Intelligent Person's Guide to Voting for President

Who to vote for, and why.

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## George W. Bush: Winning a Battle in the War for Freedom

*by Bruce Ramsey*

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Libertarians have argued that casting a vote is of such moral weight that a libertarian should not soil himself by doing it, and conversely, that one vote is worth nothing anyway. More often, they argue that the purpose of an election is to find the candidate most like oneself, and to mark an "X" there. But the purpose of an election is to select a winner. The purpose of voting is to influence that selection.

I think of an election as a battlefield. The citizens come to the battle, each armed with one gun and one bullet. They can fight on either side or no side. Each is free to declare that all battles are wicked, that nobody is worth fighting for, or that one bullet will not count. Each can shoot straight up or not shoot at all. But the battle *will* be fought, and the winner will be decided by the citizens who shoot at the enemy.

When the polls say 42 percent of the people are for Bush, 42 percent for Gore, 3 percent for Nader, 1 percent for Buchanan and 1 percent for Browne, it is clear that this is a battle between Bush and Gore. They are your choices. To vote for Nader, Buchanan, or Browne is to shoot your bullet in the air.

That would be okay, if it made no difference whether Bush or Gore won. But it does. Consider:

- Taxes. Bush proposes to cut taxes by 1.5 percent of the GDP by reducing the brackets from the present range of 15-39.6 percent to a new range of 10-33 percent. Gore proposes a much smaller cut, with all cuts "targeted" to people whose

behavior Gore likes.

- Medicare. Bush proposes a change from government insurance tax-subsidized vouchers for buying private insurance. Gore proposes more government insurance.

- Education. Bush is in favor of charters and vouchers. Gore might accept charters, but mostly he just wants to spend more on the government system and create a universal government kindergarten.

- Social Security. Bush wants to divert part of your Social Security tax to a private account, cutting the government benefit; Gore wants to maintain the benefit, subsidize it with your income-tax money, and create an add-on system of private accounts with matching welfare grants.

At every point, Gore wants you to become more dependent on government. None of Bush's proposals brings utopia, but each increases your freedom and in a strategic way that opens the door for other reforms later on. As the

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*To vote for Nader, Buchanan, or Browne is to shoot your bullet in the air. That would be okay, if it made no difference whether Bush or Gore won.*

*But it does. At every point, Gore wants you to become more dependent on government.*

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alarmed "progressive" Jonathan Chait argued in *The New Republic* on Sept. 14, Social Security "provides an enduring connection between the average citizen and the national government." Private accounts weaken that connection, thereby weakening the feeling by voters that government will take care of them.

Is that not worth voting for? Is that not a step toward

what you want? A libertarian might say, "Well, Harry Browne will go all the way to what I want." But Harry Browne is not going anywhere. And if your choice is between Browne and Bush, consider: A vote for Bush cancels out a vote for Gore; a vote for Browne doesn't. In a close election, a 1 percent vote for Browne could tip the election to Gore.

Bush will not bring revolution. But you'll get a chance for new Supreme Court justices more likely to limit federal power, to approve school vouchers, and to preserve private rights of assembly. They might end abortion rights, but I doubt it: the Republican radicalism on abortion is all talk, and even the court's conservatives have shown no inclination to jettison *Roe v. Wade*. Bush's statement in the first debate saying that he would not try to overturn the FDA's approval of the abortion pill confirms this.

Under Bush, you will not get any break in the drug war, but you won't under Gore either. That's simply not in the range of possibilities in the year 2000. But you'll almost certainly see the end of the 55 percent estate tax; a bit of Woodrow Wilson's egalitarian meanness. You have a far lower chance of weird new rules on wetlands or strike-breakers, or new attacks on smoking, homeschooling, or guns. You are less likely to get a foreign war for some "humanitarian" reason, though you might get one for oil.

Yes, Bush can be sappy. I can imagine him lecturing us all, Clinton-style, in how we've got to read aloud to our kids. But I'd rather have Bush lecturing me than Gore. Bush does it because he wants to do good. Gore does it because he likes giving instructions.

## Al Gore: Only He Will Protect Our Rights

by Sarah J. McCarthy

*"The elephant's in the bedroom  
throwin' all his weight about."*

— Mick Jagger

Though women in the 1996 presidential election voted for Bill Clinton over Bob Dole by a margin of 18 percent, and some polls in the 2000 election show a gender gap as wide as 38 percent, Republicans are still in denial about the extent of their problem with women,

particularly younger women and single women.

Columnist Camille Paglia explains it this way: "There is little in the Republican platform that I as a pro-choice feminist Democrat can identify with. There is something very wrong with a party that has stifled and stunted one of its brightest stars, Gov. Christie Todd Whitman, because of her moderate views on abortion. Whitman, whose articulateness and command of the issues far surpass Bush's, should have been our first female president."

My own sentiments exactly. Pollsters at the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* found that in early September, in the key swing state of Pennsylvania, large numbers of educated GOP women in the wealthy Republican counties around Philadelphia had defected to Gore. "With that constituency,

abortion is hurting Bush," says Kathleen Jamieson, Dean of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. The GOP plank to end abortion with no exceptions was discussed at length in the Philadelphia news media during the convention. "Voters here know just where Bush stands," said Jamieson.

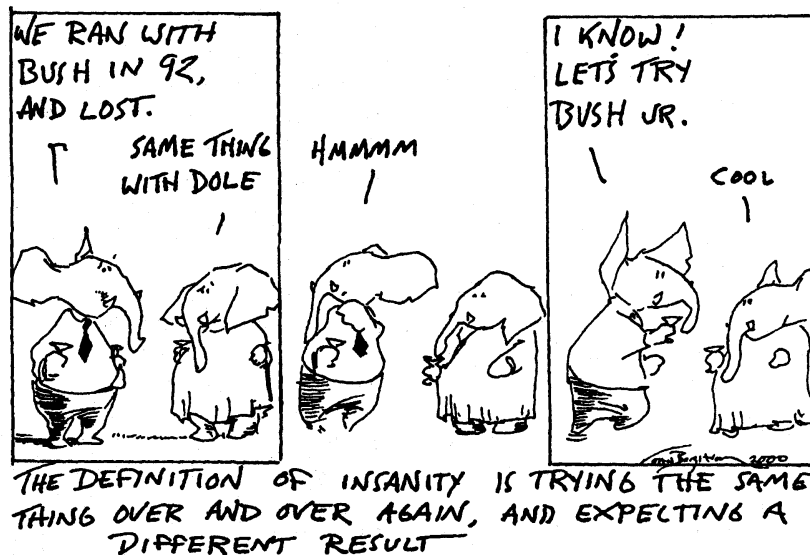
Where Bush stands is squarely under the thumb of religious conservatives, trading off women's rights to life, liberty and the pursuit

of happiness in favor of the rights of embryos, fetuses, and one-hour-old cell clumps; whose right to life, we are told, shall remain unfringed. The GOP platform says Republicans will seek a constitutional amendment that outlaws all abortions, without exceptions for even rape, incest, or the life of the mother. With the next president likely to appoint three new Supreme Court justices, women's constitutional rights will be under an assault if social conservatives prevail.

Al Gore's braggadocio about being the real star of *Love Story* and inventing the Internet pales in comparison to the Big Lie of the GOP platform written by militantly anti-choice Republicans who expect us to believe that they would allow their wives and daughters to follow the rules they are making for the rest of us. Does anyone believe that these politicians would force their teenage daughters to die in childbirth, or their wives to continue a pregnancy forcibly injected into them by a street thug? And more importantly, would anyone vote for them if they did?

The GOP gender problem is not only with the choice issue per se, but with the 20 year no-compromise political strategy on a wide array of reproductive rights issues that have systematically driven women out of the party. When voting for George Bush, we are voting for a team whose religious beliefs, across the board, mandate second-class status for women.

One of the first acts of Bill Clinton's presidency was the





repeal of the free speech restrictions that his Republican predecessors had attached to international family planning assistance. In contrast, one of the first acts of the GOP platform at the 2000 Republican convention was to toughen the language against gay rights and family planning counseling for teens. Compassionate conservatism has wilted by the wayside, the GOP presidential candidate once again rolled by the religious right.

Rick Santorum, Pennsylvania's brash and arrogant young Republican senator who has led the fight in the Senate for a partial-birth abortion ban, is one of those who believes him-

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*Although it claims to be the party of limited government, the Republican Party reaffirmed its position as a reactionary advocate of intrusive government in the most crucial, private and personal areas of our lives.*

---

self capable of being Big Brother, writing legislation that calls the shots over the hospital gurneys of pregnant women. Despite his own experience with his wife being within hours of death due to a beleaguered pregnancy, and seeing firsthand the difficulty of predicting medical outcomes, Santorum believes that male politicians in Washington should mandate the medical procedures of women's pregnancies.

In her column in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, "He's a Senator, Not a Doctor," Melissa Dribben writes that "Santorum is getting closer by the day to forcing his will on this country. His will, his religion, and his personal code of obstetrical ethics."

Though Sen. Tom Daschle (D.-S.D.) argued for a compromise in the late-term abortion bill that permitted the procedure if there was "grave risk to the health of the mother," Santorum refused to negotiate, saying he didn't think the "grievous injury" language was tight enough. In the first of the presidential debates, Al Gore reiterated the position of the Clinton administration, and of Christie Todd Whitman, saying he would sign a partial birth abortion ban only if it contained an exception for the mother's health.

But despite the possibility that the gender gap will determine this election, the medieval wing of the GOP is hellbent on attacking women's constitutional rights. A review of GOP politics assures us that Tanya Melich's book, *The Republican War on Women*, is not hyperbole.

Melich, a longtime GOP activist, documents the divisive strategy pressed by the religious right that intensifies the hostility between the sexes resulting in today's gender gap. "At the last millennium, women in most parts of the world were the property of men," she writes. "They were prisoners to the religious doctrines and superstitions that kept them subservient, categorized in men's minds as either goddesses or whores. A thousand years later, America's women have not only been the guiding light for women around the world seeking opportunity; they and their male allies have been the political bastion against the right-wing sickness infecting this country's politics."

The 2000 election is the first time in the 84-year-old history of Planned Parenthood that it has engaged in presidential politics. The organization has launched a broad and unprecedented \$10 million advertising and mail campaign aimed at defeating George W. Bush because of his position on abortion. Gloria Feldt, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, said she was initially inclined to believe that Bush did not feel strongly about abortion. But, she said, "The more I have listened to him, the more I talk to people who know him personally, the more I have been convinced that he is adamantly against abortion and that a woman's reproductive rights will be threatened if he is elected."

Feldt says the campaign will target "compassionate conservative" pro-choice women — moderates and independents — who would be disinclined to support Bush if they understood his position. One spot features four Republican women stating why they could not support Bush, and a second features a female health care provider. "George W. Bush does not trust women to make their own choices," the woman states. Planned Parenthood will now spend \$7 million on three to four spots in seven states — Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Missouri, Washington, Nevada, and Oregon.

This November, for the first time in two decades, I will join those on the side who believe that women have a right to own their own body and determine their own destiny. The Founding Fathers were in flight from the tyranny of oppressive religion, and they knew full well the dangers of a theocracy. In the year 2000, some of us must still flee it.

Like the Tracy Chapman lyric, "Give me one reason to stay here and I'll turn right back around," I would strongly prefer to vote for George W. Bush. I like him better, his plan to partially privatize Social Security would be a boon to young workers, and he has a good record of tort reform in Texas. When it comes to economic freedom, the Republicans are the better choice, but in the area of women's rights, gay rights, and reproductive freedom issues, such as with family planning counseling, the GOP team is comprised of numerous politicians held hostage to an uncompromising voting bloc of religious conservatives, making it the party of more intrusive government.

Despite their tyrannical bent, social conservatives have added much to society's discourse on the complex morality of abortion. It's a pity they have so ensconced themselves in



— JANE GOODALL AMONG THE UNDECIDED VOTERS —

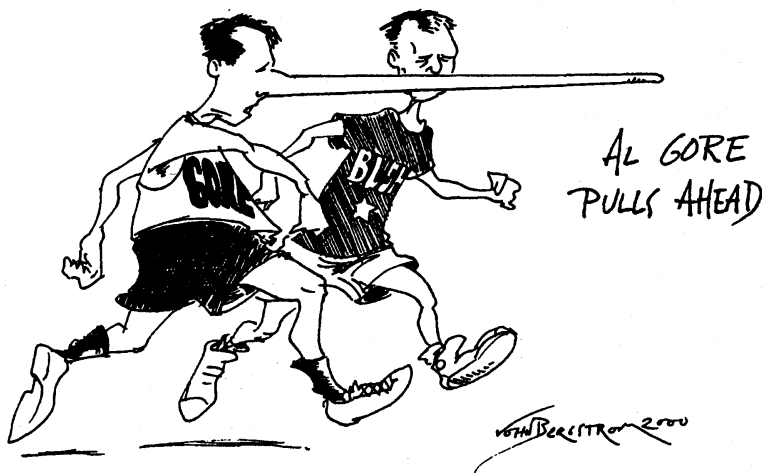
extremist and inaccurate rhetoric, reactionary policies and take-no-prisoners politics that drive people into the arms of the opposition. Abortions, particularly late-term abortions, when the cells within have truly developed into a baby, whether they be done by partial birth procedures or otherwise, should be mostly illegal, and *Roe v. Wade* itself outlaws such abortions. If pro-lifers had agreed to the phrase "health of the mother" in the partial birth ban debate, the United States would now have a law banning late-term abortions; but religious conservatives are holding out for their ultimate goal — to empower the government to outlaw and enforce extremist abortion laws that permit no exceptions.

Social conservatives would do better persuading and educating women and teenage girls against abortion, informing them of the negative aspects, the essential violence of abortion and its tragic and irreversible consequences, as well as the possibility of lifelong guilt. A friend recently told me that each year on the anniversary of her friend's abortion, she cries remembering that her aborted son would have been X number of years old. Pictures are worth a thousand words, and anecdotes such as that can be as powerful as any law.

We can only surmise how the soccer women and the undecided "fluids," as they have been called, will vote. But watching Al Gore in the first of the presidential debates convinced me that Naomi Wolf, despite the tittering of the dittoheads, had succeeded in turning Mr. Gore into an alpha male. During the debate he seemed to have been transformed from a condescending robot into a vigorous man, albeit an obnoxious one.

Who can say what kind of president the soccer people will vote for, but body language matters and, particularly on a split screen, actions speak louder than words. If they want a strong man that sticks up for their rights, subliminally speaking, Al Gore's their guy. In the first debate, he was snorting air, full of life, stomping his foot on the ground, and blowing steam, even stallion-like. He was chock full of ideas and elbowing his competition. He was chomping at the reins and hard to control. He was a maverick breaking out with his stunts and hijinks and Chevy Chase grimaces. A friend told me she was waiting for Tipper to run out on stage and throw a wet blanket over him and guide him quietly off stage.

The victim-fibs about the deskless schoolgirl who had to stand and the old lady who drove her Winnebago cross-country collecting cans for pills have become Al Gore's Tawana Brawley lies — none of what he said was true, but it could have been. Like most alpha males, he was a rule breaker. In short, he could be the leader of the pack! Vrrroooooom, vrrroooooom!



Most Americans are sophisticated enough to reject lurid sloganeering and one-size-fits-all solutions to complicated political issues. For me to vote for George Bush, he would have to be bold and daring and nuanced enough to announce that he would sign a partial birth ban only if it included an exception for the mother's health. He'd have to demonstrate that he is brave and independent enough to appoint pro-choice women like Gov. Christie Whitman to high office. Unless George W. has a Sister Souljah moment and tells the Christian Coalition to get their mind right, I will be voting for Mr. Ed, whoops, I mean Al Gore.

Because it's easier to ridicule than to develop policies that will attract women — who have inherently different biological and cultural roles than men, and are therefore likelier to favor reproductive rights and other safety net issues — Rush Limbaugh has convinced the troops that America's soccer

moms have yet again taken leave of their senses, aroused by the spectacle of Al Gore kissing his wife. The same guys who were in a frenzy to end a presidency because of a blow job are now calling women nuts if they vote for Gore because of a kiss! A caller to Rush's show insisted that Al's kissing of Tipper was seen by her as a symbol of precisely that which the right-wing guys have been clamoring for — Family Values and, yes, Character!

Ho, Ho, Ho, laughed Rush. What does loving his wife have to do with running the country or with foreign policy, he chortled. I could hardly believe my ears. Conservative callers chimed in: What dumb clucks these soccer women are, they laughed. It's fun to laugh at women, but don't these guys know they need us in the election? It's called democracy, stupid.

It's nearly impossible now to imagine, but there was a time when the GOP's Big Tent had room for suffragists. But in the year 2000, if women cost the Republicans another presidential election, don't be surprised if they write in a plank suspending another of our constitutional rights — the right to vote. Meanwhile, will the last aroused airhead soccer woman to leave the GOP please turn out the lights?

## Ralph Nader: A Shortcut to a Nation Living Free Again

by Joe Dabulskis

Probably the most compelling reason for a liberty-loving voter to bother to vote at all is the hope and prayer that our country will return to the ideal expressed in our nation's first founding document, the

Declaration of Independence: the notions that "all men are endowed with certain rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

History is chock full of evidence showing that people are able to bear a great deal of tyrannical government. In fact, they are also quite willing to stand for atrocities from their government that they would not tolerate if their fellow citizens did the same.

For example, the people of the Soviet Union tolerated totalitarianism for 70 years. Then in 1989 they finally said

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*Ralph Nader stands head and shoulders above the rest. He is the most effective catalyst, a man who can change people's perceptions of government the fastest and the most. He can speed the recovery to freedom.*

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"No more!" The Berlin Wall then came down, and with it the government of the Soviet Union.

The people of this country are every bit as capable of enduring hardship as the peoples of other countries and of other times. Our present government continues to grow and become more intrusive year after year. Americans accept government atrocities such as the Drug War, with its vast imprisonment of people guilty of non-violent, victimless "crimes." We accept government intrusion in more and more areas of our personal lives. We barely make a peep when our government kills innocent people at Waco, bombs pharmaceutical factories in the Sudan, or kills civilians in foreign countries.

It's not likely that our present government could have evolved in any other way but slowly. Had the changes been attempted all at once, the people would have rebelled. Only by a multitude of small incremental steps are those in power able to get away with ever increasing control over the population. The process is a slow one.

Until the people of this country reach the point of "No more!" they are likely to go along with the continually expanding growth of government. Those of us who love liberty and desire a free country in our lifetimes should consider this sad state of affairs. We may need to accept the bitter medicine, that things are most likely going to get worse before they get better. We need to do all that is possible to speed the recovery to freedom. We may have to accept that the sooner it gets worse, the sooner it can get better.

Who better than Ralph Nader to make things worse as quickly as possible?

Of all the presidential candidates, Ralph Nader stands head and shoulders above the rest. He is the most effective catalyst, a man who can change people's perceptions of government the fastest and the most. He can speed the recovery to freedom. Electing Nader would surely go a long way towards convincing the population of the folly of trusting government. When everyone has to drive Ralph's favorite car, instead of their own favorite, boy, will they rebel.

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## Pat Buchanan: The Best of the Lot

by Bill Kauffman

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The last time I could have conceivably cast ballots for any of three candidates in a presidential election was 1924, when voters faced the not unpleasant choice of Battling Bob La Follette, the gutsy antiwar Progressive; John W. Davis, a constitutional Democrat (okay, he was also a lawyer for J.P. Morgan, but as Al Gore's chief fund-raiser warbles: "What's too painful to remember we simply choose to forget."); and Calvin Coolidge, who, in H.L. Mencken's memorable phrase, had no ideas and was not a nuisance.

On November 7, 2000, we may choose among a new trio of eminently vote-worthy candidates: Pat Buchanan, Harry Browne, and Ralph Nader. Yes, the 1924 triune tallied about 100 percent of the national vote, while this year's threesome will be lucky to hit 8 percent, but that's not my fault.

I voted for Harry Browne in 1996 and could happily do so again; I agree with much of Nader's critique of corporate capitalism, if not his prescriptions, but then discount prescriptions are this year's chicken in every pot; and even the Socialist Party has nominated a dignified pacifist, David MacReynolds, whose foreign policy is solidly in the American grain. These three men make Albert Gore, Jr. and George W. Bush look like, well, Albert Gore, Sr. and George

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*Pat Buchanan makes George McGovern look like Curtis LeMay. And he understands that the forces of globalism, governmental and corporate, are waging war against small places, regional cultures, and rooted people.*

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H.W. Bush, which is to say like complacent mediocrities who have no quarrel whatsoever with the Empire that has replaced our American Republic.

Ah, but that phraseology gives my choice away. I will vote for Pat Buchanan, despite my disagreement with significant planks in his platform, for two reasons. First, he is the most incisive critic of the American Empire this side of Gore Vidal. In the event of a providential lightning strike and Buchanan victory, he will bring home the troops, all of them — all of them — home from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. This is the most radical peace platform of any semi-major candidate since the great La Follette. His ill-advised saber-rattling against China aside, Buchanan makes George McGovern look like Curtis LeMay.

Second, Buchanan, like Nader, understands that the forces of globalism, governmental and corporate, are waging war against small places, regional cultures, and rooted people. The mobile and placeless — that is, everyone in a posi-

tion of responsibility within the Gore and Bush campaigns — do not give a damn if small towns and neighborhoods are homogenized and devitalized by the likes of Disney, CNN, and Wal-Mart — and don't give me that singsong about Wal-Mart, which battens on government favors and wouldn't even exist if not for the grandest public-works project of them all, the Interstate Highway System, being the flawless progeny of the free market. The next great divide in American politics is between the globalists and the localists; libertarians will be found in both camps. For my part, I believe that liberty flourishes in self-confident small communities with distinctive cultures, not in a hive of TV-numbed consumers who wear the same clothes, speak in accentless voices, and know nothing of their land, their history, or anything beyond the price of Nikes at Foot Locker and the name of Melissa Etheridge's test-tube baby.

I will cheer every vote received by Browne, Nader, and even MacReynolds, but my right index finger (or, rather, that of my six-year-old daughter, who casts my secret ballot) will pull the lever for the witty, honest, and patriotic defender of the old America and enemy of the Empire, Pat Buchanan.

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## Harry Browne: For Liberty

by R. W. Bradford

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There are two different rationales for voting for one candidate rather than another: either you think your vote might help elect a candidate who is substantially preferable to his opponent, or you want to make a political statement. For me, deciding how to vote is most difficult when these two rationales conflict, when one major party candidate is clearly preferable to the other, but there is also a more or less hard-core libertarian on the ballot.

One is tempted to call the argument to vote for the less-bad major party candidate a question of whether one should vote for the lesser of two evils. In this election, the quasi-evil George W. Bush or the more-evil Albert Gore Jr. But, as is the case in most elections, it is also a question of voting for the lesser of two goods: semi-good George Bush *vs* very good Harry Browne.

Ever since 1972, I've eschewed the moral sophistry needed to choose between the major party presidential candidates and have voted for the Libertarian Party candidate, even when I had to write in his name. But I can't say that I haven't been tempted. I can understand the reasoning that leads others who value human freedom to vote for major party candidates, and even for non-LP fringe candidates. And I have chosen between Republicans and Democrats in races where there was no Libertarian alternative.

Actually, I exaggerated slightly when I said I've eschewed the moral sophistry needed to distinguish between Republican and Democrat presidential candidates. With the possible exception of the 1980 election, the differences between the two major party candidates have been so slight

that I've faced no real temptation to vote for either of them — and the leads in the pre-election polls have been so substantial that the outcome would not be effected if every libertarian in the country voted for one candidate or the other. Even in 1980, I ignored the differences between Carter and Reagan and cast my ballot for LP candidate Ed Clark because it seemed plausible that the LP might get enough votes to enable it to emerge as a significant force in American politics. Any hope of that happening was dashed by the 1984 debacle.

At first glance, this year's election looked like a hard choice. The two major candidates are very close in the polls and make claims of substantial ideological and policy differences. And there is a wider variety than ever of plausible and semi-plausible alternatives to the major candidates. It is possible to make a libertarian case for Bush, Gore, Nader, Buchanan, Browne, Phillips, Hagelin, and even Socialist David MacReynolds.

Bush would end the dreadful death tax, perhaps the most outrageous of all federal taxes. Its rationale is pure envy. After working one's entire life, paying taxes on income ranging from 15 percent to 92 percent, should one be compelled to fork over to the government 66 percent of what he wants to leave to his heirs?!? In addition, Bush calls for smaller government and less regulation, and promises to nominate "strict constructionists" to the federal bench. All this is to the good.

Gore wants to keep government out of the business of regulating women's pregnancies, a particularly pernicious example of government meddling if ever there was one. In addition, he wants to pay off the government debt. And, like Bush, he calls for smaller government.

Nader calls for ending the War on Drugs, the most horrific invasion of individual rights in America today. Buchanan calls for an end to America's aggressive (and expensive) foreign policy. Phillips wants to get rid of the income tax. Hagelin wants to cut government spending. MacReynolds joins Nader, Buchanan, and Browne in calling for an end to American aggression overseas. And Browne is right on just about every issue.

The problem with all these candidates but one is that they also have major negatives.

Bush and Gore, for example, call for smaller government but advocate bigger government when they get down to details. On the two issues in the campaign that are getting the most attention, education and prescription drugs for old people, both candidates call for bigger government.

On education, Bush calls for a vast increase in federal regulation, even mandating that local school districts administer certain specific tests, and subjecting them to different sorts of federal regulation based on how well students score on those tests. Gore, on the other hand, wants the federal government to provide additional funding to the states while leaving public school teachers — who, not coincidentally, donate substantial money to Gore and vote for him in droves — free from interference by their local school boards.

Gore calls for the government to pay for all prescription drugs for old people, while Bush wants the government to buy prescription drugs only for old people who are poor. To put this differently, Gore wants to socialize prescription

drugs, whereas Bush merely wants to make drugs a welfare right. Both of their plans call for a substantial increase in the size and power of government. (Not surprisingly, old people are the segment of the electorate most likely to vote, and most sensitive to its own economic self-interest.)

Both Bush and Gore support the war on drugs and talk about making it more atrocious than ever. Both call for continuing America's aggressive foreign policy. Both make threatening noises about sex and violence in the movies;

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*The differences between Bush and Gore are not substantial enough to induce me to abandon the practice of using my vote to make an unambiguous statement of what I believe.*

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apparently they respect (or fear) the Bill of Rights enough not to impose censorship unless Hollywood doesn't cave in to their threats (or, in Gore's case, make sufficiently large donations to his campaign).

The differences between Bush and Gore are not substantial enough to induce me to abandon the practice of using my vote to make an unambiguous statement of what I believe. Even if there were a substantial difference between them, it's unlikely I would consider voting for either anyway, since by election day I expect the polls to show a substantial lead for Bush. More than six years ago, I went on record predicting the GOP nominee would win this election and I haven't seen anything to undermine my confidence since.

And none of the fringe candidates holds anywhere near enough appeal to get me to abandon the Libertarian Party candidate, Harry Browne. Nader's and MacReynold's lunatic socialism, Hagelin's goofball Eastern mysticism, Buchanan's sheer nastiness and opposition to free trade, and Phillips' belief that women who get abortions to save their own lives ought to be prosecuted as murderers preclude my choosing any other fringe party alternative. I'm voting for Harry Browne.

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## R. U. Sirius: Mock the Vote

by R. U. Sirius

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Sometimes Harry Browne or Ralph Nader isn't enough. Faced with the most arrogant, pre-arranged, undemocratic Republicrat presidential campaign in recent U.S. history, the only possible response is: "R.U. Sirius?" Rather than sounding a polite note of protest, why not hoot your derision, and say what you really mean, by writing me in?

It wasn't my intention to be a write-in candidate in this election. I hoped that the thousands of mostly (very) young members of the political party I formed, The Revolution,

might get it together to put me on some ballots. Heh. Take my advice, never try to start a political party for slackers. It's a self-canceling proposition. I can't blame the kids too much, they responded to my battle cry for anti-politicos in an appropriately Taoist fashion.

But, as they say, it ain't over 'til the fat lady gives head to the President. Er, better make that, it ain't over 'til the fat lady shreds what's left of the Constitution. I've come to see the very act of demanding a write-in ballot at the polling booth as an alternative to voter passivity. Writing-in is an act of individual courage. Write-in voters separate themselves from the common herd by forcing beleaguered poll-workers to take special orders. Demanding a write-in vote is like sending your steak back at a busy restaurant because it's overcooked. Hell, it's like demanding a better menu!

Now, some of you might quibble. A name, even one as inspiring as R.U. Sirius, might not provide you with reason enough to throw away that all-important Browne vote. Even our market-tested slogans, "Victory Over Horseshit!" and "Derision 2000: Mock The Vote," might not be enough to win you over. You might actually want to know about this candidate's politics.

Indeed, people frequently ask me what would be my first act if I were to find myself victorious in this election. I think the answer is obvious — I'd get assassinated!

Seriously though, I am the only candidate who is on the other side in the culture war. I like drugs, sex and obscene rock and roll. I think Eminem's funny. The fact is, 30 million Americans buy pornography each year, another 30 million Americans listen to Ice T, Eminem, and Nine Inch Nails, 24 million Americans enjoy recreational drugs, and every kid in

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*Demanding a write-in vote is like sending your steak back at a busy restaurant because it's overcooked. Hell, it's like demanding a better menu!*

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the country plays with violent video games. Yet Gore, Lieberman, Bush, and Cheney want to go to war against the people's recreation.

Believe me, if I had half the money the Gore campaign has I could get more people to dance naked to the polls to vote for me. And while Browne and Nader appeal to political activists, The Revolution aims to be a party for the left-behinds. As we all know, the vast majority of potential voters (especially the young) don't go to the polls. But they vote against America's new cultural ayatollahs every day with their credit cards and their remotes. The American people may not have the political sophistication to defend their enjoyment of hip hop, Tarantino, pornography, marijuana, and *South Park*, but they're smart enough not to vote for those who attack them.

There is a strange gap between culture and politics in this country, and I suspect that the majority of non-voters fall into that gap. We prefer music, art, friendship, business, sports, entertainment, even a poke in the eye with a sharp

stick to politics. But the politics of our culture are anti-authoritarian in essence. We culture people are non-fanatical radicals. We shrink from self-righteous ideologically-pure politicians. We pine for good-natured, well-rounded advocates.

It stands to reason that self-righteous, inflexible, single-minded, authoritarian, true believers are politically organized. Open-minded, flexible, complex, ambiguous, anti-authoritarian people would just as soon be left to mind their own business. So, while politics is run by the rigid, in our culture, irreverence rules and free communication has escaped the boundaries of polite bourgeois society. Bill Bennett and George Will are in a snit because the underclass — racial minorities and white trash — has captured the popular airwaves. Meanwhile, Joseph Lieberman, Tipper Gore, and Ralph Nader blame the corporate media companies who sell us this “poison.” Clean, wholesome entertainment and art are, of course, mandatory in fascist and Stalinist states. Among America’s youth, they’re barely tolerated.

So I hope some of you will check out *The Revolution*, and join me in creating a broad-based political organization for non-ideological antiauthoritarians from across the political and post-political spectrum. And on this Election Day, get together with a group of friends, throw a party, then strip down to the bare essentials and run, walk, wobble, or crawl down to your polling place, demand a write-in ballot and just say R.U. Sirius.

## Your Best Choice: Stay at Home

by John Haywood

The two most commonly cited reasons to vote, that voting makes an important statement and that people should participate in government, seem to me to be reasons *not* to vote.

People tell me I should vote in order to make a statement. As someone who believes that government should be much smaller, voting would present a conundrum in this election. George W. Bush claims to be for smaller government, and many people will vote for him because of this; I find this baffling since his specific proposals and his record both seem to indicate he’s in favor of bigger government. Harry Browne and L. Neil Smith represent slightly stronger limited-government statements: they’re both clearly for reining in the government’s power; however, since it seems likely they’ll only receive very limited support — perhaps a million votes for Browne, tops, and many fewer for Smith — a vote for either doesn’t seem a very strong statement either.

If history is any indication, half of all eligible voters will decline to vote in this election. While some commentators may paint this as ignorance and apathy (as, in some cases, it probably is), it demonstrates how many people de-emphasize politics in their lives. To me, this is the stronger libertarian statement.

Beyond the particulars of this election, voting in general seems a poor way to make a statement. After all, were I to

vote, my vote would be lost in the ballot box; nobody else would know who cast that vote, or why. Instead, I chose to become a professional writer as my means of political expression. Granted, few people may have the inclination or the time to hone their talents to the extent needed to do the same, but anyone who can spare the time to write a letter to the editor or create a webpage can also put his ideas before the world. Even conversing with friends can be a more effective means of political expression than voting. People who don’t want to persuade others directly can still express themselves by volunteering or donating to a worthy cause. All of these forms of expression have advantages over voting: you don’t have to remain anonymous, you don’t have to give the same level of support as everyone else, and

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*Voting means participating in the process in a way that rubs against my libertarian streak.*

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you aren’t stuck with choosing among the very limited options on the ballot.

Of course, there’s more to voting than making a statement. How many times have we all heard that we should “vote because it’s your civic duty to participate in the process”?

I don’t get this argument at all. The government takes a huge bite of every dollar we earn, a smaller bit of every dollar we spend and regulates every aspect of our lives. . . . Isn’t putting up with all this enough of — really, too much of — a civic duty to expect of people? No. We’re expected to add to that burden the time and effort it takes to become fully informed on all the issues and all the candidates’ stands.

The act of voting itself means participating in the process in a way that rubs against my libertarian streak. I firmly believe that the people who make up the government as it exists today hold more power than any people should have. To vote would be to participate in that government — this is the crux of the argument for voting. It would mean taking for myself something that nobody should have. By voting, I’d be asking others to renounce political power by grabbing political power for myself. I would be saying “do as I say, not as I do.” □



“A self-made man, eh? — I think you used too much yeast.”

# The Art of Lying

by Stephen Cox

As the new century begins, the oldest technique of political science gets some new twists.

On October 8, the *Washington Post* broke its long tradition of lying in support of the Democratic Party. It printed an informative article (by staff writers David Von Drehle and Ceci Connolly) about the seemingly pathological lies of Democratic candidate Al Gore.

True, the *Post* was up to its usual tricks when it titled the article "GOP Homes in on Gore's Credibility." The title drags the hapless Republicans into the problem, as if their aggressiveness, instead of Gore's slaphappy way with the truth, was the cause of it all. The ability to come up with stuff like this is what keeps the Eastern establishment so well established. Yet the article's conclusion offered a devastating portrayal of the Democratic candidate:

An aide warned Gore in 1988 that his image "may suffer if you continue to go out on a limb with remarks that may be impossible to back up." [How would you like to be an aide of Al Gore? You can tell how scared his employees must be of him.] But Gore has not proved able to heed that advice — not every day, day after day. At times, especially when he gets swept up in battle, Gore seems hard pressed to resist an impulse to gild the lily.

It's a remarkable image. We see the poor Vice President struggling futilely, "every day, day after day," with the insupportable burden of telling the truth. Constantly tempted to retail outrageous, ridiculous falsehoods, Gore grits his teeth, clenches his fists, and tenses every nerve, resisting, resisting, resisting the evil impulse. But once the tide of battle is up, once he sees that mad Republican mob come boiling over the hill, resistance is futile. The stout heart falters, the ruddy complexion pales, the great man gasps . . . and out pops some enormous lie. Gore "gilds the lily."

But when I studied that final paragraph, I thought of a slightly creepier image. The authors' remarks reminded me of the scene in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* where poor Martha, cursed by a sick obsession to dramatize herself by telling silly stories about a nonexistent child, describes her

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heroic but failed attempts to keep herself from lying. "I forget," she says:

Sometimes when it's night, it's late, and everybody else is talking, I forget . . . I want to mention him, but I hold on, I hold on . . . I wanted to so often, but Georgie pushed it. There was no need, there was no need for this! I mentioned him, all right, but you didn't have to push it over the edge . . .

It all fits. Gore the obsessive imaginer of his own world, a world in which he seems so much more than he really is, so much more than a sheltered, pampered, intellectually barren, increasingly nasty little nerd, perpetually longing to *do* something, to *produce* something, something really *big*, and taking his failure out in pathetic lies. I invented the Internet, I didn't know it was a fund-raiser. . . . And when he's caught in a lie, it's all because Georgie *pushed* him.

Gore appeared on television on October 10 to "joke" about his first debate performance, in which he had made himself look like a liar and an aggressive prig to boot. Vaguely aware that something had gone wrong with his image, he now promised to refrain from "negative personal attacks." (All attacks are negative, but when you're a politician, redundancy is always a plus.) Expanding on the idea, he promised not to engage in personal attacks *the way his opponent does*.

## II.

We've all spent our lives (and you call that living?) listening to politicians flim-flamming the voters. In this department, the great innovation of the Clinton era has been the rise and domination of the Talking Point. Every day, the myrmidons of Democracy leave their burrows on Capitol Hill and make for the nearest television camera where, in

their thousands, they launch the same response to every question put to them.

"Senator Noxious, what do you think about the latest allegations of White House misconduct?" "Molly, the American people don't care about these allegations. What they care about is the real issues: health care, education, and President Clinton's plan to make every man a king and Hillary Rodham Clinton the Pope of Rome."

You know what I mean. The "what they care about" differs somewhat from day by day, just as the questions do. But on a given day, Clinton's people all say *exactly the same thing*.

The self-adhesion of the Clinton administration is a monument in U.S. history. Not one Clinton-appointed official has ever resigned in protest over the President's gross misconduct. Not one ever has ever rebelled against being ordered forth to pronounce a haughty X on Tuesday and a self-righteous not-X on Wednesday. "The President has never been accused of misconduct, but what the American people really care about . . ." often changes to "The President has already apologized for his misconduct, but what the American people really care about . . ." yet the people who say such things never change.

This is a new thing in America. It recalls nothing so much as the stratagems of the old communist regimes. Soviet officials used to respond to every straightforward question by denouncing it as an attempt to distract the world from the Real Issues. They sang in chorus: "What the people of the world really care about is peaceful economic development, not the accusations of a small group of dissidents in the Soviet Union." Like the Soviets, the Clintonistas reserve for themselves the ultimate political power, the power to decide what is important to other people.

Can you recall any occasion over the past four years when spokesmen for the Democratic regime have failed to change

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*Caught red-handed in a series of stupid lies in the first debate, Al Gore faced the issue courageously. He conceded that he had gotten a few "details" wrong about this and that, and he assured the country that he was "gonna [sic] try to do better."*

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the subject when confronted with an interesting question? They are just as consistent as the Kremlin party hacks, and just as weird. One of the uncanny things about a ventriloquist's dummy is the illusion that inside its lifeless wooden

skull there is something that not only thinks but believes it is thinking *cleverly*.

### III.

Wonder of wonders, something actually happened in the second great "debate" of this presidential election season. A politician admitted — well, sort of admitted — that he was a liar.

Caught red-handed in a series of stupid lies in the first debate, Al Gore faced the issue courageously. He conceded that he had gotten a few "details" wrong about this and that, and he assured the country that he was "gonna [sic] try to do better."

Engrave that saying on Mount Rushmore. Inscribe it on the two-dollar bill. Write it on thy lintels; pour it daily in thy children's ears. Here is a man who is running for the highest office in the land, on the platform of *trying to do better*. He is gonna try not to tell so many lies.

This, of course, is a great deal more than most other politicians are committed to doing. But where else have you ever heard promises like

this? Not from the people you work with, that's for sure. Anybody who told lies in that context, got caught, and




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*We see the poor Vice President struggling futilely, "every day, day after day," with the insupportable burden of telling the truth.*

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then promised to try *not to tell so many*, would find himself out on the street before he had time to start any programs of self-improvement. He wouldn't be bucking for Chairman of the Board, he would be looking for the nearest unemployment office. And you wouldn't hear that kind of promise from your friends, either. If you're my friend and you want to try doing *better* at telling the truth, you can try your act on someone else.

The only person who could plausibly inform you that he's *trying* not to be such a terrible *liar* is a child who is younger than, say, 10 years of age. Only from such a child would such a plea be even marginally acceptable.

So here is Albert Gore, Vice President of the United States, son of a Senator, head of the party of Jefferson and Jackson, a man who has long been considered by all the brainiest people in the country as a person only a little less brainy than they themselves, here is Al Gore . . . and he is running for President by portraying himself as, at best, a particularly naive 10-year-old child.

Nice. Very nice. □



# Left-Brained Politics

by David Brin

The Democrats often express ideas diametrically opposed to liberty, but it's the Republicans who really stand in liberty's way.

Who should a libertarian vote for this November? Bill Bradford put out his traditional challenge to editors and contributors, asking if anyone can make a case for Al Gore.

Always a sucker for a challenge, I'll make the effort here, before a hostile audience. In fact, there is a highly credible set of reasons why libertarians should not view the Democratic and Republican parties with equal disdain. Given an obligate choice between the two, a situation we hope eventually to change, any short-term decision between the two should be clear.

Democrats represent one entire wing of human approaches to problem solving: the "left-handed" approach of united tribal action that has always been an option, for good and ill, ever since we lived in caves, built pyramids and cathedrals, and feared the clan over the next hill. Democrats see problems, all kinds of human misery and wasted potential, and try using statist approaches, tax dollars and bureaucratic organization, to attempt solving them.

Now, what I just described is enough to make any decent libertarian's blood boil. The political agenda of libertarianism is to persuade citizens that this "left-handed" approach to problem solving is wrong-headed, inefficient, and immoral. Libertarians believe that problems of human misery and wasted potential will be much better solved by unleashing the creative energy of human entrepreneurialism.

Fine. That is a legitimate political position to take. Democrats and libertarians seem to be yin and yang. Opposites in their approaches to seeking a better world where all children grow up healthy and educated enough to compete with creative vigor. Let's start with that, with equal emphasis on both the differences and the similarities. Please bear with me.

Faced with problems like unclean drinking water, homeless families, Thalidomide babies, workplace accidents, and unsafe products; Democrats have over the years enacted a plethora of state-centered "solutions": the FDA, OSHA, FTC,

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and Consumer Product Safety Commission. Naturally, libertarians despise this alphabet soup of bureaucratic regulatory bodies. But let's admit that they have been ratified by the people, over and over again, through more than 50 congressional elections. Polls show that our fellow citizens deeply distrust bureaucrats in principle. But they also harbor a strong desire for the services these agencies provide.

Indeed, workplace accidents have gone down, air and drinking water are cleaner, products are safer. A homeless mother can get food for her babies. And whatever you think of the potential for improving the range of educational choices available to our kids, compulsory public education did result in the U.S. literacy rate rising from 15 percent to 95 percent during the last century, with college attendance rising from 2 percent to over half of the population. Libertarians can argue — with real cause — that other measures might achieve more with less waste. But compare the present society of rich, educated, and wealthy citizens to any other that ever existed. We'd be churls not to admit that Democrats have tried hard, with good intent, and sometimes achieved a thing or two with their crude statist tools.

Whether or not you agree with the preceding paragraph, let me reiterate: voters have ratified these measures repeatedly in free elections, by returning to office the legislators who created the agencies. It's been taxation with representation. That leaves you with only two options.

(1) Express the standard rant that most people today associate with "libertarianism" — self-righteously proclaiming purist contempt for the pitifully deluded masses. (A truly marvelous way to win their votes.)

(2) Realize that the problem isn't one of demand (for solu-

tions), but one of supply; that our fellow citizens have voted for inefficient, state-centered solutions for lack of being offered a suite of vigorous, plausible alternatives. The real tragedy, then, is not the Democratic Party's sincere activism. It lies in the failure of our political process to present a coherent suite of "right-handed" solutions that the people are able to believe in.

Think: libertarianism isn't *only* about raging against statism. It also can (or should) have a positive side, showing that real, aching problems can be solved through the "right-handed" approach of unleashing market forces. Faced with

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*Instead of simply bitching endlessly about government, why don't libertarians offer a real alternative to solve real problems?*

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problems like unclean water, Thalidomide babies, homeless families, workplace accidents, and unsafe products; a thinking libertarian quickly concludes that one place to look for marketplace solutions in today's economy ought to be insurance.

If insurance companies actually competed, they would make their living by working hard to ensure that their clients live longer. Your insurer would take active steps to make sure your faucet and work station weren't killing or crippling you. Want lower premiums? Then let Allstate look in your medicine cabinet and give you advice. Don't like their advice? Choose another company. This is the "right-handed" alternative to so many acronymed agencies. So why isn't it taking hold?

The brilliant and lamented Barry Goldwater asked this question. He soon realized that laws had been carefully erected, by his own party, to foster conditions under which insurance companies can rake profits simply on the basis of actuarial betting — with plenty of mutual back-scratching and cushioning by government tax credits — without lifting more than a finger to actually earn those profits. Only a few remnants of the old approach, such as Underwriters' Laboratory, still exist, wherein companies invest time and effort to win by making their clients live longer.

Goldwater suggested removing the corporate-welfare props and forcing insurance companies into a truly competitive market where their profits would arise mainly from active efforts to increase their customers' well-being, leading hopefully to an eventual withering away of the FDA, OSHA, FTC, and CPSC. It looked good in theory. Instead of simply bitching endlessly about government, why not offer a real alternative to solve what the people see as real problems?

"Nothing doing!" said the rest of the GOP at the behest of their lords in corporate boardrooms, who see competition as a dirty word. Goldwater's idea never even made it to committee. And now we get to my point.

Is the Republican party a "lesser of two evils" just because occasionally it inserts a little pseudo-libertarian rhetoric into its speeches? No way. Not when Clinton and Carter actually deregulated far more industries (banking, telecommunications, airlines, trucking, and the Internet) than all Republican presidents combined. So much for being the party that hates

bureaucracy.

No, that sugary veneer of libertarian rhetoric masks the fact that the GOP never actually *does* anything libertarian. Nor does it see problems of human misery and wasted potential as worth addressing with solutions of any form, right or left-handed.

Look at the legislation they actually pass — the percentage of bills that help small entrepreneurs versus the amount of attention paid to the very highest echelons of Old Money. They are the American House of Lords. And as I've said before, libertarians should remember that oligarchs are no better friends of liberty than bureaucrats are. In fact, history shows that old-fashioned aristocratic elites traditionally behaved far worse than mere paper-shufflers, whenever they got the chance. Try Plantagenet England or Bourbon France or Tokugawa Japan on for size. Tell me about how a serf got to "compete."

Looking across this century, the GOP has not been part of a political debate over which problem-solving methods will better serve people's interests. With few exceptions, they do not see any "problems" at all. Not so long as the aristocracy prospers.

Stop. Think. If the Libertarian Party had a candidate with a hundred times the charismatic communication skills of Clinton and Reagan, you might hope to get him elected president. Drop the lapel-grabbing, contempt-based screeching and you might elect a Congress, too! Good things might result. All sorts of Goldwater-style "right-handed solutions" might be introduced, using market forces to eliminate problems more efficiently than the old-fashioned, paternalistic approaches, causing the FDA and OSHA and other acronyms to recede and then wither for lack of need. Given a choice between two methods that work, the people will prefer the one without bureaucrats — so long as their water improves and all kids grow up healthy, ready to compete in a new era of rising freedom. Terrific.

But you will *never* eliminate the Democratic Party! That is because it represents one entire wing of human problem-solving methods. To dream of eliminating the left hand from politics is just like Karl Marx's pathetic yearning to eliminate the right hand of human competitiveness. It won't happen

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*The flaccid elephant squats across a vast expanse of political landscape. Libertarians have to kill off this awful creature, or at least make it move out of the light where they need to stand.*

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while we still carry Cro-Magnon genes. Indeed, they are yin and yang approaches that each deserve mentioning whenever we sit down to discuss pragmatic solutions to vexing problems.

(Which approach was suited to defeating Hitler? If we ever discover an asteroid streaking for the Earth, I know which I'll turn to first.)

What the Libertarian party needs to do is become the rightful opposing political force to the Democratic party. In

*continued on page 50*

# Creationism:

## Not Just for Fundamentalists Anymore

by Timothy Sandefur

The newest battle between science and religion began on a riverbank in a Western desert and will end up in the Supreme Court. This time, science may not prevail.

Creationism isn't just for fundamentalists anymore. A group of ancient human skeletons is threatening to start a new Scopes trial, updated for the multiculturalist era.

One skeleton, called Kennewick Man, discovered in Washington state in 1996, undermines the prevailing theory of the history of North American settlement. According to that theory, American Indians are the original inhabitants of North America, direct descendants of early settlers who crossed a landbridge between Alaska and the Eastern tip of Eurasia ten to twelve thousand years ago. Indians have used this theory to back up their claim of being the "original" people of America — "Native Americans" — victims of hostile invasions by imperialistic Westerners over the last half-millennium, an image with great political appeal.

Early tests revealed that Kennewick Man's 380 bone fragments are nearly 10,000 years old. But Kennewick Man does not seem to be an Indian. Early reports suggested that Kennewick Man actually had European features, and more recent studies show it to be more closely related to Japanese tribes. This suggests that the Indians were invaders too.

This does not please some Indians, who insist that they are not descendants of "land bridge" European migrants, or of possible Asian emigration, but have inhabited America since the divine creation of the world. Five tribes, including the Umatilla, Yakima, and Colville, want the skeleton, which they call "the Ancient One," turned over to them so that they can bury it according to their religious beliefs. Since radiometric dating and DNA testing require the burning or grinding up of small parts of the skeleton, the Umatillas seek to prevent further "destructive" and "invasive" scientific investigation. And the legal path they have used is a law called the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, or NAGPRA.

NAGPRA, passed in 1990, was intended to return the many Indian skeletons, stolen by graverobbers in the 19th

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century, and still lingering in museums. Under the law, an Indian skeleton belongs to the tribe that can demonstrate "cultural affiliation" with that skeleton. When the Army Corps of Engineers heard the results of the radiocarbon dating test, it announced it would turn the bones over to the Indians. A small group of scientists immediately filed a lawsuit, arguing that NAGPRA was never meant to prevent the archaeological excavations.

That lawsuit is now in its third year of government delays, and some shady maneuvers by the Army have drawn even further criticism. In April of 1998, the Army Corps of Engineers, claiming that the Columbia River's shore needed to be "stabilized," dumped 500 tons of rocks on the gravesite. Scientists say "all hope is lost for recovering any more bones." *The Wall Street Journal* later turned up evidence that the order for this operation had come directly from the White House.

Despite the Army's promises to sequester the skeleton pending a court ruling, it was later revealed that Indians were permitted access to the skeleton on three separate occasions for religious ceremonies. And an examination of the skeleton in December of 1998 revealed that parts of it are missing. Doug Owsley, a Smithsonian anthropologist and a leader of the plaintiff scientists, was permitted to observe the condition of the bones — without scientific instruments — and reported that most of the femurs had disappeared. "Those pieces are so big that their absence from the skeleton cannot be attributed to an oversight," he reported. "They can only be absent because someone intentionally removed

them." The bones that remain are being damaged by improper storage.

Like Fundamentalist Christians, who see evolution as a hoax and science as a dangerous instrument of irreligion, the Indians simply are not curious about Kennewick Man's origins. "From our oral histories, we know that our people have been part of this land since the beginning of time," said

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*While postmodernism denies the validity of any truth, multiculturalism insists that all cultures — except the culture of Western Europe and its descendants — are equally valid and entitled to respect.*

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Armand Minthorn, religious leader of the Umatillas. "We already know our history . . . . My people have been here since time began," he said recently. "I know how the world began, and I know how the world will end."

Other skeletons are facing similar challenges. A 10,000-year-old skeleton found in Idaho was repatriated to the Shoshone in 1991, and buried beyond any hope for further examination. In Brazil, the discovery of an 11,000-year-old skull named Luzia has weakened the Indians' case even further. Luzia is not a Mongoloid, but a Negroid skull, unrelated to South American tribes.

One challenge that the Indians lost was Spirit Cave Man, discovered 50 years ago, but only recently dated. Although Spirit Cave Man is also about 10,000 years old, skin, hair and even his burial shroud remain intact, making it a remarkable scientific opportunity. But the Northern Paiute protested the proposed DNA testing of the skeleton. After four years, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) decided in August that the skeleton's affiliations with the Paiutes were too weak to take the bones from the Nevada State Museum — but it withheld permission to run DNA tests.

In his recent book *Unweaving the Rainbow*, Richard Dawkins describes the Kennewick Man controversy as a meeting between multiculturalism and postmodernism. While postmodernism denies the validity of any truth, multiculturalism insists that all cultures, except the culture of Western Europe and its descendants, are equally valid and entitled to respect. Truth itself has therefore become a weapon in the "culture war." These allies insist that science is a form of epistemological colonialism — a means by which white Europeans have forced the rest of the world into submission. Instead, an enlightened world would respect different, equally valid "logics." Dawkins quotes a synopsis of this view by anthropologist Matt Cartmill:

Anybody who claims to have objective knowledge about anything is trying to control and dominate the rest of us. There are no objective facts. All supposed "facts" are contaminated with moral and political doctrines. Therefore, when some guy in a lab coat tells you that such and such is an objective fact he must have a political agenda up his starched white sleeve.

Today's academic view of science as the legacy of a racist

imperialist Western Culture is best summed up by the character of Ian Malcolm in *Jurassic Park*: "What you call discovery, I call the rape of the natural world." The Kennewick Man case seems a fitting update of the Scopes trial for our day: instead of a simple conflict between faith and reason, it presents a conflict between genetics — the science of our day — and worship of the benign "Native American" culture.

In late September, the BLM insisted that the Kennewick Man be returned to the Indians. Minthorn was elated. "It gives me a tremendous feeling knowing that this Ancient One has been reaffirmed as one of our ancestors," he said. "As tribal people who have lived on the Columbia Plateau for thousands of years, we are eager to rebury our ancestor and give him back to the earth."

But the Bureau's decision does not close the matter. It remains before a federal judge, where the inconsistency of the government's position is immediately evident. As Paula Barran, one of the lawyers for the Friends of America's Past, said, "they concluded [Spirit Cave Man] could never be culturally affiliated even though they had textiles in that case and this is just bones."

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt defended his decision by claiming that "Although ambiguities in the data made this a close call, I was persuaded by the geographic data and oral histories of the five tribes that collectively assert they are the

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descendants of people who have been in the region of the Upper Columbia Plateau for a very long time." Oral tradition is not exactly as reliable as DNA evidence — but evidence has rarely stood in the way of those who seek to make the science conform to the theory.

And scientists have become accustomed to the militant nature of Christian creationist groups. In 1990, a geologist at the University of New Orleans, Kraig Derstler, discovered the skeleton of a duckbill dinosaur in Wyoming. He hoped to excavate the skeleton, but while negotiating for a lease, the owner of the land revealed that he was a creationist, and would permit Derstler to excavate the skeleton only if it was never used in any display which discussed evolution. Derstler refused, and in 1996 the landowner turned the site over to the "Foundation for Advancing Creation Truth," which began to excavate what they referred to as "the Dragon's Grave." "Instead of the same worn-out theory of evolution's 'amoeba-to-man' story," the Foundation announced, "the actual facts about the fossils on display will be seen. For the first time, thinking people will be able to see for themselves why the theory of evolution is false and should be abandoned." □

# Autumn in Belgrade

by Stephen Browne

Sometimes, you have to go to a dangerous place.

I had to go to Belgrade. Friends in the States advised me to be careful and fellow expats in Warsaw told me they wished I weren't going. My girlfriend saw me to the train station and kissed me good-bye with dry eyes, as Polish women have learned to do over many weary years. Things would be okay, I thought. This could be the end of the Milosevic regime. And it could be relatively bloodless.

Even so, I was oppressed by the feeling that something bad was going to happen to me, and accordingly, I prepared a will. But I wanted to be in on this moment. I had lived in Belgrade during the demonstrations of 1997 and had returned for a visit after the bombing campaign. I wanted to be there for the historic moment when the regime fell.

So I arranged to get an invitation from the Ethnographic Museum of Belgrade to speak there and meet with them to facilitate contacts with the Ethnographic Museum of Warsaw. I have no official relationship with the Warsaw museum, I just happen to live around the corner from it. But this provided me with a reason to get a visa. At the Yugoslav embassy, my visa application was processed in one hour, something new. A year ago when I applied for a visa in Sofia I had to wait a day while they consulted the ministry in Belgrade.

I took the train to Budapest and from there a night train to Belgrade. On the border I was ordered to get off the train and wait in a small building while they took my passport somewhere. (I *hate* it when they do that.) But there was no problem so I climbed back on and went to sleep. Later I found that, like an idiot, I had left my passport sack outside my shirt instead of under it and had had the cash in it lifted, almost certainly by the Hungarian cross-border trader I had shared the compartment with. This unfortunately was to limit the time I could stay in Belgrade, as credit cards from outside the country don't work inside the country — that embargo thing again. What a relief! I had known that something bad was going to happen to me in Serbia, and it had,

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and it was only about money.

I arrived in Belgrade two days before the election, considerably lighter of heart. My museum presentation on ethnic identity among immigrant groups in the U.S. was attended poorly, mostly by my friends and a few of their students. No problem, it was only an excuse to come to Belgrade anyway. It turned out that Milosevic's election headquarters was next door to the museum. As we watched a number of limos pull up, a colleague muttered, "Damn! Where are rotten vegetables when you need them?"

I spent the next day visiting friends and getting reacquainted with Belgrade. The city, as always, teemed with paradoxes. People complained about business: it's terrible, inflation is starting to rise again so don't change too much money at once, the middle class is getting poorer and can't afford language courses anymore, Milosevic's family and friends are getting rich off of the embargo at everyone else's expense, etc., etc. I noticed that none of the bombed government buildings I had seen on my last trip had been repaired or even demolished; I wondered if this was for lack of funds or out of fear of more bombing.

Busses still ran, and on time too, but every bus was so crowded that a pickpocket wouldn't have room to lift a wallet. Last year the busses were only as crowded as much as in any large European city. Nobody I asked was quite sure what this meant, though some thought that it was the result of so many people moving to the city as life in the countryside became harder. Last year a friend mentioned how the countryside was being abandoned because farmers could only sell to the government at set prices if they couldn't find transportation to the cities.

I walked down Knez Mihailova to the Ottoman-era fortress of Kalemegdan on a promontory overlooking the confluence of the Danube and Sava rivers. Kalemegdan is now a military museum, but they had created a new exhibit since I had been there last year, the Aggression Exhibit. There I saw a number of American bomb and rocket casings, parts of a Cruise missile, and an intact drone aircraft. They also had an

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*I saw police in riot gear. After a moment's hesitation a group of protestors began simply to walk through them. I joined them, though it occurred to me that it probably wasn't the smartest thing to do.*

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assortment of weapons, and an American pilot's helmet and survival gear. I wonder, do American Special Forces really use Barnett hi-tech crossbows? Or did the museum just have one and put it in the exhibit?

Then I walked over the Sava river bridge to New Belgrade and Zemun. The building that used to house Milosevic's daughter's TV station was still a bombed-out shell, as was the Chinese embassy. However, when I went down to the Danube shore past the Hotel Yugoslavia I was surprised to see that the hotel was almost repaired and ready to reopen; and the riverfront was now crammed with new floating restaurants, about twice as many as I remembered from last year. When I went to my favorite floating restaurant — a delightful, cheap and not-too-fancy place when I visited a year ago — I found that it had been gentrified. Somebody here has money.

Election posters were everywhere. You could see Milosevic's face on billboards across the city with the legend "Slobo Da." (A play on words in Serbian; Slobo, the diminutive of Slobodan, plus Da, "yes.") You could also see the opposition posters everywhere. And graffiti. On one wall I saw, "We don't have newspapers, but we have walls." Very common were stickers plastered over the government posters: "OTPOR Gotov Je." OTPOR is ready. (OTPOR is the opposition coalition.)

I saw people lined up at many shops around the city. In preparation for the election, the government had released supplies of sugar and cooking oil at subsidized prices. In 1997, the shops had everything, though prices were higher than in Warsaw. Now there were real shortages and the value of the dinar had declined drastically compared to the dollar. Five days of eating all meals in restaurants, souvenir shopping and a couple of movies cost me \$50 total.

Things seemed ominously quiet as the election approached. A friend remarked, "It's not natural. Serbs are generally a very energetic people." Nobody expected Slobo to win — and nobody expected him to give up power without a struggle.

Sunday, election day, passed like any other quiet Sunday. I went to my favorite restaurant on Knez Mihailova (the central mall in the Old Town — near the places you see on all the background shots on the news) and took in a movie. I walked around and saw no signs of any preparation to flood

the town center with riot police like in '97. I found an internet café in the university bookstore and started to send messages to friends. I feared that the net would go down and I wanted to leave a record of when communications were disrupted.

I had been warned to stay away from the demonstration called for that evening but I couldn't resist. By about nine o'clock a large stage had been set up in Republic Square by the government party. A band began to play there, kind of a Lawrence Welk band, Serbian style. An audience gathered around, waving Serbian flags and holding up opposition posters. After every number the crowd booed and many gave the middle finger salute. They did this only between songs, as bad as they were. I thought it was rather polite of them not to disrupt the performance.

After a short while everybody got tired of harassing these poor slobs and went over to the opposition headquarters where rock music was playing from loudspeakers on the balcony. On the way, I saw police in riot gear. About 15 or 20 of them stretched across the street, milling around as if they didn't quite know what they were doing there. After a moment's hesitation a group of protestors began simply to walk through them. I joined them, though it occurred to me that it probably wasn't the smartest thing to do.

In the crowd under the balcony by the opposition headquarters, I ran into a colleague from the museum. He introduced me to his friends, including a young Serbian woman who lived in London. "How did you get a visa?" she asked. "My husband is English, a journalist, and he couldn't get one, He's observing this from Montenegro." I explained how I got there. "Oh well," she reassured me, "if you are arrested with an American passport, you're a spy of course."

Then, about 10:45 p.m., the loudspeakers announced the victory of the opposition. In spite of all the votes he could steal and the boycott of the election in Montenegro by everyone but Slobo supporters, Milosevic could still poll only 33 percent by the first count. My friend shouted "I've been waiting for this for ten years!" as the surge of the crowd separated us. The crowd was chanting "Gotov je! Gotov je!" Cars going slowly through the crowded streets were honking their horns. A group of motorcyclists stopped and started revving their engines, people held on to the backs of the cycles and let

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them go at once so they shot down the street like rubber bands, to the sound of roaring engines and cheers. The mood was triumphant euphoria.

I made my way back to my friend's apartment and found that the TV news was ambiguous at best. Reported vote totals were widely at variance with what was going around on the street and there was not a word about the demonstrations downtown.

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## Exposé

# The ACLU's New Priorities

*by David E. Bernstein*

The ACLU used to be ever vigilant in the defense of civil liberties.  
Lately, it has more important fish to fry.

Antidiscrimination laws increasingly interfere with all aspects of civil liberties: free exercise of religion, freedom of association, and freedom of speech. In a 5-4 decision, the United States Supreme Court has found that the Boy Scouts' right of freedom of association extends to excluding gays from leadership positions. Last August, meanwhile, the California Supreme Court upheld a "prior restraint," a governmental restriction on speech or publication before its actual expression, against speech that could cause a "hostile workplace environment," even though the First Amendment strongly disfavors prior restraints.

One would think that the American Civil Liberties Union would fight for freedom of association and freedom of speech in these cases. One would be wrong. The ACLU was on the government's side in both cases. In fact, despite its reputation for defending constitutional freedoms from government coercion, the ACLU is increasingly sacrificing civil libertarian principles on the altar of antidiscrimination.

Perhaps the most egregious example of the ACLU's backsliding is its remarkable opposition to the Religious Liberty Protection Act. The RLPA would exempt religious individuals and organizations from laws that burden their religious practices, unless the government could demonstrate a "compelling interest" in enforcing the legislation.

The bill which the House of Representatives recently approved is supported by a broad coalition of organizations, including many of the ACLU's traditional allies. Although libertarians might argue among themselves as to whether religion should get special protection from generally applicable laws, the ACLU has no such principled argument against the bill. ACLU Legislative Counsel Christopher Anders has testified that the bill would provide important protection for free exercise of religion, and correct the errors of Supreme Court opinions that construed the Constitution's free exercise guarantee more narrowly.

The ACLU nevertheless opposes the RLPA out of concern

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that "some courts may turn RLPA's shield for religious exercise into a sword against civil rights." Several courts have held that laws forcing religious landlords to rent to unmarried heterosexual couples do not serve a compelling public interest. Under RLPA, Anders argues, courts might hold that other antidiscrimination laws not backed up by a "firm national policy," such as laws banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, cannot be applied to religious objectors.

The ACLU thus believes that government should have the power to force religious people to violate their religious beliefs if antidiscrimination goals are at stake. The ACLU takes this position even with regard to antidiscrimination laws that serve groups whose claims to legal protection from discrimination are marginal at best, such as unmarried heterosexual couples protected by laws banning housing discrimination on the basis of marital status.

The ACLU's opposition to RLPA is hardly a unique example of its elevation of antidiscrimination principles above free exercise rights. In 1984, for example, the ACLU filed a Supreme Court *amicus* brief against Bob Jones University, which was stripped of its tax exemption by the IRS because of the school's religion-based ban on interracial dating. The ACLU's position was that because the university was still free to *advocate* the banning of interracial dating and marriage, the University's constitutional rights were not violated.

A few years later, the ACLU sided with the Ohio Civil Rights Commission in a battle against a small Christian school. The school relied on free exercise arguments to defend its policy against employing women with pre-school

age children against a sex discrimination claim. Even the ACLU's erstwhile ally on church-state matters, Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, supported the school's position. "We are firmly opposed to discrimination," said executive director Robert Maddox, "but this principle must not override the right of churches or church schools to hire the pastors or teachers they believe can best teach their faith."

Of course, despite its public pronouncements to the contrary, the ACLU has never been known as a great friend of

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*The ACLU thus believes that government should have the power to force religious people to violate their religious beliefs if antidiscrimination goals are at stake.*

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free exercise. But the ACLU's downgrading of civil liberties in favor of antidiscrimination concerns extends well beyond issues of religious freedom.

For example, the ACLU's official policy guide states that owners of private facilities are free to deny access to any group they wish. A 1972 policy on "private organizations" states that "private associations and organizations, as such, lie beyond the legitimate concern of the state and are constitutionally protected against governmental interference."

In practice, however, the ACLU frequently supports the enforcement of antidiscrimination laws against private organizations. Various ACLU chapters have sued the Boy Scouts in an attempt to force the Scouts to accept gays and atheists as members and scoutmasters. The ACLU represented Timothy Curran after the Scouts rejected his application to be a scoutmaster because he was gay. During his interview with a scouting official, Curran stated that he wanted to be a scoutmaster because he wanted to show children that homosexuals were good people and that there was nothing wrong with their lifestyle. The ACLU's position, then, is that a private organization that opposes homosexual conduct should be required by law to hire leaders who plan to use their position to advocate homosexuality. By the same logic, gay organizations could be forced to hire fundamentalist Christians who want to use their position to proselytize against homosexuality.

In fairness, the ACLU argues that the Boy Scouts are not truly private, because they get indirect government subsidies, such as use of public school facilities. It seems unlikely, however, that the ACLU's position would be different if the Scouts received no public subsidies. The ACLU has filed *amicus* briefs in several cases arguing that private clubs and associations have no constitutional right to exclude groups protected by antidiscrimination laws. Moreover, in 1989, the ACLU, reversing longstanding principle, announced that it opposed the right of religious groups and fraternal orders that provide housing to discriminate in favor of their own members.

Nor has the ACLU stood firm in defending the rights of the accused when antidiscrimination concerns arise. In 1989

and 1990 a series of committees appointed by the National Board of the ACLU considered whether persons acquitted in state court could be re-tried in federal court. The Board voted to oppose such re-prosecutions as violations of the Constitution's double jeopardy clause. The Board then appointed a special committee to consider whether there should be a special exemption for civil rights cases. The committee unanimously "could not find any principled basis for treating federal civil rights offenses differently from other crimes," and the Board affirmed a double jeopardy policy containing no exceptions for civil rights violations.

This principle was quickly abandoned. When a California jury exonerated the police officers who savagely beat Rodney King, the federal government decided to prosecute the officers on federal civil rights charges, the National Board of the ACLU voted 32 to 31 that "without additional study they were not sufficiently certain about the application of the double jeopardy policy in this singular context to endorse a public position on either side of this explosive issue."

Given the Board's prior actions, its refusal to oppose the federal prosecution of the officers could hardly have been the result of a need for "additional study." The fact is that the ACLU refused to stand by its principles when faced with a high-profile civil rights case.

Even protection of free speech, the ACLU's bread and butter, is under threat from the rise of antidiscrimination ideology within the organization. While the ACLU filed lawsuits against university speech codes in Wisconsin and Michigan, all three California ACLU affiliates have endorsed speech codes. Several years ago, John Powell, then the national legal director of the ACLU, defended the organization's refusal to help conservative Dartmouth College students suspended after a "vexatious oral exchange" with an eccentric African-American professor. Powell argued that "to the degree that a university does not support an environment where blacks can feel welcome, then maybe a university could be subject to attack on equal protection grounds. My concern is less with the strength of the First Amendment than with the wave of racial harassment that has swept the country." Powell also noted that his litigation priorities were abortion, civil rights, and the First Amendment — in that order.

For now, the pro-free-speech forces within the national ACLU, led by its president, Nadine Strossen, have emerged

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*The ACLU's position, then, is that a private organization that opposes homosexual conduct should be required by law to hire leaders who plan to use their position to advocate homosexuality.*

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victorious, and Powell has moved on to a position as a professor at the University of Minnesota School of Law. But even Strossen has been forced to make concessions to the antidiscrimination lobby within the organization, and to left-wing critics who accuse the ACLU of sacrificing important egalitar-

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# Too Much Freedom for Its Own Good?

*by Bradley Monton*

In theory, liberty seems to be perfectly good. But theory and practice are sometimes two very different things.

I live in a country that in many ways is a libertarian paradise. On my salary of about \$40,000 per year, I pay only 5 percent in income tax, and the top marginal rate is 10 percent. A 5 percent sales tax applies only to luxury items. The banking laws of this democratic country rival those of Switzerland and the Cayman Islands. Moreover, the U.S. dollar is widely used as currency, money can be taken freely into and out of the country, and foreign investment is encouraged.

And unlike Singapore, the country I live in also has a high degree of social freedom. Not only can you chew gum on the street here, you can do most anything that doesn't harm someone else. Free speech is allowed. Prostitution is tolerated. Zoning laws are minimal, and where they do exist they often aren't enforced. Families and private social organizations provide for the needs of the less fortunate members of society — the government provides few social services.

So do I live in some undeveloped part of the world? Definitely not: within a 15 minute walk of my apartment I can find a Hard Rock Café, McDonald's, Ben and Jerry's, Hardee's, Starbucks, Pizza Hut, and Subway. Imported products are readily available. Though I live in a city of well over a million people, I feel safer here than in Chicago or Washington, D.C. English is widely spoken, people are tolerant of foreigners, and I can ski in the mountains in the morning and swim in the sea in the afternoon.

So where is this libertarian paradise in which I live?

Welcome to Beirut!

I admit, Lebanon is not really a libertarian paradise. Like most other countries in the world, it has a host of problems. Some of these problems are mundane, like government corruption, traffic congestion, and a high cost of living. Other problems are more unusual: a neighboring state occasionally drops bombs on Lebanon, doing considerable damage to its infrastructure. What is most interesting from a libertarian's perspective, though, is that some of the problems Lebanon faces can be seen as caused by certain types of libertarian

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thinking.

Most Westerners can't think of Lebanon without also thinking "war-torn." The civil war which started in 1975 has been over since 1990, and the kidnaping of Westerners stopped around that time too. The ban the U.S. State Department imposed to prevent Americans from travelling to Lebanon on a U.S. passport was lifted in 1997, though the current (overcautious) State Department Travel Warning says that travel to Lebanon is "not without risk." Right now the country is safe, and I am happily living here as an American. Fifteen years ago, though, Lebanon — and especially West Beirut, where I live — was just about the last place on earth an American would want to find himself. How did Lebanon manage to get itself into such a sorry mess?

It's impossible to succinctly chronicle the Lebanese civil war. About a dozen groups were involved in the fighting, and it's claimed that at one time or another, each group fought against every other group. There were various Christian militias, various Muslim militias, the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Israelis, and the Syrians, all fighting in a country smaller than Connecticut.

The war was in part a war between Christians and Muslims for political dominance. The most extreme Christians wanted to set up Lebanon as a Christian state, allied with Israel against the Arab world. The most extreme Muslims wanted to set up Lebanon as an Islamic state with close ties to Syria, as a progression to pan-Arab unity.

Lebanon was awarded to France at the end of World War I, and remained under French control until 1946. To limit

civil strife while trying to establish democratic institutions, the French promulgated a constitution in which political representation was based on the "confessional" system: in the government the ratio of Christians to Muslims must be 6:5, and the President has to be a Maronite Christian while the Prime Minister has to be a Sunni Muslim. The 6:5 ratio was in accord with the population as determined by the 1932 census. To avoid civil strife, no census has been done since.

In 1975, the majority of Lebanese were Muslim, thanks mostly to higher birth rates, so Lebanon itself is in the curious position of having its majority relegated to minority status politically. Muslim under-representation in government was one cause of the civil war.

Another cause was the influx of Palestinian refugees. Lebanon already had many refugees from the creation of Israel in 1948, more came as a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and still more came after Palestinian refugees were deported from Jordan in 1969. About 300,000 Palestinian refugees fled to Lebanon, and they came to dominate certain areas of Beirut, to the indignation of the Falangist Christian militia. On April 13, 1975, tensions between Falangists and Palestinians finally erupted into street battles, and set the nation on the slippery slope toward 15 years of civil war.

According to journalist Thomas Friedman, Lebanon in the 1980s was the closest place on earth to the state of nature, a society where there is no government. The central government had very little power, and various militia groups were vying for control of various parts of the country. Thomas Hobbes famously described the state of nature as one where everyone is at war with everyone, and where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."

When I teach Hobbes to my students at the American University of Beirut, we talk about whether Hobbes's description applies to Lebanon in the 1980s. One answer which invariably arises is that life is not solitary: when the government breaks down, people form smaller social units as a way

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*Hobbes was wrong: life in the state of nature is not solitary. When the government breaks down, people form smaller social units as a way of helping and protecting each other.*

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of helping and protecting each other. For example, most everyone lives in apartment buildings in Lebanon, and when shelling was heavy people would use the basement as a bomb shelter. This led to social cohesion among the people in an apartment building. On a larger scale, joining a militia was a popular way to stop life from being solitary, and to achieve protection from others.

Even though life in the Lebanese state of nature wasn't solitary, it was brutish, and for many, short. It's estimated that 150,000 people died as a result of the war, and many atrocities were committed against civilians simply on the basis of their religion or cultural identity. This is all a direct result of there being no effective central government in place to protect the lives, liberties, and property of the Lebanese population.

And here I think there is a lesson which needs to be learned by those libertarians who condemn the coercive power of a state. Hobbes was right when he said that the state of nature is a state of war. The various militias functioned very much like private protection agencies, and it wasn't a pretty sight. Anarcho-libertarians have an idealistic view of human nature, belied by such real-life states of nature as Lebanon during its civil war.

The civil war ended without a resolution of many of the issues which started it. The war ended in part because the various opponents realized that they couldn't achieve the objectives they were fighting for and were finally willing to compromise, and in part because people were just sick of the fighting. The influence of the Syrian dictatorship was probably also a factor.

In 1976, near the beginning of the civil war, Syrian troops moved into Lebanon. They were invited by the Christian militias, who hoped that Syria would be able to stop the intercommunal fighting. (Not surprisingly, the Christian militias were soon fighting the Syrians.) The Syrians never left, and even now there are an estimated 35,000 Syrian troops in Lebanon. Politically, Syria is the most powerful influence in Lebanon regarding foreign policy, especially Lebanon's relations with Israel. Syria and Lebanon have close economic ties, sharing a common infrastructure for water and electricity, which increases Syria's influence. Fortunately, though, Lebanon is still worlds apart from Syria in terms of what it's like to live there.

Syria is a socialist country: it had very close ties to the former Soviet Union, and similar economic policies. The economy is quite closed; it is surely one of the few places in the world where one cannot buy a Coca-Cola or a Big Mac. Bans on cell phones and the Internet have only recently been lifted. Lebanon, by contrast, is a free-market capitalist country. The Lebanese government is working on privatizing some of the (already few) state-owned enterprises. Lebanon has always been known as a country of traders, and as a result foreign products are widely available. Cell phones are annoyingly common, and Internet cafés are popular.

Hafez El-Assad took control of Syria in a military coup in 1971, and held absolute power until his death last June. Lebanon, by contrast, is a democratic country — or at least it would be were it not for the influence Syria has over the Lebanese government.

Most importantly, I think, Syria feels like an unfree place. Before traveling in Syria, I didn't realize the importance of enjoying freedom simply as a state of mind. A Lebanese friend and I were traveling on a deteriorating, Soviet-made train from Der'a to Damascus. While on the train a Syrian security official came up and started grilling us, "Let me see your papers. Where are you going? What hotel are you staying in? What were you doing in Der'a?" And to my Lebanese friend: "Why are you traveling with a foreigner? You would speak Arabic better if you didn't spend your time with foreigners." Later, walking in Damascus, I was stopped by a group of Syrian security officials. (I couldn't tell if they were military or police; I'm not even sure if there's much of a difference.) They started to search my backpack, but once they realized I was a foreigner they said "welcome to Syria" and let me go. These sorts of things just don't happen in Lebanon.

One main excuse Syria used for why it had to keep troops

in Lebanon was that Syria needed to counteract the influence of Israel, which was occupying the southern tenth of Lebanon. But on May 24, 2000, after 22 years of occupation, Israel finally pulled out. Now Syrian-supported Lebanese politicians are using a new excuse: Syrian troops need to stay in Lebanon to prevent another Lebanese civil war. I think and hope that that is a disingenuous argument. Surely Hobbes is

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*I have never been a fan of land use regulation and sustainable development, but I admit that after seeing what has happened in Lebanon, I am more sympathetic to these notions.*

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wrong; surely a state of war can be prevented without reliance on an all-powerful sovereign.

Lebanon today is a free-wheeling place to live. Culturally, it is influenced by both the Western and Arab worlds, and as a result incongruities abound. One morning as I was leaving my apartment building, I passed a group of five Muslim women who looked to be in their 20s dressed completely in black, with only their eyes and nose showing. Just beyond them I passed two (perhaps Christian, perhaps Muslim) women, also in their 20s, strikingly dressed in tight jeans and revealing tight shirts. On the Corniche, the main road in Beirut running along the sea, a McDonald's is just across the street from a mosque. On the road to the southern city of Tyre, one passes a large drawing of Israeli missiles falling on Lebanon with the caption: "All our disasters caused by U.S. Not five minutes further down the road, one passes a billboard for a cigarette company with the meant-to-be-captivating caption "The Big Taste of America."

This mix of cultures requires tolerance, a live-and-let-live attitude that is conducive to libertarian-minded thinking. I know a Briton who has lived in Lebanon for the past four years precisely because he likes the feel of the place; he likes what he calls "the controlled anarchy."

I am not so enthusiastic. In some ways I wish the Lebanese government were stronger than it is. There are four ways in which I sometimes think that Lebanon's government is too minimal.

(1) Lebanon used to be a beautiful country, called "the Switzerland of the Middle East." Its natural beauty has in large part been destroyed by overdevelopment. On what used to be empty mountain slopes, there are now concrete-gray apartment buildings. Forests of the Lebanese cedar, the tree pictured on the Lebanese flag, have largely been destroyed. I have never been a fan of land-use regulation and sustainable development, but I admit that, after seeing what has happened in Lebanon, I am more sympathetic to these notions. This isn't just my tree-hugging mentality at work: Lebanon used to be a popular tourist destination precisely because of its natural beauty. The civil war stopped the tourism industry, but the current lack of natural beauty has prevented tourism from returning to its previous levels.

Of course, this is just a consequentialist argument for increased government intervention in how one uses one's

property. I believe that libertarians can give a strong deontological argument against such government intervention. (That is, libertarians can argue that what is right for the government to do is to at least some extent independent of what good or bad consequences would result.) As is often pointed out, those libertarians who rely on consequentialist arguments can be refuted by empirical studies of the result of libertarian government policies. I will put the overdevelopment of Lebanon on the table as a *prima facie* argument against consequentialist libertarians.

(2) Beirut, a city of 1.5 million people, has an astonishingly small amount of public space, and a similarly small amount of green space. This really does make the city a hard place to live in. Just about the only large beautiful area with significant flora is the American University of Beirut campus, and access is (at least nominally) closed to the general public. Beirut would be a nicer place to live if there were more public spaces, and the existence of more public spaces could even be justified on deontological grounds.

John Locke's famous analysis of the problem of property begins with the state of nature where all land is held in common, and argues that one can morally come to own land by mixing one's labor with the soil, as long as "there is enough, and as good, left in common for others." There is much academic debate about the ramifications of this "Lockean proviso," but I believe that it requires that a significant amount of land be left in common (with use regulated by the state so that the land isn't abused). Moreover, this land must be "good," in the sense that it's not just located high in the mountains, but also in the cities where people live.

(3) One purpose of the state is to enforce laws and contracts, but Lebanon doesn't always effectively do this. The most dangerous aspect of Lebanon is the chaotic driving, and this is the result at least in part of lax enforcement of traffic laws. Issues as basic as government disregard for parking violations can adversely affect quality of life: cars tend to park on sidewalks, forcing pedestrians into the traffic. Also, the legal system is sometimes ineffectual, making it difficult to

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*There are some ways in which the Lebanese government isn't minimal enough, but there are other ways in which it is too minimal. That in itself makes Lebanon a fascinating place to be.*

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resolve contract disputes. For example, I know of someone who caused \$3,000 worth of damage to a rental car and refused to pay. The rental car company didn't bother to take him to court, because the legal system is too slow.

(4) While there are many arguments about what the proper role of a government should be, it's pretty much universally agreed that the government should provide for national defense. Since the Israelis have been occupying part of Lebanon, one would think the Lebanese army would be working to remove them. But in fact a private army has been battling them instead: the Hezbollah resistance fighters. The

United States government considers Hezbollah a terrorist group, although I have tremendous respect for what they have done to liberate south Lebanon. The existence of Hezbollah certainly violates the proposition that the state should provide for national defense, not a private army. Even now, months after the Israeli pullout, the Lebanese government has not moved sufficient security forces into the formerly occupied zone to take control. It is a safe place to be, but the people insuring domestic tranquility and providing for the common defense are Hezbollah fighters.

There are some ways in which the Lebanese government isn't minimal enough, but there are other ways in which it is too minimal. That, in itself, makes Lebanon a fascinating place to be. Lebanon may not be a melting pot, but it is at least a mixing pot, where American, French, and Arab cultures mix; where Christians and Muslims mix; and where Palestinian refugees, Western and Arab tourists, Syrian workers, and Lebanese citizens all mix. This has led to conflict in the past but it also suggests great promise for the future.

Discussion in political theory is very often armchair philosophy, in which the messiness of the real world is ignored. This is particularly true of libertarian discussion, which is often criticized for being overly idealistic. The way to counter this criticism is to examine countries like Lebanon, where libertarian policies are implemented in the real world. In this way one can demonstrate that some libertarian policies (like lack of zoning) can be made to work in reality. In this way one can perhaps also see that other libertarian policies need to be reexamined. □

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### "ACLU's New Priority," from page 40

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ian goals for abstract civil libertarian principles. Strossen has announced that the ACLU's goal is "eliminating racial discrimination from society at large." Yet it is very difficult to see how such an extraordinarily ambitious goal can be accomplished — or even pursued — in a society that accepts the sorts of restraints on government power that the ACLU has traditionally supported.

The ACLU's abandonment of civil libertarianism in favor of an aggressive antidiscrimination agenda has been a long and gradual process. According to Ira Glasser, Executive Director of the ACLU, as late as the mid-1960s the "received wisdom" at the ACLU was "that there was a distinction between civil liberties and civil rights, and that while we supported each other, the division of labor was that we handled civil liberties cases, and the NAACP handled civil rights." When civil rights and civil liberties objectives clashed, the ACLU defended civil liberties. Thus the NAACP opposed jury trials for violators of court decrees in civil rights cases out of fear that southern juries would not convict such violators, while the ACLU supported jury trials as a matter of principle.

Cracks in the ACLU's position began to appear in 1968, when the ACLU — which was founded in large part to defend the rights of labor union members — supported African-American community activists asserting "local control" of Brooklyn public schools against claims by the teach-

ers' union that its members were being denied due process. In 1972 the ACLU endorsed "anti-blockbusting statutes which prohibit false or deceptive statements concerning changes in the racial, religious, or national character of a neighborhood, and/or the effect of those changes, made with the intent for commercial gain, to promote the sale of property." This policy is sufficiently vague that it arguably did not interfere with constitutionally guaranteed speech. But three years later, when a board member proposed an amendment that would have clearly opposed attempts to combat housing discrimination "by any means offensive to the constitutional guarantee of free speech," the board voted it down.

Things have gotten progressively worse since then. Many new members — the ACLU's membership shot up from around 70,000 to almost 300,000 during the early 1970s — were attracted by the organization's opposition to the Vietnam War and its high-profile battles with President Nixon, but were not committed to the ACLU's broader civil libertarian agenda. The organization's defense of Nazis' right to march in Skokie in the late 1970s weeded out some of these fair-weather members, and attracted some new free speech devotees. But George Bush's criticisms of the ACLU during the 1988 presidential campaign once again attracted large numbers of liberals whose devotion to civil liberties was generally marginal. Moreover, in order to maintain its large membership base, the ACLU took to recruiting via mass mailings to people on lists rented from other liberal groups. The ACLU has increasingly become an organization composed of liberals who have some interest in civil liberties, rather than a civil libertarian organization.

Perhaps the ACLU's drift away from civil liberties in favor of antidiscrimination concerns could be stopped if the ACLU had a formal constitution, an immutable statement of civil libertarian principles. In fact, however, the ACLU makes policy democratically, by majority vote of the eighty-three members of the Board of Directors, which includes all chairs of state affiliates. As Strossen acknowledges: "On the occasions when civil liberties and civil rights genuinely appear to differ and conflict, the ACLU chooses between them in the context of particular facts, weighing the potency and applicability in each instance of the general values of liberty and equality." Not surprisingly, as the left has generally abjured civil liberties in favor of antidiscrimination concerns, and as the ACLU has become a leftist organization, the ACLU has become increasingly reluctant to defend civil liberties at the expense of antidiscrimination laws.

The tragedy is that the nation desperately needs a left-liberal voice willing to defend civil liberties when they conflict with antidiscrimination laws. In his history of the ACLU, *In Defense Of American Liberties*, Samuel Walker argued that the ACLU is distinguished from other liberal organizations by its "skepticism of government power and a willingness to challenge extensions of that power justified in the name of social betterment." In the antidiscrimination context, however, the organization has become the voice of statism, not of civil liberties. The ACLU is at a crossroads. Will it live up to its reputation as a skeptic of government power and return to a defense of the First Amendment? Or will it continue to evolve into just another liberal organization that supports the evisceration of constitutional liberties in the name of "eliminating discrimination"? □

# Why Debt Matters

by Leland B. Yeager

In the November *Liberty*, Stephen Slivinski argued that public debt doesn't matter. But it does.

Stephen Slivinski argued in the November *Liberty* for using the U.S. budget surplus to cut taxes instead of paying down debt. He contaminates his economics, however, with notions of political tactics. He has spared the rest of us the chore of reading Al Gore's 191 pages of policy proposals. We now know, in case we ever doubted, that Gore wants ever more government spending and intervention; even his tax cuts would be "targeted" for approved activities.

Slivinski expects tax cuts to restrain government spending. But debt reduction, if stuck to, would also withhold funds from government programs. The size of government is a more basic issue than the details of finance. The amount of resources that the government preempts is more important than the particular method of withdrawing resources from private uses.

Policy judgments depend partly on concrete facts. How sensitively do work, risk-bearing, enterprise, and tax avoidance respond to tax rates? Where are rates of particular taxes and rates in particular income brackets on their respective Laffer curves? If cutting a high rate would sooner or later actually increase revenue, even the prospects of repaying debt would improve. Also cutting rates that were already below their revenue-maximizing levels is desirable, to let people use their own money for their own purposes, especially if they would get great satisfaction from doing so. Another factual question is how sensitively government borrowing has been crowding out private activity, especially business investment. It seems plausible to suppose (but this is another factual issue) that government borrowing crowds out productive investment more and consumption less than do income and excise taxes. If the financial and real resources freed by debt repayment would go heavily into productive investment, promoting growth and higher real incomes, then that prospect, combined with plausible value judgments, would count toward debt repayment.

Unfortunately, factual questions like these are hard to answer; basic economic principles alone do not settle them.

Some of Slivinski's economics is defective. On the issue of

whether repaying debt will tend to reduce interest rates, he cites a "rise" in yields on Treasury securities after passage of the 1993 deficit-reduction package. But selected episodes prove nothing. All sorts of influences are always impinging on interest rates, as on other prices. Changes in the U.S. government budget have only slight influence relative to the vast amount of waiting that is always going on anyway. ("Waiting" is what interest rates, broadly interpreted, are the price of. It is the tying up of wealth in securities or other assets, which means postponement of using resources or wealth for one's own consumption or other immediate purposes and freeing those resources for other purposes, including real capital formation.) Furthermore, the market for waiting — loosely, the capital market — is worldwide. Even apart from some U.S. government debt going into foreign hands, government borrowing, including borrowing merely to roll over existing debt, tends to shift some private borrowing and other raising of investment funds from domestic to foreign sources. Growing foreign holdings of dollar claims constitute material to be dumped by their holders in the event of some future loss of confidence in dollar securities or in the value of the dollar itself. Even American holders of dollar claims could feed a panic by trying to dump them. I am not making a prediction but simply warning against complacency.

The projections of budget surpluses being bandied about are undependable. Who knows what government finance will look like ten years or even only two years from now? Remember how recently the conventional worry was "deficits" as far as the eye could see?

Even conceptually, the surplus is dubious. Gross federal debt has been continuing to rise even as debt held by the public shrinks. The budget surplus commonly cited now corre-

sponds roughly to the excess of payroll tax receipts over Social-Security payments. This excess is only a temporarily positive cash flow; and it is already spoken for, appearing in the Social-Security trust fund as special government bonds. One pocket of the government is building up debt to another pocket (and the supposed interest payments on this debt are likewise mere bookkeeping transfers). Even this trust fund (a "phony" one, as Slivinski says) is projected to run out around 2037 and to peak and begin shrinking sooner, around 2015. Already then, when payroll tax revenues begin to fall short of Social-Security benefits, the government will have to meet the deficiency somehow. Bookkeeping transfers from pocket to pocket will not do the trick. The government will have to raise taxes, cut spending, or sell bonds to the public. One way to prepare for this future increase in publicly held debt, if one is serious about "protecting Social-Security," is to reduce debt now.

Slivinski implies that the debt is no cause for concern at its current size. Why, then, should we worry about its growing a bit larger and in time perhaps a lot larger? Why worry about a return to deficit spending? Admittedly, this rhetorical question may express less economic analysis than a vaguely Calvinistic mind set, a vague notion that people, even people acting collectively through their government, should pay for the benefits they receive. Moral notions may contain wisdom, like disbelief in free lunches, even if not explicitly articulated.

But let us take the question seriously. If we can enjoy government benefits without fully paying for them in taxes — if we can repeatedly roll over a growing debt without ever actually repaying it — why not? This painless enjoyment seems especially tempting because we can borrow collectively, through the government, at lower interest rates than we would have to pay individually.

On the other hand, these low rates are deceptive. Government bonds possess high liquidity (ready salability in an active market); in this respect they to some extent give their holders the kind of options afforded by holding cash; and issuing government bonds resembles issuing money. A related reason why the U.S. government can borrow cheaply is that its debt is free of default risk. The government can count on borrowing from Peter to pay Paul. Furthermore, it has the power to tax and the power to print money. Instead of ever defaulting outright, the government can in a worst case inflate its debt away. This danger does not force the government to pay an interest premium relative to private borrowers because holders of private debt would lose equally from inflation. Paradoxically, the power to inflate increases the government's advantage in the capital markets. Its advantage does not mean that slighter risks attach to government projects and programs than to private activities. As Roger Garrison argues, borrowing collectively doesn't actually eliminate risks but tends instead to "externalize" or collectivize them. As Francisco Capella says in a Spanish-language essay distributed on the Internet this October, "The Public Treasury competes unfairly with enterprises that seek financing, making it difficult for truly productive persons to obtain credit. The authentic investors are private parties who assume risks and put their wealth at the disposal of entrepreneurs who undertake authentically beneficial activities in a free market. An entrepreneur who seeks a loan needs a reputation for effectiveness which the State does not require, since it counts on armed force, the monopoly of fraudulent issue of money,

and the Official Bulletin." And this unfair competition keeps occurring when the government borrows to roll over its debt, not just when it goes deeper into debt.

If its low borrowing cost were a genuine and not a spurious advantage, why shouldn't the government pass this advantage on to the public by borrowing on a massive scale

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*Even conceptually, the surplus is dubious. Gross federal debt has been continuing to rise even as debt held by the public shrinks. The budget surplus commonly cited now corresponds roughly to the excess of payroll tax receipts over social-security payments.*

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and relending the funds at only a slight markup? Answers to this question are available even if its premise were correct, as of course it is not.

The apparent cheapness and even painlessness of borrowing to cover government deficits implies relative ease in wresting real resources out of private use. They make government programs seem cheaper than they actually are in terms of productive private alternatives crowded out and so make the government larger and more intrusive than it would be if the politicians had to undertake accurate cost-benefit calculations. Likewise problematical is the apparent cheapness and painlessness even of just rolling over rather than repaying the debt accumulated from earlier deficits.

One still might insist on a difference between rolling over existing debt and going more deeply into debt. Mistakes, if such they were, as well as any government growth promoted by deceptively easy finance, are bygones. Why try to atone for past sins through financial masochism now? Such thinking, however, is inexact. The debt absorbs waiting in a continuing process, not just once and for all when being originally incurred. Even in rolling over existing debt, the government currently and repeatedly preempts waiting, a productive resource.

I could argue that government debt, by sidetracking waiting away from productive investment, is victimizing future generations. The standard reply — "What have future generations ever done for us?" — expresses a value judgment rather than an economic analysis.

The standard and respectable argument for incurring debt recommends smoothing tax revenues over time, rather than making them match government spending even in the short run, whenever war (or, less plausibly, unusually good opportunities for government investment) brings a spurt in spending or whenever revenues shrink in a depression. But this idea of smoothing implies letting revenues exceed expenditures at other times. The same idea of smoothing also argues against paying off accumulated debt too fast — against too concentrated and painful an increase in tax collections or cut-back in government services. But it does not argue against making a start on repayment. On the contrary, the standard argument for smoothing does imply reversing accumulations of debt.

*continued on page 50*

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## Short Story

# Contraband

*by Miles Fowler*

*Remember why  
we have laws  
requiring seat-  
belts, helmets  
and speed  
limits?  
Imagine living  
in a world  
where the ratio-  
nale of those  
laws is carried  
to its logical  
conclusion.*

Through the pocket of his leather jacket Adams felt again for the grip of the semi-automatic pistol in his belt. The Public Safety agent was late. Adams hated when people were late for meetings. It made him think about what could go wrong. That was what he always did when he had nothing else to do. Hell, he worried even when he did have other things to do. He had an ulcer to prove it.

He looked at his watch. It was one of the better watches made in this country, yet he couldn't be sure that it hadn't lost time. He glanced at Yeager who stood by in a gray wool coat, wearing earmuffs under a battered felt hat, his breath visibly condensing in the air. Yeager had a pistol under his coat, too. He was surveying the end of the warehouse where they expected Lund to appear at any moment, but as soon as Adams looked his way, Yeager met his gaze expectantly. Adams shook his head and continued pacing and worrying.

He would have thought that keeping his business simple would keep his problems manageable too, but it had not worked out that way. Adams sold one product in one section of town. When he started 20 years ago, he knew most of his customers by sight and many by name.

When they first put a quota on the imports, the price of his product went up \$20 a unit. That was when he began smuggling the stuff from Canada. Then it increased by \$50 after they outlawed imports altogether. That had been great for business as far as Adams was concerned, but it was also when the competition began to toughen.

Other smugglers were more ambitious and less concerned with the well-being and tastes of their customers. Adams's product had remained relatively high in quality, and his customer base had been limited to the east side of town. But the more ambitious traffickers always wanted to move into his territory. Raw muscle soon had to be replaced by guns to keep them out. Then there were the Public Safety agents he had to bribe.

Of course, the banning of most products really started 30 years ago with the rise to national prominence of the Public Safety Party, nicknamed the "Safetarians" because they based their policies on safety, except for those belonging to the police, who were re-dubbed "Public Safety Agents." Most foods, drugs, electronic products and chemicals either were or could be dangerous, so the newly elected Safetarian attorney generals — at both state and federal levels — sued manufacturers into bankruptcy or submission. Sport utility vehicles were unsafe, so they were banned. All cars were unsafe, really, so they eventually banned them too. By making safety the be-all and end-all of legislation, without regard to any other value, the only way to achieve absolute safety was to make everyone stay home. In fact, since the latest Public Safety campaign slogan was "Ninety percent of accidents happen at home," nobody was supposed to get out of bed without permission from the National Accident Numeration, Neutralization, Indemnification and Education System. Adams could think of a dozen NANNIES laws he was violating by just pacing.

Of course, people had to make a living and they had to buy food, clothing and household supplies. Most people now were forced to work at home, usually doing piecework under electronic supervision by NANNIES. Certainly there were legal ways to get supplies, but all such supplies were manufactured and delivered by NANNIES or companies that NANNIES approved and had not sued out of existence. Approved manufacturers made the cheapest products possible and spent most of their budgets on campaign contributions to Safetarian party delegates and TV public relations campaigns that were designed more to appeal to NANNIES members than to customers.

This was where people like Adams came in. Selling better than average supplies at higher

than average prices was profitable. It meant life in prison if you were caught buying (or, for that matter, selling) but most people were willing to buy, and many were willing to sell.

The catch was that you could not operate for as long as Adams had unless you paid the police, the prosecutors and, sometimes, even the judges. Adams once tried running his own security and then had hired Yeager to do it. But it soon became obvious that the most cost effective way of maintaining security was paying the police to do it. Even after bribing everyone who needed to be bribed, a small-time operator like Adams could still make a nice profit. Some years he had made a 1000 percent profit. If you had enough ambition and were willing to deal anything, 2000 percent was possible. Adams

*"Funny place for a meeting," Lund said, sniffing with his bulbous nose. "Smells rotten. Well, good. Clearly no one comes around here. We'll have our privacy, won't we?"*

was satisfied where he was in the game, though he would have been happier if the bribe-takers didn't always want more, and competitors like Kinney were not always trying to force their way into his territory.

There was a creaking and then a metallic shudder at one end of the warehouse. Adams looked up just in time to see the public safety agent come in the side entrance. Cold pungent air swept in behind him and quickly reached Adams and Yeager. The stout little man wore an oversized brown raincoat and looked even smaller than his five-and-one-half feet in the cavernous warehouse.

Agent Lund looked casually from side to side as he ambled down the length of the building, past the long, high metal shelves loaded with various size crates. Some were marked as fruit, but most were unmarked. Lund smiled when he saw Adams and Yeager.

"Funny place for a meeting," Lund said, sniffing with his bulbous nose. "Smells rotten. Well, good. Clearly no one comes around here. We'll have our privacy, won't we?"

"You're late," said Adams, stepping forward. He put no edge on his voice but made his observation bluntly.

Lund raised his chin toward Adams. "So, it's that way, is it? Very well, then. What did you want to meet me about?"

"I think you know," said Adams evenly.

"Mmm. The arrest of your man — what is his name?"

"Brock."

"Yes, Brock. That was unfortunate, but I believe he is being released even as we speak."

"Released on bail, yes," said Adams, tightening his mouth as he spoke. "I know because my money paid for his bail."

"Oh, so? I had no idea," said Lund, raising one brow over a wide-open eye. The other eye nearly squinted. Adams sighed and looked away. He clenched his teeth before he spoke again.

"Very well, Lund. What is it you want? More money? Liquor? Women? Boys? What do I need to provide for you in order to get adequate protection?"

Lund stuck out his lower lip as if his flabby, lineless face

was that of a man whose feelings could be hurt. "Brock's arrest was not my doing. There are public safety agents everywhere, you know. I am hardly the only one, and I cannot keep track of every one of my colleagues."

"Do you need more money to pay off the bugger who arrested Brock?"

Lund raised both eyebrows this time but only said "Not all public safety agents are interested in the finer things in life. They're not like you and I. Some are motivated by a sense of duty."

"Hah!" For the brief duration of Adams's perfunctory laugh, his face hardly lost its countenance of sadness and anger barely held in check. He reached into his coat and produced a rough, brown envelope. "Will two thousand do?"

"Very likely, it will," said Lund, taking the envelope and putting it into a deep pocket of his grimy raincoat.

"Kinney never has this kind of trouble," Adams observed. "Not in ages, anyway. Your colleagues leave him alone."

"Well, now." Lund pretended to consider this. "You know Kinney is not in the same business as you."

"Yes, he is. Only he is in every other business as well. Why, his people even try to intimidate my salesmen in my own territory."

"Intimidate you!" said Lund. "That is a joke. It will be a warm January on Lake Erie before anyone intimidates a tough character like you."

"I had to get tough with one or two of his people," Adams admitted. "Kinney won't give up so easily, but that's my headache. What I want to know from you is, will two thousand a week be enough to keep your colleague happy?"

"Mmm. I think that Agent Balint will find that generous."

"I'd think so. Now, what will it cost to make the charges against Brock go away completely?"

"It is impossible for me to speak for the state prosecutor," said Lund.

"Nothing is impossible for a man of your position and character."

"I did not know that you admire my character." Lund eyed him up and down. "Am I to feel flattered?"

"I use the term neutrally."

"Oh." Lund looked hurt. "Well, I suppose my brother-in-law does have some influence with the prosecutor."

Adams gave another reflexive laugh. He was in no mood for jokes, but Lund's brother-in-law was a well-known stud who had been bringing the state prosecutor to loud orgasms for the past six months. Even fools who did not actually know this at least suspected it.

"Naturally," said Lund, "there will have to be something in it for my brother-in-law — and the prosecutor."

"Damn you all!" Adams blurted, no longer able to contain his frustration. "Do I need to support the police, the prosecutors and the judges, too?"

"Could you?" Lund asked. "After all, a public servant's salary is less than commensurate with the degree of sacrifice required by the people."

Adams rolled his eyes. "Hey, I'm not made of money. I only distribute one product in one neighborhood."

"An illicit product — without a federal license," Lund reminded him.

"Kinney has more money than I do. Ask him to support all of you."

"That is an interesting thought."



"Look," Adams said, drawing two brown envelopes from an inside pocket and offering them to Lund. "Here's five for your brother-in-law and eight for the prosecutor. She'd better drop the charges against Brock."

"That is not as much as they might like," said Lund thoughtfully. "But I think they will be satisfied. Is there something else?"

"No. I would just like to get back to running my business."

"O-ho!" It was Lund's turn to laugh perfunctorily. "I am sure you would, but what I meant was, do you have something else for me?"

"How could I forget?" Adams slapped another brown envelope across Lund's palm. The public safety agent deposited all three envelopes into the deep pockets of his raincoat. Adams turned and walked toward the door opposite the one Lund had used for his entrance. Yeager followed him but walked backwards so as to keep one eye on Lund and also scan the rows of shelves, the rafters above, and the windows and skylights that let diffused gray light in from the cloudy sky.

"By the way," said Lund to Adams's receding back. "Is this your warehouse?"

Without turning, Adams sniggered and said, "No, it's yours, in a manner of speaking."

"How so?"

"It belongs to the Ministry of Agriculture."

"Ah, then it belongs to all of the people," said Lund, his curiosity sated. He, too, turned and went back the way he had come, past the rows of shelves.

"To the people," Adams called out wearily but without bitterness. "To the minister. To his minions. To no one." With his back turned, Adams did not see Lund step behind a metal shelf laden with crates of potatoes. The warehouse was dark enough that Yeager had to squint and blink to see Lund's deft little sidestep.

When Adams opened the door, light poured in from outside, surrounding him in a dim spotlight, with a palpable dustiness swirling around it. An instant later, Adams felt three — no, four — little fists punch his chest. By the time he heard the thunder of automatic fire, he was aware that he couldn't breathe. Pain was creeping through his chest and he felt cold.

He turned right and saw his man, Yeager, already lying face-down on the floor of the warehouse, the fabric of his black coat ragged with dark red holes. Adams's mind was unclear, but he put his hand under his coat and felt the grip of his pistol again. Another fist punched through the side of his neck, and he fell into the widening pool of Yeager's blood.

After what seemed an eternity, Lund came out of hiding. The warehouse smelled even mustier. He walked cautiously toward the two bodies at the far end of the building, keeping close to the shelves in case he had to take cover again.

"Don't shoot!" he said when a lithe figure holding a dull black machine pistol abruptly appeared in the lighted square of the open doorway. "It's Lund. Lund of Public Safety."

The gunman in the doorway assumed an alert crouch but kept the muzzle up slightly. He looked at Lund with youthful but impassive eyes. Lund's nose now detected burnt gunpowder and warm blood mixing with the stale, rotting odors of the crates of vegetables and fruit. Behind the gunman a tall figure appeared, standing straight and looking relaxed in contrast to the tense shooter. He wore a fine, chocolate-colored wool overcoat, a shiny black fur cap and a greenish plaid scarf

around his neck. Only Safetarian delegates dress like that, Lund thought. Delegates. Or, maybe, the most successful traffickers.

The newcomer took a step inside the doorway and stopped abruptly, seeming almost surprised to find two bloody piles at his feet. Then he looked up at Lund. A faint smile played on his lips.

"Lund," he said. "Not hurt, I hope."

"No thanks to you, Kinney," said Lund. "You were supposed to wait until they were outside before opening fire."

Kinney pursed his lips. "Oh, but can you blame Martin here for his eagerness to please me? Once they got out the door, you see, they might have taken cover behind the trash piles. Then we would have had a harder time picking them off." Kinney looked around them. "Someone at the Ministry of Agriculture should really clean up this place." He lifted his nose and sniffed. "Stinks inside more than out."

"So you know this warehouse belongs to the Minister," said Lund, "and you made this mess anyway."

"It belongs to the minister?" said Kinney. "I thought it belongs to the people."

Lund scowled. "How did you hear our conversation from out there?"

"What conversation? I didn't need to listen in on your conversation. I assumed you would say what you had to say and not let Adams leave until he gave you what you needed."

The young gunman suddenly stepped outside and disappeared. Three shabbily dressed men whose heavy jackets covered thick, muscular bodies came in. The largest of the three, working alone, wrapped Adams in a blanket and took him away while the other two teamed to pick up Yeager's remains. The oldest of the three, a man with a face covered in white

*"Damn you all!" Adams blurted, no longer able to contain his frustration. "Do I need to support the police, the prosecutors and the judges, too?"*

stubble and gray hair protruding from under his dingy fur cap, shortly came back in carrying a bucket of soapy water and a mop. He made short work of the blood pool, and then left Kinney and Lund in private.

"And Brock?" asked Kinney.

"He won't bother you," said Lund. "His bail was denied. Selling contraband is a serious crime in this country."

"This must be yours," said Kinney crossing the safety agent's palm with another envelope. "I expect we will have a long and mutually profitable association."

"We should," said Lund, "now that you run Adams's territory."

"Yes," said Kinney, looking down at the floor where there had been a pool of blood only a moment ago. Lund, too, studied the wide area marked by a thin film of water. It was most conspicuous because the rest of the place was so filthy. Then Kinney continued, "Who would have thought that persuading Adams to give up selling toilet paper would have been so much trouble? But it is so lucrative." □

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### "Debt Matters," from page 46

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The thought that the debt doesn't much matter may be used, as Slivinski uses it, to argue for limiting government by way of tax cuts. But earmarking tax revenues for debt repayment can itself be a restraint on the size of government. Furthermore, complacency about existing debt may breed complacency about a growing debt. If the government has such an apparently painless way of financing its programs — if the full opportunity costs of government programs may be so readily overlooked — why not have more and bigger programs? Some Calvinism may be a prophylactic against such a drift into bigger and bigger government. Such philosophical considerations find no answer in Slivinski's sneers at "a shockingly widespread phobia of the national debt" and its political use as a "bogyman."

Slivinski concludes that surpluses can be bad because they tempt politicians into greater spending, while debt reduction provides an excuse for retaining the high taxes that yield the tempting surpluses. Maybe so, but this is a political and even a psychological consideration, while, on the other hand, a "phobia" about debt may itself help contain spending. Anyway, one shouldn't confuse political considerations with economic analysis, and one shouldn't disparage moral considerations. Morality does have a proper role in policymaking, along with political philosophy, which is a branch of applied morality.

Nothing said here implies liking high taxes. Reasons exist for easing tax burdens, perhaps especially on saving and productive investment. But the hidden costs of debt finance should also be recognized. □

*The author wished to thank Roger Garrison and Luis García Dopic*

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### "Left-Brained Politics," from page 34

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the political marketplace, the LP should "sell" the people a better product — better methods of solving — what the people perceive as problems.

Legitimate political opposition is one thing. You can appreciate the Democrats' passionate sincerity, even as you deride their problem-solving approach. But the LP's relationship with the Republican Party is something else entirely. The leaders of the GOP know they must never, and cannot ever, allow the Libertarian Party to begin to thrive. If that happens — if a genuine libertarian message starts to get out — the fragile and bizarre coalition that the GOP relies upon will shatter and they will be left as a marginalized force, representing only religious fundamentalists and plutocrats.

The Republican Party is not a legitimate opponent of the LP. The flaccid elephant squats across a vast expanse of political landscape, combining groups that have no logical business together, keeping millions of basically libertarian voters casting GOP ballots as a "lesser of evils"; buying them off with a little pseudo-libertarian rhetoric that the likes of Newt Gingrich never had any intention of acting upon. Libertarians have to kill off this awful creature — or at least make it move out of the light where they need to stand. Only then can the LP engage in open debate with the other party that sincerely wants a better future for our children.

Sure, disagree with democrats over how to get there. Still, as adults we can admit they are responsible for many efforts in this century that have done some good. Inefficient good,

but good nonetheless. In contrast, name one truly major positive thing the GOP has done since Teddy Roosevelt.

I dream of a time when Democrats and Libertarians will square off in open and honest debate, comparing the biceps of society's left and right arms. At which point, libertarianism will win enough victories to show what the right hand can really do. But, for that to happen, the undead elephant has simply gotta go.

Vote for Al Gore? No, I'm not asking you to do that, instead of voting for the LP's Browne. Though in fact, Gore's "reinventing government" campaign has resulted in significant trimmings of regulations, paperwork and federal manpower. And it's still a shame that no one gives them credit for the balanced budget, or deregulating more industries than the GOP ever proposed. Still, I won't ask you to vote for the party of the donkey. The cognitive dissonance would hurt too much. Your *corpus callosum* might frazzle!

But do try to recognize the difference between your legitimate (and sincere) political opponent, on the one hand, and the political enemy who lies incessantly in order to steal your place in the sun. The longer the GOP gets away with calling itself a "party of freedom and small government" the longer you will have to wait before libertarianism can stand up in the light and tell the people, "Hey, I've got a different kind of solution for what's bothering you. Come on over and try this out instead." □

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### "Autumn in Belgrade," from page 38

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Everyone thought that Monday or Tuesday all hell would let out as the government tried to overturn the election by force. But most people were pretty optimistic. I sat in a sidewalk café on Knez Mihailova until late at night watching the people pass by, upbeat and happy with not a single soldier in sight and very few city police. In fact, there seemed to be no military or police on the streets at all. People seemed a bit surprised at that.

The next night at the Institute for Foreign Languages, where I had worked in '97, they locked the doors after work, opened many bottles of Champagne and celebrated the victory of the opposition until the early morning hours.

On Tuesday evening, I had to leave because I was out of cash. But I've kept in close touch with my Serb friends and have watched what happened on the news like everybody else. My friends were at first sure that Sloba wouldn't leave quietly, but he apparently has. Some news sources have pointed out that he may be trying to position himself for the job of Prime Minister of Serbia, a post actually more powerful than President of the Federation. One friend pointed out that the really important elections are for the Republic level of government next year.

A message I received a few days later told me that I missed a historical moment. The storming of parliament, police defecting to the opposition and the army staying in their barracks. Free at last! My correspondent could hardly contain her joy.

I told her to expect a terrible depression later, just as in Poland and other countries after the fall of communism. After an initial period of euphoria there was a reaction as people looked around and exclaimed, "My God, look at the mess we've got to clean up!" □

# Reviews

*An Enemy of the State: The Life of Murray N. Rothbard*, by Justin Raimondo. Prometheus Books, 2000, 400 pages.

## The Strange Life of Murray Rothbard

David Ramsay Steele

Murray Rothbard was a powerful and lovable character. Those who knew him can still fondly recall his indignant squeal of "Monstrous!", a characteristic response to the latest outrage, often a deviation from the Rothbardian ideological line du jour. Murray was a knowledgeable propagandist and stimulating essayist who offered libertarians an alternative to the Death Star of the Rand cult and thus played a pivotal role in shaping the reborn libertarian movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Justin Raimondo warns us that *An Enemy of the State* is not intended as a "full-scale biography" but rather as "little more than an extended biographical sketch" (19). It's a fragmentary and partial depiction of a remarkable person. More memoirs and sketches will follow from other hands, and no doubt many of them will contain correctives to Raimondo's account.

Born in the Bronx in 1926, Murray Newton Rothbard emerged from a leftist milieu to become a strong conservative at a young age. As a scholar, he tried to develop an integral system of thought uniting ethics, economics, and political philosophy. As an activist he was not a founder or organizer — his wife is quoted as saying that "Murray couldn't organize his way out of a paper bag" (139). But he was a joiner of

organizations, a former of factions and coalitions, and an inter-organizational intriguer.

Murray fancifully saw himself as something of a libertarian Lenin. While his dogmatic invective and propensity to conspire may sometimes have seemed reminiscent of the founder of Bolshevism, Rothbard was too playful, too volatile, and too much smitten by the allure of pure ideas to build or to lead a vanguard party.

His political life became an erratic succession of alliances, each one enthusiastically pursued for a few years, then angrily abandoned, with his erstwhile confederates anathematized, though unlike Rand he would sometimes team up with them again later, old differences forgiven if not forgotten.

Murray was allied with the Maoist group Progressive Labor in a struggle against the Independent Socialist Clubs for control of the Peace and Freedom Party. He joined the Libertarian Party, won battles within it, then (having reduced its effectiveness) tired of it and left in disappointment. He helped found the Cato Institute, which he named, and then bitterly broke with Cato. In his final years he severed connections with all libertarian enterprises, including *Liberty*, to join the "paleos," rooting for Patrick Buchanan, then for Ross Perot, then (flipping again just before the 1992 election, a fact not included by

Raimondo), for George Bush.

In the 1950s Rothbard had his own New York libertarian group, which for a while interacted with Rand's. Rothbard and Rand influenced each other before the unpleasant falling-out which was de rigueur with Rand and not at all rare with Rothbard. But Raimondo does not give us much information about these mutual influences and what he gives us is not reliable. Throughout his book, Raimondo often won't tell us what we want to know, and just as often tells us what we know ain't so. The very existence of *Liberty*, let alone Rothbard's involvement with it, has been dumped into Raimondo's Memory Hole; Raimondo doesn't seem to have consulted Rothbard's 5,000-word account of his relationship with Rand, for instance (*Liberty*, September 1989).

Raimondo makes the startling claim that Ayn Rand was a determinist and an opponent of free will until she was argued out of that position by Rothbard around 1954. In Raimondo's account, Rand held, until "at least 1954," that anyone who believed in free will was "insane."

But in her journals, Rand takes a clear stand in favor of free will, the earliest explicit argument being dated May 9, 1934 (*Journals of Ayn Rand*, ed. David Harriman, 1999 [1997], 68–69). Other committal remarks on free will and determinism are from May 15th and August 18th of the same year (69–71, 245), October 25, 1944 (265), July 23, 1945 (296), and March 8, 1947 (555). These Journals have been criticized for selective and inept editing, especially for the suppression of statements embarrassing to the present-day Objectivist church, but I hardly think that entire pages-long passages were fabricated and inserted by the editor.

For Raimondo to be correct, Rand must have first adopted a clearly thought-out free-will position, maintained this for some years if not decades, then for a few years abandoned

it, then reverted to it under Rothbard's influence (persuaded by arguments no better than she had herself propounded in her earlier pro-free-will days). This seems unlikely. On the other hand, Raimondo quotes (114) from a Rothbard letter of August 1954, which appears to show that at this time, fresh from a discussion with Rand, Rothbard was convinced that she did reject free will. All I can guess is that Rothbard misunderstood something Rand had said in her thick

Russian accent.

Raimondo's cavalier treatment of this factual question casts doubt on many other factual claims on which I have no independent information. On a related matter, how seriously can we take the claim that Herbert Cornuelle convinced Rand to oppose eminent domain, which she had till then supported on the ground that it was in the Constitution? This "revelation" is also sourced to a recollection of Rothbard's (133).

Raimondo confirms that Rothbard became for a while virtually a member of the Rand cult, and reports that Rand introduced Rothbard to the philosophy of natural rights. Rothbard told Rand: "You introduced me to the whole field of natural rights and natural law philosophy, which I did not know existed . . ." (133). Since Rothbard was a participant in Mises' seminar and held a doctorate in American history, this statement is remarkable, yet it is by no means incredible.

## Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Rothbard

When Murray Rothbard died suddenly in January, 1995, his friend Robert Kephart wished that he would be judged solely by his vast oeuvre in economics, history and political theory, not the "peccadilloes, the personal feuds, the strategic misjudgments he may have made."

I felt the same way. Over the 20 years I came to know Murray Rothbard, I learned that there were two Rothbards, a sort of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. The first Rothbard was the professional economist, the perspicacious scholar and persuasive writer; the second was the ideologue, the acerbic activist who frequently engaged in ad hominem attacks and political intrigue. Like many colleagues, I wanted to honor the first Rothbard and forget the second.

I was introduced to Rothbard by reading his little essay, "The Great Society: A Libertarian Critique." Rothbard elucidated Franz Oppenheimer's distinction between "the economic means" of creating wealth through commercial exchange and "the political means" of taxation and war. Political theory was never the same for me.

Then I read the Rothbard pamphlet, *What Has the Government Done to Our Money?* and experienced a second epiphany. Finally I understood the mystery of money and central banking. After reading Rothbard, money and banking were never the same for me.

I read his *Man, Economy and State*, a tour de force in micro- and macroeconomics. His analysis of the national

debt is alone worth the price of the book. After reading Rothbard, economic theory was never the same for me.

It wasn't long before I was reading everything Rothbard had written. He opened my eyes like no other. I concluded that Rothbard was the most exciting economic thinker I had ever encountered, equalling or surpassing Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and Milton Friedman.

Sadly, all this glowing admiration gradually diminished after I met the man and discovered the second Rothbard. "Never meet the author" is an adage that proves all too often to be good advice. Rothbard could be a loveable happy-go-lucky companion, but put a pen in his hand and it could spout poison. If you crossed him, he could become incredibly cantankerous, divisive, and insulting. He was a Leninist who often disfellowed — and even excommunicated — his friends and disciples. I know about this, from personal experience: it happened to me in editing *Dissent on Keynes*.

Justin Raimondo wrote about the second Rothbard, not the first. I suppose this is because Raimondo is an ideologist, not an economist. So far as I know, he did not contact a single economist in writing a biography of an economist. His book is long on Murray's factious in-fighting and short on his scholarly contributions.

What Raimondo does is describe Rothbard's political wars, never failing to advocate Murray's side in every dispute. Sometimes Raimondo's accounts

of the internal battles leave your head swimming. His account of Rothbard's "factional brawls" with William F. Buckley Jr., Ayn Rand, Ed Crane, and a host of others are entertaining, but after a while you get tired of all the political mumbo jumbo — Old Right, right-wing, liberal, ex-rightist libertarians, conservative Keynesian, and paleolibertarians. To use one of Murray's favorite phrases, who gives a crap?

Oddly enough, even though Raimondo pays hardly any attention to Rothbard's economics, history or political theories, he concludes with a lengthy chapter about Rothbard's two-volume "Austrian" history of economic thought, a perfect example of the

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*"Never meet the author" is an adage that proves all too often to be good advice.*

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dichotomy between the first and second Rothbards. In this two-volume set, he fails to footnote numerous quotations, an error no serious scholar would commit. And he completely misconceives the grandeur of Adam Smith's contribution to modern economics.

In 1980, I commissioned Rothbard to write his history of economics. He promised to work full-time on this project and finish it in a year's time, and I paid him a handsome advance. He expanded his planned history to four volumes, but when he died 15 years

After reading *Atlas Shrugged* in October 1957, Rothbard wrote a letter of drooling admiration to Rand, saying that "*Atlas Shrugged* is the greatest novel ever written" (118), a judgment that could only be passed by someone who usually took no interest in novels. Rothbard confessed to Rand that "when, in the past, I heard your disciples refer to you . . . as one of the greatest geniuses who ever lived" he had thought this to be "the outpouring of a mystic cult. But, now, upon reading

*Atlas Shrugged*, I find I was wrong" (121).

To the alert Objectivist, Rothbard's insolent suggestion that Rand was merely "one of" the greatest geniuses must have already betrayed the corruption in his soul. Within six months Rothbard decided he had been right the first time: his later article "The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult" is one of his most entertaining pieces.

Raimondo explains Rothbard's brief infatuation with Rand the super-genius as a response to the situation of libertarian isolation. "In 1957, the few libertarian remnants of the Old Right had almost entirely faded away. Here, at last, were reinforcements: just when it seemed all was lost, the cavalry was coming over the hill" (121-22). This is a common depiction of the situation in the 1950s; it overstates the case by focussing on visible organizations at the expense of less conspicuous developments in opinion. *The Road to Serfdom* was published in 1944 and was immensely influential, both immediately and over the years. At Hayek's instigation, the Mont Pelerin Society was founded shortly afterwards. Already by the 1950s, Milton Friedman was an extremely effective propagandist for libertarian ideas, and in the 1960s Friedman was to become more effective than Rand or Rothbard would ever be.

Raimondo recounts once again some of the hilarious stories we have heard many times. Nathaniel and Barbara Branden, the second greatest philosopher since Aristotle and the most beautiful woman in the world, were (until they fell out with Rand in 1968) the Rand cult's high priests and enforcers. The "psychologist" Nathaniel was also therapist for most cult members, including Rothbard. "Dr." Branden proved unable to do anything for Rothbard's emotional problem (what Raimondo calls his "travel phobia"), and decided that the only hope for a "cure" lay in Rothbard's giving up all his Christian friends and converting his Christian wife, Joey, to atheism.

At one of the Rothbards' last meetings with Rand, Joey Rothbard was asked to read through some arguments for atheism, with the understanding that, if she were unconvinced,

Rothbard would be obliged to divorce her or forfeit any claim to rationality. The equally risible circumstances of Rothbard's departure from the cult are also related, with Rothbard accused of plagiarizing from Rand and from Barbara Branden by repeating ideas which had, in fact, been commonplace for decades.

Barbara Branden has stated that Rothbard was in basic agreement with Rand's ideas, and Raimondo com-

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*Murray fancifully saw himself as something of a libertarian Lenin.*

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later, he had completed only half the work. Why didn't he finish it? Because he was chasing two hares, turning his avocation of politics into a vocation of diatribes, growing "more radical" with age.

The loose cannon was getting looser. To say, as Raimondo does, that his involvement in libertarian politics "did not distract one iota from his intellectual energy" is plain nonsense.

It's interesting to compare Rothbard's career and influence with his free market contemporary, Milton Friedman. Both their parents were Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who came to New York, both were brilliant but poverty-stricken students, both did their dissertations in economics at Columbia University, and both made significant contributions in debunking bad economics and introducing sound economics to the world at large. And yet Rothbard was determined to be an outsider writing books for little-known libertarian publishers and teaching at an unknown engineering school, while Friedman took a position at the University of Chicago and wrote for scholarly journals. Friedman won virtually every professional award, culminating with the Nobel Prize, while Rothbard languished in obscurity. Today Friedman's influence is ten times Rothbard's. Hopefully, Rothbard's great contributions will rise to equal Friedman's in influence. Raimondo's book may be entertaining, but it won't help Rothbard's reputation or advance his thinking.

— Mark Skousen

ments that this "is true in the narrow sense that they both were advocates of individualism and laissez-faire capitalism" (134). But it is true in a broader sense as well: Rothbard followed Rand in appealing to a similar kind of "natural rights" argument for libertarian principles, and this was only the most prominent instance of a tendency to settle major issues by deduction from apodictic axioms.

Raimondo reproduces Rothbard's account (35) of how, having enrolled as a statistics major at Columbia, he experienced an "epiphany" during a lecture by Harold Hotelling, and walked out. Rothbard thought he had seen that statistics rests on one crucial assumption which was utterly groundless. The fatal flaw is reliance on the "bell curve" or normal distribution (36).

If the young Rothbard really had found something that refuted all statistical theory, this would be a momentous discovery, and a great consolation to tobacco producers. But, 60 years on, the edifice of statistics has not registered any tremors.

In the Rothbard-Raimondo account, statisticians accept the bell curve because of a single example, the distribution of hits around the bull's-eye on a target. In fact, statisticians don't view the bell curve as sacrosanct. Since a great many phenomena are, as a matter of fact, so close to normally distributed that the assumption of normal distribution will yield correct predictions, normal distribution can be

treated as an empirical generalization and a useful instrument.

Alternatively, normal distribution can be strictly derived by the Central Limit Theorem, which shows that where some variable is influenced by a large number of unrelated random variables, that variable will be normally distributed. This result holds subject to certain conditions, which are very widely, but not universally, encountered. Statisticians are open to the possibility of non-normal distributions where these conditions don't apply.

It doesn't seem likely that Rothbard successfully debunked all of statistics around 1942. However, this incident prefigures the Rothbard approach: treat all branches of human knowledge as resting on axioms, hastily dismiss the axioms of any disliked discipline, discount that discipline entirely, then move into the gaps so generated by establishing new disciplines based on more congenial axioms.

It's entirely typical of Rothbard's thinking that he would reject all of statistics because of some supposed fundamental conceptual flaw, then abandon his personal pursuit of statistical knowledge at an early stage, then develop his own praxeological approach to social

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*Raimondo's cavalier treatment of this factual question casts doubt on many other factual claims on which I have no independent information.*

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science in slap-happy fashion, without much scruple as to rigor.

Although Rothbard's criticisms of statistics and of mathematical methods in economics are wrong, his entire philosophical approach here is misguided. A science can make great progress without its conceptual foundations being correct or even free of absurdities. The conceptual foundations of arithmetic, for instance, are still controversial and still contain unresolved problems, but this does not mean that arithmetic ought to be disregarded. Typically, the conceptual foundations of a discipline only begin to be

investigated centuries after the discipline has been developed. "Foundations" is just a metaphor.

Rothbard's misguided views on methodology, insofar as they have influenced young free-market economists, have tended to wreck those economists' chances of contributing anything enduring to economics. These Rothbardian economists tend to apply the body of theory which is common to Misesians and mainstream neoclassicals, on such matters as price controls, while rejecting on a priori methodological grounds most of the new theory which comes along. The wonderful insights of such truly outstanding thinkers as Ronald Coase and Gary Becker are ignored or deprecated. Meanwhile, effective criticism of the real dangers arising from the excessive proliferation of mathematical apparatus is nullified by the dogmatic and indefensible refusal to admit any math at all into economics.

Rothbard saddled a large section of the libertarian movement with his version of Austrian trade cycle theory, including its horror of "bank credit expansion" and its hostility to all "fractional reserves." In the early 1970s I found that the Rothbardians I met, just like the Marxists I had known, were all looking forward to the next major slump.

Rothbard maintained that the West was wholly culpable, the Soviet Union wholly innocent, in responsibility for the Cold War. In Rothbard's view, as in Raimondo's, "there was no Russian 'threat'" (136).

The details of the West's response to the growth of the Soviet empire are open to argument. Western powers have admittedly committed crimes and blunders. But the West could not have avoided the Cold War except by unconditional surrender.

Trying to view Cold War history through Rothbardian eyes is a demanding exercise. In 1948 the West tricked the Communists into executing a coup in Czechoslovakia, innocently overthrowing a democratic regime and crushing all dissent. The Western powers followed this up with another devious stratagem in which they enticed the ingenuer Stalin into blockading West Berlin, and then, crazed with anti-Communist prejudice, kept West

Berlin alive by an airlift. In 1950 the West's satanic machinations sank to new depths when it manipulated North Korea into naively invading the South — and then lost its temper, employing crude military force to rebuff this gauche overture of the North Koreans. So it went on, down to the Russian war in Afghanistan, one sad episode after another where the Kremlin was hypnotized into plunging

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*Rothbard was not an outstanding thinker who pursued fringe politics as a hobby, but an outstanding influence in fringe politics who pursued intellectual system-building as a hobby.*

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its fragile and reluctant bayonet into the cynical bosoms of its neighbors.

Raimondo defends the Rothbardian position with the observation that since socialism doesn't work, it must eventually collapse. But surely it makes a difference whether this collapse occurs before, or after, Soviet socialism has subjugated the entire world. If the West had unilaterally disarmed and retreated at every step, as Rothbard urged, the evil empire would still be very much alive today, and would now encompass much of Latin America, much of Africa, most of South and Southeast Asia, and possibly even parts of Western Europe.

Raimondo still believes that Rothbard was "one of the greatest minds of this century" (237) and that his theoretical system is "the most important and interesting development in the modern history of ideas" (19). Perhaps to excuse Rothbard's wayward political trajectory, Raimondo concludes that Rothbard viewed politics as "a kind of hobby — a vacation from the complex problems of theory that occupied the center of his attention." (173).

Most of the book is written without any evaluation of Rothbard's conduct, therefore by omission leaving an impression of wholesale endorsement. Halfway through, I still thought that Raimondo was tacitly defending every-

thing that Rothbard had done, but in the second half this breaks down a little.

We are briefly notified of a doubtful pattern in Rothbard's behavior with respect to Karl Hess, and later Ed Crane (218). (Hess, the former Goldwater speechwriter turned guerrilla "enemy of the state," was an ally of Rothbard in the late 1960s; Crane, head of the Cato Institute, was allied with Rothbard in the 1970s.) A bit later Raimondo tells us: "In the case of Crane, as in others, idealization soon turned to demonization when Rothbard's great expectations were dashed on the rocks of reality" (236). Here we're somewhat softened up for Raimondo's account of his own breach

with Rothbard (over the attempted nomination of Earl Ravenal as Libertarian Party presidential candidate), where Rothbard evidently couldn't have been entirely in the right (245-47).

It would have made for a more interesting story if Raimondo had undertaken to explicitly evaluate the wisdom of Rothbard's ever-changing tactical postures. This might have given the book a structure and perspective it lacks. Contrary to Raimondo's view, agitprop was the historically significant side of Rothbard. Rothbard was not an outstanding thinker who pursued fringe politics as a hobby, but an outstanding influence in fringe politics who pursued intellectual system-building as a hobby. □

bility achieves widespread celebrity, critics will be more likely to consider the merits of that star. Even if critics snobbishly hold popular success against a star, they cannot help wondering whether the star is any good, preparing the way for reevaluation.

America is witnessing some disturbing trends in the production and consumption of fame. Professional wrestling programs are at the top of the television ratings charts. Biographies of people on the fringe of show business outsell biographies of groundbreaking scientists.

To gain notoriety, people are no longer just starting music bands and running away to Hollywood. They are now committing mass murders, unleashing destructive computer viruses, baring all on national television and showing footage of highly personal activities over the Internet. To connect with those who are famous, people are doing equally outrageous things. There are consistent reports of stars being stalked by fans, and recently one individual purchased a celebrity's half-eaten piece of French toast for \$1094.

But should entertainment markets be blamed for the debasement of entertainment or should the onus fall on individuals?

In *What Price Fame?*, Cowen leads readers to believe that markets should correct or at least not exacerbate the lack of individual tastes, values and judgment responsible for the separation of fame and merit. The role of markets, however, is to satisfy desires, not to parent against them. The market should not be expected to give people an appreciation for art or to compensate for people's desire to follow the crowd.

Cowen concludes that "most government fine tunings of the fame market are unlikely to succeed." The only way to improve the quality of entertainment in America is by fostering an appreciation of fine art, music and literature in children at an early age, and instilling in them the virtue of independent thought. America's government-subsidized schools fail horribly in both regards. Therefore, if there are policy measures that will help take fame away from those who are unworthy of it and give it to those who are, they

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*What Price Fame?*, by Tyler Cowen. Harvard University Press, 2000, 248 pages.

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## The Fame Game

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Charles Stampul

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Dana Carvey once observed that if an orange were featured regularly on television, it would eventually receive as much attention as a famous actor or musician. Few would argue that the most famous people are not also the most talented. The most gifted performers, however, are usually not the best known. The question Tyler Cowen attempts to answer in *What Price Fame?* is whether the qualities of those who are famous actually reflect the tastes and values of the public.

Commonly in a free market economy the best quality products become the best selling. But when it comes to songs, movies, television programs and other entertainment goods, there seems to be an inverse relationship between quality and mass appeal. Cowen doesn't challenge the obvious explanation that fame is separated from merit because the majority of consumers have poor tastes. Instead, he

shows that there is another factor at work.

People, especially teens and young adults, become fans of stars to be affiliated with a popular group or clique. Oftentimes they don't have an intrinsic interest in the entertainers they become fans of. Those with undeveloped tastes are particularly susceptible to becoming fans of celebrities they don't necessarily like.

Because people become fans of stars to be accepted by and recognized as part of a group and often have uncertain tastes, marketers of entertainment goods rarely focus on artistic virtues. Instead, they associate their products with appealing images.

Critics are supposed to cut through the hype and deception of advertising and promotion, but according to Cowen:

[They] cannot help noticing the commercial promotions that surround them. If a performer with some degree of intellectual plausi-

center around cutting into the state's monopoly on education.

Regrettably, *What Price Fame?* ignores this alternative. □

*The Stone Canal*, by Ken MacLeod. Tor, 1996, 304 pages.

## Parallel Life

Martin Morse Wooster

Although there are many freedom-minded science-fiction writers, "libertarian science fiction" is something that's largely been marginalized. Ask most fans what they think of libertarian s.f., and they tend to think of a didactic, humorless, leaden genre only enjoyed by readers who are already libertarians. Science fiction readers tend to be open to all sorts of wild ideas, but they don't like to read sermons.

But there's a relatively new, rising, Scottish libertarian s.f. writer who has been gaining praise from s.f. writers across the political spectrum. *The Stone Canal* has been given blurbs by both Kim Stanley Robinson (a left-wing ecological s.f. writer), and Vernor Vinge (a right-wing, libertarian, cyberhardhat writer). MacLeod's first two novels, *The Stone Canal* (which appeared in Britain in 1996) and *The Cassini Division* were both given Prometheus Awards from the Libertarian Futurist Society, and there are indeed plenty of in-jokes in *The Stone Canal* for the hardcore libertarian reader. For example, there are references to the Libertarian Alliance and FOREST, a British smokers' rights group that's filled with market-oriented types. There's even one oblique reference to Ludwig von Mises, as well as a minor character named Stigler. And MacLeod shows his familiarity with at least one libertarian classic, as the first part of *The Stone Canal* is called "The Machinery of Freedom."

But the reason why MacLeod has been receiving praise from all sorts of s.f. writers is that he fulfills the novelist's primary duty — to make sure the

reader is entertained. Anyone who likes s.f. novels with interesting political ideas, as well as plenty of kinky sex and violence, will find *The Stone Canal* well worth their time.

*The Stone Canal* is the story of Jon Wilde. It's always unfair to infer thoughts about an author's politics from his fiction, but as Wilde is a Scottish activist who, like MacLeod, was born in 1953, it's reasonable to suspect that much of the Wilde's political thought in *The Stone Canal* reflects MacLeod's thinking.

There are two parallel stories in *The Stone Canal*. One tale is of Jon Wilde's political evolution from 1975 until the beginning of the 21st century. The other story is set on New Mars in 2093 and also concerns a character named Jon Wilde, who may or may not be the same Jon Wilde.

Both stories in *The Stone Canal* are well told and interesting. The purely s.f. tale is an interesting exploration of what an anarchy might be like. As MacLeod explains, the Martian settlers decided that anarchy was the best way to organize society because:

[I]t's an anarchy by default.

There's no state because nobody can be bothered to set one up. Too much hassle, man. Keep your nose clean, don't stick your neck out, it's always been this way and nothing will never change, and anyway (and especially) *what will the neighbors think?* (They'll never stand for it, is what. It's against human nature.)

The New Mars plot centers around private police forces. Justice is determined by insurance policies, and everyone on Mars hires Invisible Hand Legal Services (and pays them in gold) whenever they've got a dispute to settle. A lesser libertarian writer would use this

premise to hammer home the lesson that freedom is good and government is bad. But MacLeod makes his points with a lighter, surer touch. For him, anarchy isn't just the law: it's a quirky backdrop for a colorful story.

The semi-autobiographical part of *The Stone Canal* is also worthwhile because it replicates experiences we've all had. As there are very few second-generation libertarians, most of us became libertarians in moving away from the left or the right.

In Wilde's case, it is a move away from his family of individualist socialists. His father is a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, an obscure, hard-left sect. But Wilde grows up with the individualist faction of socialism, the sort that treasures such freedom-minded writers as Max Stirner and Thomas Paine.

Wilde's intellectual evolution is interesting because it reminds us of our own. There are the long, beer-filled discussions about arcane theoretical points. There are the lazy afternoons searching for little-known tracts in obscure bookstores. There's one scene, set in the mid-1980s, in which Wilde goes on "an ideological whistle-stop tour of London, from the Freedom Bookshop in Angel Alley and the Market Bookshop in Covent Garden to

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*Anyone who likes s.f. novels with interesting political ideas, as well as plenty of kinky sex and violence, will find The Stone Canal well worth their time.*

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Novosti Press Agency in Kensington, getting back via Bookmarks in Finsbury Park."

Policy analysts will be particularly thrilled by *The Stone Canal*, because Wilde eventually persuades an insurance company to let him set up a think tank to support freedom and space exploration. This think tank becomes so persuasive that it becomes a political party that forms a government!

*The Stone Canal* is the most promis-



ing debut for a libertarian s.f. writer in over a decade. Ken MacLeod isn't merely another ideologue; he's someone who has a great deal of ability and

talent, and a gift for comedy. *The Stone Canal* is my first MacLeod novel, but he's a writer I definitely plan to read again. □

*Growing Pains: Quality of Life in the New Economy*, by Joel S. Hirschhorn. National Governors' Association, 2000, 68 pages.

## Dumb Growth

Randal O'Toole

One of the latest volleys in the war on suburbs and autos was launched this past June, when the National Governors' Association (NGA) published *Growing Pains*. The report, by NGA staff member Joel Hirschhorn, was funded, at least in part, by an Environmental Protection Agency grant as a part of its campaign to spread "smart growth" centralized planning across the nation. Hirschhorn claims that suburbanization causes urban decline, threatens open space, increases traffic congestion and is subsidized by existing tax structures — in short, he repeats all of the usual myths about suburban development. The information he cites to support these claims is almost all secondary and is often from highly biased sources, such as the Surface Transportation Policy Project, Grow Smart Rhode Island, and other groups that have also received EPA smart-growth grants. While the report is a useful piece of propaganda for smart-growth advocates, it is not credible as a policy-making document for state governors or other elected officials.

Chapters 1 and 2 of the report rely heavily on a handful of claims about suburban development. If Hirschhorn had actually examined some primary data or any credible academic studies, he would have found these claims to be false. But he does neither. He offers no original data and many of the documents that he does cite are from organizations that form the backbone of the smart-growth movement. Clearly he

has not done his homework.

Hirschhorn claims that it is a "law of growth" that "rapid suburbanization and urban decay are mirror images of the same phenomenon" (15). Much of his report argues that cities need to limit suburbanization in order to protect urban areas, while at the same time subsidizing the "revitalization" of those urban areas.

Until last year, economist Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institution was a believer in Hirschhorn's "law of growth." But in 1999, Downs did a detailed statistical analysis comparing various measures of sprawl, such as overall urban area density and the ratio of central city to suburban density, with measures of urban decline, such as poverty, crime, and population changes in the central city.

Downs was "very surprised" to find "that there is no meaningful and significant statistical relationship between any of the specific traits of sprawl, or a sprawl index, and either measure of urban decline." He now believes that urban decline would be a problem in some areas "even if sprawl did not exist. . . . Even compact growth would produce the same problems." Although Hirschhorn cites Downs's article in a passage about traffic congestion, he fails to mention its principle conclusions, presumably because they contradict his claim that suburbanization causes urban decline (6).

Similarly, Hirschhorn simply assumes that suburbanization causes traffic congestion (9-11), instead of looking at real world data. He cites only the fact that miles driven have

grown faster than population, along with a dubious report by the Surface Transportation Policy Project claiming that most of the increase in miles driven is due to suburbanization (9).

In fact, driving has increased everywhere, not simply in suburban areas. The most important factor influencing this increase has been rising income, not growth patterns. As people become wealthier, they use their cars more.

Suburbanization is a response to increased traffic congestion. As Peter Gordon and Harry Richardson of the National Research Council have observed, "suburbanization has been the dominant and successful mechanism for coping with congestion." One aspect of suburbanization has been the movement of employment from the congested central cities to suburbs. This has enabled people to drive less and to avoid the highly congested city centers when driving to work. Curiously, Hirschhorn sees this as the problem (7) when, in fact, it is at least a partial solution to traffic congestion.

Hirschhorn frets over "the remorseless devouring of landscape" by suburbanization (6). In fact, as he admits, all of America's urban areas — and the homes of most of its people — comprise "less than 4 percent of the land" (17). Yet he goes on to say that "only a small percentage of U.S. lands are desirable places to live for the vast majority of people" and that, therefore, the loss of open space in that small percentage is an important concern.

Hirschhorn points out that a majority of Americans live "on the coastal fringe areas that comprise just 17 percent of the land" (17). Yet even on this coastal fringe, the vast majority of land remains undeveloped open space. Only about 4 percent of California, the nation's most populated state, has been urbanized, and percentages are similar for most states outside of the Northeast.

The biggest problem with smart-growth open-space policies is smart-growth's limited definition of open space. Suburbanites consider their large yards to be an important component of open space. These open spaces are probably used for recreation more than public parks and are certainly used more than farms and forests. But for Hirschhorn and other smart-growth advocates, farms and forests are open space but private yards are not.

Hirschhorn correctly cites studies showing that most people favor the public purchase of more parks and other open spaces. But he fails to mention that one major reason that people

*The movement of employment from the congested central cities to suburbs has enabled people to drive less and to avoid the highly congested city centers when driving to work. Curiously, Hirschhorn sees this as the problem when, in fact, it is a partial solution to traffic congestion.*

support these purchases is as a way of reducing population densities, traffic congestion and air pollution. Instead, he makes the mistake of associating the desire for open space with support for the policies of smart growth that support increased density.

Hirschhorn cites (17-18) the well-known "costs of sprawl" studies that claim to have proven that infrastructure costs are higher in low-density than in high-density areas. However, these studies are notoriously theoretical and are not supported by any actual data.

Helen Ladd of Duke University's Institute of Policy Sciences examined data comparing the costs of high-density vs low-density cities. She found that urban service costs in high-density areas were significantly higher than in low-density areas. She concluded that

the flaw in the "costs of sprawl" studies is that they underestimate operating costs, which in the long run are far

more significant than capital costs.

Hirschhorn claims that suburban development is subsidized by taxes

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(21). However, his evidence is limited to residential development and begs the question of who is subsidizing whom. It turns out that, under most municipal tax structures, residential development is subsidized by the taxes paid on commercial developments. "For every \$1.00 of tax revenue that comes in from a residential subdivision, as much as \$1.22 goes out to provide services, especially schools," says Joel Garreau, the author of *Edge City*. "By contrast, for every \$1.00 of tax revenue that comes in from commercial development, at most thirty-two cents is required in expenditures, usually for roads." Instead of new residential subdivisions being subsidized by the existing residents, as Hirschhorn assumes, nearly all residential areas are subsidized by commercial developments.

Hirschhorn attributes environmental problems such as air pollution and disturbed water runoff to suburbanization (12). In fact, EPA and Census Bureau data show a clear relationship between air quality and population density: the densest cities and metropolitan areas have the worst air quality. Smart growth's density recommendations will simply increase air pollution problems.

Like air pollution, water runoff is a complex issue. In general, a certain percentage of any watershed can be paved over or otherwise made impervious without seriously disturbing water runoff. When that percentage is exceeded, disturbances in runoff patterns can quickly become severe. The simple fact is that low-density suburbanization paves (or makes impervious) a far lower percentage of land than high-density smart-growth. Thus, suburbanization is more compatible with retaining natural water runoff patterns than smart-growth.

Hirschhorn frequently cites polls and studies which he claims demonstrate public support for smart-growth policies like high-density housing and rail transit (8-9). Yet he and the studies he cites regularly misinterpret such polls.

For example, Hirschhorn cites polls

*Correction:* Sarah McCarthy, in her piece "Walking the GOP's Abortion Plank," mentioned a proposed compromise by Tom Delay; the compromise was actually proposed by Tom Daschle. Our proofreaders failed to notice this slip of the pen. We apologize for any confusion.

showing "the public's unease over growth," sprawl, and traffic congestion. But growth can lead to unease at any density. "Sprawl" is a vague, pejorative term. In fact, since traffic congestion is worse in dense areas than low-density ones, public concern over it should be interpreted as opposition to smart-growth. Hirschhorn also cites public support for purchasing open space (54-55). But most voters clearly view open space as a density-reducing measure — the exact opposite of smart-growth's density prescriptions.

Ironically, after accusing suburbs of receiving government subsidies, many of his policy recommendations involve giving government subsidies (which Hirschhorn calls "incentives") to high-density development.

To enforce high-density standards, Hirschhorn calls for state and regional government authority over local gov-

ernments in the areas of land-use planning, zoning, and transportation. These authorities have long tended to propose programs that are very expensive. Metro and local governments in Multnomah County, Oregon, (Portland) have spent tens of millions of dollars subsidizing high-density development. Efforts to create regional or state authorities over land-use planning seem mainly aimed at subverting the local democratic process in favor of some elite view of how people ought to live.

Many U.S. urban areas are suffering growing pains, mainly because of the movement of people from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West. But Hirschhorn's smart-growth solutions will only make growth more painful than ever: more expensive, more congested, and more polluted. □

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### "Politics," from page 21

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num cans in order to pay for her pills.

With economics, it's the same story, with one lie after another, starting with Gore's account of his first days in the Clinton administration: "When Bill Clinton and I took office, we had a triple dip recession in this country. It was a mess. I've been the partner of a leader who moved us out of the valley of recession and into the longest period of prosperity in American history." Even the *Washington Post* saw fit to correct that triple dip fabrication. "On several levels, this is incorrect," explains *Post* writer Glenn Kessler. "First of all, the recession had already been declared over by the National Bureau of Economic Research, which dates business cycles, before Clinton took office in January 1993. Moreover, the 1991-1992 recession was one of the shortest and mildest recessions in this century." In addition, the record shows that "the longest period of prosperity in American history" started 18 years ago, a decade before Clinton and Gore were elected.

In fact, the real economic "mess" in 1993 for the Clinton administration was self-inflicted, produced when the administration pushed through the largest tax hike in American history and Bill Clinton tossed his officious wife the job of socializing one-seventh of the American economy, two deci-

sions that stimulated the nation to elect the first Republican Congress in four decades. On the economics of Social Security reform, Al Gore, looking at a stock market that's jumped in value by over 1,000 percent since the first days of Reaganomics, says George Bush's proposal to allow people to invest 2 percentage points of their payroll taxes in the market is nothing but "Wall Street Roulette." Gore's mother, not unexpectedly, has Al's inheritance firmly invested in the market, not buried in the backyard or stuck in some alleged "ironclad lockbox" in Washington.

And, finally, on tax cuts, Gore's claim that George W. Bush's proposal "gives nearly half of the surplus to the wealthiest 1 percent" is another cock-and-bull story. The entire across-the-board tax cut that Gov. Bush is proposing, benefiting every income group, represents a quarter, not half, of the surplus, and the tax reform plan simply cuts taxes per income group essentially in proportion to how much they've been overpaying, less if you're "rich." The top-earning 1 percent, for instance, receive 17 percent of total income, pay 33 percent of all federal income taxes and will get, according to the nonpartisan Joint Committee on Taxation, about 20 percent of the tax cut.

— Ralph Reiland

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# Booknotes

**Rule Britannia** — There'll always be an England, at least as long as Baroness P.D. James, author of elegant and grimly unsentimental mystery stories, is around. At the age of 77, she kept a diary for a year, recording her comings and goings and letting her mind travel back to the past. The result is *Time to Be in Earnest: A Fragment of Autobiography*, a slice of English life interspersed with advice for writers and television producers and including a wonderful lecture on Jane Austen's *Emma* viewed as a detective story.

The author lives in London. Since she is "not a motorist," she travels by train and bus, picking up local knowledge for future novels, attending matins (she is Church of England and serves on its Liturgical Commission), visiting friends, and sitting through interviews, book-signings, and appearances before an endless array of societies literary, scientific, and charitable. Impeccably polite, James rarely criticizes any living person — even the artist whose official portrait makes her look plainer than her photographs do (it is possibly a caricature, she remarks). She is, however, not so gentle with earlier mystery writers such as Dorothy Sayers, whose books lacked realism and whose life lacked balance. James doesn't reveal a lot about her past — nor does she promise to; she merely hints at her preoccupation with death and alludes to some personal tragedies. And she tells us a bit about her cat.

— Jane S. Shaw

**A past look at the future** — If you know Nevil Shute at all, it's probably as the author of *On the Beach* (made into a film starring Ava Gardner, Gregory Peck, and Fred Astaire). *On the Beach* is a powerful and moving book, but it's not Shute's best book.

*In the Wet* (the title refers to the rainy season in Australia) is a reincarnation novel, but with a huge difference. The story is told by Roger Hargreaves, a minister. Hargreaves spends one very wet night by the deathbed of a man named Stevie.

Stevie is addicted to opium and drinks whenever he can afford to. In his delirium, Stevie tells Hargreaves the story of another life — not a past life, but a life thirty years in the future — in which he serves as the Queen's pilot. One of the fascinations now in reading *In the Wet* is being able to look back on Shute's attempt to look ahead thirty years. His "predictions" on the English monarchy are not all on target, particularly in their timing, but it's amazing how close he came to the actual future on some key points. He paints a picture of a socialist England floundering socially and economically, while Canada and Australia are prospering.

*In the Wet* is also worth your time because of a political innovation Shute includes in his description of Australia and Canada: multiple votes. As Shute describes it, everyone has one vote, the basic vote. But anyone can get a second vote for graduating from college or becoming a solicitor or a doctor. Officers in the military get a third vote, as does anyone earning a living outside the country for two years. Next is an "achievement" vote — if your personal income exceeds a fixed amount in the year before the election, you get a fourth vote. A fifth vote is given to church officials. A sixth is for raising two children to the age of fourteen without getting a divorce. And a seventh can be bestowed by the Queen.

As I reread *In the Wet*, I found myself thinking of a remark made by Sir Alexander Reaser Tytler, that a democracy can only survive only until the population discovers that it can vote itself all kinds of benefits. Shute's contention is that with multiple voting, you'd get better political officials. I'm not so sure it would work that way, particularly with the requirements he sets forth for extra votes, but I do wonder just what would happen if taxpayers could outvote those they are forced to support.

— Laura W. Haywood

**Are you a connector?** — As libertarians attempt to bring about social change, they can learn something from Malcolm Gladwell's charming little

book *The Tipping Point* (Little, Brown, and Company). Drawing on psychological, sociological, and marketing research, Gladwell analyzes the history of broad-based changes, from marketing phenomena like Airwalk sneakers to reductions in crime. His argument is that certain factors cause scattered, isolated ideas or impressions to gather force and grow in number. Once they reach the "tipping point," they transform the scene.

One factor in such transformations is "connectors": people who are constantly reaching out to other people. To illustrate, he mentions a Chicagoan, Lois Weisberg. In the 1950s, attending a science fiction convention on a whim, she meets the young Arthur C. Clarke. He calls her up the next time he is in Chicago and she invites him to meet Isaac Asimov, who brings along Robert Heinlein. That's the idea.

Are libertarians connectors? I don't know, but we can find out through a little quiz. Gladwell has selected 250 surnames from the Manhattan phone book (see box at right). He invites readers to go through the list and count up the number of people he or she knows who have those last names. By "know," he means someone whom, if you met in a train or bus, you are likely to speak to; in addition, you know the person's name and he or she knows yours.

Here is the list:

Algazi, Alvarez, Alpern, Ametrano, Andrews, Aran, Arnstein, Ashford, Bailey, Bailout, Bamberger, Baptista, Barr, Barrows, Baskerville, Bassiri, Bell, Bokgese, Brandao, Bravo, Brooke, Brightman, Billy, Blau, Bohlen, Bohn, Borsuk, Brendle, Butler, Calle, Cantwell, Carrell, Chinlund, Cirker, Cohen, Collas, Couch, Callegher, Calcaterra, Cook, Carey, Cassell, Chen, Chung, Clarke, Cohn, Carton, Crowley, Curbelo, Dellamanna, Diaz, Dirar, Duncan, Dagostino, Delakas, Dillon, Donaghey, Daly, Dawson, Edery, Ellis, Elliott, Eastman, Easton, Famous, Fermin, Fialco, Finklestein, Farber, Falkin, Feinman, Friedman, Gardner, Gelpi, Glascock, Grandfield, Greenbaum, Greenwood, Gruber, Garil, Goff, Gladwell, Greenup, Gannon, Ganshaw, Garcia, Gennis, Gerard, Gericke, Gilbert, Glassman, Glazer, Gomendio, Gonzalez, Greenstein, Guglielmo, Gurman, Haberkorn, Hoskins, Hussein, Hamm, Hawkind, Harrell, Hauptman, Hawkins, Henderson, Hayman, Hibara, Hehmann, Herbst, Hedges, Hogan,

Hoffman, Horowitz, Hsu, Huber, Ikiz, Jaroschy, Johann, Jacobs, Jara, Johnson, Kassel, Keegan, Kuroda, Kavanau, Keller, Kevill, Kiew, Kimbrough, Kline, Kossoff, Kotzitzky, Kahn, Kiesler, Kosser, Korte, Leibowitz, Lin, Liu, Lowrance, Lundh, Laux, Leifer, Leung, Levine, Leiw, Lockwood, Logrono, Lohnes, Lowet, Laber, Leonardi, Marten, McLean, Michaels, Miranda, Moy, Marin, Muir, Murphy, Marodon, Matos, Mendoza, Muraki, Neck, Needham, Noboa, Null, O'Flynn, O'Neill, Orłowski, Perkins, Pieper, Pierre, Pons, Pruska, Paulino, Popper, Potter, Purpura, Palma, Perez, Portocarrero, Punwasi, Rader, Rankin, Ray, Reyes, Richardson, Ritter, Roos, Rose, Rosenfeld, Roth, Rutherford, Rustin, Ramos, Regan, Reisman, Renkert, Roberts, Rowan, Rene, Rosario, Rothbart, Saperstein, Schoenbrod,

Schwed, Sears, Statosky, Sutphen, Sheehy, Silverton, Silverman, Silverstein, Sklar, Slotkin, Spero, Stollman, Sadowski, Schles, Shapiro, Sigdel, Snow, Spencer, Steinkol, Stewart, Stires, Stopnik, Stonehill, Tayss, Tilney, Temple, Torfield, Townsend, Trimpin, Turchin, Villa, Vasillov, Voda, Waring, Weber, Weinstein, Wang, Wegimont, Weed, Weishaus.

It turns out that people's scores vary enormously. "Connectors" know nearly half the names on the list; scores go down from there. Without being more specific (and thus not prejudicing any reader who wants to take the test), I'll just say that my score was, well, abysmal. It confirmed the fact that I'm not going to foment the revolution. But will you? — Jane S. Shaw

## Notes on Contributors

*Baloo* is a nom de plume of Rex F. May.

*Oliver Becker* is a consultant with Price, Waterhouse in Europe.

*John Bergstrom* is a cartoonist and illustrator who lives in southern California.

*David Bernstein* is Associate Professor at George Mason University's School of Law

*R.W. Bradford* is editor of *Liberty*.

*David Brin* is a physicist and author of novels including *Earth*, *The Postman*, and *Startide Rising*. His non-fiction book, *The Transparent Society*, won the 2000 Obeler Freedom of Speech Award.

*Stephen Browne* is a teacher and freelance writer who has lived in Eastern Europe since 1991.

*Scott Chambers* is a cartoonist living in Arizona.

*Stephen Cox* is the author of *The Titanic Story*.

*Joe Dabulskis* is a small businessman from rural northeast Oregon.

*Eric D. Dixon* is the computer specialist for U.S. Term Limits.

*Miles Fowler* is a writer living in Charlottesville, Virginia.

*John Haywood* is an editorial assistant at *Liberty*.

*Laura W. Haywood* is the author of *The Honor of the Ken*.

*Tiffany Hendersen* is a junior at UCLA.

*John Hospers* is the author of *Libertarianism* and other books; in 1972 he received one vote for president in the Electoral College.

*Bill Kauffman's* books include *America First!* and *Every Man a King*, a novel.

*Richard Kostelanetz* recently published a second edition of his *Dictionary of the Avant-Gardes* and the first edition of *Political Essays*.

*Bill Masters* is the sheriff of San Miguel county in Colorado.

*Sarah J. McCarthy* is co-author of *Mom and Pop vs. the Dreambusters*.

*Bradley Monton* is a philosophy professor at the American University of Beirut.

*Randal O'Toole* is editor of *Different Drummer*.

*Richard E. Pearl Sr.* is a writer living in central Tennessee.

*Paul Rako* is a consultant living in Sunnyvale, California.

*Bruce Ramsey* is a journalist in Seattle.

*Ralph R. Reiland* is an associate professor of economics at Robert Morris College in Pittsburgh.

*Timothy Sanderfur* is a writer living in Rialto, California.

*R. U. Sirius's* most recent book is *The Revolution: Quotations from Revolution Party Chairman R.U. Sirius*, published by Feral House.

*Jane S. Shaw* is a senior associate at the Political Economy Research Center.

*Mark Skousen* is author of the new book, *The Making of Modern Economics* and a professor at Rollins College.

*Tim Slagle* is a stand-up comedian living in Chicago.

*Martin M. Solomon* is writer living on Florida's Gold Coast.

*Charles Stampul* offers philosophical and moral guidance to young adults through his column *On Principle* (on\_principle@excite.com).

*David Ramsay Steele* is the author of *From Marx to Mises*.

*Ken Sturzenacker* is a long-time libertarian activist and former television news producer.

*Chuck Thomas* is the director of communications at the Marijuana Policy Project.

*Martin Morse Wooster* is an associate editor of *The American Enterprise*.

*Leland B. Yeager* is Ludwig von Mises Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Economics at Auburn University.

# Terra Incognita

## *Del Mar, Calif.*

The San Deiguito Union High School District *Student/Parent Guidebook 2000-2001* presents interesting lessons in grammar and political rights:

"Compulsory school attendance is a right that can be abrogated only through due process to include a conference to be informed of the charges and an opportunity to deny the charges and present evidence. (5114/AR-1)"

## *Cincinnati, Ohio*

The thin blue line that separates civilization from anarchy, as reported by the *Cincinnati Post*:

Police Specialist Charles Taber arrested Sheila Williams, a custodian in the Hamilton County Courthouse, on August 21 on a charge of disorderly conduct — a charge that carries a possible 30-day jail sentence. Taber wrote that Williams, "engaged in violent behavior, challenging PS Taber under which circumstances such conduct was likely to provoke a violent response." Taber, who was not in uniform and didn't identify himself as a police officer, arrested Williams after she tried to prevent him from using a men's room that was closed for cleaning.

## *Perth Amboy, N.J.*

The Lord works in mysterious ways, as reported by the *New York Daily News*:

An image of the Virgin Mary, which appeared on a window after it was cleaned on September 18 and which Catholic church officials declared to be merely "a rainbow-colored splotch," disappeared when the homeowner again cleaned the glass on October 10. Ramon Coloado, 38, whose family owns the home, said the Madonna was ready to leave, and her absence yesterday didn't rattle his faith in what he saw, adding "Cleaning the window didn't remove her. She left when she was ready to leave." Coloado believes the Virgin picked his family's living room window to appear in because it's the same window he fell from in a 1998 accident that left him paralyzed from the waist down.

## *Austell, Ga.*

Deadly weapons plague our schools, as reported in the *New York Newsday*:

11-year-old Ashley Smith was suspended for 10 days because the 10-inch chain connecting her keys and her Tweety Bird wallet violates Garrett Middle School's "zero-tolerance" weapons policy.

## *Santa Clara, Calif.*

The decline of education in America, as reported in a letter to *Electronic Design* magazine:

"I have nothing against software and computers, but I hate to see how today's students don't even know what biasing of a transistor means!"

## *Miami, Fla.*

The wages of sin in south Florida can sometimes be pretty substantial, as reported in *City Link*:

On June 24, Miami Police Major Juan Garcia was arrested after he offered an undercover agent money for sex. Garcia, who had been considered a prime candidate to become police chief, was the former head of the city's prostitution unit.

## *Portland, Maine*

The wages of stupidity can sometimes be pretty substantial in the Pine Tree State, as reported in the *Portland Press Herald*:

Three Maine residents duped by a pyramid scheme were awarded \$1.7 million in a September 27 ruling. The presiding judge commented that the scheme was so brazen he was surprised anyone fell for it.

## *Albuquerque, N.M.*

Evidence that politics does not make strange bedfellows, as reported by the *Albuquerque Journal*:

Kari Brandenburg, the Democratic candidate for district attorney in Bernalillo County, is fuming over a "love note" e-mailed to her by her Republican opponent L. Skip Vernon. While the state Democratic Party chairwoman called it "sexual harassment" and "an attempt to intimidate," Vernon claimed the note, which talked about "unrequited love" was intended for his wife, saying "It was an accidental mistake. . . . I ended up clicking on Kari Brandenburg instead of Lee Ann Vernon."

## *Cullman, Ala.*

A new wrinkle on an Old-World tradition, as reported on *Ananova.com*:

Cullman, Alabama, celebrates Oktoberfest each fall in a way that respects local traditions: out of respect to county ordinances banning alcohol, the traditional beer festival won't have any beer.

## *Anchorage, Alaska*

Interesting new type of fraud, reported by the *Anchorage Daily News*:

Erica Duran, 24, was sentenced to a year in jail after pleading no contest to felony theft after she told co-workers in 1999 she was pregnant, collected more than \$500 worth of cash and gifts, then arranged for a memorial service for her imaginary stillborn twins, for which she still owes \$854.50.

## *Shanghai, China*

Chinese police prove to be models of integrity, as reported by Reuters:

Lishui County police substation deputy chief Gao Mingliang confessed to running a brothel disguised as a restaurant, then arresting and "fining" the customers as part of a scam.

(Readers are invited to forward news clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*, or e-mail to [terraincognita@libertysoft.com](mailto:terraincognita@libertysoft.com).)



# ISIL – Building a Free World

Dear Libertarian,

We have good news for you! The libertarian movement is not only growing rapidly in America – it's on the rise around the world!

ISIL – the International Society for Individual Liberty – has been the engine for a great deal of this growth. Through our "Johnny Appleseed" strategy, we have built a global network of members in 83 countries and have sponsored the development of effective organizations and publications in dozens of countries in the former communist bloc and in the Third World.

We also provide resources for libertarian activists in America, so we encourage you to join ISIL and our dedicated members around the world, in helping make the 21st Century the century of liberty.

Vince Miller, President, ISIL

## Building Movements and Spreading the Liberty Message Overseas:

Since 1980, before the fall of the Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union, when our members were smuggling free-market books behind the Iron Curtain, ISIL has been gradually building movements in the 3rd World and former East Bloc – providing complimentary memberships, literature, books, conference scholarships and support.

One of our proudest accomplishments has been our sponsorship of the translation and publishing of thousands of copies of introductory libertarian books in dozens of languages and countries. Among them:

\*\* **Russia** – where ISIL members have gotten copies of the Russian version of Ayn Rand's "Atlas Shrugged" into the hands of Andrei Illiaronov – top economic advisor to President Vladimir Putin. Reports in the *Moscow Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* reported Illiaronov's resultant call for radical free-market reforms.

ISIL had initiated the Rand publishing project in 1993 by sponsoring two young Russians on a US fundraising tour and providing follow-up support.

\*\* ISIL director Ken Schoolland's award-winning libertarian fable *The Adventures of Jonathan Gullible*. This humorous story of a boy from a libertarian society who gets shipwrecked on a statist island has been extremely popular among students. ISIL has played a major role in getting this book published in 22 languages!

\*\* ISIL director Mary Ruwart's acclaimed *Healing Our World* book has been published by ISIL members in 8 European languages.

## World Libertarian Conferences:

Much of the growth of the world libertarian movement has come about because of ISIL's acclaimed world conferences, which have been held every year since 1982. Interaction and networking among participants has led to the development of numerous activist organizations and publications.

The ISIL 2001 World Conference will be held at the resort and spa town of Dax, in southwestern France (just south of Bordeaux) from the 1st to 5th of July. The conference theme will be a celebration of the bicentennial of the birth of the great French classical liberal Frédéric Bastiat. Host of this event is Jacques de Guenin, president of the Cercle Bastiat and mayor of Saint Loubourer. Contact ISIL for the conference brochure or visit the conference website at [www.bastiat.net](http://www.bastiat.net).

## Freedom Network News:

ISIL keeps its members informed of developments in the world libertarian movement through our newsletter/magazine, the *Freedom Network News*.

Learn about exciting progress in places like:

\*\* **Costa Rica** – where the newly-formed Movimiento Libertario has elected the dynamic Otto Guevara (named "Congressman of the Year" by the national media) and where ISIL Rep Rigoberto Stewart is creating an independent free zone in the Limón region.

\*\* **Australia** – where ISIL networking support helped with the establishment of the new Australian Libertarian Movement (which also plans to start a Libertarian Party).

\*\* **Hungary** – where Laszlo Seres, a Budapest journalist we sponsored to our

1995 Athens ISIL conference, has been inspired to found the Hayek Society for Individual Liberty.

\*\* **New Zealand** – where feisty Libertarian Party activists run a top-rated radio talk show.

There are many more inspiring stories like these covered in the *Freedom Network News*.

## Tools for US Libertarians

**-ISIL's Educational Pamphlet Series-** Libertarian and single-issue groups have purchased over 4-million of ISIL's attractive 2-color pamphlets (33 in English plus 13 in Spanish). A bargain at only 5¢ apiece. Custom overprint of your address free on orders of 1000 or more pieces. Sample set/ISIL info \$5.00.

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- \$5 - Full 46-title English/Spanish ISIL Pamphlet Set, sample *Freedom Network News* and ISIL info pak.
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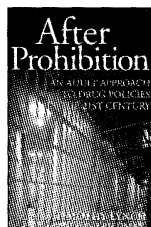
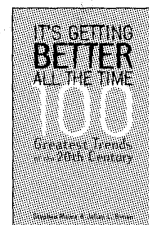
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# Recent and Forthcoming Books from the Cato Institute

## ***It's Getting Better All the Time*** by Stephen Moore and Julian Simon

There was more material progress in the United States in 20th century than in the entire world in all previous centuries combined. Almost every measure of health, wealth, safety, nutrition, environmental quality, and social conditions indicates rapid improvement. With over 100 four-color graphs and tables, this book shatters the frequent message of doom and gloom we hear from the media and academia. • October 2000/224 pages/\$14.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-97-3/\$29.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-96-5

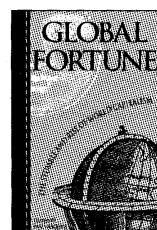
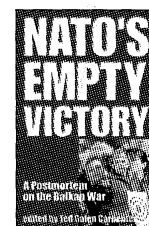


## ***After Prohibition: An Adult Approach to Drug Policies in the 21st Century*** edited by Timothy Lynch with a Foreword by Milton Friedman

More than 10 years ago, federal officials boldly claimed that they would create a “drug-free America by 1995.” To reach that goal, Congress spent billions of dollars to disrupt the drug trade, but in spite of that, America is no more drug free than it was a decade ago. Drug prohibition has proven to be a costly failure, and the distinguished contributors to this book explain why. • November 2000/150 pages/\$9.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-94-9/\$18.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-93-0

## ***NATO's Empty Victory: A Postmortem on the Balkan War*** edited by Ted Galen Carpenter

The Clinton administration boasts that the NATO alliance won a great victory in its recent war against Yugoslavia. Yet the war lasted far longer than expected and triggered a horrific refugee crisis among the very Albanians the alliance intended to help. Ten experts examine the war and its many negative consequences. • 2000/194 pages/\$9.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-86-8

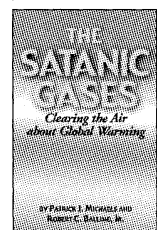


## ***Global Fortune: The Stumble and Rise of World Capitalism*** edited by Ian Vásquez

After two world wars, the Great Depression, and various experiments with socialism interrupted the liberal economic order that began in the 19th century, the world economy has now returned to the level of globalization that it previously enjoyed. These essays examine the claim that free markets cause instability and poverty and evaluate the prospects that the recent conversion to global capitalism will be sustained. • 2000/295 pages/\$9.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-90-6/\$18.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-89-2

## ***China's Future: Constructive Partner or Emerging Threat?*** edited by Ted Galen Carpenter and James A. Dorn

Relations between China and the United States have recently become erratic and contradictory. While barely two years ago both countries spoke of a “strategic partnership” and ways to enhance already substantial economic and political ties, the recent charges of Chinese espionage and our bombing of their embassy in Belgrade have soured relations. This book examines the status of our current relationship and its prospects for the future. • 2000/375 pages/\$10.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-88-4/\$19.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-87-6

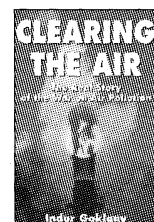


## ***The Satanic Gases: Clearing the Air about Global Warming*** by Patrick J. Michaels and Robert C. Balling, Jr.

Two of America's foremost climatologists argue that almost everything we “know” about global warming isn't true. They lay out the scientific facts about the hype and hysteria, expose Al Gore's wild exaggerations and even outright lies about the issue, and examine how science gets corrupted by government money. • 2000/224 pages/\$10.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-92-2/\$19.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-91-4

## ***Clearing the Air: The Real Story of the War on Air Pollution*** by Indur Goklany

This book demonstrates that Washington, D.C.'s, 30-year regulatory war against air pollution has done little to improve air quality. The improvement is, instead, the result of gains in per capita incomes, rapidly improving technology, and the shift from a manufacturing- to a service-based economy. The author also contends that the Clean Air Act of 1970 has imposed steeper than necessary regulatory costs that actually slowed improvement. Goklany also presents the most comprehensive database ever assembled on air quality trends. • 1999/188 pages/\$10.95 paper ISBN 1-882577-83-3/\$19.95 cloth ISBN 1-882577-82-5



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