

# Liberty

February 2002

\$4.00

Ayn Rand  
Takes to  
the Streets

## Globalization, Anarchy, and *True* Freedom

*by Johan Norberg*

## The Inevitability of Ronald Reagan

*by Ron Capshaw*

## The Limits of the Melting Pot

*by Bruce Ramsey*

## Money Market Funds: Guaranteed Losers

*by R. W. Bradford*

Also: *Thomas S. Szasz* tells how a great economist went wrong, *Timothy Sandefur* explains why Clarence Thomas must be destroyed, *Jane S. Shaw* discovers the Dark Ages roots of Western prosperity . . . plus other articles, reviews & humor.



*"Liberty is ancient; it is despotism that is new." —French Proverb*

# ISIL's 21st World Libertarian Conference



## **PUERTO VALLARTA MEXICO**

∞ July 28 to August 1, 2002 ∞

### **"Breaking the Bonds of Poverty in Latin America"**

ISIL's 2002 world libertarian conference is being held in the picturesque Mexican Pacific resort town of Puerto Vallarta – a diverse region of sandy beaches, jungles, waterfalls – where you can surf, golf, whale-watch – or . . . you name it.

The 2002 conference will feature a star-studded lineup of speakers from throughout Mexico, Central and South America (and the world) and have as a major theme: "Breaking the Bonds of Poverty in Latin America". We will be investigating successful moves toward privatization and report on the massive educational outreach work being done via TV Azteca in Mexico/US. We will also debate the US/Mexico border issues of immigration and free trade.

#### **Speakers confirmed to date include:**

- ✓ **Enrique Gherzi** (Peru) a director of the Instituto Libertad y Democracia. Co-author with Hernando de Soto of the famous *El Otro Sendero* book on underground economies.
- ✓ **Martin Krause** (Argentina) Dean of the (free market) graduate school of ESEADE in Buenos Aires.
- ✓ **John McClaughry** (USA) former State Senator (R-VT) and president of the Ethan Allen Institute. Former advisor to President Ronald Reagan in the White House. He shaped the report of the President's Task Force on Economic Justice in Central America (for Reagan, 1987) and also headed a Global Economic Action Foundation task force on Central American economies. He is also author of *The Vermont Papers* (on decentralism).
- ✓ **Ken Schoolland** (USA) ISIL Director, professor of economics at Hawaii Pacific University, former Economist with the US International Trade Commission and special advisor to the White House.
- ✓ **Rigoberto Stewart** (Costa Rica). Organizer of Limón REAL autonomous free-zone project, co-founder of the Movimiento Libertario, and founder of the INLAP thinktank.
- ✓ Plus many, many more to be announced soon (check our just-reconstructed website – <http://www.isil.org>)

#### **A STUDENT ESSAY CONTEST**

An essay contest (in Spanish) for students in Mexico, Central and South America (and English for other parts of the world) – to be based on either ISIL director Ken Schoolland's *The Adventures of Jonathan Gullible: A Free Market Odyssey* or Hernando de Soto's new book *The Mystery of Capital*. Watch for details in the next *Freedom Network News* (or on ISIL's website).

#### **A POST-CONFERENCE TOUR**

An extra-cost three-day post-conference tour has been organized for Guadalajara and central Mexico region. Included on the tour is a visit to view the famous anti-government Orozco murals and a tequila factory. Price and further details will be announced soon.

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# Inside Liberty

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## Letters

### Movies, Music, Guns, and Life

William Tonso's "Sundays Past" (December) provided me a very enjoyable trip back into the nostalgic past with warm fuzzy feelings all the way through his article. I am a female, born in 1927 in rural Texas but Mr. Tonso could have been my next-door neighbor. We saw the same movies, heard the same music and had the same feelings — although it would have been wonderful without the Depression. We had some rough times there, but so did everyone else in our part of the world. We still got to go to the movies on weekends. My mother was an avid movie fan. I am named for a silent screen star, Lila Lee.

But westerns were always my favorite. John Wayne, Jimmy Stewart, Robert Mitchum, Ken Maynard, Buck Jones, Tim McCoy, Bob Steele. I remember when Roy Rogers first came on the scene. We thought he was an upstart but were won over by his music with the Sons of the Pioneers.

Every household had guns as a matter of course. Pistols and shotguns. I did not shoot any of them, but the menfolk did. They were around and not hidden. We paid no attention to them. We would have been shocked at the thought of not having guns. A lot of the rural men, including my uncle and my subsequent husband, went coon hunting nights with their hounds and their guns. There were a lot of rattlesnakes, so you nearly always had to shoot a snake. We would not have known what to do without guns. There were even a few rabid (mad) dogs, skunks, and coyotes we shot from time to time. Never did we shoot any people or even think of it. A lot of people subsisted on cottontail rabbits and squirrels that had to be shot before you could eat them. Guns were a part of the furniture.

We did not see any bandleaders visiting our small rural communities, but we could hear them on the radio, jukebox, at USO dances and, oh yes, in the movies. I would never have known

about good music had it not been for movies. I learned to appreciate all kinds: operettas, the big bands, all kinds of music. I heard nothing but country music until I was about 14-years of age. We heard no bad language. I did not know what a drunk person was. Girls used to live a sheltered life in rural Texas.

Thank you again, Mr. Tonso.

Lila Roberts

Abilene, Tex.

### War & Hysteria

The word "hysteria" derives from the ancient Greek word for womb, and the ancients believed that hysteria was a distinctly feminine trait. It surely is a sexist etymology, but Sarah McCarthy would be Exhibit A for those who believe in the feminine-hysteria connection.

Her essay "Time to Fight" in the November *Liberty* is unthinking writing in the extreme. Her final two sentences are the ultimate in hysteria: "We have a nuclear arsenal. It's time to use it before they do."

First of all, our enemies are not able to use our arsenal. That's probably just bad writing. But the thought that we should use nuclear tactics against an enemy that is dispersed across the world is quite mad. That's her response to America under attack: Be crazy and kill hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people.

Now in the December *Liberty* she advocates rage, as if she's the only one properly upset with the attack on America. And she derides Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf for his concern that we try not to kill innocent people in our retaliation. I think a logical person, even outraged beyond words at the acts of Sept. 11, should be concerned with the massacre of thousands of more innocent people.

McCarthy has been nothing if not consistent in her approach to writing. Her approach is always passion devoid

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of logic and reason. I do expect better in a magazine that purports to a rational defense and promotion of liberty.

John D. McGinnis  
Altoona, Pa.

### Putting Our Terrorists Out of Their Misery

Usually, when there are only two sides to an issue, both will be wrong. But in the December *Liberty* there were, on the one side, those like Stephen Cox and Sarah McCarthy (not usually, I think, on the same side of an issue) advocating punishment of terrorists instead of examining and changing U.S. foreign policy and, on the other side, those like Ron Paul and R.W. Bradford advocating both punishing terrorists and examining and changing our foreign policy.

While Cox and McCarthy argue that there is only one thing we should do, Paul and Bradford recognize that a dual response to terrorism is necessary. In order to prevent the creation of endless future enemies, we must recognize that our past foreign policy has helped to create these enemies. Of course, the terrorists of the present will not change their minds because we change our foreign policy.

But we can change our policy and avoid future generations of terrorists. We already helped to create these terrorists, and there is nothing for it but to put them out of their misery. Changing our policy for the future, however, is as necessary as dealing with terrorists in the present. These two approaches are different but not exclusive of each other. We not only can but must do both.

As to the vilification of Islam vis à vis Christianity (à la Ann Coulter), this would require doublethink. Muslims are at least as peaceful as Christians — which is, of course, to say little on behalf of either. Denouncing Islam just because al Qaeda claims to be Islamic is like denouncing Christianity because the Ku Klux Klan claims to be Christian.

Miles Fowler  
Charlottesville, Va.

### In Defense of Wussiness

In response to Sarah McCarthy ("Rage Now," December), the "wussiness" in the Islam-tolerant media, military, and political establishment hasn't dented our success in a country recently defined as "unconquerable." Regarding McCarthy's counter of General Schwarzkopf, we do want to be better

than them. Americans like and expect military victories and moral victories, and that patriotism is justified.

Terrorists refuse to acknowledge the humanity in those not agreeing with their narrow morals. McCarthy would not even be that precise with her own targets, as a shared ethnicity or religion is guilt enough for her. Or what about that poor Sikh in Arizona who was killed merely because he wore a turban? He wasn't on McCarthy's short list of hate victims.

Gregory Van Grunsven  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

### The Best of *Liberty*

Sarah McCarthy and Stephen Cox are my personal heroes. Besides having enough good sense to hold the correct stance regarding our war, they represent the position well.

A definite high point in *Liberty's* history is Cox's acknowledgement of Rush Limbaugh's value to classical liberalism. While certain sensationalists parading in *Liberty* devote their efforts to dishonestly promoting themselves at Rand's expense (as if to acquire authority and command respect without the necessity of positively writing anything themselves or even refuting Rand's work), Cox respectably gives Limbaugh credit where it is most undeniably due. Cox and McCarthy are almost reason enough to support the libertarian movement.

Michael Passaloukos  
West Lafayette, Ind.

### A Distant Rage

If Sarah McCarthy thinks that a war in Afghanistan is such a good idea, then why doesn't she put her money where her mouth is? Rather than cheerleading men on to their mutual destruction, she can form a female volunteer brigade. She and her female cohorts, such as Ann Coulter, can take up arms, infiltrate the heartland of Eurasia, and fight it out with al Qaeda and the Taliban personally. There is some precedent for this, after all Lady Florentia Sale accompanied her husband to Afghanistan with the British army of the Indus in the 1840s and participated in the infamous retreat from Kabul.

Couldn't you just see such worthies as McCarthy and Coulter humping rifles over the Hindu Kush and facing everything from lice infestations to land mines and, if they survive it all, coming back to the guy next door? Until I can

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turn on CNN and see video of these gals dodging bullets, I really cannot take them very seriously. (All praise to those American women who have volunteered to serve in the armed forces, by the way.)

What the fulminations of Sarah and company demonstrate is that once again: "Hell has no fury like a noncombatant."

Joseph Miranda  
Northridge, Calif.

## Technoglitch

Dave Kopel ("Microsoft Capitulates," January) will hear it from all the geeks on your list, so here we go. Solaris and Linux are distinct versions of Unix. Solaris is not "a version of Linux." They are distinct systems.

Another glitch: "... Microsoft was plainly within its rights to insist that its software display not be altered." Software display is something you find in a retail store. You may mean "software not be altered," but Microsoft need not rely on copyright to prevent its software from being altered.

Jack Dennon  
Warrenton, Ore.

## Where the Sun Does Shine

Contrary to what Dave Kopel writes, Sun does not integrate a Web browser in their OS. It is possible to run PC versions of Sun's operating system without purchasing their hardware. There are even some versions of their OS available for free download. You can buy Sun servers without Sun workstations. Sun's OS is most definitely not a version of Linux, though, interestingly, versions of Linux will run on Sun hardware.

Jeremy Taylor  
Chicago, Ill.

## In the Zone!

In "Microsoft Capitulates" Dave Kopel is in the zone like Michael Jordan used to get in when winning champion-

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ships! He is so right-on about the ridiculous antitrust suit against Microsoft and for exposing the complete hypocrisy of its accusers! Keep up the great work, Dave — I only wish the mainstream media could actually understand your arguments! But maybe that's a bit much to wish for this Christmas!

Gary Halpin  
Redondo Beach, Calif.

## Immigration and Slavery

Ken Schoolland, in "Open Minds, Closed Borders" (January), cites the 150-year-old Fugitive Slave Law as something most libertarians would have condemned (if they'd have been there) and wonders why they object to free immigration now.

I don't know about other libertarians, but I see a profound difference between the issues of slavery and open borders. At most, a few million slaves from the South would have had to be absorbed by the North; far different is the possibility of having to absorb a half-billion immigrants from around the world.

While I agree with Schoolland that America has plenty of land to accommodate the unwashed hordes from around the world, I would remind him that we need more than land: We need water, electricity, and groceries. Large parts of the open West he touts as prime land for homesteading — and even lots of places in the East — have scant water and little possibility of getting any. Without water, you can't grow anything much but cactus or mesquite. As for electricity, ask the environmentalists how they'd like to *triple* our generating capacity.

Arch Wakefield  
Tega Cay, S.Car.

## What Kind of Bicycle Was He Riding?

Regarding Ross Levatter's reflection ("Better living through chemistry," November), I have no idea what orchiectomy has to do with his position on drug use and athletics. To insinuate that Lance Armstrong has some advantage, instead of a disadvantage, from the results of an orchiectomy is ludicrous. The contact points of a bicycle seat are not the testicles, but would put stress and traction on the scar tissue that results from surgery in the perineum. This would likely result in more chafing and pain than in an individual that had no prior surgery.

Levatter's final paragraph has no relevance unless he really wants us to believe that he rides a bicycle sitting on his testicles.

David G. Ward, M.D.  
Highland, Kan.

## Exploiting the Wedge Issue

The results of the recent municipal election in New York City seem to bear out Bill Bradford's thesis that the issue of marijuana reform, or drug decriminalization in a broader sense, holds some currency with voters. For the major city-wide offices this last election, libertarians had a choice between the LP candidate and that of the Marijuana Reform party. In every case, the MR candidate outpolled the LP candidate by significant margins, albeit still in the low single-digits in terms of the overall vote. For mayor, where there was a hotly contested race at the top of the ballot, the Libertarian Kenny Kramer received 1,408 votes while the MR's Thomas Leighton received 2,563 votes. On the lower-level races in which there was no Republican candidate, Libertarians received 6,620 votes for public advocate and 6,638 for comptroller, while the MRs received 21,721 and 17,340 votes, respectively.

I think this clearly illustrates the degree to which voters are willing to support a generic "marijuana reform" platform over the more nebulous "libertarian" mantra.

Marshall Steeves  
New York, N.Y.

## Who Pays Whom?

My grandfather joined the Illinois Volunteers to end the evil of slavery. He did not fight to "Save the Union." He fought to end slavery, as did thousands of others.

Even if one accepts that it is right to tax the descendants of slaveholders to give money to the descendants of slaves, how can you justify taxing the descendants of those who fought (and many who died) to pay money to the descendants of those they freed from the yoke of slavery?

Robert Burnside  
Palos Verdes Estates, Calif.

## A Modest Proposal

I'd like to add my reaction to the various letters (December) you've published about Edward Feser's "Injustice Compounded" (October). The problem

*continued on page 30*

# Reflections

**The enemy is us, as usual** — As of this writing, U.S. military casualties in the War on Terrorism have come mainly from friendly fire, inadvertent U.S. killing of U.S. troops in the field.

This was also true in Kosovo and in the Gulf War.

Has the power of the U.S. military grown so great that our strongest ally for a noninterventionist foreign policy is OSHA?  
— Ross Levatter

**Run from cover!** — I don't understand why anyone would ever look to the government for food and shelter. There are only three kinds of animals on earth who don't take care of themselves: pets, slaves, and livestock. I don't want to be kept or owned, and I most certainly don't want to be eaten.  
— Tim Slagle

**The last refuge** — An annoying tic in media coverage of wartime America is the equivocation of the sudden surge of interest in working for the federal government with patriotism. Much has been made of the piles of résumés for would-be sky marshals, intelligence analysts, and investigators landing on the desks of government human resource managers. Of course, this has nothing to do with patriotism and everything to do with the fact that the national security state isn't contemplating the kind of layoffs that rock the rest of the economy. The rush for federal careers merely confirms the adage that a cushy government job is the final refuge of the scoundrel.  
— Brien Bartels

**Thousands died at the hands of the safety Nazis** — The Sept. 11 attacks and the U.S. military response in Afghanistan are both easily seen. What is generally unseen is the joint responsibility of New York City politicians, Port Authority bureaucrats, and eco-demagogues for many of the deaths.

For a steel-frame skyscraper to survive a large fire, the structural steel columns must be insulated because steel loses most of its strength when red hot. The Empire State Building (and all other steel-frame skyscrapers of its era) enclosed the steel support columns with a couple of feet of concrete to provide this thermal protection. This added a great deal of

weight and cost to the buildings while also consuming a substantial amount of interior space.

In 1948, Herbert Levine invented an inexpensive, compact, lightweight, spray-on structural steel thermal insulation comprised of asbestos and rock wool. This did much to improve the economics of skyscrapers and played a major role in the post-World War II office tower construction boom.

In 1971, in the middle of constructing the two WTC towers, New York City banned the use of asbestos. This created a real problem for the WTC's builders. The structural steel in the first 64 floors was already insulated with asbestos. Use of the traditional heavy, thick concrete insulation for the remaining 54 floors was impossible with the existing lightweight construction. The Port Authority wasn't about to tear down the half-completed towers and start over again. So the builders jury-rigged a nonasbestos substitute. Back in the

1970s, Herbert Levine said, "If a fire breaks out above the 64th floor, that building will fall down." He was right.  
— Durk Pearson

## **Motionless in Portland** —

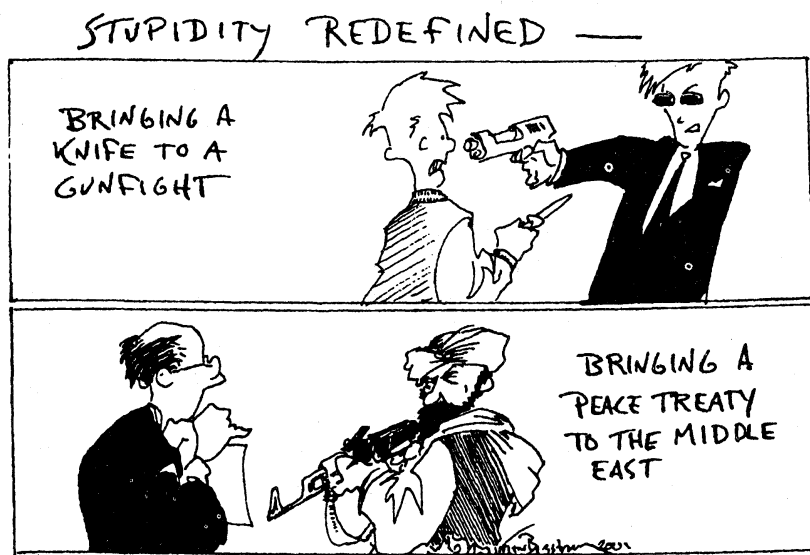
Supporters of light-rail claim that it will relieve congestion, but that is not what I saw in a column of numbers from the Texas Transportation Institute, which measures traffic congestion. An analyst in Seattle, at

the Washington Research Council, took the Texas Transportation Institute's congestion numbers from 1999 and compared them with 1982. He did it for 24 American cities, ranking them on how much their congestion had worsened in that 17-year period. Among the 24 American cities on it, there was Portland, Ore., famed for its light-rail system opened in 1986, its urban growth boundary, and the other policies celebrated among the good-government types as "smart growth."

All that progressive stuff, and the rate at which Portland's traffic got worse, from 1982 to 1999, was No. 1.

— Bruce Ramsey

**The second casualty** — Randolph Bourne famously observed that "war is the health of the state." The present undeclared war against the Taliban government of



Afghanistan and the stateless army of al Qaeda suggests that his observation is true, even when a war is undeclared and won quickly and — so far as most Americans are concerned — inexpensively.

Despite the ease with which the U.S. military has dispatched its puny enemy, the American public has gladly surrendered liberty in ways great and small. The terrorist attack of Sept. 11 has been a rationale to raise taxes to pay for everything from rapid transit to the subsidy of travel agents. And consider the new developments on the regulatory front.

While one administration official tells Americans that, when they fly on commercial aircraft, they must stand ready to attack hijackers, another has made it illegal to carry onto an airplane anything that might be used as a weapon, including fingernail clippers and crochet hooks. I suppose the idea is that passengers should attack with the plastic forks they are given to eat their airline "food."

As government grows more powerful and more expensive, support for its further growth and its confiscation of more of our liberties and more of our treasure also grows. Recent polls show that the federal government is more popular than at any time in memory.

The era of "the era of big government is over" is over. — R. W. Bradford

### ***Denying the deniers*** —

About 40 years ago, a palindromic professor named Revido P. Oliver came up with the weirdest theory I had ever heard: Adolf Hitler was a Communist agent. Why, you ask? Because what would Josef Stalin most like to see happen? That Germany be defeated and destroyed. Hence, Hitler, whose policies led to that outcome, must have been Stalin's secret agent.

Now I have found another theory that tops that one: David Irving, the notorious Holocaust denier, is secretly a Zionist agent! Why, you ask? Because his ignominious defeat in his libel action against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books discredited his notion that the Holocaust never occurred, and that Hitler, in any case, never knew about it. According to arch-conspiracy theorist Alfred Baron, the inevitable verdict against David Irving would undermine Holocaust denial forever.

# Liberty

The 2001 *Liberty* Editors' Conference was a real show-stopper. And even if you couldn't attend, you can still enjoy the thought-provoking commentary, unique insights, and classic moments for

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**Future Imperfect • David Friedman** leads a thrilling exploration of coming developments in biotechnology, and how they'll radically change the way we think about law and each other in the coming decades. (audio: A503; video: V503)

**The End of the World As We Know It • Fred L. Smith Jr.** explains how expanding markets cripple intrusive government and make liberty that much easier to find. (audio: A504; video: V504)

**Prisons for the Innocent • Washington state Supreme Court Justice Richard Sanders** exposes America's mental health gestapo, and shows how thousands have been locked up for life without ever committing a crime. (audio: A505; video: V505)

**All the Lies That Are Fit to Print • Jeff Rigenbach** chronicles media coverage of illegal drugs — from early 20th century "Negro cocaine fiends" to "crack babies" of the 1980s — uncovering a legacy of shoddy coverage and botched reporting. (audio: A506; video: V506)

**Who's Afraid of the Antichrist? • Douglas Casey** takes a provocative look at the tenets of radical Islam and how they inspired the recent terrorist attacks. Does God hate America? (audio: A507; video: V507)

**Terrorism on Drugs • Alan Bock** probes the link between terrorism and America's drug war — and proposes a single



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**The War on Terrorism (Part II) • Douglas Casey, Jeff Rigenbach, Randal O'Toole, Alan Bock, and R.W. Bradford** ask how terrorism will change our lives; for the better or for the worse. (audio: A510; video: V510)

reform that will end terrorism in America forever. (audio: A508; video: V508)

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so Irving must be a Zionist agent. At the trial in London, Baron placed a note on the seat of every reporter and journalist, declaring: "Irving is a paid agent of political Zionism. This trial is staged. Don't be deceived."

I found this morsel of illogic quoted in a brilliant new book, *Lying About Hitler*, by Professor Richard J. Evans of Cambridge University (Basic Books, 2001). The book is an incredible piece of detective work, in which Evans examines all of David Irving's writings, exposing countless errors in quoting and translating, as well as falsifications and inventions, plus — most vicious of all — believing every loving anecdote about Hitler told by his manicurists and bodyguards, while systematically denying the testimony of concentration-camp victims, claiming they are delusional and that they tattooed numbers on their own arms. Read this fine book and you will never take David Irving and his ilk seriously again.

— Bob Hessen

**High-Tech 52, Guerrillas 0** — The swift and severe response of the United States military in Afghanistan should serve as a reminder that, thanks to modern military technology, the possibility that a citizen militia could defeat a superpower by guerrilla warfare, as in Vietnam or Britain's American colonies has become negligible.

— Tim Slagle

**A very highly regulated militia** — I had to get fingerprinted at the county Public Safety Building before I could begin my new job. Since Sept. 11, the security forces at the building had recalibrated the metal detectors until they could detect magnetic strips on credit cards and slivers of steel in ladies razors. I barely avoided a strip search.

Since Black Tuesday, record numbers of people have been getting concealed pistol permits, a license that requires a quick dip in the ink in my state. One of these new permit holders is my father-in-law, a committed social democrat of rare doctrinairism. The day he went to get his permit, in an adjacent county, he reported the fingerprinting section was doing record business. Along with the more publicized run on guns, Americans have been lining up to be registered bearers of arms. We get printed, assessed, databased, and cleared and in other ways degraded to exercise the right which the Second Amendment guarantees us — although not under the murky legal theorizing that currently obtains in that body of law.

The records section where they took my prints was tiny. There were a couple of other guys there, hunched over their permit applications at a single inconveniently small desk. I was perched on a little ledge beside the receptionist's window trying to write in my personal info on the fingerprint card my company gave me when a guy sidled up next to me. "Registration," he told the receptionist. She smiled and handed him a green cardstock form. "REGISTRATION — SEX OFFENSE AND KIDNAPPING," it said. The necessary paperwork for a modern scarlet letter. I suppose it shouldn't surprise me that the receptionist hands out paperwork both to this guy and me with the same cheeriness, but still . . .

He was over the hill and had apparently traveled there on those proverbial miles of bad road. He wore a sweatshirt and sweatpants of a dingy gray, a tweed cap, and well-worn sneakers. He had a full white beard and watery, bright blue eyes. His cheeks were like roses, and his nose like a cherry,

but even if he gained 50 pounds and a twinkle in his eye he'd never be a store Santa Claus now. Not with that green card in his file. Not in a state where they can lock you up indefinitely for sex crimes, until and unless some psychiatrist pronounces you cured. But at least he won't have to go door to door in his neighborhood and introduce himself as a sex criminal or kidnapper. Well, not in most neighborhoods anyhow.

A typical dirty, old man, now an officially registered dirty, old man, lawfully convicted and identified as a permanent outcast. In a sense, there isn't that much difference between him and the two upstanding, bourgeois citizens standing in the same room with him, dutifully filling in their forms so their prints could be fed into the state's database. Their friends are liable to think they're nuts. Their marriages may have chilled. Being a "legal" gun owner means selectively following the laws or forfeiting your supposed privilege. These licensed gun owners are restricted from entering bars, post offices, and school areas while exercising their "right." They will walk around believing they are the object

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*"Registration," he told the receptionist. She smiled and handed him a green cardstock form. "REGISTRATION — SEX OFFENSE AND KIDNAPPING," it said. The necessary paperwork for a modern scarlet letter.*

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of suspicion ("Am I bulging?") and revulsion ("Oh, no, another [sneer] gun owner"). Many employers have instituted "no-weapons" policies in the mistaken belief that this will stop demented day traders, law clerks, and postal workers from bringing arsenals to their workplaces to settle old scores, real or imagined. Of course, the policy will only deter the employee who wants to remain on good terms with his employer; that is, the employee who a businessman wants on his side in a fight.

It's said an armed man is a citizen and an unarmed man is a serf. But in our advanced bureaucratic state, where anything is possible, even the armed man can be a registered outcast.

— Brien Bartels

**Happy birthday, Noam!** — On Dec. 7, 1928, Avram Noam Chomsky was born into this world, and he's still, even as a senior citizen, screaming and kicking.

That's actually quite remarkable. You see, Professor Chomsky is of the opinion that people "shouldn't be subjected to things like division of labor, which destroys them . . ." But despite having been subjected to division of labor for decades, Chomsky himself remains "undestroyed." You would think that someone of that opinion would not limit his labor to one narrow field but would move from one occupation to another (baker, lumberjack, dentist, musician, truck driver, etc.) in an attempt to escape "destruction" at the jaws of division of labor — and that he'd advise everyone else to do likewise (which would effectively end division of labor). But no, he continues to play his specific part and shows no signs of letting up, which leads me to conclude that if he can

survive division of labor, perhaps there's hope for the rest of us.

Professor Chomsky isn't the first person whose existence refutes his ideas, and he certainly won't be the last. Happy birthday, sir, and many, many more! — Barry Loberfeld

**"Hey, hey, ho, ho, laissez faire's the way to go!"** — I attended the Walk for Capitalism in Los Angeles on Dec. 2, along with about 25 other people. The

march began with some minor problems (the sky threatened rain at the time we were supposed to start) but it went off without a hitch. There were many flags, and a handful of signs — my favorite said "To Earn Is Human"; another said "Laissez-Faire Capitalism: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." We marched downtown on Figueroa Boulevard, past L.A.'s World Trade Center, and on the way back stopped for lunch where a seminar broke out (rather common with libertarians).

All in all a fun time, and a chance to meet new friends. Only one newspaper, *L.A. Weekly*, covered the event, but perhaps next year, with more publicity and preparation, it will attract more attention.

— Timothy Sandefur

**The cloning gap** — When the gods of science begin to clone the sons of men, who shall be their chosen people? According to minority media personalities, it shall be the usual suspects: rich, white males. In an ominous development, some members of the "civil rights community" are calling on the federal government to clone the downtrodden.

While driving through Columbus, Ohio, I tuned in a minority-oriented radio station in time to catch their local talk show, "Online with Derrick Clay." Clay insisted that all therapeutic human cloning efforts undertaken to date involved only whites. "There are major differences in white and black anatomies," Clay's female co-host interjected, echoing Southern segregationist "scientists" of a bygone era. Asserting that the health of blacks was being sacrificed under this arrangement, she then asked, "Who will have access to cloning? Those who can afford it. For the most part, that's rich, European males. What about those ethnic groups that don't have access [to genetic reproduction]?"

Her rhetorical question deftly points the way to the next massive government program: government-subsidized human cloning.

We should hardly be surprised. There scarcely exists another consumer good not funded by taxpayer dollars, nor any service not subject to politically motivated cries of "equal access." Why should the left make an exception for DNA? (And will DNA replicate at half its usual rate once conducted under government auspices?)

This episode does more than expose the undercurrent of

paranoia rampant in the black community. (The same hostess purred agreement when a caller insisted the federal government introduced AIDS into black and Hispanic neighborhoods.) Were Clay a mere blowhard with access to a microphone, we might rest easy. But Clay is no extremist — at least, relatively speaking. He played a key role in electing Michael Coleman mayor of Columbus, in addition to assisting Al Gore's resilient Ohio campaign.

The affirmative action threat transcends financial concerns, taking on potentially totalitarian implications. Imagine a future activist Supreme Court able to decree racial "balance" via human cloning.

— Ben Johnson

**The cost of empire** — War has

united America, for the moment. But under the surface, thoughts are dissimilar. One of the keys to what we think is how we answer the question, "Why do they hate us?"

President Bush had an answer in his speech to Congress Sept. 20: "They hate what we see right here in this chamber — a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms — our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other." They hate us for who we are.

The other answer is that they hate us because of what our government has done. Osama bin Laden has said the three most hateful things America has done is to support Israel's hegemony over Palestine, to embargo Iraq, and to put military bases in the holy land of Saudi Arabia.

Consider what these answers imply. If people hate us because of what our government has done, we have to examine what that was. Something may need to be changed. If they hate us because we vote, because our women drive cars, or because we don't pray five times a day, we need to think no more. If they want to kill us for that, it's time for a war.

Bush's war has divided the right, and this disagreement is fundamental to that. For the pro-war side, consider Cathy Young in *Reason*: "There is every reason to believe that our current enemies, fundamentalist Islamic militants, are motivated by far more than U.S. support for Israel, the plight of the Palestinians, economic sanctions against Iraq, and the presence of U.S. troops on the Arabian peninsula, the main canards of the finger-pointers. In fact, what makes America the Great Satan in their eyes is precisely what libertarians cherish — 'our secular culture of freedom, reason, and the pursuit of happiness,' as philosopher David Kelley put it."

Patrick Buchanan summed up the view of the "finger pointers" on KVI-AM radio, Seattle, in November: "These acts of cataclysmic terror are a direct result of us playing Roman Empire all over the world."

MIME WITH  
TOURETTES



I agree with Buchanan. For me, the key to the question is not to examine the terrorists — I haven't had a chance to examine any — but to listen to ordinary Middle Easterners. It may be that a handful of terrorists hate everything about America, from its foreign policy to what it drinks at lunch; it may be that one cannot be a mass killer unless one's bile runs pure. But what of the population from which the terrorists recruit?

And that answer is easy. There is a widespread anger. Anybody from Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, or Pakistan can tell you about it. And what they say is, We don't dislike Americans, but we don't like what your government has done to people like us. These are not terrorists with 100-proof hatreds. Their complaints are political. They may have some cultural complaints about America — so do many foreigners — but what angers them is our political acts that affect them.

It is comforting to think we are hated for who we are. We know we are good, and if we are hated for our goodness, voilà, we can hate right back. Bombs away!

But it is not plausible to assume that the ordinary, anti-American Middle Easterner is deeply and personally interested in who we are. We are not interested in who he is. Is it not more reasonable to assume that he is interested mostly in himself, and people like him? If that is so, it surely must frustrate him when the Americans, possessing so much power and so little sense, brush off his complaints by saying he hates American freedom.

The millions who resent the United States, and the distilled few who hate Americans with criminal intent, have feelings about us that began with what our government did. To admit that is not to forgive the terrorists for willing the deaths of innocents. It is not to give up on capturing bin Laden. It is to recognize that events are complicated, that blame comes in different strengths and sticks in more than one place. Anyway, blame is not the only thing to think on. There is the practical question of safety, and we are not making ourselves safer by kidding ourselves about the motives of people who oppose us.

— Bruce Ramsey

**A good man gone** — Dick Arme's announcement that he would not seek re-election to the House of Representatives comes as bad news for libertarians. Arme has been an unusual politician. He is the most influential of the small number of congresspeople who genuinely believe that the size and power of government ought to be reduced. And he doesn't just believe in that as a distant goal — he has actually sought to implement that goal by means of the legislative process. "Making laws is like making sausage," the old adage goes, and few who value liberty want to get involved in the ugly business. While Congressman Ron Paul articulates libertarian ideals, Congressman Dick Arme tries to make them real.

Plainly going against the temper of the nation, Arme still enjoyed a considerable amount of success. He rose to a position of leadership among House Republicans, and managed to sell his colleagues on flatter, lower taxes, and he did his best to roll back state power in other ways as well. He never articulated the radical reduction of the state that libertarians like me propose, but every day he did what he could. His personal qualities were in some ways as important as his

political ones. He brought grace, wit, charm and a powerful intellect to an occupation in which it is often lacking.

There are many libertarians who believe that the differences among major party politicians are insignificant, just as there are many who consider the moral status of Franklin Roosevelt as comparable to that of Joseph Stalin, as if enacting minimum wage laws, raising taxes, and creating government-run old age pensions were comparable to killing 30 million of one's fellow citizens.

If any argument against this view were needed, it would be provided by the political careers of Dick Arme and Ron Paul — friends of liberty who have also, indeed, managed to maintain political careers. Unfortunately, however, Arme's retirement will make the case seem more credible to the credulous, since his absence from the scene will inevitably result in the House Republicans moving toward the welfare-statist consensus.

— R. W. Bradford

**When CEOs get touchy-feely** — Michael Lewis exemplifies the persona that gives rise to the famous story about Lenin when he stated at a rally "we'll live to see all capitalists hanging from the trees — they'll sell us the rope." In a recent article on "three lessons from Enron's fantastic collapse," Lewis says, "it's a bad sign for any big company when its male executives all of a sudden begin to care about their personal lives. Having long abandoned any chance of a rich inner life, having shunted aside wives and kids for the sake of commercial glory, they are unlikely to experience any sort of inner awakening, unless they sense there is no more glory to be had." Why don't businessmen immediately jump up and say that they treat their wives and kids just as well as other men?

Lewis is proud to proclaim that someone could have done a great service to capitalism by doing in Orville Wright. And he is proud that he will never invest in anything with more moving parts than a lawn mower or more electronics than a typewriter. Are we all latent mediocrities like Ayn Rand said? Is it insecurity and fear of greatness that makes us kowtow to these kind of sentiments? Or is it just that we lack a philosophical rudder?

— Victor Niederhoffer

**Public parts** — In 1984 Congress passed a law declaring all human organs a national resource, and subsequently forbade sales of organs. This denied any claims an individual might have on self-ownership.

Right now the Department of Health and Human Services has formed an advisory committee to find new sources of organs. Two suggested remedies are removing organs against family wishes, if a donor card is signed, and assuming that everybody is a donor unless there is a document prohibiting removal of organs. To classify this as grave robbing is an understatement. It's utterly Frankensteinian. This isn't the proverbial slippery slope — this is a well-greased cliff. One might ask, how long before Congress comes after the organs of living donors?

The most controversial proposal, in the eyes of the committee, is allowing cash transfer in exchange for organs. Possibly the most startling idea to those involved is that allowing market forces into the equation would probably work. Shortages and lines appear any time a central agency controls price and distribution.



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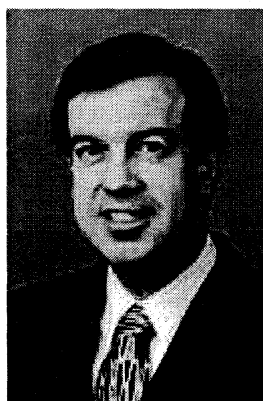
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Even though I recognize the benefit of donating organs that I no longer need, I refuse to sign the back of my driver's license until the state recognizes my self-ownership, and allows me to sell my organs. I urge all that agree with me to follow suit. In fact, as a pre-emptive strike, I'm going to tattoo a note on my back, prohibiting the removal of any organs or tissue without payment to my survivors. — Tim Slagle

### **Economics disregarded! Naturalistic fallacy reversed!**

— A reporter on a TV talk show asked Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta whether a 70-year-old white woman from Florida would receive the same level of airport security scrutiny as a Muslim young man from Jersey City. According to Dorothy Rabinowitz in the Dec. 7 *Wall Street Journal*, the secretary said he hoped so. He expressed faith in the FAA's profile system, which leaves out race, ethnicity, and religion and focuses instead on the passenger's travel history, FBI and CIA reports, and such facts as whether the ticket covered a round trip or one way only and had been bought with cash or a credit card.

Such thinking, if meant seriously, disregards three key economic concepts: scarcity, marginalism, and diminishing marginal returns. The more scarce resources are spent combing through the clothes and bags of feeble old women, the fewer remain for more suspicious-looking travelers. Efficient use of resources requires that per unit of cost, equal results be expected at all relevant margins. The resources already devoted to screening old women would have to be few indeed relative to those devoted to Arab-looking young men to reach margins such that an additional unit of attention would yield as much additional expected security devoted to the women as devoted to the men. The facts of reality and insights of economics are not always pleasant.

Even recognizing that infringement of nondiscrimination counts among the costs of security screening, one still gets a whiff of political correctness in the reported positions of Secretary Mineta and the FAA. Here and in other examples one might mention, people are falling into a reverse naturalistic fallacy. The (ordinary) naturalistic fallacy, is that of trying to derive a value judgment from facts and logic alone — trying to get an "ought" from an "is." Equally fallacious is trying to get an "is" from an "ought" — judging something true because one thinks it ought to be true. It would be nice

indeed if disregard of ethnicity, age, and sex did not impair the efficiency of security screening. Unfortunately, wishes do not make reality.  
— Leland B. Yeager

**Green power** — The environmental lobby is always complaining that electricity suppliers are not interested in the environment. My local electricity supplier has just sent me a letter that blows that fallacious argument apart. London Electricity, a privatized electricity-distribution company, is offering its customers the opportunity to switch to a "Green Tariff."

The concept is simple. Customers agree to pay a slightly higher tariff of 4 pence (6 cents) per unit. This equates to a modest increase of \$20 per annum for an average household. Customers who switch to the Green Tariff receive two free energy-saving light bulbs, worth \$13 each. These bulbs use one-fifth the electricity of ordinary bulbs and last 15 times longer. The customer should thus easily save on electricity and bulb replacement to repay the higher cost of the bulb, and more.

The company promises that the extra revenue arising from the higher tariff will be allocated to a Green Energy Fund to invest in small-scale renewable energy projects. For every penny that the customers put in, London Electricity will put in a matching penny. If a customer uses 5000 kWh of electricity a year, London Electricity promises to purchase that much electricity from renewable sources, e.g., wind farms and tidal power.

Why is London Electricity making this offer? The answer is quite simple. Following privatization and deregulation of the British electricity industry, customers can choose to purchase electricity from several suppliers. London Electricity clearly sees the Green Tariff as a source of competitive advantage. It is possible that its competitors may offer a similar deal or an even better one. If so, that is not a problem as customers can easily change suppliers.

So the next time an activist from Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace complains that energy companies put profits before the environment, I will ask them a simple question. Are you on London Electricity's Green Tariff? Free market environmentalism works in practice. Lets hope that other companies follow London Electricity's pioneering lead.

— Kenneth Irvine

### **Standing athwart liberty yelling, "stop"**

— In a couple recent *National Review Online* columns, Jonah Goldberg has once again tried to figure out libertarianism, and once again failed. You'll recall that in June he attempted to attack all of libertarianism on the basis of a single conversation (about suicide, of all things) with a college student in Washington. (In a later column he claimed that he hadn't actually been doing that, because, as he put it, "that would be stupid." Indeed it was.) This time around, Goldberg claims that the difference between conservatives and libertarians is that conservatives are "anti-Left," while libertarians are "merely" anti-state. Being anti-Left means opposing the "secular-humanism" represented by the modern liberal coalition, while being anti-state means merely opposing the methods by which liberals prosecute their culture war. "I have always believed, and have written, that a conservative case can be made for the NEA, PBS, and the public schools,"



"I didn't think the newspaper would actually print a letter like that!"

Goldberg writes. "Conservatism has always understood the important role institutions play in transmitting culture, so if these institutions could be trusted to transmit cultural values which didn't tell people that America is racist, that your soul resides in your gonads, or that Cuba is a workers' paradise — I could be open to keeping them around."

For Goldberg, government-funded propaganda is fine, so long as it is in conservative hands. Only when National Public Radio gets taken over by, say, pro-choicers, would he consider the question of whether it is constitutional in the first place. Still, Goldberg claims, he isn't being intellectually dishonest — the anti-staters (libertarians) are. Although we "think you'd have to be higher than a moon bat to support even the theoretical idea of a government-run TV network," he writes, we "are perfectly happy to make anti-Left arguments ('Do you really want the federal government teaching homosexuality?') if it will help [us] win allies in [our] cause."

In a subsequent column, Goldberg blamed libertarianism for the apparent treason of John Walker, the American who

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*Goldberg's basic premise: Unless a person's ideology (or cultural taste) is backed up by force, that ideology is irrelevant.*

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was captured fighting for the Taliban. Ah, that's right. Libertarianism is certainly the well from which springs fundamentalist Muslim movements like the Taliban. But hear him out. Goldberg's argument is that "libertarianism is essentially a form of arrogant nihilism. There are no universal truths or even group truths (i.e., the authority of tradition, patriotism, etc.) — only personal ones. According to cultural libertarianism, we should all start believing in absolutely nothing, until we find whichever creed or ideology fits us best." Thus "Virginia Postrel can write triumphantly that the market allows Americans to spend \$8 billion on porn and \$3 billion at Christian bookstores, because she isn't willing to say that one is any better, or any worse, than the other."

I do not know Mrs. Postrel's thoughts on pornography, but I for one do not regard pornography as culturally superior to Christianity. In fact, I have never been in a pornography shop, just as I have never taken drugs or tasted a drop of alcohol (I wonder whether Goldberg has a similar record himself). Yet because I am a libertarian, he would accuse me of *arrogant nihilism* — of not being willing to say that sobriety is preferable to hedonism.

These columns illustrate Goldberg's, and indeed, cultural conservatism's, basic premise: Unless a person's ideology (or cultural taste) is backed up by *force*, that ideology is irrelevant. Unless a person attempts to *force* another person to patronize a Christian bookstore instead of Le Sex Shoppe, then the fact that he himself prefers the former to the latter is insignificant. Goldberg knows well enough that libertarians (and particularly we Objectivists) have *very* strong cultural preferences. It's strange to hear followers of the philosophy of Ayn Rand being accused of too much tolerance. But because we do not believe those preferences can be *forced* on

other people, we are therefore "nihilists." If we *really* preferred religion to pornography, then we would join the conservatives in coercing people to agree with that preference. Because we think that people should be free to make that decision for themselves, then our preferences, no matter how deeply we seem to hold them, are really just illusory.

It's interesting to contrast Goldberg's view of the properly moral sociology with that of John Milton, the greatest Christian poet in the English language. According to Goldberg, Milton was a nihilist. Listen to what he said in *Areopagitica*:

... when God gave [Adam] reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had bin else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin ...

In his *Second Defence*, Milton urged Oliver Cromwell not to make laws "which interdict those things which are lawful only on account of the abuses to which they may occasionally be exposed. For the intention of laws is to check the commission of vice, but liberty is the best school of virtue. ..."

Milton wasn't the first libertarian to be accused of hedonism, nihilism, etc. Decades later John Locke responded to the same slanders in his *Second Treatise*, writing that "The end of law is not to abolish or restrain, but to preserve and enlarge freedom. For liberty is to be free from restraint and violence from others, which cannot be where there is no law; and is not, as [conservatives like Goldberg claim], 'a liberty for every man to do what he lists.' For who could be free, when every other man's humor might domineer over him? But a liberty to dispose and order freely as he lists his person, actions, possessions, and his whole property within the allowance of those laws under which he is, and therein not to be subject to the arbitrary will of another, but freely follow his own."

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That remains the core belief of libertarianism. Of course we believe in the difference between right and wrong. Some of us choose not to drink or use drugs, and we even encourage others to make that choice as well. The libertarian doesn't believe that pornography and Christianity are interchangeable. We simply believe that if Mr. Goldberg wants people to patronize the Christian bookstore, he must *convince* them that it is better to do so, rather than using government to *force* them to do so. Indeed, because we believe it is morally *wrong* to force such choices, we place a far greater emphasis on the importance of moral persuasion in our sociology. In fact, Postrel writes extensively in *The Future and Its Enemies* about the importance of cultural criticism for a free society to work. Like Friedrich Hayek (and Locke and Milton) before her, Postrel believes that "Criticism is at the very heart of the dynamic process of learning."

Conservatives like Goldberg are indeed merely anti-Left. We are pro-liberty. Goldberg's belief that freedom of choice amounts to moral relativism and nihilism is shared with a certain fundamentalist, theocratic, socially conservative philosophy which once governed Afghanistan.

— Timothy Sandefur

**Image is everything** — Like anyone who enjoys Rand's novels, I get a thrill when corporations have the guts to defend themselves in the court of public opinion. Galt knows, it's not that often. But there are currently a few corporate "image" ad campaigns that promote not just a particular product or company, but capitalism itself.

My favorites are the MasterCard ads that show how seemingly trivial purchases can add up to create priceless spiritual moments. You know the ones. "Kneepads: \$35. Dark Blue Dress: \$80. Dry Cleaning: \$0. Bringing a president to his knees: Priceless." Ralph Nader's presidential campaign did a satire of these ads that prompted MasterCard to file an injunction. MasterCard had to, because if you don't zealously defend your trademark, case law says you could end up losing your right to the trademark entirely.

Another of my favorites is the NASDAQ ad campaign that profiles some of the innovative high-tech companies sold on that exchange. Unfortunately, they don't air it much now that NASDAQ has become a swearword. There are also some terrific ads from the American Plastics Council that show how a product as boring and vilified as plastic improves and even saves our lives. And don't forget the Shilo Inn radio ads that extol the "American free enterprise system" as the fountainhead of excellence.

But these ads are exceptions. Most corporate image ads are suicidal. They have a subtext that basically says: "Yes, we know we are evil, but now we're doing some good things, too." The absolute worst has to be the British Petroleum campaign. They've got an ad that says, "Imagine a company becoming a force for good . . ."

I'd love to see British Petroleum unveil an ad that says, "Listen up, all you left-wingnuts who think that we oil companies conspire to thwart the development of solar power. It just so happens that the best solar panels in the world are made and marketed by British Petroleum."

The cigarette companies are getting their butts kicked in the ongoing ad war with anti-tobacco activists. And no won-

der. Tobacco ads are regulated every which way but loose. I'd love to see a tobacco council ad with Tom Hanks walking along a Normandy beach saying, "Cigarettes helped win World War II. They calmed soldiers' nerves and kept them alert. They offered a moment of pleasure in a world of horror. And one of the reasons these men fought fascism was for the freedom to enjoy simple pleasures. Like a Philly cheese-steak, a beer, or a cigarette. Don't let today's fascists take that freedom away." But, of course, the sellers of cigarettes can't mention their own product on TV or radio.

And not only are anti-tobacco ads free to say whatever, wherever, and however they want (they're even allowed to show someone smoking, albeit through a hole in her throat), they are often funded by the government. In Idaho, for example, the State Department of Health has launched an anti-tobacco campaign involving a series of billboards showing two rugged cowboys riding slowly into the sunset with the caption, "Bob, I miss my lung." Not only are the cowboys dressed, staged, and photographed exactly the same as in a real Marlboro ad, the type font is exactly the same. I'm no intellectual property lawyer, but this looks a little like a copyright violation to me. Or maybe confiscation of a trademark. But I digress.

When image ads aren't undermining capitalism, they are merely wasting their owners', and ultimately consumers', money. The point is that many of these image ads are pointless. They're defensive without defending anything. Take for example the poignant Phillip Morris ads telling how they helped flood victims and refugees. They're swell ads, but do they make Phillip Morris' enemies suddenly love tobacco companies? And these activists have been crowing that Phillip Morris spent more last year on that ad campaign that it did on the actual charity. Oops.

Speaking of charity, ads aren't the only way corporations waste money trying to cultivate a public image. Corporate charitable giving may offer tax advantages, but from a purely PR point of view, who do they think they're impressing (or appeasing)? I have yet to hear someone say, "Yeah, that Bill Gates is a greedy bastard and Microsoft is the Evil Empire, but you know, they do donate a lot to charity, so let's buy more of their products and tell the government to get off their backs." It's one thing for Microsoft employees to donate their own resources to charity, but as a stockholder I don't want the company spending time and money on anything other than making more money. And as a customer, I don't want to bear the costs of that charitable giving.

And don't get me started on the image-conscious pressure to be seen "giving back to the community." Giving what back? The revenues they already paid to employees, suppliers, and investors? As one of Rand's heroes might say, "After all I've done for you, you want me to 'give back to the community'?! Okay. I'll give you back the entire corporation, just as I found it: an empty field overgrown with weeds."

Actually, come to think of it, many environmentalists might go for an ad like that.

— Tom Isenberg

**Like herding cats** — Andrew Sullivan writes that the war on terrorism has "discombobulated" libertarians. He has a point. Do defenders of liberty side with the state, because it is fulfilling its essential function? Or do they oppose it, because they are worried about imperialism? Ask

Cato, the Objectivists, Virginia Postrel, or the contributors to *Liberty and Reason*: they don't agree. Not at all.

The conservatives see many libertarians siding with the left, and wag their fingers. Writes George Will: "Events since Sept. 11 have underscored the limits of libertarianism." Andrew Sullivan writes, "Libertarianism — often allied to neo-isolationist foreign policy — has gained traction in recent years, and the war has shown how deep instinctive suspicion of government has become. [Rep. Bob] Barr recently told *ABC News*, 'I'm not worried about tribunals, for example, overseas, but domestically we have to abide by the . . . Bill of Rights.' . . . If you'd been told before September 11 that one of the fall's political fights would pit Bob Barr against John Ashcroft, you'd have dismissed it as a liberal fantasy. But the Barr-Ashcroft divide falls ominously along the conservative-libertarian fault line of contemporary Republican politics. Barr's argument echoes other Republicans who harbor deep suspicions of the FBI and CIA, as well as the experts at the Cato Institute who worry about a new American imperialism if the war goes well. If the base of Republican support for the last decade or so has been what Grover Norquist has called the 'leave-us-alone' coalition, then a far stronger military, intelligence, and homeland security apparatus, however good for the country, is not the greatest of news for the conservative coalition."

This does not prove that libertarians are wrong — only that their position in this war will not be unanimous. Maybe, if they think it through, their position will be complicated, balancing long-term liberty with short-term liberty, liberty here and liberty there. The conservatives' position is not complicated. It can be asserted simply by swooshing a flag. One wonders what flag a libertarian should fly. The stars and stripes? It is ours, too. The peace symbol, as some suggest? The Confederate flag, also recommended by some? I've always liked the "Don't Tread on Me" naval jack, the one with the snake on the stripes. But I am not flying it, either.

— Bruce Ramsey

**"The free market can cut your long distance bills by half!"** — There is very little more annoying than a telemarketing call. I earn my way in this world by telling jokes, and I eagerly anticipate every ring of the phone as it usually signals the arrival of a new gig onto the calendar. So it is dreadfully annoying when the person on the other end of the phone starts trying to sell me something.

There have been many attempts to quiet the calls, through legislation and technology, but the aggressive telemarketing industry always finds a way around the blocks. The reality is that companies that use phone banks generate more in sales than it costs to keep them staffed. If we want to stop telemarketing, we have to shift the balance in two areas: Decrease the sales, and raise their payroll costs.

The first is easy. If we all agree to simply stop buying goods and services marketed in this fashion, the profit incentive will disappear. To win on the second front, we must conspire to make the telemarketer's job more unpleasant so firms will have to raise wages to retain employees. I propose we all take an oath to make these phone calls as unpleasant as possible. Forget that we live in a civil society and stop

being nice. After all, they initiated the call. One interesting way to annoy telemarketers is to turn the tables on them and try to sell them back. I've found libertarianism to be a very effective way of distancing friends and neighbors, so why wouldn't it work on total strangers? Next time somebody rings your line to ask you if you know how much you can save on your long-distance calls, ask him if he knows that there is no constitutional basis for having to file an income tax form. Keep him on the phone listening to a litany of market-based solutions for an hour or so.

Or ask your telemarketer exactly what he did to deserve such a crummy job. Kids before marriage? Didn't take school seriously? Drugs? I understand that a lot of telemarketing companies are going to prisons for the cheap labor available there. It's kind of ironic that the same politicians who promise us legislation to protect us from telemarketers are profiting by using the penal system to make the telemarketing calls they rally against. This opens up a wonderful opportunity for us to perform outreach. We all imagine ourselves as revolutionaries and rebels, but the truth is most of us are law-abiding geeks. Few of us will ever spend any time in prison. If you find that the salesperson is calling you from prison, there's an excellent chance you're talking to one of the million or so incarcerated drug criminals that should be in the Libertarian Party. Don't let the Democrats be the sole benefactors from the criminal demographic. Granted, if they are felons, they probably can't vote, but you can tell them that if Harry Browne had been elected they would have been paroled by now, and selling MCI from outside. Your captive audience might encourage his friend and family to join us.

— Tim Slagle

**Oh my God! Osama killed Kenny!** — *South Park* and I have had an off-and-on relationship. When the cartoon series first came on TV, I couldn't get enough of it. I loved its outrageousness. And it was a perfect example of how comedy works.

All comedy works in the same way: it's the sudden discovery that what we feared, what we were taught to respect, what we worried about, what we were intimidated by, isn't anything that we need to worry about after all — dude! When the *South Park* kids went around calling each other *##%#@&! and @\*@#\$\$!*, what they were really saying was, don't be intimidated by *any* of those rules you learned. (Also, they just wanted to say *##%#@&! and @\*@#\$\$!* But never mind; it's not important for the theory.)

That was the point of the whole business about Kenny's death. Kenny, as you know, is the little kid who mumbles his way unintelligibly through every episode, before getting killed in some ridiculous way, whereupon the other three kids yell, "Oh no! They've killed Kenny!" and then go about their business as if nothing ever happened. And it didn't happen, not really; because in the very next episode, Kenny is back, ready to be killed again — no explanation required. It all goes to show that if you just remain a total nonentity, you never need to worry; you never even need to die, not really.

I know it's stupid; the whole show was stupid, right from the start. But it taught the most satisfying lesson that anyone could ever learn: whatever you do, man, that's okay. And if

you can't understand even that lesson, don't worry; in the final analysis, even the most abject stupidity is perfectly okay. At the end of Aristophanes' great comedy *The Birds*, humanoids exactly like the citizens of South Park conquer the immortal gods themselves. It's the ultimate dream — to be rewarded, not in spite of your failings, but because of them.

But then, just when I was starting to compare *South Park* to Aristophanes, or even Cheech and Chong, something happened, something unexpected and dreadful. I got tired of sheer stupidity.

How can this be? I wondered. I didn't know. I just knew that it was true. Maybe it had to happen. Sheer stupidity has an evil twin, which is sheer insipidity; and they're rarely seen alone. I knew that *South Park* and I would have to call it quits when SUVs showed up in my neighborhood with rainbow decals on one side of the rear window and a *South Park* kid on the other. The hip bistro down the street started setting out cookies in the shape of *South Park* kids. Worse still, authorities on atheism started going on TV to appreciate *South Park's* analysis of theology. Obviously, stupidity wasn't safe from its own success. It couldn't stay stupid; it had to turn itself into one more stinking thing you had to think about.

So I stopped watching the show.

But now . . . I'm back! The recent *South Parks* have demonstrated that even if nothing can long endure as radical, gut-level, absolute, content-free nonsense, nonsense may at times succeed in becoming Effective Political Satire; i.e. satire that I agree with.

I first noticed *South Park's* swerve from far left to far right when I saw a rerun of its Rain Forest episode. The episode involves an environmentalist teacher who takes the *South Park* kids to some dilapidated non-American country to protest against the capitalist plot to destroy "the rain forest," and therefore mankind. Things immediately go from bad to worse. Not only do the kids, and even the teacher, find out that the local people know more than they do about the environmental dangers that they supposedly confront, but the whole group winds up getting rescued from the deadly perils of the jungle itself by a bunch of lumber guys with enormous bulldozers.

Eggzullunt! And last winter was even better. It didn't take *South Park* three minutes to produce a hilarious satire of the disputed presidential election, representing it as a contest for homeroom president that quickly mushrooms into massive litigation, until the kids, in their stupidity, decide that the whole thing is just a boring, repulsive game, and they don't have to play it any more.

And now we come to *South Park's* Taliban season. The sublime Osama bin Laden episode first represents OBL as the feckless villain in a Bugs Bunny-style comedy; then it tires of him and shows a guy blowing his head off. Funny! But easy. The harder part was dealing with the America issue.

*South Park's* sole reason for existence, once you get beyond sheer stupidity, is to laugh at the American way of life. But we're living in a time when the ideology of the Americans who matter (at least from the media point of view) is *anti-Americanism*. When you think about it, anti-

Americanism is the American way of life, for them. That's why national news magazines run "Why Do They Hate Us?" on their covers, with "they" meaning that purported enormous part of the world that, presumably for good reason, spends most of its time hating the USA. This attitude toward America is so prevalent among the quick, the slick, and the hip as to constitute a powerfully intimidating force for everybody else.

Well, that's the kind of thing that comedy is meant to take care of, and *South Park* has done so.

Its method was to send the kids to Afghanistan and confront them with four Afghan kids who look exactly the same as they do, except that they're wearing those funny clothes.

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*I knew that South Park and I would have to call it quits when SUVs showed up in my neighborhood with rainbow decals on one side of the rear window and a South Park kid on the other.*

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The Afghan kids consider it their duty to hate the American kids, and they claim that a third of the world's other people do, too. "But why?" the American kids ask, and the answer is (as if this were the most obvious thing in the world), "Because you don't realize that a third of the world hates you."

It's the perfect postmodern moment, the perfect nexus of opposed perspectives, and nothing but perspectives — or so a hip, slick, postmodern analyzer would put it. That's not the way the *South Park* kids put it, though. Their response is, "That doesn't make sense! You're just a buncha buttholes!"

There's more. There's the almost equally delicious moment, later in the same episode, when the American kids say goodbye to the Afghan kids. The Afghans reaffirm their hatred for the Americans, and the Americans respond, with a greeting-card wistfulness, "Maybe someday we can learn to hate you, too."

Now, if you're afraid that *South Park* is self-censoring its critique of America just because there's a war going on, you can check out the subsequent episode in which the kids go to the airport and a security guard discovers that Kenny is car-



"I resigned my army commission this morning — you are now under civilian rule!"

rying a pair of toenail clippers. Being one of the few truly conscientious airport guards in America, the guy whips out a gun and blows Kenny away.

So don't worry, America is still the object of *South Park's* gross, obvious, unfair, disgusting satire. But *South Park's* satire of America's enemies, at home and abroad, has broken the unfairness barrier. It has arrived at the gross, obvious, disgusting, but perfectly fair and, indeed, irrefutable truth: They are just a buncha buttholes. — Stephen Cox

**Starstruck at the LP** — A lot of Libertarian Party members figure the easiest way to victory is to get a Hollywood celebrity to head the LP ticket. I say, why be satisfied with just one celebrity when we can have all of Hollywood? These celebrities are all in the upper-one-percent income tax bracket. They'd probably be embracing Republican tax cuts if it weren't for the GOP's record on civil liberties and censorship. The attitude of most Hollywood celebrities is 100% in agreement with our policy on the drug war — don't even get me started on sexual liberties or military interventionism. Unfortunately, most of the industry has embraced Teddy Kennedy liberalism, where wealth is tolerated, as long as you "care" about people who have less than you.

So how can we get Hollywood to come around to the LP? I think we should encourage Republicans to push for a new tax on celebrities. Republicans already hate Hollywood, so they'll warm to the idea quickly. I suggest the GOP propose a "neighborhood rebate tax," a heavy tax on people who earn more than 1 million dollars per year income from ticket sales, television ratings, or commercial endorsements. The tax is earmarked to help the neighborhoods the celebrities left behind. The poor in America will certainly like the idea. After all, why should Oprah be so wealthy when it is the average stay-at-home mother-housewife who put her where she is today? It would be extremely difficult for a celebrity to oppose such a tax publicly, especially if they've been aligning themselves with Santa Claus Democrats.

The celebrities will soon realize how vulnerable they really are. The fragility of minority rights, especially when that minority is defined by personal wealth, will become startlingly apparent. The evil political monster called envy will chase them into the Libertarian Party in droves, dragging their status, resources, and fundraising ability.

Let's just make sure that when they get here, that we're an inviting place. If we really go after the celebrities, we have to look a little less like a comic-book convention. Hollywood is a lot like high school: If the only seat left in the cafeteria is at the dork table, a cool kid will eat standing up. — Tim Slagle

**Plane of fools** — If you consider the principal effects of their violence, the 19 guys rank as monumental fools:

1) closer cooperation between the two old superpowers, Russia and the United States, explicitly against Muslim countries;

2) increased popularity for President George W. Bush;

3) the canonization of Rudolf Giuliani, who got elected twice thanks to the other party's uncompetitive candidates and was on the verge of retiring in ignominy when the attacks occurred;

4) the previously unlikely election of overnight "Republi-

can" Mike Bloomberg as New York City mayor;

5) the gratuitous bombing of Muslim Afghanistan — a country unable to defend itself;

6) persistent criticism of Saudi Arabia's favored relationship with the United States;

7) greater sympathy for Israel as the lone democratic outpost in the Middle East;

8) increasing sentiment for New York City unity;

9) increasing difficulties for otherwise law-abiding Arabs and Muslims residing in the United States;

10) the incarceration, often on flimsy grounds, of scores of Arabs residing the United States who can't even get civil liberties support and publicity;

11) increased support for more aggressive intelligence agencies, both international and domestic, particularly in the surveillance of Arabs and Muslims;

12) a stock market that rose, after a decline, to levels higher than before the WTC sabotage;

13) generous economic assistance to Muslim nations that oppose terrorism;

14) increased federal aid to New York City, which has always thought it paid Washington more than it received back.

For these results alone, their 19 faces should be defaced in red with the word "fools" and then burned in effigy, at least by Arab-Americans, perhaps by Arabs and Muslims everywhere.

All violence inevitably produces results far different from those intended, for the antagonists as well as the victims.

— Richard Kostelanetz

**George Harrison, R.I.P.** — The day George Harrison passed away (Friday, Nov. 30) my brother sent me an email: "The Beatles are halfway to a reunion." It was a sad joke, not a cruel one.

The back of George's "Beatles Color Card" (his was number three) has the vitals: Born in Liverpool, Feb. 25, 1943; height: 5'11"; weight: 142; favorite music: hillbilly; likes: drive-in movies; favorite type of girls: friendly; favorite activity: going to drive-in movies with friendly girls. (I made that last one up.) Just for comparison, Paul (card number two) liked "sleeping," and his favorite type of girl was "any." (That one is real.)

George (you can't call a Beatle by his surname, can you? I mean, "Harrison" would have to be Rex, or Benjamin, or William Henry) escaped death a couple of years ago, when a crazed fan entered his home and, for reasons best known to himself, started stabbing him. Such, perhaps, is the effect of being just "George" to several billion people. During the attack, George shouted "Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna" at his attacker. Then his wife brained the guy with a poker, which proved a more effective defense. The verdict was "not guilty by reason of insanity." According to the testimony of a psychiatrist, the assailant "believed his actions were justified. The actions were ordained by God. . . ." No wonder President Bush is in favor of trying terrorists by means of military tribunals.

Early Saturday morning, I turned on VH1 and watched a couple of hours of George tributes. There was a lot about what he did after he stopped being a Beatle, but the most striking thing about all the Beatles' post-Beatles work is how





# The Era of Big Government Being Over Is Over

by Sheldon Richman

It is hard not to notice a certain amount of glee in the aftermath of the catastrophe of September 11. Some pundits and commentators have taken this line: "So, where are all you government bashers now? Let's see one of you step forward and criticize big government now that we need it to save us from the terrorists."

I'm paraphrasing, of course. But similar words have been printed on news and op-ed pages from New York to California. For example, Jeff Faux, a socialist at the Economic Policy Institute, has written, "When the chips are down, where do we turn? To the government's firefighters, police officers, rescue teams.... And to big government's Army, Navy and Air Force." But such sentiments are not coming from the so-called left alone. After all, the Republican Party favors

bailing out the airlines and an "economic stimulus package." They're all Keynesians now.

It appears that the era of big government being over is over. This is good news for lots of aspiring economic planners. Let's face it, there are politicians and social scientists who have been frustrated for the last 20 years during which the case for big government has suffered badly. The implosion of the Soviet Union and the obvious failure of one government program after another has made these difficult times for socialists. They've conjured up environmental disasters to jumpstart the cause, but it hasn't quite taken. Now there is the perceived need to beef up government in all sorts of ways to protect us from terrorists. The beefing up is likely to consist not only of the usual economic intervention, but also of more widespread wiretapping, e-mail interception, and perhaps restrictions on encryption.

Let's get serious. When Bill Clinton declared the era of big government over, he didn't mean it and it didn't

happen. Big government has not gone away. The terrorists pulled off their awful crimes not because we have too little government, but because we have too much. First, we have too much government in foreign affairs. Washington and Jefferson advised that we as a nation avoid political entanglement with other nations and that we practice free trade with all. We long ago thumbed our noses at that sage advice and entered hostility-generating entanglements all over the globe.

As for domestic policy, there has hardly been a retrenchment in the last 20 years. Ronald Reagan left the government larger than he found it. Federal revenues doubled over his two terms. Bill Clinton had welfare reform forced on him by the Republicans, but with government-provided daycare and health care, the budget has gone up, not down. Government may have looked smaller next to the booming economy, but it is not smaller in the amount of power and influence it wields over our lives.

And while this big government was busy with all

this meddling, it apparently wasn't doing what it claims it does: protect us from aggression.

The issue now is whether our safety depends on government's getting even bigger. It was the federal government that was charged with keeping the cities and — for gosh sakes! — the Pentagon free from attack. It failed miserably. But under the perverse rules of the political sector, when government fails, we are forced to give it even more resources. No one even resigns in disgrace, much less gets fired.

Before we embark on a spasm of government-building, which, believe me, will not be only for the duration of the terrorist threat, let's recall that America's greatness, prosperity, and resiliency have come from our freedom and decentralization. Now is not the time to further concentrate power in Washington.

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utterly mediocre it is. Maybe you could put together a good album out of the Wings' body of work, but you have to balance that with gems like "The Girl Is Mine" and "Let 'Em In" ("Somebody's knockin' at the door; somebody's ringing the bell . . . la la la"). Lennon's *Double Fantasy* received high praise because it achieved the milestone of Doesn't Totally Suck.

George was no exception to this pattern. As an early Beatle, his output was a song every album or so, and his contributions were solid, right from the first album's highly underrated "Don't Bother Me," whose complete lack of vocal harmony I've always found surprising for a Beatles song (okay, there's a hint of harmony while the song's fading out). His songs from the early Beatles years had to share vinyl with the extraordinary output of John and Paul, but they were significant; and in the middle years, his songs improved.

The sitar-laden "Love You To" and "Within You, Without You" were interesting experiments, and the libertarian "Taxman" was strong enough to start what is now regarded as the Beatles' best album, *Revolver*. You can't argue with the lyrics: "Should five percent appear too small, be thankful I don't take it all . . . Don't ask me what I want it for, if you don't want to pay some more . . . Now my advice for those who die, declare the pennies on your eyes, 'cause I'm the TAXMAN!" Then there's the terrific bridge:

If you drive a car, I'll tax the street  
If you try to sit, I'll tax your seat  
If you get too cold, I'll tax the heat  
If you take a walk, I'll tax your feet

I always thought the Batman theme — you know, "da-da-da-da-da-da-da-da BATMAN!" — was taken from "Taxman," but I just checked on the World Wide Web and it's the other way around. They couldn't put it on the Web if it weren't true. That time, George escaped copyright trouble, although he wouldn't be so lucky later on.

George reached his songwriting peak in the late Beatles years, when John and Paul were busy disappearing up their own assholes (the *White Album* and *Abbey Road*). Churl that I am, I've never much liked "While My Guitar Gently Weeps," "Something," or "Here Comes the Sun," but they are well-crafted songs with fine melodies. Sinatra claimed that "Something" was the best love song in 20 years, and I'm skeptical of George's reported amusement at Sinatra's giving writing credit to Lennon/McCartney. The person who wrote that song also had pride in his work.

The three full decades of post-Beatles work (I can hardly finish the sentence after writing that) had a few interesting moments. I don't care whether "My Sweet Lord" was plagiarized; it's a good song, and every musician steals. "Give Me Love (Give Me Peace on Earth)" was a modest song that met with modest success. Then there were the less purely musical events. George's "Concert for Bangladesh" is supposed to have been the first big rock charity concert. He did benefits for England's Natural Law Party. In the first half of the '80s, he produced films, including Monty Python's *Life of Brian*.

But as his career went on, the hits got worse. See "Crackerbox Palace" for an example of how bad early music videos were (and for George's striking likeness to Weird Al

Yankovic), chart-topping "Got My Mind Set on You" for over-the-top poppiness (thanks to co-writer Jeff Lynne, of ELO fame), and "When We Were Fab" and "All Those Years Ago" for nothing-better-than-average tributes (the second, and the better, of these two was written after Lennon's death). George teamed up with Bob Dylan, Jeff Lynne, Roy Orbison, and Tom Petty to form the Traveling Wilburys. Though Petty's never been the same since, they did get Orbison, who had one of the saddest, most beautiful voices in the world, to sing again before he died.

George was a modest, thoughtful man. He and Ringo had the courtesy to show up when the Beatles were inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame. John was dead, and Paul . . . well, he died a long time ago. George's last interview, about three years ago, with a "VJ" as host, featured an impromptu concert thanks to a staffer's friend, who happened to have a guitar with her. After an acoustic version of "All Things Must Pass," George was asked why, with all the other trouble in the world, he chose to stage a benefit for Bangladesh. He replied, "A friend asked me if I would help out." Can you imagine Paul or John giving such a simple, self-effacing answer?

With his longtime musical and spiritual partner Ravi Shankar at his side, the quiet and sincere Beatle spoke quietly and sincerely about life and death. His short summation showed why he was not only the Quiet Beatle but also the Dark Beatle: "The most important thing is why we die. After that, nothing else matters." — Paul Beroza

**George V. Walsh, R.I.P.** — Objectivist philosopher George V. Walsh, 78, died on Nov. 8, 2001, after many years of illness. Walsh was a professor emeritus of philosophy at Salisbury University, but will long be remembered for his personal association with Ayn Rand. Walsh came to Rand, armed with a BA in philosophy (from Williams College), an MA from Brown, and a PhD from Princeton. He was one of the few thinkers who became convinced of the correctness of Rand's system of thought long after his professional engagement with philosophy.

He first came to the attention of most libertarians with the publication in *The Objectivist* of a series of articles on Marxist philosopher Herbert Marcuse and the New Left. He also wrote *The Role of Religion in History* (1998) and, with Frederick Lehnert, translated Alfred Schutz's *Phenomenology of the Social World*.

I last worked closely with George when *The Journal of Ayn Rand Studies* published his "Ayn Rand and the Metaphysics of Kant" (Fall 2000). As sick as George was, he was able to proof his copy and make substantive changes along the way. His wife told me that he'd been awfully sick, but that our work together gave him quite a spiritual lift. The feeling was mutual. He was a trusted colleague and friend, and I will always remember him for all the kind — and constructively critical — support he gave me in my own intellectual endeavors.

I will also remember George for his warmth as a human being, and for his essential honesty. He suffered for many years, but his spirit always seemed to keep him one step ahead. Those who love liberty and reason shall miss him.

— Chris Matthew Sciabarra

# Mises and Psychiatry

by Thomas S. Szasz

As one of the 20th century's intellectual giants, Ludwig von Mises was a master of many subjects. Psychiatry was not among them.

Because ours is an age of specialization, we expect specialists to be particularly knowledgeable about their areas of expertise and, for other matters, rely on the work of other accredited experts. However, I believe we ought to expect more from social scientists, especially if their interests encompass issues of individual liberty and personal responsibility — namely, that they also familiarize themselves with the truths about the medical specialty called “psychiatry.” Why psychiatry? Because psychiatric interventions — in particular, civil commitment and diversions from the criminal justice to the mental health system — are the most common, and most uncritically accepted, methods used by the modern state to deprive individuals of liberty and responsibility.

Unfortunately, even the staunchest advocates of liberty have shown an uncharacteristic trust and naiveté when it comes to psychiatry, taking what the authorities say at face value even when it clashes with their own most fundamental principles. As an illustration, I offer, with some reluctance, a sample of Ludwig von Mises' comments about psychiatry.

Although formally Ludwig von Mises was an economist, it would be more accurate to view him as a political philosopher and, in particular, a defender of individual liberty based on private property and the rule of law. It is also manifest that he was one of the intellectual and moral giants of the 20th century, and that his magnum opus, *Human Action*, is one of the most important books of that century.

## The Two Faces of *Human Action*: Praxeology and Psychiatry

Unlike conventional, mathematical economists who study issues such as industrial outputs, interest rates, and money flows, Mises focused on human action: “No treatment of economic problems proper can avoid starting from

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acts of choice; economics becomes a part . . . of a more universal science, *praxeology* [a general theory of human action].”\*

Viewed as the study of human action, economics and psychiatry are fraternal twins: Economists are concerned mainly with the material and political consequences of choices and actions; psychiatrists, mainly with their personal and interpersonal consequences. Yet economists have shown no interest in psychiatry. In view of the fact that psychiatry is a thoroughly coercive statist enterprise — its emblematic institution and locus being the *state* mental hospital — this is an especially astonishing omission on the part of free-market economists. Of course, neither economist nor psychiatrist can avoid trespassing on his sibling's territory. But since the brothers don't speak the same language, each is ignorant about his own flesh and blood.

The profession of psychiatry as a medical specialty rests on the idea of insanity as an illness — epitomized by the individual beset with “irresistible impulses,” which transform him from a responsible moral agent into a “mental patient” not responsible for his behavior. That image forms the basis of the insanity defense and much else in our society.

Sir Henry Maudsley (1835–1918), the undisputed

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\*Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action: A Treatise on Economics* (Yale University Press, 1949.) Page 3.

founder of modern British psychiatry, explained this basic concept of psychiatry: "To hold an insane person responsible for not controlling an insane impulse . . . is in some cases just as false in doctrine and just as cruel in practice as it would be to hold a man convulsed by strychnia responsible for not stopping the convulsions . . . [I]t is a fact that in certain mental diseases a morbid impulse may take such *despotic possession of the patient as to drive him, in spite of reason and against his will, to a desperate act of suicide or homicide*; like the demoniac of old into whom the unclean spirit entered, he is possessed by a power which forces him to a deed of which he has the utmost dread and horror"\* (Emphasis added).

More than a hundred years later, psychiatrists and psychiatrically enlightened lawyers and politicians hold the same view. Michael S. Moore, professor of law and professor of philosophy at the University of San Diego, writes: "It

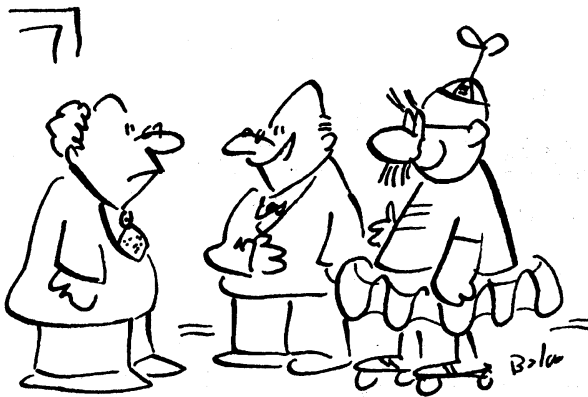
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*Even the staunchest advocates of liberty have shown an uncharacteristic trust and naiveté when it comes to psychiatry.*

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is not so much that we excuse them [the mentally ill] from a *prima facie* case of responsibility; rather, by being unable to regard them as fully rational beings, we cannot affirm the essential condition to viewing them as moral agents to begin with. In this the mentally ill join (to a decreasing degree) infants, wild beasts, plants, and stones — none of which are responsible because of the absence of any assumption of rationality."\*\*

These passages present us with nearly all the moral, medical, linguistic, and legal metaphors and misapprehensions that form the foundations of modern psychiatry. By medicalizing (mis)behavior, psychiatry replaces the otherworldly superstitions of religion with the worldly superstitions of scientism. Without identifying this view with psychiatry, Mises explicitly rejected it: "To punish criminal offenses committed in a state of emotional excitement or intoxication more mildly than other offenses is tantamount



"Alderson, here, is our vice-president in charge of Crazy Ideas That Just Might Work."

to encouraging such excesses. . . . Man is a being capable of subduing his instincts, emotions, and impulses . . . *He is not a puppet of his appetites*. . . . he chooses; in short, he acts. . . . *Human action is necessarily always rational*. The term 'rational action' is therefore pleonastic and must be rejected as such" (Emphasis added. HA, p. 16, 18).

These ideas have formed the basis for my views on "mental illness" and psychiatry. If all human action is rational, then no action is irrational or, as psychiatrists and their admirers like to put it, "senseless." It is only a short step from Mises' assertion that human action is always rational, to my assertion that mental illness is a myth.

Nevertheless, in his many references to insanity, Mises expresses an uncritical acceptance of standard psychiatric mythology.

### Human Action

After arguing the intrinsic superiority of cooperation over coercion and anarchy, Mises wrote: "Even if we admit that every *sane* adult is endowed with the faculty of realizing the good of social cooperation and of acting accordingly, there still remains the problem of infants, the aged, and the insane. We may agree that *he who acts antisocially should be considered mentally sick and in need of care*" (Emphasis added. HA, 149).

I respect Mises too much to comment on this unfortunate statement.

Sometimes, Mises contradicted himself, criticizing psychiatry in one sentence, and embracing it in the next. He

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*Viewed as the study of human action, economics and psychiatry are fraternal twins: Economists are concerned mainly with the material and political consequences of choices and actions; psychiatrists, mainly with their personal and interpersonal consequences.*

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declared: "No better is the propensity, very popular nowadays, to brand supporters of other ideologies as lunatics. Psychiatrists are vague in drawing a line between sanity and insanity" (HA, 185). But he then added: "It would be preposterous for laymen to interfere with this fundamental issue of psychiatry." Since the issue is not merely drawing a line between sanity and insanity as abstract concepts, but determining which individuals innocent of lawbreaking ought to be deprived of liberty and responsibility, why is it "preposterous for laymen to interfere with this fundamental issue of psychiatry"?

Indeed, Mises proceeded to do just that, albeit much too timidly: "However, it is clear that if the mere fact that a man

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\*Henry Maudsley, *Responsibility in Mental Disease*, 4th ed. (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885.) Pages viii & 133.

\*\*Michael S. Moore, "Some myths about 'mental illness,'" *Archives of General Psychiatry*, (December, 1975); page 1495.

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shares erroneous views and acts according to his errors qualifies him as mentally disabled, it would be very hard to discover an individual to which the epithet sane or normal could be attributed. . . . If to err were the characteristic feature of mental disability, then everybody should be called mentally disabled" (HA, 185–6). That is precisely what Freud did, and Mises admired him for it.

Mises refrained from saying, outright, that having a delusion ought to be regarded as a fundamental human right, lest all disagreements with authority be disqualified as mental illnesses. Probably he did not say so because he did not believe it to be the case. The evidence points in this direction: "If a statement were not exposed as logically erroneous, psychopathology would not be in a position to qualify the state of mind from which it stems as pathological. If a man imagines himself to be the king of Siam, the first thing which the psychiatrist has to establish is whether or not he really is what he believes himself to be. *Only if the question is answered in the negative can the man be considered insane*" (Emphasis added. HA, 316). Mises must have known that persons considered insane are incarcerated in mental hospitals, but remained silent on the subject.

Mises failed to consider the possibility that the man who says he is the king of Siam may be an actor, playing the role of the king; or that he may be lying — that is malingering — to avoid a duty or punishment, such as military service or the death penalty; or that he may be protesting his insignificance, his false self-identification representing a metaphorical compensation for it; or, most importantly, that believing oneself to be the king of Siam — like believing that, after dying, one will go to heaven or hell — ought to be viewed as the right to be wrong, and hence should not be ground for incarcerating the speaker in a prison, even if that prison is called "hospital."

### Liberalism

*Liberalism*, written in German more than 20 years before *Human Action*, contains more embarrassing psychiatric indiscretions. In the Introduction, Mises declared, in typical psychiatric style: "This opposition [to liberalism] does not stem from reason, but from a pathological mental attitude — from resentment and from a neurasthenic condition that one might call a Fourier complex, after the French socialist of that name."<sup>2</sup> In the jargon of Freudian psychobabble, Mises continued:

The Fourier complex is much harder to combat. What is involved in this case is a serious disease of the nervous sys-

tem, a neurosis, which is more properly the concern of the psychologist than of the legislator. . . . Unfortunately, medical men have hitherto scarcely concerned themselves with the problem presented by the Fourier complex. Indeed, they have hardly been noticed even by Freud, the great master of psychology, or by his followers in their theory of neurosis, though it is to psychoanalysis that we are indebted for having opened up the path that alone leads to a coherent and systematic understanding of mental disorders of this kind. . . . Only the theory of neurosis can explain the success enjoyed by Fourierism, the mad product of a seriously deranged brain. This is not the place to adduce evidence of Fourier's psychosis by quoting passages from his writings. (Emphasis added. L, 14–15)

Mises strongly opposed — in both *Liberalism* and *Human Action* — the view that drug addictions are diseases and that

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*Believing oneself to be the king of Siam — like believing that, after dying, one will go to heaven or hell — ought to be viewed as the right to be wrong, and hence should not be ground for incarcerating the speaker in a prison, even if that prison is called "hospital."*

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it is the proper function of the state to punish such behaviors. Nevertheless, in *Omnipotent Government* [1944] he wrote: "The League of Nations may continue to combat contagious disease, the drug traffic, and prostitution" (303).

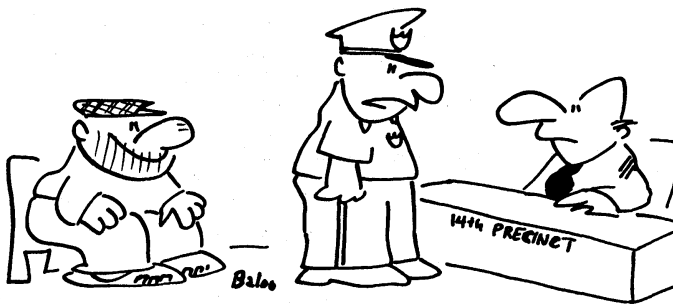
### Conclusion

Regardless of official title or professional affiliation, anyone who addresses the human condition and writes about how human beings live and ought to live is influenced by the kinds of life he cherishes and condemns. Mises was no exception. He was a great man, but not because he established praxeology as a science of human action — for there can be no such science.<sup>22</sup> Mises was a great man because he recognized that the 20th century's great collectivist movements of "liberation," National Socialism (Nazism) and International Socialism (Communism), were simply new versions of slavery — and fought tirelessly, and against great odds, against them.

It is regrettable that Mises did not see that psychiatry (and psychoanalysis, through its alliance with psychiatry) was and is also a form of statist pseudo-liberationism; and that, because psychiatry is allied with medicine and healing rather than with militarism and killing, it is the most insidious and, in the long run, the most dangerous form of statism yet developed by man. □

<sup>22</sup>Ludwig von Mises, *Liberalism: A Socio-Economic Exposition* [1927], translated by Ralph Raico, edited by Arthur Goddard (Sheed Andrews and McMeel, 1978) p. 13.

<sup>23</sup>This is not a criticism of Mises. In my view, use of the term "science" ought to be restricted to the hard (physical) sciences. This does not make other branches of learning any less important.



"We offered him a free court-appointed attorney and he said he'd rather just have the money."

# Today's Crazy Investment Environment

by R. W. Bradford

Economist Franz Pick used to call government bonds "certificates of guaranteed confiscation." Today, it appears, all short-term interest-bearing investments, whether in banks, T-bills, or money market funds, deserve that characterization.

This is a crazy world. And I'm not just talking about crazies from the Middle East, who figure that the way to pursue their religion is to hijack airliners and crash them into buildings full of Americans. I'm also talking about plain, commonsensical Americans doing the plainest, most commonsensical thing in the world, investing their money.

Consider the graph below. It shows the "true yield" of savings — that is, the actual yield an investor can expect on a money market fund after taxes and the effect of inflation have been deducted — at the end of the past two years and on Dec. 7 of this year.\*

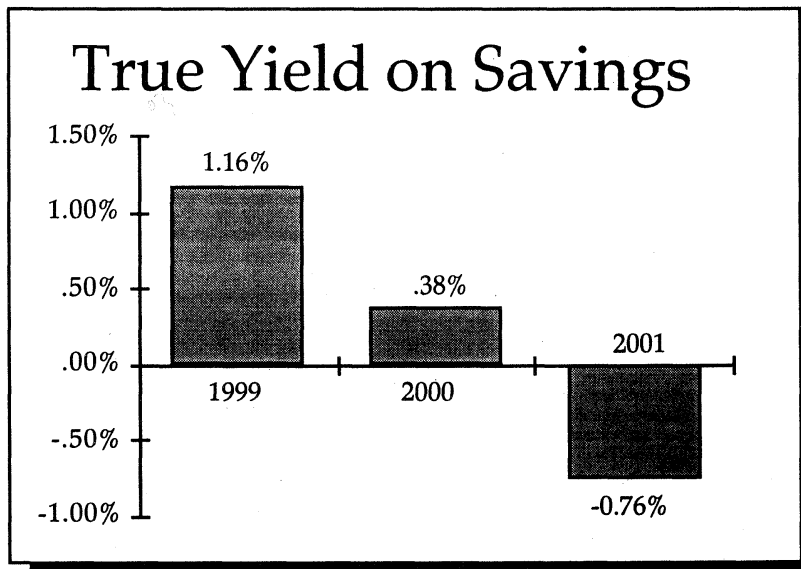
You'll note that the true yield for money invested at the end of the past two years is small but positive, but that money invested today actually has a negative yield: Putting money into a money market fund is a sure way to lose. Of course, it would be crazy for anyone to invest when they are guaranteed a loss. But they do, at least for a while.

Actually, the situation is even worse than the graph

\* More specifically, it lists the yield on the Merrill Lynch Ready Assets Trust, less 35% for taxes and the previous year's change in the Consumer's Price Index. The true yield varies with each individual's tax situation.

shows. The money market fund yield used there does not yet reflect the cut in interest rates made on Dec. 11, which

will surely reduce MMF nominal yields within the next few weeks. Further, my calculation assumes only a 35% tax bite, a very conservative figure, since most investors in MMFs pay a marginal federal tax rate of 36% or more, and, unless they happen to live in one of the handful of states without state or municipal income taxes, they must also pay up to another 13% in taxes to their state and city. In addition, my calculation accepts the Consumer



Price Index as an accurate measure of inflation when, in fact, the CPI is concocted by the government to systematically underestimate inflation.

Here's the bottom line: Most investors can count on losing about 1% of the purchasing power of the money they put into banks, money market funds, treasury bills, or other

short-term, low-risk, interest-bearing investments.

The last time this happened was in the 1970s. To ward off a recession, the Fed lowered interest rates to a point where the true yield was negative. What was the result? It took some time, but people gradually figured out that they were being exploited. And they did what people have always done when government policies to inflate the cur-

*Money invested in money market funds today actually has a negative yield: It is a sure way to lose.*

rency have the effect of gradually confiscating their savings: They bought gold, silver, and other tangible assets.

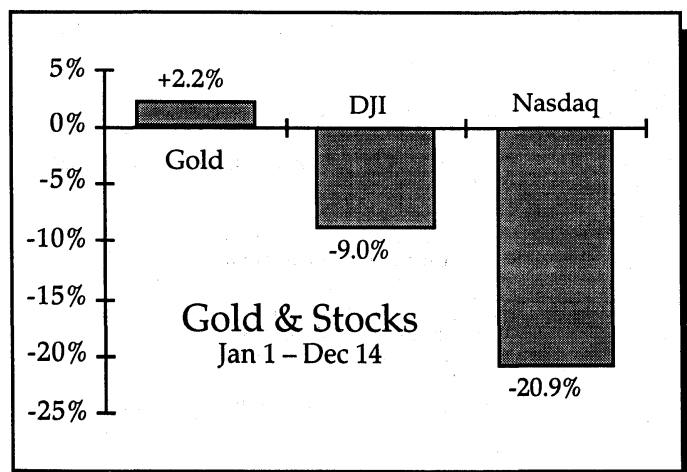
The effects were dramatic. Gold shot from \$35 to \$800. Silver skyrocketed from \$1.29 to \$50. Inflation rose above the 10% level. The stock market tanked. In an attempt to get inflation under control, the Fed eventually raised interest rates to nearly 20%. The stagflationary recession got worse and worse.

I don't suggest that those events will occur in exactly the same way in the coming few years. But all the pieces are in place for such a scenario to repeat itself, at least in general terms.

Well, how did this insanity happen?

It happened because the Federal Reserve System, our government's messianic solution to the business cycle, made it happen. In theory, the Fed was established to stabilize the credit market and control inflation. But during the past year, it has acted as if its purpose were to keep stock prices up. Every time the stock market falls, it cuts interest rates, on the theory that making money cheaper to borrow would do several things: encourage people to borrow to buy stocks; cut the cost of corporate borrowing, thereby increasing corporate profitability; and make more conservative investments less attractive by lowering the returns on everything from bank accounts to bonds.

The problem is that the scheme isn't working very well, as you can see from the chart below.



The Fed has cut rates no fewer than eleven times this year, yet the Dow is still down 9%, the Nasdaq is down 21%, and every day the economic news seems to get worse: layoffs, bankruptcies, declining consumer confidence, lower profits . . . It's tough to find any good news on the front page of *The Wall Street Journal*.

The Fed can still stimulate the stock market, and nearly every cut in interest rates does help revive it some. But this is like giving a very sick patient a strong stimulant: It revives his vital signs, but the disease continues to weaken him.

The Fed's interest rate cuts have two effects that are lethal for the remainder of the economy. As I've already noted, when investors discover that they are losing money on their savings, they gradually move money out of savings and into other assets, thereby reducing the economy's capital stock.

But as bad as that is, worse follows. Low interest rates are inherently inflationary. Interest is the price of using money. The way you cut the price of something is to increase its supply. If current supply and demand result in money having a price of 5% per year, and you want to lower that price to 4%, the only way you can do so is by creating new money.

The Fed has several methods of doing this, the details of which need not concern us here. What's important is that the Fed is flooding the system with new money created out of nothing. The increased supply of money cuts interest rates, but it also cuts the value of the dollar. It's a simple

*The Fed can still stimulate the stock market, and nearly every cut in interest rates does help revive it some. But this is like giving a very sick patient a strong stimulant: It revives his vital signs, but the disease continues to weaken him.*

matter of supply and demand: If you increase the supply but demand stays the same, the price will drop. In the case of money, that means that its purchasing power will drop. The result is inflation.

Inflation feeds demand for tangible goods. Fine, you might think. But although the government may be able to create new dollars with a printing press or a computer, it cannot create tangible goods. People realize this, so they start buying up these goods, hoping to obtain something whose value is not guaranteed to decline. This process further reduces the supply of capital that might otherwise be invested in long-term projects.

Where will it end? I don't know, but most likely we'll suffer another serious round of stagflation. A year or two from now, the good times that seemed like they'd last forever in the 1990s may be only a hazy memory, as people scratch to make a living and to keep alive the hope of a secure future. □

# A Discourse on Jurisprudence

by Michael D. Gose

It has been said that all of Western heritage is but a footnote on Plato and Aristotle.

A very good friend of mine, who happens to be a high school senior, a 4.0 student, a high scorer on the SAT, a champion wrestler, and an excellent person, was sent to his public high school's vice-principal recently for having his baseball cap on backwards.\*

\*In fact the school has no written rule<sup>a</sup> that it is forbidden to wear caps backwards, but such a practice is seen as failing "to wear appropriate clothing." (This is a rural area and the policy is not gang-related.)

<sup>a</sup>There is a written statement of philosophy in the student handbook that reads that the school is supportive of each student and values diversity.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup>Interestingly, besides the oral tradition of the hat rule, there is also an unwritten school rule that the female students must wear bras. Such garments are not only seen as "appropriate," but mandatory as well.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup>Yes, I am writing this in 1998, not 1968.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup>The '60s in America featured the reaction of the Age of Aquarius to the "I Like Ike" generation.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>e</sup>The "I Like Ike" generation tended to believe the Socratic dictum, "After all, isn't a town greater than a man?"<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup>This is somewhat ironic in that the "I Like Ike" generation was vociferously against totalitarianism, whether it was Fascism or Communism.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>g</sup>Curiously, Karl Marx believed communism could work, however, his ideas were subverted by Lenin's idea that such a state would be a long way off, so meantime there would need to be a "vanguard of the proletariat."<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h</sup>Some vice-principals also tend to believe that adolescents will eventually become good, but in the meantime there needs to be a prince, a leviathan, and a vanguard of the proletariat to keep adolescents in check until that distant time.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup>Incidentally, one particular teacher at that same school, someone who is actually a good friend of mine, once told me that he was a Nazi in the classroom so kids would appreciate democracy<sup>j</sup> after they graduated.

<sup>j</sup>Democracy is an experimental form of government that tends to believe (with Emerson<sup>k</sup>) that a man is greater than a town.

<sup>k</sup>Emerson emphasized "self reliance" (and presumably that the individual would know what the most appropriate way to wear a baseball<sup>l</sup> cap might be).

<sup>l</sup>Baseball, which was not invented by Abner Doubleday but has been

known as the national pastime,<sup>m</sup> celebrates the individual's contributions to a team effort.

<sup>m</sup>More recently, American football has been considered the national pastime.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>n</sup>Except maybe with the exception of quarterbacks and Neon Deion Sanders, football people, especially football coaches,<sup>o</sup> believe that the team is more important than the individual.

<sup>o</sup>Many baseball managers who make about \$200,000 a year believe this, too, and try to convince players like Cleveland Indians [sic] power hitter Albert Belle<sup>p</sup> of this. Belle does not talk to the press, and probably not his manager either.

<sup>p</sup>Presumably Albert Belle believes the individual is greater than a town;<sup>q</sup> perhaps it is hubris on his part.

<sup>q</sup>Probably Ken Griffey Jr.<sup>r</sup> feels the same way as Belle, but with so many endorsements at stake, emphasizes the team in his proclamations to the press.

<sup>r</sup>Coincidentally, if not ironically, Ken Griffey Jr., probably the best player in the game today, despite what Bobby Bonds says, is often photographed wearing his baseball cap backwards.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>s</sup>Ken Griffey Jr. is a role model for America's youth; in fact, his picture is on the Wheaties<sup>t</sup> box in front of me as I write this footnote.

<sup>t</sup>What's good for General Mills is good for America.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>u</sup>Ergo, wearing your hat backwards is good for America.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>v</sup>So, why does the vice-principal think Mario should not wear his baseball cap backwards?<sup>w</sup>

<sup>w</sup>The vice-principal apparently thinks Mario should just do as he is told because, after all, isn't a town greater than a man?<sup>x</sup>

<sup>x</sup>In fact the vice-principal has more in common with Machiavelli, who believes that the worse crime is the unpunished crime, and it may be that miscreants should be tortured and/or killed.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>y</sup>Mario has in fact been taught to question authority, not to disrespect it.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>z</sup>Mario also believes a man is greater than a town.

## Letters, from page 6

started somewhere back in time when African chieftains discovered that they had a salable product that would bring them wealth: their own people!

"Reparations" are what a victorious army forces on the defeated. What we should be discussing is "compensation." A fair system of justice always allows for compensation. Compensation requires that you must compensate the damaged party and restore him to the position and condition he would have had, had you not interfered with his life.

With this in mind, I strongly support compensation for African-Americans. If they will turn in the stereos, refrigerators, computers, town homes, Buicks, SUVs, Mercedes, and cell phones, we will give them a loin cloth, a spear, and a goatskin water bag. They will then be on an equal footing with their African brethren whose ancestors were lucky enough to have escaped when their chieftains were selling human merchandise to the slave-ship captains.

Compensation, yes — reparations, never!

Robert C. Larson  
Riverside, Calif.

### Don't Park on Me!

In "Intelligent Man's Guide to Smart Growth" (December), R.W. Bradford, editor of *Liberty*, tells us that "the automobile is a wonderfully liberating device." It also, he fails to tell us, brings ugliness, pollution, economic waste, agony, injury, and death. It is an immoral, wasteful way of life. Verily, it is a crime against nature.

The automobile is driving people mad. "Road rage," as aggression on the roadways is called, has become a common phenomenon. The breaking point for Michael Douglas in the film *Falling Down* was getting stuck in traffic (where most of us spend much of our time). But like automobile advertising, Bradford conveys the message that automobile ownership is a requisite of a full, rich life.

Honesty would call for portraying the automobile not in a sylvan setting, as is now done in automobile advertising, but rather in a traffic jam or collision.

The rotting downtown, the sterile suburbia, the tacky shopping center, and the desolate motel are all vulgar monuments to the auto culture. The

automobile way of life has turned "America the Beautiful" into "America the Parking Lot."

Ralph Slovenko  
Detroit, Mich.

*Bradford responds:* Professor Slovenko has my sympathy. I too was once a resident of Michigan's megalopolis.

### Fascism and Illumination

David Ramsay Steele's "The Mystery of Fascism" (November) was a pleasant surprise. Steele wrote a stimulating piece on one of the major political movements of the 20th century, providing the sort of intellectual analysis that is becoming increasingly rare in much of today's cliché-ridden political media. His presentation of the evolution of the fascists, from frustrated Marxist revolutionaries through statist ideologues, gives the reader an understanding of how we got to where we are today. It was good to see such names in print as Filippo Marinetti, Robert Michels, and George Sorel, intellectuals who did much to shape the course of the last century.

By talking about the past the article also illuminated the present. Libertarians need to heed observations that the great masses are prone to irrational behavior and manipulation by elites through use of symbols. Such observations might serve to explain why the Libertarian Party continues to bottom out in elections, and perhaps get libertarians to question their own approaches to politics.

Let's see more articles like this in future pages of *Liberty*.

Joseph Miranda  
Northridge, Calif.

### Fascism and Irrationalism

I read with great interest David Ramsay Steele's "The Mystery of Fascism". Conspicuously absent, however, (and perhaps conveniently, hmmm?) was the mention of two primers on Fascism: Wilhelm Reich's *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* and Franz Neumann's *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*.

More specifically, Steele fails to mention the basis of Fascism: irrationalism. Without irrationalism as its catalyst, Fascism is just another failed political experiment. It is irrationalism that sets it apart from other political ideologies.

Even Stalinism, at its most oppressive expression, was still based on dogma, but never on irrationalism. It is a gross oversimplification and a historical distortion to believe that the extreme Left and Right somehow meet, forming a vicious circle, or that they are different sides of the same coin.

The reactionary "historian" Paul Johnson wrote in his smug and very unintellectual book, *Intellectuals*, that Mussolini and Gramsci were moral and political equals because they were both of the same "social milieu." That is as illogical as saying that I, myself, am the moral and political equivalent of a California death-row inmate, simply because we are both ethnic minorities (and he probably is), come from broken homes, and were born and raised in southern California!

John Molina  
Chula Vista, Calif.

*Steele responds:* Mr. Molina recommends two books by Marxists, dating from the 1930s and 1940s, about German National Socialism. My article was specifically about Italian Fascism, and concentrated on the more recent and more accurate analyses which call into question the old leftist formulas. The Reich and Neumann books are both worth reading. Reich shows how inadequate Marxist class analysis is to explain National Socialism, but tries to fill in the gaps with a theory of "sexual repression" which strikes me as extraordinarily silly. Neumann's book was important at the time (1946) for broadening the outlook of some leftists so that they could acknowledge that Hitler had not been simply a tool of the capitalists. The conventional socialist view that Fascism is "based on irrationality" was rejected in my article, but since Mr. Molina doesn't offer any criticisms of what I wrote, I can't help him.

### The Few, the Proud, the Thinking

I continue to enjoy reading *Liberty*. Sure, I strongly disagree with the opinions of some authors, and agree with others. It's a real marketplace of ideas that does not just parrot a narrow party line, something very common nowadays. It also places a responsibility on the reader to think, which is very pleasant and healthful if done, but likewise uncommon.

William D. Young Jr.  
Franklin, N.Y.



# Anarchy, Globalism, and the Real Value of Freedom

*by Johan Norberg*

Freedom isn't just another word for better bathtubs.

## Our anarchist party won the school election!

It was the autumn term 1988 at my school — we were about 16 at the time — in a western suburb of Stockholm. As usual when it was election year, we were to stage a “school election” of our own. But Markus, my best pal, and I didn't believe in the system. Majority polls, to our way of looking at things, were like two wolves and a lamb voting on what to have for dinner. The school wanted us to elect someone to rule us, but we wanted to rule our own lives.

Partly, I suppose, we did it because we felt different from the others. I was dead keen on listening to synthesizer music and goth, preferably dressed in black and with backcombed hair. We wanted to play music and read books, while the others seemed mostly preoccupied with gizmos and fitting in. The right wing, it seemed to us, was upper-class establishment, dead against anything different. But we didn't feel any more at home with the left, which to us meant drab governmental bureaucracy and regimentation. Even if we preferred Sisters of Mercy and the Swedish punk singer Thåström, it was John Lennon's “imagine there's no countries” we believed in. National states must be abolished and people allowed to move freely and cooperate of their own free will everywhere in the world. We wanted a world without compulsion, without rulers. Clearly, then, we were neither right wing nor left wing, neither Conservatives nor Social Democrats. We were anarchists!

So we started “Anarchist Front” and put ourselves down as candidates in the school election on a radical, humorous ticket. We put up handwritten posters on the walls in school, proclaiming things like: “Who's going to run your life — you or 349 MPs?” We demanded the abolition of the government

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and of the ban on bikes in the school yard. Most of the teachers took a dim view of this, feeling that we were making a farce of the election, whereas we thought that we were making our voices heard in true democratic spirit. Being called to the headmaster's study for a telling-off merely strengthened our rebellious spirit.

We did well in a tough campaign, polling 25% of the votes. The Social Democrats came second with 19%. We were over the moon, convinced that this would be the start of something big . . .

That was 13 years ago. In the meantime I have changed my mind on a number of things. I have come to realize that questions concerning individuals, society, and freedom are more complicated than I then believed. There are too many aspects and problems involved for everything to be settled in one drastically Utopian stroke. I have come to realize that we need a government which protects liberty and prevents the powerful from oppressing individuals, and I have come to understand that representative democracy is preferable to all other systems, for this very purpose of protecting the rights of the individual. But my fundamental urge to liberty is the same today as in that wonderful election campaign of 1988. I want people to be allowed freedom, with no one oppressing anyone else, and with governments not being permitted to fence people in or exclude them with tariffs and frontiers.

This is why I love what is rather barrenly termed *globali-*

zation, the process whereby people, communications, trade, investments, democracy, and the market economy are tending more and more to cross national boundaries. This internationalization has made us less constricted by the map-makers' boundaries.

Political power has always been local, based on physical control of a certain territory. Globalization is enabling us more and more to override these territories, by travelling in person and by trading or investing across national boundaries. Opportunities for choosing other solutions and foreign alternatives have multiplied as transport costs have fallen, we have acquired new and more efficient means of communication, and trade and capital movements have been liberalized.

We do not have to shop with the big local company, we can turn to a foreign competitor; we do not have to work for

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*Markus, my best pal, and I didn't believe in the system. Majority polls, to our way of looking at things, were like two wolves and a lamb voting on what to have for dinner. The school wanted us to elect someone to rule us, but we wanted to rule our own lives.*

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the village's one and only employer, we can be offered alternative opportunities; we do not have to make do with local cultural amenities, the world's culture is at our disposal; we do not have to spend our whole life in one place, we can travel and relocate. Above all, this leads to a liberation of our thinking. We no longer make do with local routine, we want to choose actively and freely. Companies, politicians, and associations are having to exert themselves to elicit interest or support from people who are acquainted with a host of alternatives from the world's diversity. Our possibilities of controlling our own lives are growing, and prosperity is growing with them.

This is why I find it pathetic when people who call themselves anarchists engage in the globalization struggle, but against it, not for! I visited Gothenburg, Sweden, in June 2001 during the big EU summit. I went there in order to explain why the problem with the European Union is that in

many ways it is fighting globalization and liberalization, and to present my view that borders should be opened and controls dismantled.

I never got the chance to hold my speech. The place where I was to speak was suddenly in the middle of a battle zone, when so-called anti-globalization anarchists were smashing shops and throwing stones at policemen who were trying to defend a democratic meeting. They are anarchists who demand prohibitions and controls and throw stones at people with different values. Anarchists who demand that the government resume control of those people and enterprises who no longer find their initiative restricted by national boundaries. They make a mockery of the idea of freedom. To our cheerful Anarchistic Front, people like that had nothing to do with anarchism. In our simplified teenage vocabulary they were, if anything, fascists.

But this is only the violent appendage of a broader movement which is critical of general globalization. In the past few years more and more people have been complaining that the new liberty and internationalism have gone too far, amounting to a "hypercapitalism." The protest movement against this capitalism may call itself radical and profess to stand for exciting new ideas, but its actual standpoints belong to the same old opposition to free markets and free trade which has always been shown by national rulers. Many — authoritarian Third World régimes and Eurocrats, agrarian movements and monopoly corporations, conservative intellectuals and New Left movements — are afraid of globalized humanity acquiring more power at the expense of politics. All of them are united in viewing globalism as a monster completely out of control. A monster that has to be rounded up and restrained.

Much of their criticism of globalization is based on portraying it as something big and menacing. Often they do so, not by reasoned argument but through flat statements of fact, e.g. that 51 of the world's biggest economies are business enterprises or that something like 1.5 trillion dollars are moved around in financial markets every day. As if size itself were intrinsically dangerous and terrifying. This is mathematics, not argument. It remains to be proved that big enterprises or high turnover are a problem in themselves. Often the detractors forget to prove any such thing. I propose pleading for the opposite. So long as we are at liberty to pick and choose, there is nothing wrong with certain forms of voluntary cooperation growing large through success.

Figures like this, and the abstract term "globalization" — itself apparently little over 10-years-old — conjure forth the image of an anonymous, enigmatic, elusive force. Simply because it is governed by people's individual actions in different continents, and not from a control center, it seems uncontrolled, chaotic. "There is no head office, no board of directors, no control panel," one critic complains. Many feel powerless at the prospect of globalization, and this feeling certainly comes easily when faced with the decentralized decisions of millions of people. If others are at liberty to run their own lives, we have no power over them, but in return we acquire a new power over our own lives. This kind of powerlessness is a good thing. There is no one in the driving seat, because all of us are steering.

The Internet would wither and die if we did not send



"I'm sorry, Carruthers, but we've decided to let you go and hire your evil twin."

emails, order books, and download music every day through this global computer network, no company would collect goods from abroad if we didn't order them, and no one would invest money over the border if there were no entrepreneurs there willing to invest in response to customer demand. Globalization consists of our everyday actions. We eat bananas from Ecuador, drink tea from Sri Lanka, watch American movies, order books from Britain, work for export companies selling to Germany and Russia, holiday in Thailand, and save money for retirement in funds investing in South America and Asia. Resources may be channelled by finance corporations and goods carried across frontiers by business enterprises, but they only do these things because we want them to. Globalization takes place from beneath, even though politicians come running after it with all manner of abbreviations and acronyms (EU, IMF, WB, UN, UNCTAD, OECD) in a bid to structure the process.

Of course, keeping up with times doesn't always come easily, especially to intellectuals in the habit of having everything under control. In a book about the 19th-century Swedish poet and historian Erik Gustaf Geijer, the Swedish intellectual Anders Ehnmark writes, almost enviously, that Geijer was able to keep abreast of all principal happenings in the world at large, just sitting in Uppsala reading the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*. That is how simple and intelligible the world can be when it is only a tiny elite in the capitals of Europe that makes any difference

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*The stand taken by you and me and other people in the privileged world on globalization can decide whether more people are to share in the development which has taken place in Bhagant's village or whether that development is to be reversed.*

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whatsoever to the course of world events. But how complex and confusing everything is becoming now that the other continents are awakening and developments are also beginning to be affected by ordinary people's everyday decision-making. No wonder then that influential people, decision makers, and politicians claim that "we" (i.e. they) lose power because of globalization. They have lost some of it to us, ordinary citizens.

Not all of us are going to be global jet-setters, but we don't have to in order to be a part of the globalization process. In particular, the poor and powerless can find their well-being vastly improved when inexpensive goods are no longer excluded by tariff barriers and when foreign investments offer employment and streamline production. Those still living in the place where they were born stand to benefit enormously from information being allowed to flow across frontiers, and from being free to choose their political representatives. But this requires more in the way of democratic reforms and economic liberalization.

Demanding more liberty to pick and choose may sound trivial, but it isn't. I understand the objection, though. To us

in the affluent world, the availability of nonlocal options may seem a luxury. Say what you will about herring and Swedish talk shows, but they aren't insupportable — not the herring, at any rate. But the existence from which globalization delivers people in the Third World really is insupportable. To the poor it is often an existence in abject poverty, in filth, ignorance, and impotence, always wondering where the next meal is coming from and whether the water you have walked so many miles to collect is lethal or fit to drink.

When globalization knocks at the door of Bhagant, an elderly agricultural worker and untouchable in the Indian village of Saijani, this leads to houses being built of brick instead of mud, and to people getting shoes on their feet and clean clothes — not rags — on their backs. Outdoors, the streets now have drains, and the fragrance of tilled earth has replaced the stench of refuse. Thirty years ago Bhagant didn't know he was living in India. Today he watches world news on television.

The new freedom of choice means that people are no longer consigned to working for the village's only employers, the powerful big farmers. When the women get work away from home, they also become more powerful within the family. New capital markets mean that Bhagant's children are not compelled to borrow money from usurers who collect payment in future labor. The yoke of usury, by which the whole village was once held in thrall, vanishes when people are able to go to different banks and borrow money from them instead.

Everyone in Bhagant's generation was illiterate. In his children's generation, just a few were able to attend school, and in his grandchildren's generation *everyone* goes to school. Things have improved, Bhagant finds. Liberty and prosperity have grown. Today the children's behavior is the big problem. When he was young, children were obedient and helped in the home. Now they have grown so terribly independent, making money of their own. This can cause tensions, of course, but it isn't quite the same thing as the risk of having to watch your children die, or having to sell them to a loan shark.

The stand taken by you and me and other people in the privileged world on the burning issue of globalization can decide whether more people are to share in the development which has taken place in Bhagant's village or whether that development is to be reversed.



Critics of globalization often portray economic internationalization as a menace by hinting that it is governed by an underlying intention, invoked by ideological fundamentalists indifferent to the accuracy or otherwise of their map-making. The critics try to paint a picture of neoliberal market marauders having secretly plotted for capitalism to assume world mastery. In a book targeting what is termed "hypercapitalism," the Swedish radio journalist Björn Elmbrant claims that in the past two decades we have witnessed "a species of ultraliberal revolution."

Deregulation, privatization, and trade liberalization, however, were not invented by ultraliberal ideologists. True, there were political leaders — Reagan and Thatcher, for instance — who have been inspired by economic liberalism. But the biggest reformists, entitling us to speak in terms of a

globalization of capitalism, were communists in China and the Soviet Union, protectionists in Latin America and nationalists in Asia. In many other countries — Sweden, for example — the progress has been spurred by Social Democrats. In short, the notion of conspiratorial ultraliberals making a revolution of shock therapy is completely wide of the mark. Instead, it is pragmatic, often anti-liberal politicians, being of the opinion that their governments have gone too far in the direction of control-freakery, have for this very reason begun liberalizing their economies. The allegation of liberal-capitalist world dominion has to be further tempered by the observation that we today probably have the biggest public sectors and the heaviest pressures of taxation the world has ever known. The liberalization measures introduced have been concerned with abolishing a number of centralist excesses occurring previously, not with introducing a system of *laissez faire*. And because the rulers have retreated on their own terms and at their own speed, there is also reason to ask whether things really have gone too far or whether they have not even gone far enough.

In defending capitalism, what I have in mind is the capitalist freedom to proceed by trial and error, without having to ask rulers and frontier officials first. This is fundamentally the liberty which I once thought anarchy would bring, but under the control of laws ensuring that one person's freedom will not encroach on other people's. I want everyone to have that liberty in plenty. If the critics of capitalism feel that we already have a superabundance of that liberty today, I would like to have more still — a super-duper-abundance if possible. Especially for the poor of the world's population, who as things now stand have little say regarding their work and consumption. That is why I do not hesitate to call for a *defense of global capitalism*, even though that world capitalism is more a possible future than a genuinely existing system.

By capitalism I do not specifically mean an economic system of capital ownership and investment opportunities. Those things can also exist in a command economy. What I mean is the liberal market economy, with its free competition based on the right of using one's property, the freedom to negotiate, to conclude agreements, and to start up business

activities. What I am defending, then, is individual liberty in the economy. Capitalists are dangerous when, instead of capitalist ownership, they join forces with the government. If the state is a dictatorship, the enterprises can actually be a party to human rights violations, as for example in the case of a number of Western oil companies in African states. By the same token, capitalists frequenting the corridors of political power in search of benefits and privileges are not capitalists either. On the contrary, they are a threat to the free market and as such must be criticized and counteracted. It often happens that businessmen want to play politics and politicians want to play at being businessmen. This is not a market economy, it is a mixed economy in which entrepreneurs and politicians have confused their roles. Free capitalism exists when politicians pursue liberal policies and entrepreneurs do business.

There is a further point I would like to make. Basically, what I believe in is neither capitalism nor globalization. It is not systems or regulatory codes that achieve all we see around us in the way of prosperity, inventions, communities, and culture. These things are created by people. I believe in man's capacity for achieving great things and in the combined force which results from encounters and exchanges. I plead for greater liberty and a more open world, not because I believe one system happens to be more efficient than another, but because I can see it provides a setting which liberates individuals and their creativity as no other system can. That it spurs the dynamism which has led to human, economic, scientific, and technical advances, and which will go on doing so. Believing in capitalism does not mean believing in growth, the economy, or efficiency. Desirable as they may be, these are only the results. Belief in capitalism is, fundamentally, belief in mankind.

This also means that, in common, presumably, with most other liberals, I can endorse the opinion of French socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin that we must have a "market economy, not a market society." My aim is not for economic transactions to supplant all other human relations. My aim is freedom and voluntary relations in all fields. The market economy is a result of this in the economic field, in the cultural field it means freedom of expression and

press freedom, in politics it means democracy and the rule of law, in social life it means the right to live according to one's own values and to choose one's own company.

It is not the intention that we should put price tags on everything. The important things in life — love, the family, friendship, one's own way of life — cannot be valued in money. Those who believe that to the liberal mind everyone does everything with the aim of maximizing their income know nothing about liberals, and any liberal of such persuasions knows nothing of human nature. It is not a desire for better payment that moves me to write about the value of globalization instead of, say, coarse fishing. I am writing because this is something I believe in, because to me it matters. And I wish to live in a liberal society because it gives people the right to choose what matters to them. □



SHCHAMBERS

# The Limits of the Melting Pot

*by Bruce Ramsey*

When the rest of the world has closed borders, only an idiot would open his.

In "Open Minds, Closed Borders," (January) Ken Schoolland, a university professor of economics and political science, offers the textbook libertarian case for open immigration. It is part of the freedom to move. In Utopia he would be right, but in this particular world he is wrong.

He starts off by comparing immigrants to runaway slaves from the antebellum South and asks: Would a libertarian, transported back in time, bar such slaves? I hate to admit it, but it might depend on how many slaves there were. If there were hundreds of millions, would our attitude be the same?

In any case, an immigrant from China or Mexico is not a slave. Most are not coming for political reasons, but for economic ones. It's not freedom they want, it's the chance to earn more money than they can in their homeland.

Is it in our economic interest to let them in? My answer is: sometimes. Immigrants may pick our apples, slaughter our cattle, drive our taxis, do our laundry, and staff our 7-Eleven stores. They may also write our software and start our dot-coms. Without immigrants, nonimmigrants would do some of those things, and others would not get done. There would be fewer assembly lines, fewer 24-hour stores, and some industries, like handpicked fruit, might go away. And there might be fewer dot-coms.

The current system of limited immigration favors the educated and prosperous because it requires following rules, filling out forms and, usually, knowing people in the United States. It also gives an edge to foreigners attending U.S. universities. A system of no restrictions would let in the unlettered and ignorant. Perhaps if immigration were open, whole new industries would spring up — perhaps a rebirth of personal service. We already have the nanny, which is a kind of a servant. I do not argue, as many do, that with open borders there would be permanent mass unemployment. Jobs would be created. But they would look different from

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the kind of jobs we have today — the kind appropriate to folks who used to travel steerage-class.

Schoolland writes, "I suspect that the reason for rejecting people from some countries has more to do with snobbish attitudes about ethnicity, status, and wealth than it does with economics." No kidding. And then he goes on to talk about economics.

The fact is, foreigners are sometimes different in ways that Americans find disturbing. Over the centuries, we have dealt with that by assimilation. We have discovered that the melting pot works pretty well, provided the immigrant group is not too large, and too lumpy, to melt. That means rationing their entrance, and making sure the immigrants are not all of one flavor.

Does this interfere with foreigners' right of movement? Yes, it does. But all countries do that. In a world in which everyone does that, and in which *you* are the richest and most desirable nation, you're crazy to be the only one with an open gate, and no one to keep count.

Schoolland makes a comparison of immigration with emigration. America, he says, is the only country that allows its citizens the unlimited right to emigrate. I have never heard such a thing, and seriously doubt it, but I let it pass. Several million Americans do go abroad to work, he says, and they are seen by their host countries as an economic benefit. "Why doesn't the same logic apply to immigrants from other countries?" Schoolland asks.



First, Americans are not welcomed everywhere as workers. Try it and see.

Second, Americans are rich. When they go to a poor country, they bring wealth with them.

Third, Americans are not immigrants. They are *expatriates*, who return home.

Schoolland gives an example of Hong Kong as a place in which many people crowd together and support themselves. That is true; yet Hong Kong has not had an open border with China for decades, and still doesn't, even though it is *part* of China. It may have 120,000 Filipino maids, but it does not let them stay when their contracts expire. It did not welcome 50,000 refugees from Vietnam. It has not limited the several tens of thousands of Americans, but if an American can't make a living in Hong Kong at an American standard, the American will go home.

That is the difference.

Schoolland quotes libertarians saying that they'd be for open immigration if there were no welfare. He attacks this position, arguing that welfare is not that important. I agree.

*Most immigrants do not come here for political reasons, but for economic ones. It's not freedom they want, it's the chance to earn more money than they can in their homeland.*

If we abolished welfare tomorrow, we would still have to control immigration. America is too enticing; our standard of living is ten times that of China. Not only is America rich, but the people in countries like China and India are better off, too — better off enough to buy tickets to come here.

Schoolland compares states of the union, arguing that the more generous the welfare a state has, the more people leave that state. He says the states with the highest welfare benefits, like New York and Hawaii, have net out-migration, and states with low welfare benefits, like Nevada, have in-migration. This is because welfare raises taxes, and taxes destroy jobs.

That may all be true. But high welfare benefits may still be attracting dependents, even if five times the number of workers are leaving. It is not emigration statistics Schoolland should be looking at, but welfare rolls. I don't believe welfare benefits are the main driver of immigration, but they are a driver. In particular, there is a problem of immigrants bringing their elderly parents and signing them up for Social

Security's Supplemental Security Income.

I have criticized Schoolland for bringing up ethnicity and then talking economics, and now I see that I have done it myself. It is difficult to talk about ethnicity. Americans have the idea of the melting pot, that foreigners can come here and embrace the American idea of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, of religious and political tolerance, and that by the second generation they will speak English as a native and have roughly American social and political attitudes. And that has generally been true. But it has not been true in every other country. Talk to a German; any one will tell you the Turks cannot be assimilated. The Germans say it is the religion. I don't know; maybe the Germans are going about it wrong. But I do believe, from common sense, that the amount of absorptive power of a nation, even this nation, is limited; that if it is overwhelmed, the nation changes irreversibly. The key is not race but culture. I don't want the American nation to change so fast, and I don't think someone who puts great stock in the traditional American idea of liberty would want anything different. Liberty, too, can be diluted even more than it already is.

Look at America's ethnic politics. It is bad enough as it is; imagine it worse. If you create several more large ethnic groups, the difference between the Democrats and the Republicans could be entirely skin color. I shudder to think of it.

That doesn't mean I'm against immigration. I'm married to an immigrant. I've helped immigrants get green cards. I think it is wonderful that people abroad yearn to become Americans, and that we let them do so. But we have to manage it. The immigrants I know had to wait several years in line, because the quota was full. They had to go to the consulate and fill out forms. They had to have an American resident vouch for them, and guarantee to support them if they

*The melting pot works pretty well, provided the immigrant group is not too large, and too lumpy, to melt. That means rationing their entrance, and making sure the immigrants are not all of one flavor.*

couldn't make a living. As a matter of fact, they have paid their way — fully. They are citizens. And they are becoming more American every year.

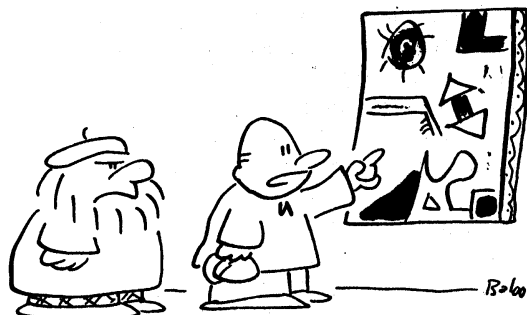
The choice is not between immigrants and no immigrants. The issue is *how many* immigrants we should allow, and under what rules.

There is a story about Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, who visited the United States in 1979. He met President Carter, who had been in frustrating negotiations with the Russians about the right of Russian Jews to emigrate. Carter began speaking to Deng. The world's door was opening to China, Carter said, but China, like Russia, would have to observe the fundamental human right to emigrate.

Deng looked up, surprised. "How many do you want?" he said.

That's not my point, Carter said —

"I can give you ten million. You want twenty? Thirty?" □



"You missed a spot right here."

# Radical Sheik

*by Sarah McCarthy*

Self-hate isn't what it used to be.

On a night late in 1969, Felicia Bernstein stood up beside the baby grand in her apartment overlooking Central Park and introduced some Black Panthers charged with conspiring to blow up five New York department stores, the New Haven Railroad facilities, a police station, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens to a gathering of her closest society friends — Barbara Walters, Otto Preminger, Peter Duchin, Julie Belafonte, and the *New York Times*' society page editor, Charlotte Curtis. Imagine if you can the mood of 1969, when the glitterati of New York were trying to be so earnestly politically correct that they held fundraiser parties for the criminal defense of permanently aggrieved American Black Panthers who were so oppressed that the only way out was to blow up the city. As Tom Wolfe put it:

Radical Chic was already in full swing by the time the Black Panther party began a national fundraising campaign late in 1969. The Panthers' organizers, like the grape workers', counted on the "cause party" — to use a term for it that was current thirty-five years ago — not merely in order to raise money. The Panthers' status was confused in the minds of many liberals, and to have the Panthers feted in the homes of a series of social and cultural leaders could make an important difference. Ideally, it would work out well for the socialites and culturati, too, for if there was ever a group that embodied the romance and excitement of which Radical Chic is made, it was the Panthers.

Barbara Walters explained to Panthers at the party that she was there as a concerned individual trying to find out if there was any possibility of peace and harmony between her children and theirs. She told them she had asked that question last year in an interview of Panther wife Kathleen Cleaver: "How do you feel, as a mother, about the prospect of your child being in that kind of confrontation, a nation in

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flames?" "Let it burn!" Mrs. Cleaver responded. "And what about your own child?" asked Walters. "May he light the first match!" replied Cleaver.

Walters asked similar questions to the Panthers and Panther wives that night at the Bernsteins' apartment: "I'm talking as a white woman who has a white husband, who is a capitalist, or an agent of capitalists, and I am too, and I want to know if you have your freedom, does that mean we have to go? All I'm asking is if we can work together to create justice without violence and destruction!"

"We don't believe that it will happen within the present system. Power to the people!" replied Panther lawyer Leon Quat.

The story of the Bernsteins' cause party that began as a radical chic story in Charlotte Curtis' society column quickly wound its way to the editorial page of the *New York Times*, where the party was denounced as having put "Black Panthers on a Park Avenue Pedestal," and as "elegant slumming that degrades patrons and patronized alike." Columnists from all over chimed in and piled on, condemning what they saw as the trend in liberal and intellectual circles to lionize the Panthers. William Buckley called the whole affair a lesson in the weird masochism of the white liberal who bids the Panther to come devour him in his "luxurious lair." New York Sen. Patrick Moynihan wrote his famous "benign neglect" note to President Nixon, informing the president that the party at the Bernsteins' was "Exhibit A" of

how black outlaws like the Panthers had become the "culture heroes" of the Beautiful People.

It became obvious early to perceptive social commentators like Tom Wolfe, and much later to most of us, sometime around the time of the Los Angeles riots, and underscored by the O.J. Simpson trial, that as the United States advanced through progressive stages of the civil rights movement, there was a point at which what had begun as an honorable and justifiable struggle turned into a con game by the permanently aggrieved, a race hustle whose aim it was to extort, hoodwink, and intimidate white Americans.

The history of the world has been one of victims turning into oppressors, and the American civil rights movement was no exception. Shortly after the L.A. riots, I wrote an Op-Ed titled "Guerrillas in Our Midst" about my growing disillusionment and disgust with the American civil rights movement, comparing its later-stage activities to those of the Arab terrorists who, because they had been oppressed, felt justified in throwing Leon Klinghoffer, a helpless and wheelchair-bound American Jew, who was no threat to them, off the *Achille Lauro* cruise ship into the Mediterranean Sea. This

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was no worthy crusade by the Third World dispossessed. It is a bunch of punks with a blame-America-first complex and an adolescent appetite for destruction.

In her book *Meridian* black author Alice Walker tells a story of the poor-little-black-boy hustle and of the white masochism that enables it: Lynne, a white woman who has gone South in the '60s to work for civil rights, marries a black man, Truman. Lynne and Truman have a black friend, Tommy Odds, who had his lower arm shot off in a demonstration. Because he was angry, and people owed him, and because Lynne was white, he wanted to make love to her. He was entitled. But Lynne was married to Truman and considered Tommy Odds only a friend. Walker writes:

For of course it was Tommy Odds who raped her. As he said, it wasn't really rape. She had not screamed once, or even struggled very much. To her, it was worse than rape because she felt that circumstances had not permitted her to scream. As Tommy Odds said, he was just a lonely one-arm Nigger down on his luck that nobody had time for anymore. But she would have time — wouldn't she? Because she was not like those rough black women who refused to be sympathetic and sleep with him — was she? She would be kind and not like those women who turned him down because they were repulsed and prejudiced and the maroon stump of his arm made them sick. She would be a true woman and save him — wouldn't she? "But Tommy Odds," she pleaded, pushing against his chest, "I'm married to your friend. You can't do this." Water stung in her eyes as she felt her hair being tugged out by the roots. "Please don't do this," she whimpered softly. "You know I can't hep myself," he said in loose-lipped mock-

ery. His hand came out of her hair and was quickly inside her blouse. He pinched her nipples until they stung. "Please," she begged.

There was a moment when she knew she could force him from her. But it was a flash. She lay instead thinking of his feelings, his hardships, of the way he was black and belonged to people who lived without hope; she thought about the loss of his arm. She felt her own guilt. And he entered her and she did not any longer resist but tried instead to think of Tommy Odds as he was when he was her friend — and near the end her arms stole around his neck, and before he left she told him she forgave him and she kissed his round slick stump that was the color of baked liver, and he smiled at her from far away, and she did not know him. 'Be seein' you,' he said.

The next day Tommy Odds appeared with Raymond, Altuna, and Hedge.

Con games, shakedown, terroristic threats, and being indulged by white masochism rooted in guilt are not the only similarities between the behavior of radical black-power groups and Islamic terrorists. The Black Panthers and groups such as Stokely Carmichael's Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) lined up early in support of Arabs against Israel. Sometimes this was a matter of black nationalism, since Egypt was a part of Africa and black nationalist literature identifies Arabs as blacks fighting the white Israelis. At other times, it was about world socialism, with the Soviets and Chinese supporting the Arabs against Israel. "But many Jewish leaders," writes Wolfe, "regarded the anti-Zionist stances of groups like the Panthers as a veiled American-brand anti-Semitism, tied up with such less theoretical matters as extortion, robbery, and mayhem by blacks against Jews in ghetto areas."

The burning and trashing of stores in their own neighborhoods, especially Jewish stores, and then Korean grocers, is a baffling fact of black cultural life in America. Though Spike Lee's award-winning movie *Do the Right Thing* purported to enlighten us about such destructive behavior, the film was essentially a sneer at uncool, workaholic white owners who slaved away at their pizza shop in a black ghetto while cool, black homeys were definitely not stupid enough to be workin' for no chump change. The dudes just hung out smellin' flowers, playing basketball, pickin' up their welfare checks on "mother's day," and rippin' off food from Korean grocery stores. Fittingly, the movie ended with the burning of the pizza shop.

Shortly after the L.A. riots, Spike Lee, making the movie promo rounds, appeared on the "Today Show" and talked about the riots and the blacks who pulled white truckdriver Reginald Denny from his truck, hitting him on the head with a concrete block and nearly killing him. "If the police officers who beat Rodney King are free, why should the brothers that beat the driver not be free too?" asked Lee. "It's the same videotape." Lee made no mention, of course, of the fact that Rodney King, who was often portrayed as a hapless motorist, had been careening through the streets of Los Angeles at 100 mph, endangering the lives of everyone in his path, particularly of his black neighbors; Lee also neglected to mention the beginning of the infamous videotape, which shows the very large and muscular Mr. King repeatedly making gorilla-like lunges at police before he was knocked to the ground and beaten. Spike Lee also neglects to mention that

the officers in this case actually served more time than the thugs who nearly killed Denny, himself an innocent motorist who did nothing to incite the rioters' rage except be at the wrong place at the wrong time with white skin. Those excitable boys were released early for having been "caught up in a riot."

The indulgence of the permanently aggrieved by American liberals is primarily a by-product of the widespread academic view that value judgments, especially negative ones, about other cultures are merely symptoms of racism, elitism, or American arrogance. The multiculturalism fashionable at America's universities promotes the belief that cultural domination supplants outright exploitation as the fundamental injustice. "Cultural recognition displaces socio-economic redistribution as the remedy for injustice," writes Nancy Fraser, author of *Theorizing Multiculturalism*.

In his 1995 book *The Revolt of the Elites*, the late social critic Christopher Lasch wrote that the new bicoastal elites were seceding from the common life of America. He said the elites "have lost faith in the values, or what remains of them, of the West" and now tend to think of Western civilization as a system of domination and oppression. "This attitude helps explain why so many in the elite seem offended by a war of self-defense — and why their intellectual confusion won't fade as the war goes on," writes columnist John Leo.

Helle Bering Dale, editor of the *Washington Times*' editorial page comments on the shocking reactions of some American academics to the Sept. 11 attacks contained in a recent report, "How Our Universities Are Failing America and What Can Be Done About It," by the American Council of Trustees and Alumni — reactions like the one from an unnamed professor at a major American university who said

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the Sept. 11 attacks were "no more despicable than the massive acts of terrorism that the United States has committed during my lifetime."

"Given the awful losses Americans had just sustained in the worst terrorist attack the United States had ever seen," writes Dale, "such sentiments may come as a surprise. Then again, given the rampant suspicion bordering on hatred of everything American that has been nurtured by the academy for decades, such reactions are as predictable as they remain shocking."

Dale reminds us that "The unwholesome atmosphere surrounding Western intellectuals is not a new phenomenon, of course. The report contains an appropriate reminder of the famous debate at the Oxford Union in 1933 over whether or not Britons would fight for their country. After a no doubt sparkling debate, leading intellectuals ended up unable to distinguish between British colonialism and world fascism. The Union consequently voted that the English would 'in no

circumstances fight for king and country.' One person who was much cheered by this news was Adolf Hitler's foreign policy adviser, Joachim von Ribbentrop, who reported back to Berlin, 'The West will not fight for its own survival.' Somehow Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and other Islamic extremists had the same impression. Fortunately, in both cases, the leaders of Britain and the United States got it right."

Shelby Steele wrote an article on Sept. 17 for *The Wall Street Journal* saying that "It has always astounded me how much white Americans take for granted the rich and utterly decisive heritage of Western culture," and warned that "White guilt morally and culturally disarms the West and

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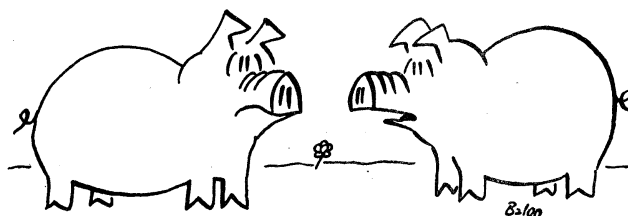
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only inflames the narcissism of the ineffectual [Third World]."

In the December, 2001, *Atlantic Monthly* Robert D. Kaplan writes about Harvard professor Samuel Phillips Huntington, who has written extensively about the relationship between the military and the state, and of the "clash of civilizations" that is occurring as Western, Islamic, and Asian systems of thought and government collide. Author of the academic classic *The Soldier and the State*, Huntington concludes that the Western belief that democracy and free markets are suitable for everyone will bring the West into conflict with other civilizations, and in a multi-polar world based loosely on civilizations rather than ideologies, Americans must reaffirm their Western identity.

Huntington has written that liberalism thrives only when security can be taken for granted — and that in the future America may not have that luxury. A liberal military, he writes, would lack the lethal effectiveness required to defend a liberal society threatened by technologically empowered illiberal adversaries. He argues that only conservatism recognizes the primacy of power in international affairs.

Since Sept. 11, America has changed. Nearly 90% of us are feeling warlike: there are no more red and blue states. Since Sept. 11 masochism and liberal self-abnegation has been withering and dying on the vine. The indulgence of radical sheiks is no longer radical chic; defining all cultures as morally acceptable, or kissing the stump, is no longer seen as doing the right thing. □



"The worst part about being a pig is always having to look up each other's nostrils."

# Where My Heart Is

by Richard Kostelanetz

An apartment might be a living space, a sanctuary, or a mere stop on the way to something better.

My apartment became famous for a day several years ago, when it appeared at the top of the front page of the *New York Times*' Thursday "Home" section. Accompanying a feature article on "Living with Too Many Books" was a photograph of me sitting beneath towering shelves tightly filled with paperbacks. While most features in the *Times* are forgotten a few days afterwards, this is often remembered, mostly by those likewise situated. The article said I had 10,000 books, which was roughly accurate, assuming that books are on average one inch thick, because the only figure authorized by me was "956 running feet" of shelving containing books. Those more experienced insist that the count must now be closer to 15,000. That's what the Italian collector Egidio Marzona told me, with the authority of someone owning, he added, 60,000.

What the size of this library mostly reflects — a point missed by the *Times* writer specializing in interior design — is not that I "collect" books, because I don't, but that I've worked my way through several intellectual fields. After taking degrees in American civilization and American history, I became interested in literature and literary criticism; more recently, I've written about other arts. No one pursuing a single discipline would need so many books at home. A second fact shaping the size of the library is professional independence. Unlike professors who can rely upon a university library, I can use only the New York Public. However, its stocking is erratic, and even the famed research central at 42nd Street is missing many items listed in its catalog.

A third, more personal fact is that my books are extensively annotated, not only with marks on their pages but also with sheets of paper filled with handwritten notes. When I want to find something that I remember being in any book of mine, I first consult these sheets. In a practical sense, these sheets and annotations are more valuable to me than the books. Unlike the books, they are irreplaceable.

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The books in my library are grouped by subject and by size; so that the first requirement of finding any title is remembering what size it is. Small paperbacks are gathered into shelves made to my design, cut to 7½" or 8¼" high and 5½" deep, to accommodate the two most common sizes for paperbacks. Smaller hardbacks go onto shelves that are 9" and 10" high, while larger shelves are mostly for illustrated art books. As a result, books on a single subject could be in three different places. The fastest growing section is devoted to books and spine-bound cultural magazines containing works of mine — well over 2,000 in sum — prompting me to move books off adjacent shelves in order to keep this category in a single place. Since I receive many books that could be easily lost on shelves because they lack perpendicular spines, I save them by grouping them in book-mailing boxes and then marking the box's spine with the titles of their contents. These book-mailers also house poetry chapbooks.

The only rational reason for having such a large library is that you prefer to do research at home, with your own annotations, as indeed I do. But the problem now is that I no longer always know where to find a title I want. If the book has been mine for a while, and it hasn't been moved, I can probably find it; but if the book is new, or has been moved to make way for the expansion of something else, it can escape my search. Whenever this happens, I swear that if I can't find books I need, there is no reason to have this humongous



library; the whole thing should go.

I haven't yet done any radical deaccessioning, as they say in the museum biz, though I'm always on the verge of doing so. I also dream now and then of "reorganizing my house," which is a euphemism for relocating, which is in turn a rationalization for building new bookshelves with heights respectively from the bottom of 13", 12", 10", 9", 8", 8", 7", and 7", so that books on the same subject, but different in size, can finally be stored in the same vertical line and yet, since I'm six-foot tall, be accessible without a ladder.

A diminutive tradesman once fixing a chair of mine looked around my apartment as I paid him. "A lot of books?" he said. I nodded agreement. "Have you read them all?" Pretty much, I replied, trying to seem modest. "All in one language, eh?" Recognizing that he has set me up for his put-down, I was speechless. "I talk Fife," he said in a thickly accented voice, as he moved to leave. My library shows that, not unlike other overeducated Americans, I never learned to read any languages other than English.

Most people entering my house for the first time exclaim, "So many books." A few say, "So many records," usually indicating implicitly that they are personally accustomed to seeing a lot of books. Since records are slimmer than books, they take up less space per capita, and the last time I measured there were 35 running feet, which I suppose amounts to 3,000 records, or a fairly reasonable figure of 100 per year for 30 years. Nearly all these discs fall into four large groupings — contemporary music, mostly in the avant-garde traditions; baroque music, mostly J. S. Bach; '60s rock; and folk.

In the past two decades I have accumulated many audio-cassettes that have their own shelves. Some of these cassettes contain music; others transcriptions of classic American radio toward a projected book that never gets sufficient support. On one wall, in a crevice between two bookshelves, is a vertical stack of plastic cabinets of sound poetry and audio art; on another wall is a stack of the great modern writers reading their work. As I live alone, no one is bothered if I play music and speech nearly all the time. I have perhaps several hundred compact discs and even a single videodisc (though no machine for playing it). More recently, I've been recording, on the slowest VHS speed, movies that I consider part of my personal culture, and my collection of these videotapes is beginning to fill another wall. The abundance of culture, let me confess, makes me feel comfortable. More than once I've rationalized that I'm squirreling away for the time when I get ill. However, as a full-time artworker, I can't afford to be ill and so never am.

I moved here in 1974 and have lived here almost uninterrupted ever since. It is my sixth house in New York City. For the first three, I lived with my parents, initially in the neighborhood around Yankee Stadium, then in Inwood at the northern tip of Manhattan, finally on Riverside Drive. The first place rented on my own was a four-room bastion in a Harlem housing project just down the hill from Columbia University, where my then-wife and I were graduate students. With a rent of \$55 a month, including utilities (and a monthly exterminator), it became a place where we could afford comfortably to spend all day and all night reading and sometimes writing. I might have stayed longer than four years, had not the New York City Housing Authority

required that residents be a nuclear family, which by 1966 we weren't anymore.

The second place of my own was the top floor of a brownstone in the East Village. By the time I left, after eight years, its 600 square feet had become so cluttered that no more than three people could fit into it comfortably. This current space, approximately three times the size of its predecessor, is part of the third floor in a SoHo building that once housed factories. The fact that the paint on my concrete ceiling looks as though it is peeling reflects the vapors from the jewelry business that was here before me.

The space itself has become a kind of factory, all of it by now organized for the production of what I do. Since nothing currently manufactured here is particularly remunerative, there is no one else to be the janitor (or the boss). Way in the back is a windowless space, about ten feet by 20, in which are located five desks. The one with the typewriter was for writing but is now used only for correspondence; the second, with a drawing board tilted up at an angle, is for editing and proofreading. A third and a fourth seem to have accumulated papers in progress. Whatever function I once had in mind for the fifth now escapes me. It seems mostly

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*This is where I prefer to spend most of my days, rising late, refusing to answer the doorbell or telephone until I am finished writing, staying up well into the night reading and writing.*

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used to support my feet when I lean back. In the corner of the room is an extra bed that was meant for naps but is now hardly used. (When I first lived here, there was someone else; now there is insufficient room for anyone else.) Along one short wall are deep shelves that house my biannual accordion files of professional correspondence (implicitly waiting for an archive's offer that cannot be refused); beneath it is a deep shelf of mailing supplies. Next to the typewriter desk are four tall filing cabinets containing projects still in progress. As a steam pipe runs upward through this room, it is also the warmest space, especially during winter nights, when the rest of the apartment cools down; and since I usually stay up late, I tend to gravitate here in the middle of the night.

The next room, likewise windowless, was meant to be the "reading room," which accounts for why it has always housed a television and the central telephone. On one side of my favorite butterfly chair is the dialing machine and an answering machine; on the other side is a radio amplifier attached to both a cassette player and a new CD machine. Across the room is a television that I watch more often than before, now that I've acquired a VCR that enables me to see programs I would have missed and to fast-forward through commercials. It is here that I put the two-piece projection television that was given to me by someone with insufficient space for its six-foot screen. Behind the chair is a wall full of unread books, my assumption being that a new book cannot be shelved with others of its kind until it has been "processed," as I say, with annotations and a sheet of notes.

Along side walls of this reading room are yet more shelves which extend under a tilted table that I use for drawing. Underneath yet another table, now filled with towers storing dozens of compact discs, is my great uncle's 1929 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, which is one of the few books I inherited. On the door to this room are tacked two pieces of paper, one forbidding smoking, because there is no natural ventilation, the other a publisher's royalty check for \$1, reminding me that my literary business is scarcely profitable.

On the other side of this door is the dining room, or what was once a dining room, because it has a long table, surrounded by several chairs (and bookshelves on all the walls behind it), but since I haven't entertained recently, the table tends to contain a miscellany of things that I'm currently moving in and out of the house. Across from it on a large desk are two computers — the antique Kaypro that until recently I preferred for writing, and the new one, a Mac, whose keyboard at first felt alien, in addition to two computer printers that give the boss (lacking a secretary) far neater typescripts and business letters than he could ever do at the typewriter. Beside the printer is one of the dozen radio receivers distributed throughout the house, so that sound will always be within reach. Here too is a second telephone that is usually unplugged, because even if I'm not sleeping I'd still rather not have my concentration interrupted and, better yet, would rather not seem impolite if it were.

Behind it is the bedroom, with a queen-size bed along one wall and a television along the other. I've kept this room largely free of books, for fear they would distract me as I was trying to get to sleep (just as the writing room in the back is also free of books), but on its walls are instead a painting by Hugh Lifson, a New Yorker now teaching in Iowa, and two sequences of geometric drawings that, in a certain sense, represent an apex of my own visual art. On the bedroom floor is a large metal cabinet whose horizontal shelves, three feet by

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*I was recently asked about my principal recollection of myself between the ages of seven and ten. As I replied — playing in my room with my toys — I realized that is how I spend most of my time nowadays as well.*

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four, contain prints of my own visual poetry and numerical art. Atop the cabinet, likewise lying prostrate, is a box containing a traveling exhibition of my work (even though it hasn't left this house in years). One of the two bedroom windows is completely covered, its sill used instead for storage; the other is customarily curtained, as it looks out on the back of another building.

Adjacent to the bedroom, with four unadorned windows that look out over the roof of a single-story restaurant, is the living room, the largest room (and least occupied) in my apartment. It has shelves not only along its walls, but an island in the middle. It also has works of art that I've collected over the years — a black-and-white painting by Suzan Frecon, a kinetic sculpture by Einno Rutsaalo, a wooden car

by Paul Zelevansky, and the magnificent six panels, 6-feet high and 14-feet across, of inked words on doors that are John Furnival's "Tour de Babel Changées en Pont". In this room are also visual works of mine: black-and-white canvases and prints, with either numbers or words, mostly mounted high above the bookshelves, just below the ceiling, and, on a revolving stand, the first of my two major holograms.

The Furnival panels divide the living room couch and coffee table from a back area that contains an audio editing studio and a small viewer placed between pickup reels for 16 mm film. It is here that I and at times student interns worked on my principal creative project for the 1980s — separate

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*"Have you read them all?" Pretty much, I replied, trying to seem modest. "All in one language, eh?"*

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epiphanies for audiotape and film. In the corner of this room I put a reading area, with a strong lamp, a chair, and a radio and record player, but I haven't much used it. What I do use, however, is the couch, where I like to put my feet up for short naps.

When I first moved to SoHo nearly three decades ago, the neighborhood was still zoned as industrial. You could live here legally only if you petitioned a city commission for a variance. To get this certificate, you had to prove that you were an artist who needed space. Painters, sculptors, choreographers, composers, and even playwrights qualified, but writers did not. Fortunately, I produced visual art as well as writing and so could submit slides. When people came to visit at the beginning and marvel at all the space for my books, I would necessarily remind them of the visual art customarily placed above my bookshelves.

When I arrived here, the industrial building had just been "converted," as we used to say, so that while artists filled most of the spaces, there were still factories on the fourth floor, the eighth floor, and the ground floor. A dozen of us owned the building cooperatively, as Good Deal Realty Co., with me getting four percent of the shares and a proprietary lease for my space that demands my paying four percent of the building's monthly maintenance. One of the charms of our co-op, in contrast to others around us, is that only three owners have ever moved out, which means that the place is still run by the original group. This makes us different from those co-ops where lines of conflict invariably fall between the old-timers and the better-heeled newcomers who, having paid more for their apartments, are eager to initiate fancier renovations than the old-timers can afford.

To enter my apartment, I need four keys — the first to open the door to the building, the second to unlock the elevator so that it will go to my floor, the third to unlock my apartment door, and the fourth to open that door. Just inside that door is a hallway with bookshelves running along both sides. Directly over the door itself is another shelf that runs

· continued on page 44

# Capitalists of the World, Unite!

*by John Tabin*

Objectivists take their message to the streets.

Does collective expression of support for individual liberty make any sense? Some people seem to think it does.

The Walk for Capitalism, which took place in over 100 cities around the world on Dec. 2, is the brainchild of PRODOS, an Internet radio personality based in Melbourne, Australia. The goal is to make the first Sunday in December internationally known as "Capitalism Day."

PRODOS' Southern Hemispheric grounding explains why December struck him as an ideal time for an outdoor event. In most years, being outside for any length of time on Dec. 2 in Chicago, where I attended the walk with 20 or 30 marchers holding signs like "CAPITALISM KEEPS THE LIGHTS ON" and "THE \$ IS MIGHTIER THAN THE ⚡," would have been a profound statement of dedication indeed. But this year's extremely atypical weather, sunny and clear with highs in the 40s, made the event serendipitously tolerable to normal human metabolism.

A hundred people turned out in Washington, D.C., 30 in Los Angeles, and 50 in New York; 20 – 30 seemed typical in other American cities. There were 150 in Paris and 300 in Porto Alegre, Brazil, while PRODOS' own countrymen turned out less than a dozen per city (Perth, Sydney, Adelaide, and Melbourne). The event was a big hit in Poland, where 18 cities and towns organized walks with 200 in Warsaw, 80 in Krakow, 50 in Poznan, 40 in Wroclaw and so on.

Given that the idea was to provide a counterpoint to the anti-globalization protesters who've been so visible in recent years, it's not surprising that leftists showed up in many cities to try to undermine the proceedings. In Chicago, the left was represented by a group that appeared to have spent more time under a piercing needle than under a shower. As in other cities, they attempted to infiltrate the demonstration with signs like "SUPPORT PROFIT\$, LOWER WAGES,"

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which at first I thought was a clever and pugnacious comment on the illusory nature of wage controls. I only later realized the satire, and that the sign wavers were not as smart as I'd assumed.

In Seattle, the counterprotest was equal in size to the Walk itself, while in some cities, including Boston and Oslo, Norway, the angry leftists outnumbered the marchers. This was actually a positive development, as it made the media much more likely to notice the event. The juxtaposition with the leftists' often-barbarous behavior was good public relations for the capitalists. This is Lesson One the Walk teaches about making the case for free markets: Calmly bait the opposition into acting reprehensibly. In Sweden, December weather patterns notwithstanding, over 400 turned out in Stockholm (the world's largest Walk, it seems) along with about 100 each in Gothenburg, Vaxjos, and Lund. Walkers in Lund made the lead domestic news story of the day by being attacked by leftists, four of whom were arrested.

## **Randoids in the Streets**

The vast majority of marchers in Chicago were self-identified Objectivists, full of pronouncements like "Ayn Rand changed my life" and "I used to be into spiritualist nonsense." Unsurprisingly, the crowd was disproportionately composed of the math-and-science types — engineers, physicists, computer science students, actuaries — to whom Ayn Rand's emphasis on logic over feeling has the greatest appeal. Over a half-dozen Silicon Valley CEOs have declared themselves Objectivists or at least admirers of Ayn Rand,

though the most famous, Oracle's Larry Ellison, undercut his ideological purity by testifying against Microsoft in an anti-trust case — antitrust law being, quite logically, a Randian pet peeve.

Objectivists have the unbounded energy of the true believer, and for that, are an asset to the cause of liberty. They are also a liability, though, in that their Randian rhetoric

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*Counterprotesters infiltrated the demonstration with signs like "SUPPORT PROFIT\$, LOWER WAGES," which at first I thought was a clever commentary on the illusory nature of wage controls.*

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ical tics are a surefire turnoff to the uninitiated. Ramblings about "irrational spiritualism" are unhelpful in a world where millions more take comfort in the Bible than in *The Fountainhead*. When Leonard Peikoff, Rand's "intellectual heir" and Objectivism's reigning high priest, goes on the *O'Reilly Factor* to rant about vaporizing Tehran, Objectivists cheer because he's drawing the bright moral lines they crave. To them, there is hardly a difference between a realpolitik strategy and the mutterings of Susan Sontag; they are both seen as expressions of relativism, the cardinal sin. To just about everyone else, though, Peikoff sounds like a lunatic. The petulance of Rand's prose tends to inflect her followers'

pronouncements and make them sound arrogant — one of the Walk for Capitalism's city organizers shared some moralist and consequentialist arguments for capitalism with me, then offered me these instructions: "Even if you don't get anything else right in your article, I'm asking you to print this." Needless to say, writers, like everyone else, don't like to be told how to do their jobs.

Lesson Two of the Walk for Capitalism: Don't let the Objectivists handle the press by themselves. The same applies to other absolutists in the libertarian big tent — a walker in Vancouver expressed concern about the extremism of anarchists who were quoted on TV.

In places like Bangladesh, support for capitalism is more than a theoretical argument or a whimsical counterpoint to the anti-globalizers' antics — it is one with literally life-or-death urgency. There, one man, Nizam Ahmad, walked around Dhaka alone and imagined the thousands with him

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*The vast majority of marchers in Chicago were self-identified Objectivists, full of pronouncements like "Ayn Rand changed my life" and "I used to be into spiritualist nonsense."*

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around the world. Places like Dhaka, which have been impoverished by authoritarian rule, illustrate the most important lesson to remember: The spread of freedom is something that must be fought for. □

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## Home, from page 42

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to the ceiling. Beyond the hallway is a kitchen with the refrigerator on one side and a stove and sink on the other. In the middle are two chains, their ends normally hooked together, from which, if I unlock them, I can display my more recent holograms. Exhibiting them, you see, requires 20 feet of open space that by the late 1980s was available here only between the refrigerator and the stove. At the end of the sink is a pair of bookshelves, stacked back to back and perpendicular to the wall. At the end of this shelf is a small table where I feed myself and keep my vitamins.

A few years ago the Internal Revenue Service questioned the rather large percentage of the monthly maintenance that I deducted as a business expense. To justify my claim that so much of my apartment was used exclusively for professional work, my accountant asked me to shoot a roll of 35 mm black-and-white film that was developed on a single contact sheet. Looking at the 36 little photographs of my loft, the accountant asked, "Does it always look like this?" I assured him that it did. "Oh, this will be no problem." And indeed it wasn't.

In general, I'm reluctant to invite strangers here. The books are intimidating, I know, and as such are likely to have a negative effect on the spontaneity of guests. Others come to regard the apartment as a kind of candy store, pulling things out without putting them back where they belong, thereby causing difficulty the next time I need a certain book. I could go on, but after all, the apartment is not a showplace — it is really a factory and a home for me.

This is where I prefer to spend most of my days, rising late, refusing to answer the doorbell or telephone until I am finished writing, staying up well into the night reading and writing. Being in the back of the building, away from the SoHo street that sometimes has industrial traffic, it is unusually quiet. It is here that I sleep best.

At a party recently I was asked about my principal recollection of myself between the ages of seven and ten. As I replied — playing in my room with my toys — I realized that is how I spend most of my time nowadays as well. My favorite "summer place" is the ninth-floor roof, where I can read and nap undistracted, which we call Silver Beach after the color of its protective coating. Each day that I can spend entirely at home, without ever leaving, I regard as a logistical success. I can imagine happily spending the rest of my life here.

This devotion to my house is profound. It accounts for why I identify with other writers who were similarly devoted to the places in which they lived and worked — Lewis Mumford in Amenia, Edmund Wilson in Talcottville, Donald Hall in Danbury, Stanley Edgar Hyman in North Bennington — and can't understand why anybody would ever want to own a second home. For the same reason that I never go away during the summer, I sublet only once: This apartment contains my life, damage it and you damage me. A few years ago, I gave it a name much like those given to British manor houses, because to me it is indeed a castle — Wordship — and christened myself its earl. □

# Reviews

*Unintended Consequences: The Impact of Factor Endowments, Culture, and Politics on Long-Run Economic Performance*, by Deepak Lal. MIT Press, 1998, 287 pages.

## How the West Won

Jane S. Shaw

One of my avocations is collecting pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The puzzle consists of figuring out why the West changed so that during the past 200 years vast numbers of people rose above the "almost unrelieved wretchedness" that, as Nathan Rosenberg and L.E. Birdzell Jr. wrote in *How the West Grew Rich*, characterized humankind before the prosperity that has recently come to characterize the West.

Many people have contributed pieces to the puzzle. The contribution I have just discovered is Deepak Lal's *Unintended Consequences*. What Lal brings to the project is knowledge of the civilizations of India and China, which had a head start in technology and perhaps natural endowments, but dropped out of the race. Perhaps even more important, as a Hindu, Lal brings a hard-edged look at the role of Christianity in developing the institutions of the West.

The concept of the Middle Ages as a long slump between classical civilizations and their rediscovery in the Renaissance was dashed long ago. Today, most historians see the Middle Ages as a landscape of fragmented and warring principalities. The fractionated

conflict and unrest ultimately led to private property rights as we know them today, as princes wrested rights and serfs from overlords, and cities from kings.

The fragmentation of political power, of course, did not involve just belligerent principalities. There was also the Church, headed by popes eager to challenge the temporal power of others. And, according to some, by fostering the idea that the individual is accountable to God, not to the state, Christianity made it impossible for despotism — at least temporal despotism — to be all-encompassing. This attitude may have laid the foundation for limited government.

While this general overview is well-known and pretty well documented, it is somewhat insular. Comparison with other parts of the world, especially China, is less developed, at least among the authors I have read. What we are told is that China dropped out of the game of advancing knowledge and wealth, either because of stifling bureaucracy or imperial whim. The Muslim empires, while initially preserving classical knowledge, faded from the growth scene. And India, it is assumed, was never there — or was there so early that it hardly matters.

Starting with this background — fairly secure on the topic of European history, rather shaky with respect to the rest of the world — the reader who picks up *Unintended Consequences* is in for some provocative ideas. Lal is an economist with whom libertarians can be comfortable. Known for his work in contemporary economic development, he accepts the importance of private property rights, the value of markets, and the benefits of limited government. The goal of his book is to determine why Europe, and only Europe, made the leap from what he calls Smithian growth to Promethean growth.

### Smith vs. Prometheus

Smithian growth, in Lal's definition, is the increasing division of labor that comes from trade, which reflects the natural tendency of humans to "truck, barter, and exchange" under conditions of relative freedom. The Eastern civilizations had this trade and division of labor. But they did not have Promethean intensive growth, which Lal describes as a "mineral-based energy economy" that multiplies in its productive capacity as technology changes. In a phrase, it is the Industrial Revolution (p. 20). "Promethean intensive growth remains a European miracle," says Lal (69).

Lal is a materialist in the sense that he thinks that factors such as economic pressure and geography led to the political arrangements that guided the course of growth. But economics and geographic situation also conditioned what Lal calls "cosmological beliefs," and in the end these may be the ones that matter most in determining why Europe but not the rest of the world had an Industrial Revolution.

Lal's book was written before Jared Diamond's path-breaking *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, but it shares with it a recognition of the role of geography in setting people on a particular course. Thus, Lal explains the evolution of India's caste system as a way of assuring that

labor was available. Once the Aryan-speaking peoples settled there (around 1500 B.C.) and cut down the forests, the region had broad plains that had few limiting geographic features, which led to constant instability because no monarch was able to maintain military control. The caste system provided a "decentralized system of control" that sustained a sufficient and effective division of labor, which, Lal says, was needed for intensive agriculture.

In China, the need for a steady supply of labor led to a system that differed from India's. It was a system of agricultural manors, as in Europe, but

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*Capitalism is not inevitably connected with the nuclear family or even individualism, although its genesis depended on both.*

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it was not feudalism. The imperial government was strong enough to maintain control without having to buy off the services of princes and nobles, as the kings did in Europe. Trade operated smoothly along the east-west river routes, where geography and products were similar, so creative merchants did not become powerful as they had along the Mediterranean, where resource-poor countries (including Mesopotamia and Greece) had to figure out how to obtain goods by trade in order to survive. Lal also argues that Confucianism strengthened the power of the Chinese emperor by inculcating disdain for merchants and for the accumulation of wealth. (This is a theme Mises also has developed.)

In Europe, the need for a stable labor supply led to feudalism. The fragmentation of power forced kings and princes to develop "mutual recognition of quasi-legal rights and obligations" (70). Europe had other distinctions, too, says Lal. One was the legacy of the Greek "inquisitive spirit" that spurred science. Another was the need for trade by the city-states of Italy, whose merchants developed commercial law.

## Cosmic Economics

But the most important progenitors of Promethean growth, in Lal's view, were the "cosmological beliefs" engendered by Christianity. Here, Lal's personal distance from Christianity gives him a boldness that most commentators do not share. His arguments are a little difficult to follow, but in essence they seem to be the following.

First, from the time of Augustine, Christians taught that the political world was beneath the ideal "City of God." Unlike the Greek and Roman societies that it followed, Christianity was characterized by "its separation and demotion of politics to the maintenance of peace and justice in the temporal world . . ." (99). There were two worlds, the holy and the profane.

Second, unlike the Eastern societies, which influenced behavior through shame, Christianity fostered a sense of guilt. Fear of hell or purgatory guided people's actions the way that social pressure did in other societies. Lal contends that this dogma generated an attitude that the individual's relationship with God was paramount, more important than the individual's role as part of a family or community. Christianity viewed "the care of the individual soul as the basic purpose of life" (99). (Of course, that soul's health depended on the approval of the church.)

More deliberately, Lal says, Christianity also took action to break up the extended family. This denigration of the family goes back at least to the fifth century, when Pope Gregory I made a decision that had "momentous indirect economic effects through promoting individualism" (88).

Gregory forbade a number of practices that had been widespread in the Middle East and even had roots in the Bible. Gregory opposed marriage to close relatives or to the widows of close relatives, as well as polygyny, transfer of children to a different family by adoption, and concubinage. Added to the church's elevation of celibacy, these policies reduced the importance of family connections. They even set the stage for romantic marriage, which gave prominence to the nuclear, rather than the extended, family. (To illustrate this, Lal notes the friar's encouragement of Romeo and Juliet's

elopement in Shakespeare's play.) Lal points out that Gregory's prohibitions enabled the church to obtain wealth by reducing the number of families with heirs. Lacking heirs, they would most likely bequeath their property to the church.

Lal follows the course of individualism through the centuries, but he believes that what happened after the 13th century wasn't really critical in determining Europe's path-breaking course. By then, individualism was already a key part of the European experience, setting Europe in the direction of economic growth.

Lal goes on to raise other issues. The role of the family is important to Lal because he wants to show that the Eastern societies — China and India at least — can embrace capitalism today without losing their communal and extended families and without losing the role of shame as a monitor and enforcer of behavior. Thus, he emphasizes that capitalism is not inevitably connected with the nuclear family or even individualism, although its genesis depended on both.

In his view, the European Promethean miracle occurred because

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*By fostering the idea that the individual is accountable to God, not to the state, Christianity made it impossible for despotism to be all-encompassing.*

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Christianity unleashed individualism. But with the "death of God," a cultural fact of the 19th century in his view, the religious restraints on individualism were lost, and the restraints of "manners" (the "shame" constraint) seem to have disappeared, too. The results are a society facing cultural collapse. Lal ends the book with an admonition to the Judaeo-Christian West that he believes has lost its way: "Physician, heal thyself."

There is much to think about here. Lal doesn't have all the answers to "how the West grew rich," but he has offered some innovative ideas and valuable information. I am grateful. □



*Clarence Thomas: A Biography* by Andrew Peyton Thomas.  
Encounter Books, 2001, 661 pages.

# A Man to Be Destroyed

Timothy Sandefur

Clarence Thomas is the finest defender of liberty the Supreme Court has seen since the New Deal, but until now the only serious book about Justice Thomas was Scott Gerber's *First Principles*. Too short and too expensive, Gerber's book quickly reviewed some of Thomas' more outstanding opinions, and wisely discerned that Justice Thomas' views more closely resemble those of Thomas Jefferson or James Madison — what Gerber calls "liberal originalism" — than the views of Justices Rehnquist or Scalia — the "conservative originalists" whose views are ultimately authoritarian and even mobocratic. It was particularly commendable for Gerber to make this distinction since it escapes most in the overwhelmingly left-liberal legal academy. (Over 80% of American law professors are registered Democrats.)

But Peyton Thomas presents us now with a long and thoroughly researched biography of this remarkable man, whose life is an inspiring story of adversity and triumph that is, unfortunately, drowned out by leftist hysteria. Leftists rarely attempt a coherent criticism of Thomas' views, and one wonders how many of them have actually read his opinions. Jeffrey Rosen of *The New Republic* has called him "perverse," saying his long and scholarly legal opinions are "beyond the pale." An essay in *Time* referred to his opinions as full of "bilious rage" — a ridiculous charge to anyone who has

read Thomas' generally dry writing. When the *American University Law Review* devoted an issue to a symposium on *Adarand Constructors v. Peña*, an affirmative action case in which Thomas denounced racial preferences, hardly a word was devoted to serious consideration of the issues Thomas raised. Scott Gerber was even reduced to asking the legal community's permission to take Justice Thomas seriously; while writing his book, he was warned that "unless I write a 'very, very critical' book about Justice Thomas, my 'own career may be damaged by the Thomas curse!'"

The left's visceral reaction to Justice Thomas is, in part, an example of what Fyodor Dostoyevsky described over a century ago: "You have only to wound the vanity of any one of these innumerable friends of humanity, and he is at once ready to set fire to the world out of a feeling of petty revenge." Justice Thomas is a lightning rod because he serves as a constant reminder of some things Good Liberals don't want to think about: the great injustices lying at the heart of their system.

Leftists don't want to be reminded that their racial preferences enact into law precisely the iniquity they claim to be fighting. They don't want to acknowledge that their lack of concern for economic liberty perpetuates the underclass status of minorities — for instance, by stifling job creation with the minimum wage, which protects predominantly white labor unions from having to compete with immigrant or inner-city workers. They don't

want to face the fact that their anti-tobacco crusades hinder free speech; that their property regulations are used by big business to steal poor people's homes; that their opposition to school vouchers sacrifices the desires of most minority parents — and the futures of countless minority children — for the protection of indolent and incompetent unionized teachers.

## Where Are the Troops?

Reflecting on these things, one might wonder why there aren't more black libertarians. After all, who has suffered more at the hands of government than black Americans? After the end of slavery, the state and federal governments, led by the Democratic Party, spent a good deal of time and ingenuity devising mechanisms for keeping freed slaves from competing with white laborers, getting an education, and exercising their right to vote, or enjoying a variety of other liberties which all Americans should take for granted. Then — allegedly to remedy these abuses — they created an addictive welfare state, followed by Urban Renewal which favored white business over the property rights of blacks, and

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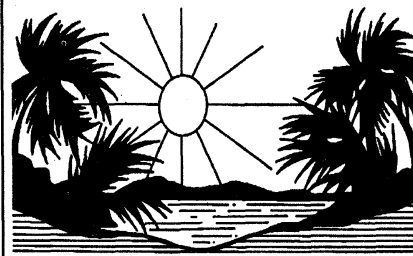
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topped it all off with a disastrous War on Drugs, which has succeeded in throwing a scandalous number of black men in jail.

But blacks remain an overwhelm-

ingly Democrat voting bloc, and one reason is the so-called black leaders and their promoters in the media. Such demagogues promise white politicians reliable votes in exchange for favors

which generally redound, not to the benefit of black Americans, but to the benefit of those very demagogues. Jesse Jackson, for instance, has traveled the country extorting millions of dollars from corporations with threats of boycotts while assailing the very things which black America so desperately needs: educational opportunity, free markets, and a morality of family values. A man of integrity, who wants to actually work a substantial improvement in the lives of black Americans, is a standing rebuke to such demagogues, and therefore a Man to Be Destroyed. By enforcing "solidarity" through intimidation and threats, racial "leaders" like Jackson can secure themselves permanent positions of fame and wealth which do not disappear even when they commit gross ethical and moral transgressions, or when a great many of their so-called supporters don't actually support them.

To a degree, then, Justice Thomas is hated because — as Ellsworth Toohey says in Justice Thomas' favorite movie, *The Fountainhead* — "a man abler than

*Justice Thomas' views more closely resemble those of Thomas Jefferson than those of Justices Rehnquist or Scalia.*

his brothers insults them by implication." But to a greater degree, Justice Thomas is hated because he must be hated. If he weren't, too many so-called civil rights leaders would be exposed for what they are: great obstacles to minority advancement.

It's fitting that Peyton Thomas begins his biography with a quotation from Frederick Douglass, whom Justice Thomas much admires. Douglass was what today would be called an Uncle Tom: a self-made man who did not allow others to control him, but attained an education and a life through his own hard work and determination. He thought for himself, and would have indignantly rebuked anyone who suggested — as civil rights leaders do — that all minority members must think and vote alike.

That is precisely the assumption that lies at the center of the civil rights movement today, and Justice Thomas

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struck this exposed nerve during his 1991 confirmation battle, when he referred to the lies and inconsistencies Anita Hill brought forth as "a high-tech lynching for uppity blacks who in any way deign to think for themselves." But the "lynchings" haven't stopped. In his ten years on the Court, black "leaders" have continued to refer to him as an Uncle Tom; protesters call him a "traitor," and denounce him for not "giving back" to the black community (a particularly ironic statement, since Justice Thomas has demonstrated a profound dedication to community service). Liberals call him a "clone" of Scalia, noting his frequent agreements

*Justice Thomas is a lightning rod because he serves as a constant reminder of some things Good Liberals don't want to think about: the great injustices lying at the heart of their system.*

with Scalia's conclusions. Yet, as Gerber pointed out in *First Principles*, Thomas agrees with Scalia about 80% of the time, while Justice Breyer agrees with his senior colleague David Souter about 84% of the time, but one never hears that Breyer is a "clone" of Souter.

At what point does the view that Justice Thomas doesn't think for himself merit being called "racism"? At what point will the left be punished for its antipathy toward any achievement which comes outside its shabby patronage? It's hard to say when, but that day is coming. As Frederick Douglass once noted, "While the rank and file of our race quote with much vehemence the doctrine of human equality, they are often among the first to deny and denounce it in practice. Of course, this is true only of the more ignorant. Intelligence is the great leveler here as elsewhere. It sees plainly the real worth of men and things, and is not easily imposed upon by the dressed up emptiness of human pride." That dressed-up emptiness is losing its pretense more and more every day, and Peyton Thomas' book is an example of why: The more the left shrieks

unthinking slurs at Clarence Thomas, the more his quiet logic and profound good character stand out in relief.

### Man of Quiet Dignity

Peyton Thomas describes, for instance, a speech Justice Thomas made to the National Bar Association in 1998. Two years earlier, the black news magazine *Emerge* had published an article called "Uncle Thomas: Lawn Jockey for the Far Right," with a cover illustration depicting Thomas in a

racist caricature more appropriate to a secessionist newspaper in 1850s Georgia. A committee of the Association tried to uninvite him, and when he came anyway, hecklers in the audience shouted that he was "an enemy of the people." But Thomas' quiet dignity would have made Frederick Douglass proud. The "civil rights movement," he said, believed he had:

... no right to think the way I do because I'm black. Though the ideas

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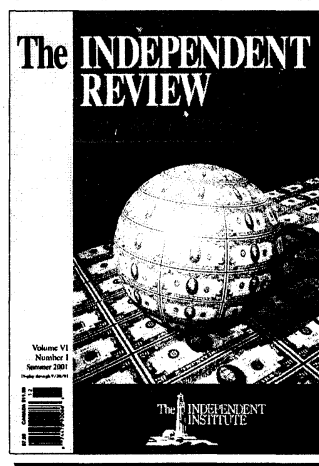
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and opinions themselves are not necessarily illegitimate if held by non-black individuals, they, and the person enunciating them, are illegitimate if that person happens to be black.

I have come here today not in anger or to anger, though my mere presence has been sufficient, obviously, to anger some. Nor have I come to defend my views, but rather to assert my right to think for myself, to refuse to have my ideas assigned to me as though I [were] an intellectual slave because I'm black. I've come to state that I'm a man, free to think for myself and do as I please.

Peyton Thomas' book is remarkably evenhanded, although in his attempt at fairness he sometimes goes a bit overboard. For example, he describes the central premise of Justice Thomas' jurisprudence clearly: The Constitution is an act within the auspices of the Declaration of Independence, and is only comprehensible through it. "So when we use the standard of 'original intention,' we must take this to mean the Constitution in light of the

Declaration,' [Thomas] said. 'With the Declaration as a backdrop, we can understand the Constitution as the Founders understood it — to point toward the eventual abolition of slavery.'" As Peyton Thomas notes, this view, which served as the foundation of the antebellum Republican Party, came to lovely fruition in Thomas' *Adarand Constructors* opinion, when he wrote that "There can be no doubt that the paternalism that appears to lie at the heart of [affirmative action] is at war with the principle of inherent equality that underlies and infuses our Constitution. See Declaration of Independence . . ." Yet Peyton Thomas concludes this look at Thomas' philosophy with a flippant denial: "The problem, of course, was that the Founders had no such clear understanding." Peyton Thomas provides no evidence to back up this denial — which he repeats later in the book, again, without justification.

The fact is, the Founders did understand the Declaration this way. That's why Jefferson and Adams spent their lives attacking slavery — and even

tried to do so in the Declaration itself; that's why George Mason was forced to edit the language of his Virginia Declaration of Rights — which had originally said that "all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights of which they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity . . ." but, on the insistence of defenders of slavery, was changed to ". . . certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they can-

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*One might wonder why there aren't more black libertarians. After all, who has suffered more at the hands of government than black Americans?*

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not, by any compact, deprive or divest . . ." That's why secessionists called the Declaration a "self-evident lie"; that's why Calhoun said there was "not a word of truth in it." And that is why Frederick Douglass broke with those Abolitionists who declared the Constitution an evil document because of its compromises with slavery. "I differ from those who charge this baseness on the framers of the Constitution of the United States," said Douglass:

It is a slander upon their memory, at least, so I believe . . . [T]here is no matter in respect to which the people of the North have allowed themselves to be so ruinously imposed upon, as that of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution. In that instrument I hold there is neither warrant, license, nor sanction of the hateful thing; but, interpreted as it ought to be interpreted, the Constitution is a GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT.

Yet Peyton Thomas buys into this ruinous imposition as well, in a conclusory assertion he does not bother to defend. It is to his credit that Clarence Thomas does not.

### Lonely Conservative

Unfortunately, most conservatives are not with Justice Thomas on this point. Robert Bork, for instance, wrote an entire book to denounce the Declaration of Independence, and he merely stood on the shoulders of



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*The Age of Reagan, 1964–1980: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order*, by Steven F. Hayward. Prima Publishing, 2001, 848 pages.

# Right Man, Right Time

Ron Capshaw

*The Age of Reagan* is what Edmund Morris' *Dutch*, encumbered by fictional conceits, should have been. It has a sense of drama and climax befitting the rise of an actor to the presidency. It restores grand narrative back to history (the kind of book a conservative Arthur Schlesinger Jr. would have written) — that genre of history academics today shun as politically incorrect but laymen readers put on best-seller lists.

Hayward's subtitle — *The Fall of the Old Liberal Order* — indicates his thesis. In 1964, a confident and bloated liberal leadership, peopled by academics and executive types who saw the world as complex, requiring equally complex answers, began a slow road to collapse. This collapse was sometimes self-inflicted (a tepid Vietnam policy, an overreliance on big government solutions), sometimes brought about from without (a totalitarian-minded New Left whose venom was directed almost exclusively at the Bobby Kennedys, Tom Hayden's "little fascist," and not the Bill Buckleys). Within ten years — ten years of rioting, of campus takeovers, of forcing policy quagmires — liberals would lose their confidence. So too would American voters in the liberals' ability to govern amidst the breakdown in law and order. But those that filled the vacuum — Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter — did not reject Great Society premises. Nixon created price controls. Ford, with the active participation of Henry Kissinger, orchestrated a Republican Yalta, the Helsinki Accords, a cynical acceptance of the

communist status quo in Eastern Europe. Jimmy Carter initially promised to make human rights the cornerstone of his foreign policy, but soon reneged, selectively applying this litmus test to America's allies but not its communist enemies. By 1980, America seemed on the brink of collapse, bankrupt emotionally and philosophically. What was required was a figure to buck the prevailing pessimism (Nixon and Carter both spoke publicly about America's "crisis of confidence"), Great Society solutions, and détente.

Enter Ronald Reagan, needed precisely because his philosophy does not progress, or regress, in its optimistic belief in America. His message resonated with voters tired of pessimism and American failure.

Much of what is appealing about Stephen Hayward's book is its iconoclasm. This is not the familiar conservative tale of a great man bending circumstances to his will: The historical circumstances have to be correct before Reagan can appear as president. Hayward does engage in some familiar conservative litanies (LBJ was insufficiently hawkish on Vietnam; Reagan and Goldwater were pilloried by a liberal-minded media, etc.). But he also breaks ranks with the familiar (Nixon governed as a liberal and was too conciliatory with Mao; Carter did not instruct troops of the failed hostage rescue effort to avoid lethal force). Hayward never excuses Reagan for his whoppers (although he does argue the fibs resonate better than Clinton's because they reveal fundamental truths about America).

Hayward's argument about liberalism being mired in the past is convincing. Democrats in 1980 were still

Russell Kirk, Irving Kristol, and many others. Even Justices Scalia and Rehnquist have denounced the doctrine of natural rights upon which the Declaration and Constitution rest. Scalia, for instance, has said that "you either agree with democratic theory or you do not. But you cannot have democratic theory and then say, but what about the minority? The minority loses, except to the extent that the majority, in its document of government, has agreed to accord the minority rights." And Rehnquist has gone even farther: If "a society adopts a constitution and incorporates in that constitution safeguards for individual liberty," he says, "these safeguards do indeed take on a generalized moral rightness or goodness . . . neither because of any intrinsic worth nor because of any unique origins in someone's idea of natural justice, but instead, simply because they have been incorporated in a constitution by a people." In other words, one cannot prove that freedom is morally superior to slavery — it's all just a matter of taste.

Is it any wonder that conservatism fails to attract more black adherents? Prominent conservatives are fundamentally hostile to the one thing that makes the Constitution a "GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT" and which should endear the United States to every descendant of slaves: equality. That principle — which conservative political scientist Harvey Mansfield called "a self-evident half-truth" — is, to Bork's mind, the great evil which has "tempted" America out of its cultural Eden.

Earlier this year, *National Review* writer Stanley Kurtz wrote that what America really needs is to throw away our answering machines (those icons of individualism) and write a Declaration of Dependence, which would return us to the "fabric of mutual entanglement that defines traditional societies." This hostility to equality and to individualism — entirely consistent principles when understood correctly — is the last and greatest challenge that conservatism faces in attracting more black adherents. It must recognize, as Justice Thomas' "liberal originalism" recognizes, that liberty is our only hope — no matter who "we" happen to be. □

resorting to the 1964 campaign playbook by likening Reagan, as they did Goldwater, to Hitler. It never occurred to them that the world had changed. Voters who pessimistically believed that no president could effectively address national problems went with Carter. Voters who wanted change, lower taxes, a freer economy, and a firmer stance against Soviet adventuring supported Reagan. The Democrats misread the public, and misread history.

But the weakness that dogs most books about Reagan dogs this one. The enigma of his personality remains. He flits in and out of Hayward's narrative like Batman, exciting mystery but revealing little about himself. As president, Reagan baffled insiders; now he baffles his biographers. Hayward avoids this pitfall by beginning the work in 1964, when Reagan has already switched political parties and is voicing his 1980s conservatism. Hayward sidesteps the question of what compelled Reagan's switch too neatly. Perhaps solving that mystery

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*Democrats in 1980 were still resorting to the 1964 campaign playbook by likening Reagan, as they did Goldwater, to Hitler. It never occurred to them that the world had changed.*

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might shed some light on his personality. Henpecked husband? An out-of-work actor burdened with income taxes? A prophet ahead of his time? Hayward superficially plops for the latter but provides no compelling evidence.

For libertarians, Ronald Reagan has always been a mixed bag. It is true he came into office promising to reduce the size of government. It is equally true that he left that office eight years later with a drastically increased national security structure. On one hand, he rolled back the excesses of the Great Society. But on the other, he may have subverted Congress and the press with Iran Contra.

But rhetorically at least Reagan

blazed trails. Part of the reason Bill Clinton's "the era of big government is over" speech excited little controversy was that Reagan had made that phrase part of respectable political dialogue.

And that is something to celebrate for libertarians, who had been excluded from the national political dialogue by New-Deal-minded Republicans and Democrats. □

# Booknotes

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## A Fool and His Tax Dollars

by T. E. Ruppenthal

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*The Sixteen-Trillion Dollar Mistake: How the U.S. Bungled Its National Priorities from the New Deal to the Present*, by Bruce S. Jansson (Columbia University Press, 2001) presents a brief history of the past 70 years of American politics and features all the famous people, programs, and lots of very large numbers. The \$16 trillion in the title is the portion of the \$56 trillion in federal spending that Jansson believes the federal government has wasted since the New Deal. Immediately I suspected Jansson's scholarship. How could anyone conclude that the feds only wasted 28% of our money?

The book clearly demonstrated to me that, at least since the reign of Truman, the two political parties have been nearly identical. Both agree on an ever expanding federal government and the rightness of crippling levels of taxation. They disagree only on how the loot should be divvied up. For half a century, it's been a matter of "you fund our shameful scheme and we'll fund yours." Rare has been any political concern that citizens should have first call upon their income and their lives.

Jansson, however, sees it differently. He sees Republicans as pro-business, pro-military heavies who are "unlikely to channel money to the people in American society who need it most." For him, Democrats are caring politicians. He excuses their ignomin-

ies as forced reactions; their support of wasteful military and corporate expenditures stems from a fear of being attacked politically. Jansson doesn't seem to realize the implication of this: Democrats would rather keep their cushy jobs than "serve the needy citizenry" as he would have them.

Even the \$16 trillion that Jansson believes was wasted is merely a "mistake," not criminal malfeasance. He believes the taxpayers' money was misspent, not misappropriated; had it been disbursed differently, all would be right with the world.

He found a mere \$37 billion in excessive pork-barrel spending and found no money wasted on public housing, education, and health care. Bay area media regularly report on millions each year wasted or stolen in this area alone. You don't find what you refuse to see.

He decries corporate contributions and their connection to corporate welfare, while ignoring contributions from labor unions and governmental employees who also gain at taxpayer expense. Not surprisingly, he never refers to the Constitution's enumerated powers. He's too busy advocating an increase in federal spending for child care, health-care clinics, entitlements, education, employment and training programs, environmental regulations, a myriad of social services, and much more. He defends every federal social program, even the most obvious failures; to him, they simply need more time, more associated programs, and most of all, more money.

Somehow he manages to totally ignore the billions lavished on the never-ending War on Drugs and the increase in federal prison spending. Perhaps he feared being attacked



politically.

Numbers endlessly stream across the pages, millions and billions and trillions of dollars. Impressive figures to those who fail to notice that the numeric deluge is a confused jumble.

Jansson also makes numerous non-numeric errors. He claims, for example, that the recent Serb-Albanian conflict was over Kosovo, where "Serbs had vanquished Moslem invaders centuries earlier," when in fact, Kosovo is the Serbs' homeland that had only recently been invaded by Albanian Muslims.

The book does contain interesting bits of history; tales of political shenanigans, deceptions, and deceptions down the decades, and the inexorable, cancerous growth of the federal government since FDR. It also reminds us that in 1932 fewer than five percent of the working population paid federal income tax and fewer than 300,000 people paid over 90% of this tax, which totaled \$2 billion.

Most amazing of all, undertaxation alone accounts for more than a quarter of the total funds wasted by the federal government. "When a nation fails to tax private wealth sufficiently, it lacks resources to meet its foreign and domestic obligations."

You'd think the man must be a resident of a lunatic asylum. But no. Jansson is a resident of a university, where he spends his days as a professor of social work. He isn't mad; he's merely mercenary. And he, like the politicians he rebukes, simply wants more in his trough. □

## The Age of Isms

by Orson Olson

In the 1950s, a political science textbook titled *Today's Isms: Socialism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Communism* made its debut. Forty years and ten editions later, the text has been re-released with an additional author — Alan O. Ebenstein, son of one of the original authors — and an addition to the list of "isms": Libertarianism.

The original *Today's Isms* treats the ideologies of socialism, capitalism, fascism, and communism in succession, detailing actual political histories. But

the 11th edition by William Ebenstein, Alan Ebenstein, and Edwin Fogelman (Prentice-Hall, 1999) reflects the revival of classical liberalism (under the label "libertarianism") since the 1970s — in effect, revivifying a classic textbook for use in academic classes in modern comparative government and political ideology.

Capitalism and fascism are covered in 40 and 30 pages, respectively; communism in a suitably hefty 90-some pages, while socialism and libertarianism are both surveyed in around 20. The last two constitute the text's beginning and concluding chapters. In each, historical and theoretical approaches

are applied to the interaction between the theory and practice of the five major ideological value systems that have shaped the 20th century.

Most of the chapter on libertarianism is devoted to political philosophy. At the outset, Ebenstein states that anyone who denies that libertarianism is fundamentally about the rule of law doesn't grasp libertarianism. The text covers seminal thinkers like Milton Friedman, Ayn Rand, and, as one would expect of the author of *Friedrich Hayek: A Biography*, Hayek himself. The influence of libertarianism on British and U.S. politics during the past two decades is discussed as well. □

## Notes on Contributors

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*Leland B. Yeager* is Ludwig von Mises Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Economics at Auburn University.

### *Washington, D. C.*

How terrorists use legal technicalities to thwart efforts to bring them to justice, from an Associated Press dispatch.

Many countries are cooperating in freezing assets of financial networks accused of raising money for Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda group. But lack of evidence has made it difficult to arrest or detain suspects.

### *Aspen, Colo.*

Artists suffer even in the nation's center of High culture, from *The Denver Post*:

Rick Magnuson, a community safety officer of the Aspen Police Department, created a piece of art containing a \$100 bill with the title "I Dare You To Steal This \$100," which was placed in an art museum. About a month later, the \$100 was stolen. Magnuson says that "It ruined the whole aesthetics for me; I don't think it's a valuable piece of art anymore."

### *River Parishes, La.*

Dealing with the strain of newfound fatherhood, printed in *The Times-Picayune*:

When Mickey Hewitt's wife started to go into labor, he drove her to the hospital, dropping her off at the emergency entrance and continuing to the parking garage to park his car. He smashed a window in a parked car, stole some stereo equipment, moved his car to another spot, and joined his wife. Hewitt was caught by the cameras mounted in the parking garage.

### *Moscow, Idaho*

An advance in lexicography, from the Zero Tolerance Violence Agreement signed by students of Moscow Junior High:

"Violence is any word, look, act, or gesture that is offensive or hurts a person's body, feelings, or things."

### *Singapore*

Progress in plumbing, from a dispatch from Reuters:

Two-hundred delegates from all over the world recently came to Singapore for the World Toilet Summit. This year's theme was "Our toilets: the past, the present and the future."

"The proliferation of this movement worldwide will inevitably lead to improvements in toilet environment everywhere," said Jack Sim, president of the Restroom Association of Singapore and organizer of the event.

### *Kuala Lumpur*

A serial monogamist is beat at his own game, from the *Singapore Straits Times*:

Lai Heng Seng was recently prevented from marrying because records at the Registry of Marriages showed he already had a wife. "I asked the counter clerk to provide some details on my 'wife' but she said it was confidential and even scolded me for it," said Mr. Lai.

### *New York, N.Y.*

Charity and the problem of donor intent, as reported in the *Daily News*:

Among the groups that have received grants or interest-free loans from the September 11th Fund are the Brooklyn Philharmonic, The Works dance troupe, and Mothers' Voices AIDS awareness program. The Fund's organizers, United Way of New York and New York Community Trust, had solicited funds promising to spend all money raised on relief efforts.

### *Hays, Kan.*

Clinical note from the Heartland, gleaned from the estimable *USA Today*:

Carl Alvis, who was charged in August with raping a girl under the age of 14, is being released from jail because he has heart disease and "the county doesn't want to pay for his \$80,000 bypass surgery bill."

### *USA*

Patriotism returns to American life, reports the *Seattle Times*:

7-Eleven stores across the country are scrambling to replace the foreign beers on their shelves with domestic brands like Miller and Budweiser, the sales of which have soared after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

### *Montgomery County, Ala.*

Advance in jurisprudence, as recorded in the *Washington Post*:

The Montgomery County Council voted on Nov. 21 to fine cigarette smokers up to \$750 for smoking at home if the smoke leaks out. Said John Banzhaf, executive director of Action on Smoking and Health, "This is a major step forward because it will allow people to make a simple complaint to a designated agency rather than having to hire a lawyer and go to court."

### *Washington, D.C.*

The spirit of Christmas warms the coldest hearts, from *USA Today*:

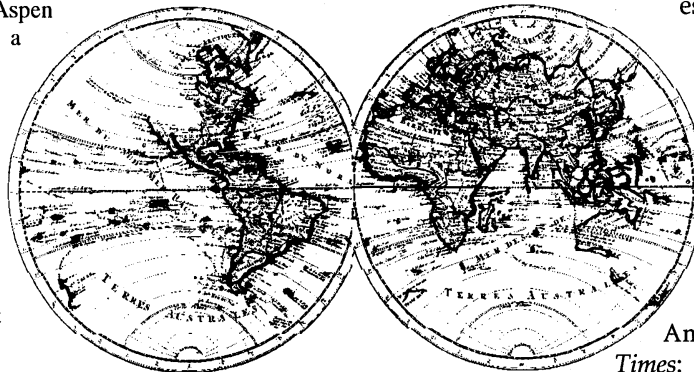
The Federal Emergency Management Agency has unveiled a new ad campaign to inform victims of the Sept. 11 attacks that they are eligible for federal assistance. Aid money is available for those who lost jobs, homes, or businesses, as well as for the estimated 33,000 New Yorkers who are suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome caused by watching the attacks. Said FEMA Director Joe Allbaugh, "We want to ensure that everyone affected by the tragic events of Sept. 11 gets the help they need."

### *San Francisco*

Advance in medical ethics, as reported by the Associated Press:

At a recent meeting of the American Medical Association the ethics of organ donation was debated. Roger W. Evans, of Rochester, Minn., argued, "When a family refuses to donate, that's functionally equivalent to a homicide," he said.

## *Terra Incognita*

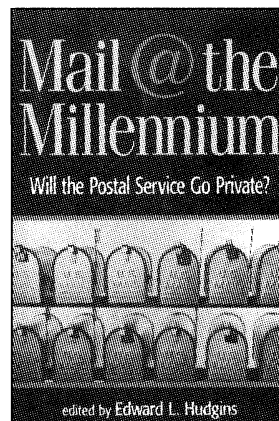
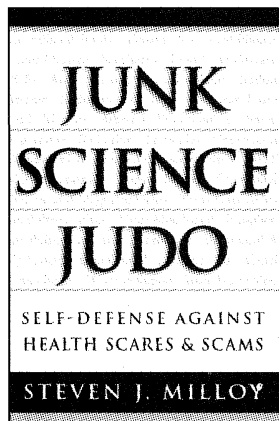


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(Readers are invited to forward news clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*, or e-mail to [terraincognita@libertysoft.com](mailto:terraincognita@libertysoft.com).)

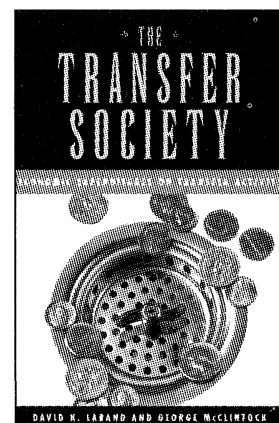
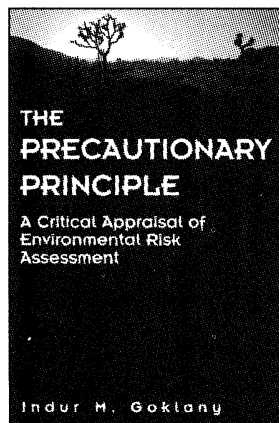
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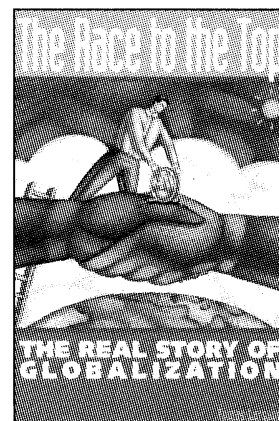
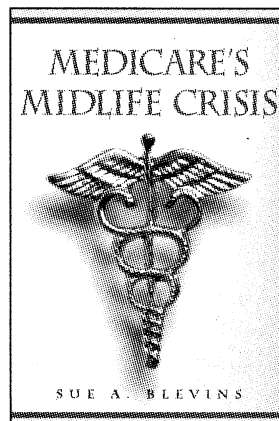
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# The 5 Biggest Obstacles to Voting Libertarian ... and How You Can Shatter Them!

## *Why don't people vote Libertarian?*

### 5 Obstacles

1. **The Wasted Vote Argument:** "I don't want to waste my vote. If I vote Libertarian, the worst of the other two candidates might get elected."

2. **The Spoiler Argument:** "The Libertarian cannot win, but he can cause the lesser of two evils to lose."

3. **The 'You Can't Win' Argument:** "If the Libertarian could win, I'd vote for her. But she can't win."

4. **The 'I'm a Democrat or Republican and I Vote the Party Line' Argument:** "My family has been Republican for 80 years. I always vote Republican. I never cross party lines." (A majority of registered Democrats and Republicans never cross party lines.)

5. **The Deal Breaker Argument:** "I disagree with the Libertarian candidate on one issue: abortion, immigration, the Drug War, foreign policy, or gun ownership - so I won't vote for him."

### The Solution

The Small Government Act: Our Libertarian Ballot Initiative to End the Income Tax in Massachusetts.

Why does this work?

1. **The Wasted Vote Argument only applies to 3-way political races.** Every Ballot Initiative is a

2-way race. You vote for our Ballot Initiative to End the Income Tax in Massachusetts — or you vote against it. Every vote counts. Every vote matters.

2. **The Spoiler Argument only applies to 3-way races.** Ballot Initiatives offer voters 2 choices: yes or no. It cannot be spoiled.

3. **Tax-Cut and Tax-Limitation Initiatives can and do win.** In California. Colorado. Michigan. Even in Massachusetts.

4. **Ballot Initiatives are Non-Partisan.** There is no party line to vote. There is no party line to cross.

5. **There is no Deal Breaker on Ballot Initiatives.** One issue. One vote. If a voter doesn't like the Libertarian position on abortion, gun ownership, immigration, foreign policy, or the Drug War...she can happily vote 'Yes' on our Ballot Initiative to End the Income Tax.

lets people vote for the Libertarian proposal they like most.

Ballot Initiatives get talked about.

Ballot Initiatives give voters direct control.

Ballot Initiatives shape the political debate.

Libertarian candidates can be ignored.

Libertarian Ballot Initiatives cannot.

### National Coverage

If YOU generously donate now... if YOU actively and regularly support our Libertarian Ballot Initiative to End the Income Tax, we will generate **MORE** National TV and Newspaper Coverage than any Libertarian Presidential campaign in history.

**Without YOUR active support, this will NOT happen.**

**With YOUR active support, this WILL happen.**

*Please donate now.*

### Benefits

Our Libertarian Ballot Initiative

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