

Liberty

January 1995

Vol. 8, No. 3

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Curve,
Stupidity, and
You

Election '94: Brave Newt World?

by Stephen Cox and R.W. Bradford

Mr Russo Goes to Washington

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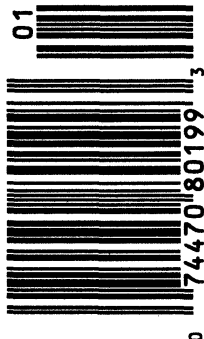
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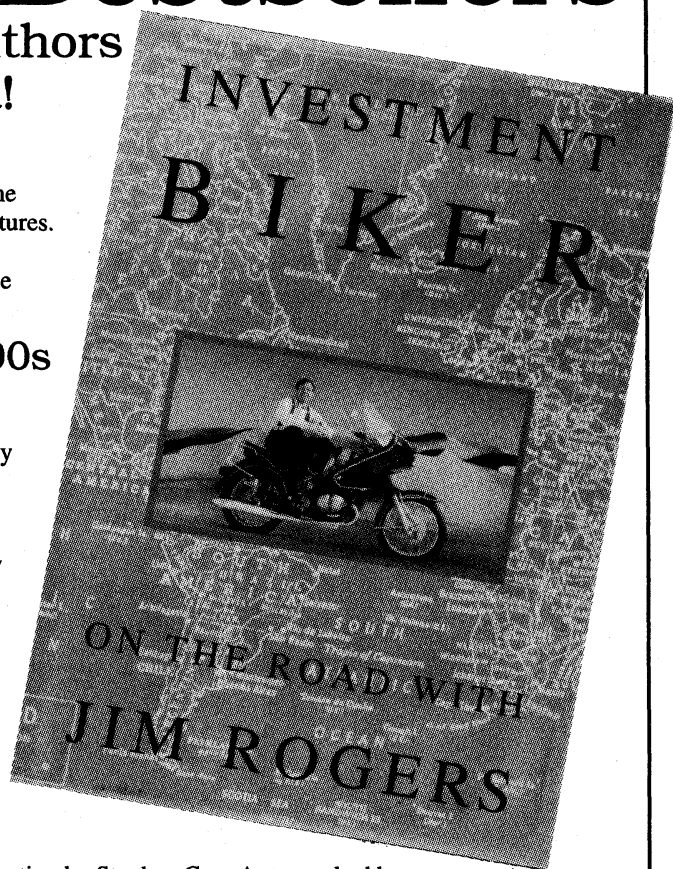
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Inside Liberty

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Letters

Anything Else Would Be Uncivilized

I didn't comment on Gus diZerega's "Deep Ecology Meets the Market" (November 1994) prior to R.W. Bradford's response ("The Market Meets Deep Ecology," December 1994) because I see responsible stewardship of resources as a legitimate concern, whether or not ownership is private. It's just another facet of the self-control libertarianism requires.

DiZerega simply opposes the right-wing "it's mine, all mine, to slash and burn, tee-hee" approach that says it's okay to cut down all the old growth in the northern hemisphere to make disposable chopsticks, and it's okay to hunt wildlife to extinction so recreational hunters can get their kicks. This cavalier readiness to destroy the irreplaceable is antisocial, whether or not you own it. Some things transcend property rights.

Raising and harvesting plants and animals for food and clothing can be done humanely, much as diZerega may doubt it. Humans are part of the food chain, after all, and these activities are no more than organized hunting and gathering. But there's always a line that separates civilized ways of meeting human needs from barbarism and savagery, and property rights don't exempt anyone from toeing that line.

I didn't object to diZerega's article because I agree with him in theory: property rights *do* carry responsibilities. But diZerega needs to admit that people have to kill for food and shelter, and Bradford needs to concede that society can and will judge what activities are appropriate uses of property rights — whether or not either of you likes it.

Leslie Van Sickle
Topeka, Kan.

Hegelian Hooey

One of the hallmarks of sloppy thinking is the yearning for "synthesis" where none is to be had. Gus diZerega's grand synthesis is his claim that "any consistent libertarian philosophical position must

accord legitimacy to the concerns and principles of the deep ecologists." Even ignoring deep ecologists' animal rights arguments, as diZerega claims to do, this still leaves us with the movement's moral equalization of human and non-human life. DiZerega's "rejection of the despotic notion of property rights" and his willingness to allow a full-scale "wartime" assault on environmental problems "in an emergency" are evidence enough that there can be no synthesis between human rights and government intervention on behalf of non-human rights.

DiZerega also tries to synthesize the individual and society with the hoariest, most hackneyed objection to individualism: "individuals are members of societies." The real question is whether this nurturing social cradle exists to enslave the individual. DiZerega seems to think that's okay — in an emergency, of course.

DiZerega even offers a synthesis of self-interest and altruism: since humans are capable of imagining their long-term self-interest, they act on the basis of someone who "does not exist yet," and since "concern for others and concern for our future self are two sides of the same coin," one should embrace altruism not only for humans, but for animals as well! Again, the lust for synthesis creates a muddle, as when diZerega discerns "the ecological equivalent of capital consumption" or discovers that the "ecological community, like the market, is a spontaneous order." This kind of thought culminates in principles that are without content.

Terry Hulsey
Richardson, Tex.

Join Us!

As both a libertarian activist and an environmental activist, I was pleased to read "Deep Ecology Meets the Market." Unfortunately, because we are afraid of state intervention, most libertarians try to wish environmental problems away. Gus diZerega faces the issues head on. Environmentalists are looking for non-governmental solutions. Libertarians like diZerega are entering the environmental movement with fresh thinking. I urge *Liberty's* readers to join us.

Gordon LaBedz
Seal Beach, Calif.

More on Cows

R.W. Bradford distorts Gus diZerega's main point: that humans have the capacity — indeed, the moral obligation —

to treat living things as more than pure means. This is not really a revolutionary idea, despite Bradford's uncalled-for belittlement of diZerega as some sort of moral cripple who must have "a difficult enough time in the world without my getting on his case."

Although Bradford may find this hard to swallow, even the men and women who raise dumb cows for food rarely envision their domestic wards in the exploitative light of pure means. To many of them, livestock-raising circumscribes a culture of caring and stewardship, one that invariably ends in death but which until that moment is constrained by a powerful ethic of love and responsibility. No rancher I know who is worthy of the name has ever reduced the human-animal relation to one of pure means.

Bradford may be unwilling to acknowledge human responsibility in the natural world, but libertarian-minded people who see nature in a different light should inundate the pages of *Liberty* with principled arguments to the contrary.

Karl Hess, Jr.
Las Cruces, N.M.

The Despotic Editor

R.W. Bradford's criticism mostly ignores my arguments, except to complain that I didn't spend enough time making them. I wrote my piece to fit the general length of *Liberty* articles, so this seems a bit petty. If Bradford had wanted me to elaborate a point, all he needed to do was ask. But he admits he only wanted to draw fire by publishing my piece. Exploring issues was not his intent.

Bradford credits me with weakening my respect argument by allowing it to be "occasionally overridden." He misread. I allow for such overriding for the three principles growing out of membership within the ecological community, and explained why. I do *not* allow overriding with regard to the principle of respect, where those reasons do not apply.

To be sure, people often act thoughtlessly. My argument concluded that they will be *better people*, living more fully up to their human capacities, when they are more respectful of their relations with their environment. The deep ecological argument for respecting life is not anti-human. It is *rooted* in our being human. Like honesty, integrity, and kindness, the fact that it is frequently violated in no way weakens its value.

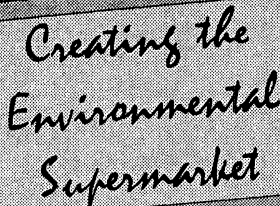
But there is still more amiss with Bradford's attack. His history is mistaken. Throughout history, most societies denied that animals, plants, and even the

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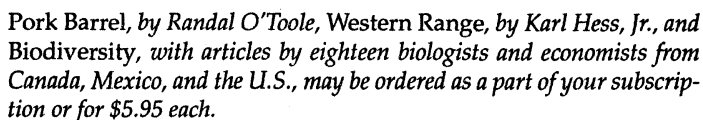
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earth, water, and sky were pure means to our ends. The view that they are is largely an Enlightenment legacy predicated upon a mechanistic view of nature combined with a purely transcendental view of God. It persists today due more to cultural inertia than philosophical or scientific rigor. For more on this, I recommend Mary Midgely's *Science as Salvation*.

Bradford is incredulous because I deny that life is always the ultimate value, yet hold that respect for it is an ultimate value. I do not see the problem. We probably all agree that sometimes it is legitimate to give one's life for a value. But it is the importance of life that makes that sacrifice meaningful. Sometimes we sacrifice our life in support of a value that can only then be enjoyed by *others*. Dare I suggest it is my *respect* for others that motivates me to give my life in such a case?

Moving closer to the issues in my article, if I eat meat (and I do), the conditions under which an animal is raised can still matter greatly to me. I can want it to have had a decent, even a good, life, and for its death to have been as painless as possible. In such a case I do not treat the animal as a pure means.

Liberty can be valued for many reasons. Bradford's seem different from mine. He apparently values liberty because it allows him to do anything he wants. Why else object to my criticism of using other beings as pure means? Apparently everything is either a tool, an impediment, or unimportant. This reason for valuing liberty would be endorsed by would-be despots who, realizing they will never be king, still seek as large a domain of arbitrary power as possible. They are libertarians because they cannot be kings. I call this the despotic defense of liberty, for it equates freedom with unrestricted arbitrary will.

An example illustrates my point. Only a despot or a sadist would chafe under laws forbidding the mistreatment of animals. Bradford seems to say that animals are simply means to his ends, whatever they may be. Assuming he is no sadist, his ends do not include deliberately mistreating them. It is the *idea* of limits, not any actual interference, that he apparently finds objectionable. Louis XIV would have understood.

Perhaps Bradford will say I distort him as badly as he distorted me, and that people should not be pure means but everything else should be. He would presumably base his distinction on our uniqueness. But then Bradford would have to address my argument about the

nature of our uniqueness. In addition, anyone believing in evolution should be very careful about delineating the differences between ourselves and other animals, and their ethical significance. Certainly Darwin believed evolutionary insights pointed toward *expanding* our ethical circle to include animals.

Friends tell me R.W. Bradford is wiser and more decent than his argument would imply. I believe them, for I respect their judgment. But many good and decent people have been seduced by arguments with subtly inhuman implications.

Gus diZerega
Sebastopol, Calif.

Bradford responds: Contrary to Hess, diZerega did not simply assert "that humans have the capacity — indeed, the moral obligation — to treat living things as more than pure means." If he had made such an observation, I wouldn't have criticized it, since it is obviously true. But diZerega proposed that "Nothing living can be appropriately treated as a pure means." And this, I argued, is balderdash. Human civilization could never have developed and could not survive unless we sometimes use other living things as pure means. But I never suggested that humans should use other living things *exclusively* as pure means to our ends.

Nor did I suggest that ranchers treat their cattle *exclusively* as pure means. What I did suggest was that no rancher ever treated his cattle *exclusively* as an end in themselves. Virtually all ranchers, I am sure, *sometimes* treat their cattle as a pure means to human ends (when they slaughter cattle for meat or hide) and *sometimes* treat their cattle as ends in themselves (when they develop an affection for ol' Bessie). I myself raise plants and animals, primarily for ends in themselves. But I confess that occasionally I use one for my own end (e.g., I occasionally uproot an onion plant and eat it). Like Hess's rancher, I treat that onion plant with "love and caring" until the moment that I uproot it. As I eat it, I must admit, I love it even more, though I am no longer caring for it.

There are three possible positions regarding treatment of other living things:

(1) It is never appropriate for human beings to use other living things except as a pure means to human ends; in other words, you should never feel affection for your cow, but keep it only as a source of milk, meat or hides. (The position Hess attributes to me.)

(2) It is never appropriate for human

beings to use other living things only as a pure means to human ends; in other words, you can only keep your cow as a friend. (The position, with an insignificant qualifier, that diZerega advocated in his essay.)

(3) It is appropriate, under certain circumstances, for humans to use other living things as a means to their own ends, and appropriate at other times for them to use other living things as an end in themselves; in other words, you can feel as much affection for your cow as you like, but if you want to milk it, that's fine. (My position, and the position of almost all human beings.)

DiZerega's comments are more mysterious still. I never complained that he "didn't spend enough time" making his arguments, though I did observe that in an article of some 4,000 words he invested fewer than 200 to explaining how he arrived at his astonishing conclusions.

Nor did I say that I "only wanted to draw fire by publishing [diZerega's] piece," or that "exploring issues was not [my] intent." To the contrary, I wrote, "When I accepted it for publication, I figured such a bizarre thesis would stir up considerable controversy, that this journal would be buried in responses from readers . . ." Nor did I suggest he weakened his respect argument when he qualified it by allowing it to be "occasionally overridden." Indeed, I believe his qualification *strengthened* his argument. Without that qualification, humans could *never* use animals or plants as "pure means," a prohibition that would preclude human life as we know it. With his qualification, humans could use plants and animals as "pure means" if they first went to the trouble of justifying it by his rather restrictive criteria.

I am delighted to learn that diZerega eats meat, behavior that surely violates his injunction that "Nothing living can be appropriately treated as a pure means." Whether this is a retreat from his previous position or an admission that he doesn't take his own philosophical ramblings very seriously is not clear. My own suspicion is that it is the former.

Of course, meat-eaters often care about "conditions under which an animal is raised" before it is slaughtered on their behalf. I share diZerega's concern for minimizing the pain an animal suffers in death, and want the animal "to have a decent, even a good, life," prior to its slaughter, at least to whatever extent that the concepts "good" and "decent" in this

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Reflections

Note to political scientists — Democracy is the theory that the country should be ruled by the marginal (i.e., indifferent and ignorant) voter. This sad fact was illustrated recently by a pre-election poll in which one in four voters in Tom Foley's old congressional district believed that Foley's Republican challenger would inherit the incumbent's position as speaker of the House. —CAA

Wining, not whining — America's long, dark night of the puritanical soul may be lifting — not by much, but by a crack. To be sure, sex is still potentially lethal even for those who dress in designer condoms, almost anything that tastes good will turn your blood to ooze, sun tanning will make you a motel for melanomas, heavy metal blasts your eardrums, marijuana will get you busted, hockey has followed baseball into class struggle limbo, any attempt at humor is sure to offend some group or other, and Elvis apparently is still dead. But now one suspect pleasure has escaped the slings of the health commissars. It seems that St. Paul was indeed right: a little wine is good for you.

So says no less an authority than the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, in its September issue. Alcohol consumption lowers heart attack rates by bumping up levels of "good" cholesterol and by preventing clotting. JAMA's dispensation doesn't mean that "anything goes"; five-day benders still fry your brain and pickle your liver. It's not good to empty too many gin bottles at one sitting. But neither is it good to empty none at all. The number of premature deaths that result from unrestrained guzzling are almost matched by the number of coronary fatalities averted through moderate imbibing.

How refreshing it is finally to hear that *not* indulging may be hazardous to your health! Join me in toasting the good news. —LEL

You deserve a state today — In the November 21 issue of *The Nation*, writer Margaret Spillane gloated over the financial troubles that forced Chris Whittle to sell Channel One, the school-based news program that is infamous for including advertising. She also told of a youth organization called "Unplug" that is working to get rid of the program altogether. I share the writer's concern that children not be held captive for advertisers. But she is painfully naive if she believes that children are not already being advertised to in public schools. In reality, such schools are rife with advertising, and the messages are usually more noxious than paeans to overpriced Reeboks or larded Big Macs.

The most prominent advertising in public schools is for the importance of public schools. Right before the start of the NBA season, basketball players fanned out across the country to proclaim to children the importance of staying in school.

This was actually a pernicious form of double advertising. In exchange for coming in to propagandize about the importance of public education, the NBA was allowed — after months of saturation coverage of O.J. Simpson's wife-beating and probable murder — to inculcate in children the importance of worshipping professional jocks.

This is not the only form of advertising that occurs in school. Police are brought in to advertise the importance of obeying the police and to spread the official truth about drugs. Mainstream politicians come in to advertise to children the importance of "public service" and to the public their concern for "our children."

The public school system is one huge advertisement, and when an earnest writer for *The Nation* relays the story of young high school students organizing to protest *that*, real progress will have been made. —CS

Bad whore! No doughnut! — The L.A. police have ordered doughnut store owner Zuita Contador to stop serving prostitutes, perhaps in fear that there would be no doughnuts left for the LAPD. "Tell me who is and who is not a prostitute," Zuita queried. "You should know one when you see one," replied the cops.

Located in a high-crime area, the mom-and-pop business is a victim of L.A.'s new mania: community-based policing. After hundreds of hours of legal work, Guita has convinced the L.A. Zoning Administration that her shop is not a public nuisance. The lawyer is being paid in doughnuts. —WM

Postal hellhounds on his trail — The U.S. Postal Service has issued a stamp commemorating the great Delta bluesman Robert Johnson. The picture chosen for the stamp shows Johnson with a cigarette dangling from his mouth, and, in contemporary America, this will not do. So the Postal Service engaged — for our children's sake, of course — in a little revisionism, and erased the cigarette from the picture.

Considering the kind of man Johnson was, this petty puritanism seems a little, um, *misplaced*. Johnson's vices are often more interesting to people than his musicianship; he may be better known for the legend that he sold his soul in exchange for his prowess on the guitar than for that prowess itself. The real Johnson was notorious for drinking and womanizing; he is reputed to have met his maker via the gun of a jealous husband. That Johnson was an adulterer may not be of concern to our moral guardians at the Postal Service, but the thought of him lighting up after the deed has them frothing at the mouth.

By erasing the cigarette from Johnson's picture, the stamp-makers are trying to remove smoking, not just from *his* history, but from *America's* history. From Jamestown to Johnson to Humphrey Bogart, smoking is intimately woven into the

American fabric. A sane Postal Service might note this and give the cigarette itself a commemorative stamp. But then, one usually commemorates someone who is dead, and tobacco, despite the current holy war, lives on. —ML

Collaborators all — A new biography of French President François Mitterrand, written with Mitterrand's cooperation, finally tells the story the leader of French socialism has been concealing for decades: as a youth, he was a supporter of ultra-right-wing (i.e. semi-fascist) groups; later, Mitterrand worked with the Vichy government, and was personally close to men afterwards accused of war crimes.

There has been the usual handwringing about "collaboration": how could Mitterrand have collaborated with a regime that itself collaborated with the Nazis? Meanwhile, the moaners and groaners conveniently forget that the biggest collaborators in the Second World War were Roosevelt and Churchill, who collaborated with Stalin. If it is objected that that relationship was purely pragmatic, necessitated by the circumstances of the war — well, that was also the case with Marshal Pétain and Vichy, unless it is suggested that 40 million Frenchmen could have followed de Gaulle across the Channel to London.

"But Vichy aided the Nazis in transporting Jews to the camps in Poland." True — just as in 1945 the United States and Britain handed over to Stalin a much greater number of Soviet subjects who had fought against the Reds — Vlasov's Russian Army of Liberation, the Cossacks, and others — for execution by the NKVD or shipment to the Gulag. Enough already of this sanitized history of World War II, written as if Stalin never existed. —RR

Talkin' 'bout a revolution — Across the western United States, hundreds of county governments have approved or are considering so-called Catron County ordinances (named after the county in New Mexico where the first such ordinance was enacted), which require local approval or at least prior notification of federal actions affecting local property rights and "custom and culture." To me, the most remarkable aspect of this latest stage of the Sagebrush Rebellion is the language being used by some of the rebels.

In Chelan County, Washington, for example, residents are fed up with being bulldozed by the feds and the environmentalists. One local man proclaimed at a public meeting that "there's a war going on, it's time to fight back." Another resident compared environmentalists to "the mafia," and a third saw parallels between federal bureaucrats and those Nazis who excused their crimes as "just following orders." One local declared, "This is Chelan County and it should be run by the people of Chelan County."

Such talk may sound shrill, but substitute "America" for "Chelan County" and it sounds a lot like what our forefathers were saying in 1776.

The way people talk about their condition has a direct connection with how they feel about it and what they may ultimately do about it. Today, more and more people are re-

sorting to unusually inflammatory rhetoric when talking about their government and its functionaries. Some are beginning to sound rather like the sainted Locke when he declared that "Whosoever uses *force without Right* . . . puts himself into a *state of War* with those, against whom he uses it, and in that state all former *Ties* are cancelled, all other *Rights* cease, and every one has a *Right* to defend himself, and to *resist the Aggressor*."

The vocal resurgence of Lockean sentiments is a hopeful sign. —RH

Girls, guts, and guns — Analysis of family homicide data reveals an interesting pattern. When women kill men, they often use a gun. When men kill women, they usually use some other weapon, such as their hands or a knife. The difference: men's physical strength allows them to wield almost every weapon more effectively than women can — except a handgun. That one doesn't require strength, only a steady aim.

People kill for many reasons. The best is self-defense. Indeed, defending yourself with a gun rarely requires killing; in 98% of the crimes stopped with a handgun, the gun is not fired.

Yet Sarah Brady wants to ban the civilian possession of handguns. She would leave women to the dubious mercy of powerful men.

Removing handguns from domestic situations won't change the number of people who get killed. It will only change *who* gets killed. —WM

Who's the boss? — Newly-elected Republicans are promising fast action to authorize a line-item veto, i.e., allowing the president to veto parts of bills rather than having to sign or reject legislation *in toto*. The logic here is that, to avoid vetoes by Republican presidents, Democratic Congresses have taken to crafting omnibus legislation containing vast amounts of unrelated measures. So if a president wanted to veto, say, an appropriation for federal funding of a new high school football stadium in a powerful congressman's hometown, he would also have to veto appropriations for the Department of Defense.

This certainly is a frustrating congressional tactic, and authorizing a line-item veto would thwart it. But I suspect that few advocates of the line-item veto have considered just how much power it would move from Congress to the president.

A president empowered with a line-item veto could require two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress for any provision of any bill to become law. This would increase his bargaining power enormously, giving him a much broader power over the legislation process than he has today.

That is a fundamental change in our system of government. The architects of the Constitution clearly intended Congress to write laws and appropriate funds, and the president merely to execute the laws. (That's why this part of government is called the executive branch.) The power to veto legislation was intended as a restraint on Congress.

Liberty's Editors Reflect

CAA	Chester Alan Arthur
RWB	R.W. Bradford
BD	Brian Doherty
LTH	Leon T. Hadar
RH	Robert Higgs
ML	Michael Levine
LEL	Loren E. Lomasky
TL	Tom Loughran
WM	Wendy McElroy
RR	Ralph Raico
CS	Clark Stooksbury
JW	Jesse Walker

A line-item veto would give the president a stranglehold on both legislation and appropriation, allowing him to horse-trade much more effectively.

A better approach would be to pass a constitutional measure restricting laws and appropriations to a specific range of effects. This approach has been used with reasonable success by several states. In my own state, a judge recently overturned a conviction on the grounds that the law in question violated the Washington constitution's prohibition on multiple-subject legislation.

But why do anything? Worse things could happen to the United States than returning to a system in which Congress passed laws and made appropriations while the president executed laws and oversaw operations of government. Speaking for myself, I'll take the wisdom of the founding fathers over the wisdom of Newt Gingrich any day. —RWB

The Manchurian candidate — A prominent opponent of Clinton's occupation of Haiti was John McCain, Republican senator from Arizona. When this alleged conservative was interviewed on the Brinkley show, he protested that, though an opponent of intervention in Haiti, he certainly did not deny the president's *right* to intervene if he so chose. George Will asked him if he believed that a president has the right to send American troops anywhere in the world, at any time, simply on his own authority. McCain replied, *yes*. Perhaps unable to fathom that a U.S. senator could so blithely break his oath to uphold the Constitution, Will persisted: Did that mean, for instance, that Wilson had the right to send the AEF to fight in France in 1918, without asking Congress for a declaration of war? McCain again replied, *yes*, he did.

It seems that during McCain's years of captivity, the philosophy of government of his Vietnamese captors penetrated rather deeply into the war hero's brain. —RR

Self-restraint — One of the first orders of business of the new Republican Congress will be to vote on a term limitation proposal. And it will almost surely pass, if only because the Republicans who have long advocated term limits will want to avoid being perceived as hypocrites after all these years of advocacy.

So it will likely come to pass that the first victims of term limits at the federal level will be the very individuals who enacted them in the first place. And it won't be the first time. The nation's first term limitation measure — a.k.a. Amendment XXII of the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits a president from serving more than two terms or ten years — was passed by a Republican Congress in 1947. To date, the only presidents who have served long enough to be prevented a third-term have been Eisenhower and Reagan, Republicans both. —CAA

Timecop — In October, the sainted Nelson Mandela, president of South Africa, was in Washington, dispensing blessings, curing the lame and the halt, etc., meanwhile seeking vast handouts from American taxpayers for his new regime and pushing for a U.S.-funded New World Welfare Order. Addressing a cheering U.S. Congress, Mandela issued a call for American involvement everywhere in the world. Not simply to institute and forever uphold "democracy" around

the globe — that's the old Muravchik-Wattenberg neocon line. No, according to Mandela, it is incumbent upon us to insure *world happiness*: "If what we say is true, that manifestly the world is one stage and the actions of all its inhabitants part of the same drama, does it not then follow that each one of us as nations, including yourselves, should begin to define the national interest to include the genuine happiness of others, however distant in time and space their domicile might be?"

Most intriguing to me in this blather is what Mandela might mean by those "distant in time." And they call Aristide crazy! —RR

The pagan voter — One single ballot is not going to make a difference in an election, except occasionally on a local level; voting is more an act of devotion than an act of democratic input. The United States is a participatory democracy only in the sense that one participates in a crowd singing a fight song or reciting mass. Voting is the holiest ritual in America's civic religion, and not much else.

There are two alternatives to this faith. One is civic atheism: refusing to vote. The other, usually ignored, is civic paganism: casting your ballot for your own pantheon — invented, if necessary, on the spur of the moment. I know a lot of self-styled radicals who think they're making an anti-authoritarian statement by not voting, but in my book, pagan write-in ballots are a greater threat to the system. Consider:

(1) Not voting is interpreted as a sign of apathy. Write-in votes are interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Which do you think the powers that be prefer?

(2) Write-in ballots are a real pain to count. If every citizen were to vote for just *one* write-in candidate, the do-good League of Women Voters types who tally the ballots would be overwhelmed. Once a couple of elections full of write-ins go past, they'll stop their "get out the vote" drives and start telling people they oughta just stay home if they can't take their goddamn precious right seriously.

(3) Write-ins keep you morally pure: if you pick your candidate right, there's little chance that he or she will go on to disappoint you. The only person I know who looks back on his vote in the 1990 Michigan gubernatorial race with true pride is my friend Des Preston, who voted for "Mimi, the 19-Foot Lobster."



This year, I grudgingly voted "realistically" in the local races, casting my lot with the Republican candidate for county commissioner and the Democratic hopeful for sheriff, both on lesser-of-two-evils grounds. Both lost anyway. I also voted for a few cranky, charming populist types who somehow got nominated for state-level offices; they all lost, too. Then came the fun part: whipping my pen up and down the rest of the ballot, writing in Sir Philip Sidney, J.R. "Bob" Dobbs, and anyone else who occurred to me at the moment. Yippie!

Back in the nineteenth century, there were no official ballots — and, hence, no ballot access laws. Instead, people made their own ballots, or helped themselves to one of the ones candidates and parties would distribute to the faithful. It took a lot longer to total the results, but it was a far rowdier, freer system. And it wasn't any more open to fraud than those allegedly tamper-proof voting machines used in most urban areas are.

Until we return to that system, I'll be doing my best to replicate it with my write-in votes. Mimi in '96! —JW

Just say treason — Ought libertarians consider themselves men of the Right? Should they take pride or pleasure in the electoral and ideological victories of the right wing? Let's listen to movement leader Paul Weyrich, head of the right-wing cable channel National Empowerment Television, when he's mulling over ideas among friends. This, from the Free Congress Foundation's "Essays on our Times" series: "We should consider a formal Congressional declaration of war on drugs. . . . Under the declaration of war, any foreign national apprehended for violation of drug laws or any American citizen taken under arms while in possession of drugs would be treated as a prisoner of war. He would have no legal rights beyond those in the Geneva Convention; no right of *habeas corpus* or of trial. His imprisonment would be of indefinite duration, since he would not be released until the war is over."

While Weyrich doesn't extend his thinking this far, his logic implies that anyone advocating drug legalization — e.g., George Schultz, Milton Friedman, and William Buckley — would be guilty of treason. —BD

Creative destruction — In the November *Liberty*, Gus diZerega compared the spontaneous order of an ecosystem to the spontaneous order of a free marketplace. That is a familiar comparison, and a fair one. What is not fair is diZere-

ga's notion of how to marry the two processes: a "presumption in favor of maintaining [ecological] communities," based on four vague "principles" (e.g., "no extinctions of life forms not actively injurious to humans").

Consider an economist who argues in favor of "maintaining economic communities," through state action if necessary, and who ignores what Joseph Schumpeter called the "creative destruction" of the marketplace. Such an economist would be labelled a protectionist, not a free marketer. DiZerega, in turn, sounds like an eco-protectionist, for all his talk of spontaneous order and evolutionary liberalism.

A truly liberal approach to environmental problems would stress procedural rules, not preservationist prohibitions. DiZerega's article fails this test. —JW

Out of Washington — It looks as though that sex-starved, power-hungry black nationalist and ex-drug addict, Marion Barry — who as mayor of Washington, D.C. bankrupted the capital of "the only remaining superpower in the world" and turned it into the murder capital of the universe — is returning from jail to reign over the city he helped destroy. So it's time for me, I think, to bid farewell to Washington.

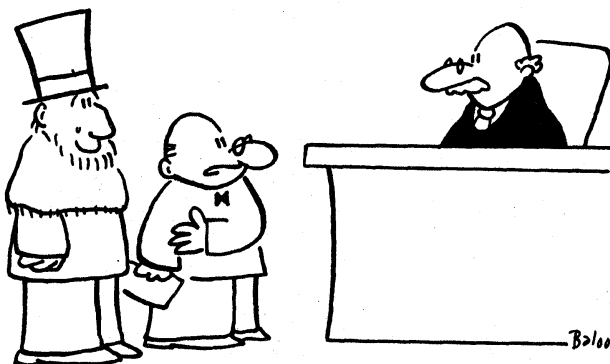
I've been a resident of the District for the last ten years or so, living in Ward 3, the part of town the upper-middle-class whites inhabit — lawyers (many, many lawyers!), government workers (a lot of them, too), journalists (my competitors), and psychiatrists (who have to take care of the members of the three other groups). This affluent population produces D.C.'s tax base, providing the leaders of the corrupt and inefficient local government with the resources to enrich themselves and put the rest of the city on welfare. The residents of the White Ward are mostly liberal Democrats who send their kids to private schools, love Hillary Clinton, feel sorry for the black underclass, want to send U.S. troops to Bosnia, hate smokers, and believe that they are soooo good and soooo smart! You know the types.

Things have traditionally been cleaner and safer in this part of the city than in the black and Hispanic neighborhoods. The residents here usually learn about the recent nightly gunfight and latest body count only when they watch the local nightly news. "How awful," they gasp. "It's all the result of Reagan's budget cuts!"

But even here, the mood has been getting ugly lately. Actually, on Connecticut Avenue, where I live, the residents receive long reports each week detailing the assaults, rapes, robberies, and car thefts that took place in the area in recent days. It's quite a long list. Residents are warned not to stroll on this or that street after dark and to watch out for "suspicious" characters.

Last month, middle-class Washington experienced one of its occasional shocks. Michelle Miller, an attractive white 20-year-old fresh from Princeton, had moved to Washington a couple of months before, looking for a government job so she could "make a difference." As she was parking her car, she was attacked by two teenagers, who demanded she give them her car keys and then killed her. (It makes you feel nostalgic for the thieves of the old school, who'd only tie you up and steal your watch and jewelry.)

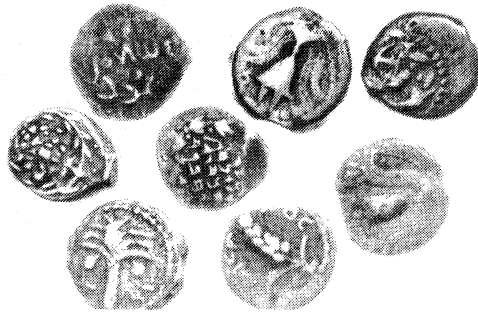
So white Washington has been getting a little worried. Its



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members were really traumatized when their favorite politician, John Ray, a friendly and light-skinned black lawyer — the Last Black Hope, if you will — lost the Democratic primary to Barry. "How could they do that?" they wonder. (The first "they" refers to the black majority of the city.)

Political experts explain that the poor black Washingtonians voted for Barry to send an angry "message" to the affluent whites, to spit in the face of those who pay for their unemployment benefits and food stamps and who finance, among other things, such great D.C. academic institutions as Howard University, home of Louis Farrakhan's groupies, and the University of the District of Columbia. The message: "We'll show those whites!"

Barry says whites should get used to the idea that he's going to lead the city over the coming years. "Get over it!" he told one white Washington audience. But the whites — even our flaming liberal crowd — are not looking forward to a new Barry regime, and they are voting with their feet. Anyone who drives through northwest Washington can't fail to notice the many new "For Sale" signs in the area. Some suggest that the flight from D.C. has just begun.

There is, by the way, a secession movement underfoot: John Nelson and Paul Egan's "Free Ward 3" movement is calling for the "removal of Ward 3 from the District and union with the State of Maryland." I like the idea, and even contributed a few dollars for the secession campaign. But I'm not holding my breath, and I'm beginning to pack to emigrate to Maryland.

So, Marion, I wish you and the rest of the District all the best. Good luck with all your plans and programs — Afro-centric public education, raising taxes on business, releasing the criminals from the jails (and providing them with "stipends"), and "independence" for the State of New Columbia (with its mayor, governor, and two senators, it will provide a lot of job opportunities for the political class).

And Marion, next time you do a little coke, make sure no FBI agent is making a movie. —LTH

They should've sent Mark Slackmayer—

Garry Trudeau, author-artist of *Doonesbury*, tore himself away from his valiant, lonely fight against the tobacco companies long enough to plunge into the election campaign in a big way. Some of his most savage attacks were directed at Michael Huffington, and in those Trudeau did not spare Huffington's wife, Arianna. But if the once-talented comic-strip writer wanted a wife of a prominent figure to satirize, there was no need to go across the continent to California to find one. He could have looked across the breakfast table.

Trudeau's own spouse is Jane Pauley, the pretty cantaloup-brain who once "earned" a half million dollars a year as "anchorwoman" on *The Today Show*. Trudeau might have tried, for instance, to recapture a priceless moment during Pauley's interview of Dick Francis, the British mystery writer, and Francis' charming little English wife. Francis' new thriller had just appeared, and it concerned horse-racing (of course) and wine-making. Pauley asked, "Well, where does the best champagne come from?" Mrs. Francis, in the best courteous-killing English way, replied: "Why, it comes from *Champagne*, dear — that's part of France."

continued on page 14

Liberty . . .

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The Economy of the Twenty-First Century: Jim Rogers, Victor Niederhoffer, David Friedman, Doug Casey, Harry Browne, R.W. Bradford, & Leland Yeager (Video: V105; Audio: A105) How will the economy fare over the next 100 years, and how can investors protect themselves?

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Does Libertarianism Need Foundations? David Friedman, Wendy McElroy, Bart Kosko, R.W. Bradford, James Taggart, Leland Yeager & John Hospers (Video: V107; Audio: A107) What are the philosophical bases — if any — of libertarianism?

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Stooksbury, R.W. Bradford, John Bergstrom & Jesse Walker (Video: V110; Audio: A110) How to protect our right to guns — and a few other weapons . . .

Looking to 1996 — and Beyond: by **Robert Higgs, Doug Casey, Gary Alexander & R.W. Bradford** (Video: V111; Audio: A111) What happens next in American politics . . .

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The Property Rights Movement: Where Do Libertarians Fit In? by **Jane Shaw** (Video: V120; Audio: A120) Is there room for libertarians in the property rights movement?

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Why Libertarians Hate, by **R.W. Bradford** (Video: V126; Audio: A126) The roots of internecine libertarian strife . . .

The Welfare State as Universal Solvent, by **John Baden** (Video: V127; Audio: A127) The ill effects of government-imposed "harmony" . . .

For a Fuzzy Libertarianism, by **Bart Kosko** (Video: V128; Au-

dio: A128) "Fuzzy logic" meets liberty: a scientist's case for pragmatism . . .

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I think, though, that it would take a better artist than Trudeau to catch the look of stunned and frightened stupidity on Pauley's pretty face at that moment. —RR

Sinners in the hands of an angry Senate

— In the wake of widespread electoral victories by conservative Republicans, whose love of liberty is a mile wide and a millimeter deep, my advice to fellow citizens is: Board up your bedroom windows and pray to God you don't piss off a prosecutor. —RH

The shaft to Schiff — In Harry Browne, the Libertarian Party has attracted an articulate, intelligent candidate for its 1996 presidential nomination. I'm not the most enthusiastic voter in the world, but if I do slink back to the polls two Novembers from now — and I probably will, like a battered wife who returns, again and again, to the man who beats her — I could happily cast my ballot for Browne.

There is a second candidate for the LP nomination: tax rebel Irwin Schiff. Schiff has told the *Libertarian Party News* that he can "probably get four or five million votes," on the theory that what voters want to hear is not "lectures on why less government is better than more government," but "15–20 second soundbites" on "why they are not legally required to pay income taxes." A prolific writer and speaker, Schiff has convinced thousands of impressionable activists that they can refuse to pay the income tax with impunity. The courts, by contrast, remain unconvinced: he has spent seven years in jail for tax evasion.

This stint behind bars is now part of Schiff's schtick: he argues that his being "the first convicted felon ever nominated" for president will bring him plenty of press attention. (Sorry, Irwin: Eugene Debs got there first.) Left unexamined is the question of just how useful voters will find the tax advice of a man who was imprisoned for . . . er, following his own tax advice.



I met Schiff once, and he seemed like a nice guy, so I regret having to say what I am about to say. I will not vote for Irwin Schiff, even if he gets the Libertarian nomination. I'd sooner cast my ballot for Bill Clinton. Or Dick Cheney. Or Bo Gritz. Or Gus Hall. —JW

Instead of a vote, by a man too busy to cast one — Another election has come and gone. Or so I've heard. I didn't vote and I didn't follow much of the "action." But since "alternative lifestyles" are so much in vogue these days, I thought I would offer up the following alternatives to voting, which can take up to a half-hour — maybe more — of precious time on Earth.

Stare out into space — it's very relaxing and you won't get polled afterwards.

Listen to a great piece of music. Kiss's "Black Diamond," for instance.

Pursue someone of the opposite sex. If unsuccessful, masturbate. It's still legal in most states.

Pursue someone of the same sex. This is still legal in some states as well.

Read a book. Almost anything you pick will be better than what you read inside a voting booth.

Have a party. Dance the night away knowing that more civic-minded people are standing still.

Sniff glue. All the bars are closed anyway.

In fact, almost anything you do will be more productive than voting. Some people say that if you don't vote, you have no right to complain. Personally, I find life is far too short to do either. —TL

Asimov III: the final chapter — In "I, Hack" (Reflections, November 1994), R.W. Bradford seems to mischaracterize my arguments ("I Like Ike," September 1994) about Isaac Asimov's alleged hackdom by claiming that I offer no evidence beyond testimony that he played an important role in my life. Actually, as I stated in my original piece, Asimov's "love of explaining is the only thing that can explain his ability to make everything he wrote flow with such supple grace." That is clearly my explanation as to why he is not a hack; my personal response to his writing is merely icing.

Asimov's lack of interest in peering through a telescope does not mean that he was uninterested in the facts and discoveries of astronomy. Such observation, for someone like Asimov, would be purely aesthetic: "look at the pretty stars." For a second-hand dealer in facts, it would teach him nothing new. —BD

Erwin Knoll, R.I.P. — I used to host a weekly talk show at a small, college-affiliated radio station. Occasionally, a guest wouldn't show up, or I'd get sick, or I'd just be too busy the week before to get a show organized. On those occasions, we'd instead broadcast *Second Opinion*, a syndicated interview show hosted by *Progressive* editor Erwin Knoll. We must have had dozens of as-yet-unplayed *Second Opinion* tapes lying around the station; they were all-purpose stuffing for anyone with a half-hour to fill.

Erwin Knoll died November 1. I'm sure that won't keep

continued on page 26

Election '94

The Turtle and the Hare-Brains

by Stephen Cox

The Republicans emerged from the November elections victorious. Clinton emerged a humbled man. What could Americans be up to?

On election eve, President Clinton, smiling his little Bobbsey-twin smile, went before a campaign audience and gave vent to some Arkansas folk wisdom. He was worried, he said, that people might fail to give him credit for the nation's "economic recovery." He did not mention the possibility that people might simply have missed this great event. If you were washing the dog or opening a can of soup, the "recovery" might easily have passed you unperceived.

Anyway, Clinton said that down in Arkansas there is a saying that if you're walking along the road and see a turtle on a fence post, you know that somebody put it there. What he seems to have meant was this: if a voter (i.e., a person walking along a road) sees evidence of an economic recovery (i.e., a turtle on a post), then the voter should conclude that somebody caused this recovery (i.e., put the turtle on the post), and that this somebody must be the president (i.e., himself).

Well, on the next day, election day, the president's folk metaphor really showed its mettle, though not in the way that he intended it to. The voters walked down the road, they saw a turtle on a fence post, they concluded that somebody had put the turtle there, and they knew that somebody must be Clinton. But the turtle they saw was an old, slow, one-eyed, hidebound, dirt-stained amphibian with a nasty habit of biting any hand that dared to feed it. This turtle was nothing so wonderful as "economic

recovery." It was the Democratic Party, the nation's loftiest and (arguably) most self-isolated political organism, protected and imprisoned by its dominance of Congress and the presidency.

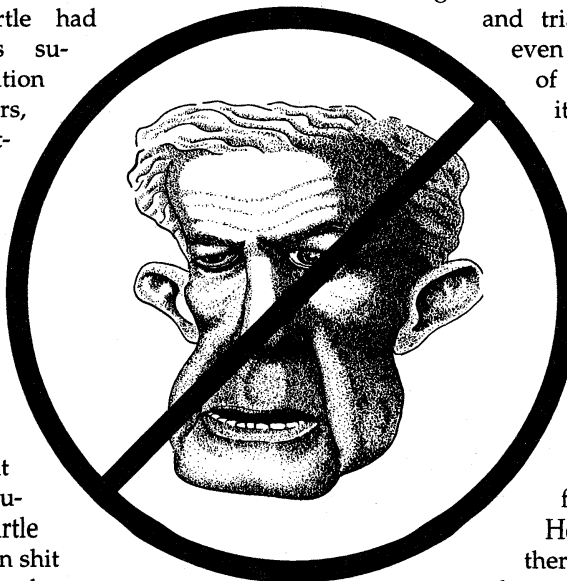
This turtle had enjoyed its supreme position for two years, but now, sitting there on its fence post, it had no food, it had no water, and it was broiling in the embarrassing light of public scrutiny. This turtle couldn't even shit in private, and turtles shit a lot. Probably it just wanted to be left alone to waddle off and hide in some dim, nutrient swamp that only turtles know. But every time it looked down

and wiggled its flippers as if to jump, it started getting dizzy. There were mean things down there, things that lay in wait for the turtle in case it ever lost its perch. There were investi-

gations and indictments and trials; there was even the necessity of providing for itself, like all the other creatures in the swamp. So the turtle stayed where it was. It knew that Bill Clinton, in his single-minded pursuit of power, was responsible for its plight. He had put it there and left it

there, where everyone could witness its double-dealing, double-talking, self-righteous, obscurantist misery.

When the voters saw all this, they knocked the turtle off its post.



Exit Porkmeister Foley

Clinton lost the election, and he lost it on the old-fashioned collectivist program that wraps the Democratic Party like a hard, dull, dirty shell. He campaigned to the bitter end, and as he neared that end, he campaigned harder and more explicitly on the premise that government is good, and more government is better, because government does things for you that you couldn't conceivably do for yourself. The Republicans countered with the idea, largely borrowed from libertarians, that government should be limited. The Republicans were often lying about their allegiance to that idea. But the fact that they lied in this particular way simply enforces the point: the election was won by anti-collectivist sentiment.

The president himself claimed, on the morning after the election, that he had spent the last two years struggling for smaller government, which was

what the voters had voted for, both when they elected him and when they elected his Republican enemies. Clinton's decision to run and cover from the pro-government campaign he had just conducted must have come hard. His new and outrageous claim, devised by the proposer of the largest peacetime takeover of the American economy, the "health care initiative," is further testimony to the power of the limited-government idea. Hypocrisy is the tribute that vice pays to virtue.

The collectivist defeat took a variety of concrete forms. Nationally, Republican victory in the House of Representatives put new and unexpected strength into the machinery of limited government, which depends on effective checks and balances. Because of this election, no one can take the inherited institutional authority of one party for granted any more. In local elections, voters showed renewed resistance to

collectivist moral principles. Oregon passed an assisted-suicide initiative over the objections of people who argued that somebody besides the individual has the right to govern choices of life and death. In California, the Little Hillary initiative, a proposal to collectivize health insurance and subject it to the control of the state government, went down to ignominious defeat. Many states passed term-limits proposals, which were carried against the opposition of people who believe that no limits should be placed on the power of majorities to make fools of themselves in perpetuity. The practical principle of republican government, as Madison argued, is limitation of the majority's power to do as it pleases.

In several localities, voters threw out Democratic grandees who had thriven for years on collectivization of money and influence, taking individuals' power and money and serving them back to the collective in the form of pork. Speaker of the House Foley ran for reelection solely on his ability to dole out pork to his district in eastern Washington. He lost his district. (Headline, front page, above the fold, *Los Angeles Times*, November 10, 1994: "With Foley, Noble Era Will End.") Senator Sasser of Tennessee and Governor Cuomo of New York — big taxers and bigger spenders — claimed that their three terms in office constituted an "investment," as Sasser said, that would in the very *next* term be returned to the people in a millennium of sufficient pork for every pot. Sasser and Cuomo lost their states.

Race-mongers, propagandizers for the most vicious form of collectivism, also lost. Mrs. Cuomo threatened that race riots would erupt if her husband were not reelected, but no one seemed to be listening. Opponents of California's Proposition 187, an attempt to deny welfare "rights" to illegal immigrants, merely damaged their cause by sending children into the streets to riot against the "racism" and "genocide" of the proposition. (As a libertarian, you may not be in favor of restrictions on immigration, but are you really in favor of inviting immigrants to come here by giving them welfare?) Nobody except Rush Limbaugh's audience seemed to care that Charles Rangel, who has represented a black district in

Terms of Indictment — The most overlooked consequence of the 1994 election is that it has taken away Bill Clinton's immunity from prosecution. Although Clinton is only marginally more corrupt than most politicians, he and his larcenous wife felt no need to cover their tracks very well. His misfortune was to have been reared in a one-party state with a meretricious press, and thus a political climate without scrutiny from the press or opposition.

So he protected himself under cover of Henry Gonzalez, Donald Riegle, and the other old pols of the Democratic Party, whose hold on the levers of power in Congress was absolute. Remember the Senate Whitewater hearings? Donald Riegle refused to schedule hearings until the evidence against Clinton accumulated to the point where it could fill a modest library. Then he postponed hearings for four months. When they were held, he limited testimony to subjects having nothing to do with Whitewater. Lo and behold, the hearings came up with no hard evidence. The Whitewater investigation in the House was even more outrageously perfunctory.

On January 3, a new Congress convenes, one in which Republicans will decide what investigations will be held. The media has already made

much of the fact that with a chairman from tobacco-producing Virginia, the House Subcommittee on Health won't be presenting cute ten-year-old asthmatics to the television cameras with tales of how sick they get from second-hand smoke. Similar changes will occur at the House Banking Committee under Jim Leach and the Senate Banking Committee under Al D'Amato. And, for that matter, the committees that oversee securities laws, whose new chairmen might be interested in the details of Hillary's remarkably successful cattle futures trading. Or the Interior committees, whose new chairmen might conceivably have an interest in just how thoroughly the Park Police investigated the suicide of Vincent Foster.

If the committees can find a smoking gun on only one of the charges against the Clintons, their goose will be cooked. More likely, Bill will resign as they close in. Prominent Republicans who are rubbing their hands at the prospects of taking him on in the 1996 election should start thinking about a strategy to defeat Al Gore. This might not be as easy as it seems — after the blazing corruption of the Clintons, the woodenness of Al Gore might seem reassuring. He seems too dumb to steal.

—Chester Alan Arthur

Manhattan for about 1500 years, tried to convince people that a vote for tax cuts is actually a vote for "racism." The argument just didn't work any more.

To keep Rush's show amusing, God decided to spare a few of the most egregious Democrats from destruction. What would Rush, or any of us, do without Senator Kennedy — that enormous punching bag, chock-full of crap? While the senator was being reelected, several other Kennedys got elected or reelected to relatively minor offices, a development that may promise the rest of us some fun later on. Not that wickedness is confined to the Kennedys, or even to Democrats. A good number of evil and lunatic Republicans gained election, in some cases despite the electorate's full knowledge of their character. Again, a clear point is made: this election was about an issue, the power and loftiness of government. Whoever got on the wrong side of that issue was in danger; whoever got on the right side was not. All incumbent senators, representatives, and governors survived — so long as they were Republi-

cans. And the Republicans survived and prospered because of their anti-government rhetoric.

Now, no one expects Republican legislators to live up to their rhetoric. Few of them, obviously, are dedicated to free-market classical liberalism. They are politicians, mostly small-town politicians, who are *infected* by classical liberal ideas — and, often enough, *confused* by them. The realignment of American politics that is now happening — typified by the desertion of Senator Shelby of Alabama from the Democrats to the Republicans — will have contradictory effects. The Democrats who survived the election are disproportionately representative of safe districts with far-left values. The Republicans who triumphed are mostly (A) safe-district conservatives full of down-home values, which are a mixed bag at best, and (B) committed ideologues who might never have achieved election in a normal year.

But if the Republicans want to keep winning, they might do well to think about the careers of such formerly mar-

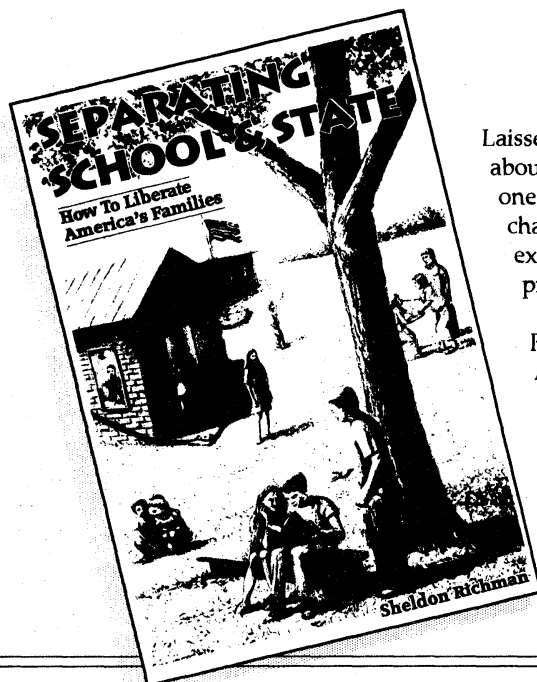
ginal ideologues as Governor Engler of Michigan. A few months ago, Engler was considered a loser because he slashed welfare and destroyed the political influence of the public-school teachers' union, which was a mighty power in a union state. Engler stuck to his guns, refused to compromise, and won reelection by a big majority, meanwhile pulling a Republican candidate into the U.S. Senate.

To make realignment work in their favor, Republicans need to study examples of success like that rather than the advice so eagerly offered by the political "experts" and the media. As soon as the shape of the election started to emerge on the evening of November 8, the experts were already offering the Republicans a stale concoction of "bipartisanship." William Schneider, who for some reason is CNN's political consultant, assured viewers that the "message" of the election was the need for bipartisanship. Other CNNers chimed in: "I'm not sure it's a mandate to move to the right; it's a mandate for action" — any kind of action, presumably, that

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—John Hospers

Professor Emeritus of Philosophy
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would win bipartisan approval.

The cry, or whimper, was taken up by the Democrats. Cuomo, that unyielding partisan of modern liberalism, assured everyone that "partisanship for its own sake is a waste of time." Senator Robb of Virginia, who threw everything but the kitchen sink at his Republican opponent, said that the election "will force us to work together." Clinton thought he heard the peo-

ple "demand[ing] that a more equally divided [!] Congress work together with the president." The point of this pishposh was to spread responsibility wherever it could possibly be spread, so that the Democratic elite would never again have to sit on that fence post and endure that sun.

Clinton, of course, always tries to diffuse responsibility until there's not a smidgen of it left. In his post-election

press conference, he offered to take his "share of responsibility" for the Democrats' shell-shattering fall, but he had awful trouble with the word "I." "We," he said, "made mistakes in government, but I'm proud of the things we've been able to accomplish together."

The Republicans must make sure that Clinton's "together" doesn't include them. □

Periphery Vision — Almost overlooked in the hubbub of the smashing GOP victory November 8 were several record-setting performances by Libertarian Party candidates. In Arizona, Senate nominee Scott Grainger got 7% of the vote — the highest in any statewide three-party race by any LP candidate ever. In Indiana, the party's nominee for secretary of state got 2.2% of the vote, more than three times its previous best and enough to win it a spot on the 1996 ballot. In Missouri, Senate candidate Bill Johnson got 5%; in Michigan, Senate candidate Jon Coon got 4%. In Wyoming, Dave Dawson got 6% in a race for the state's only House seat.

In five states, the Party garnered enough votes to gain ballot status, thereby insuring its 1996 presidential candidate a spot on the ballot without the expense and hassle of petition drives. And in 17 other states, the LP retained ballot status that it had won at the ballot box in previous elections.

But the news was not all good. As usual, the LP failed to elect a single candidate in a partisan race, except in cases where its candidates cross-filed on a major party ticket. And these victories were down from 1992: New Hampshire voters re-elected Don Gorman to the State legislature (no surprise here, since he had the nomination of the Republicans, Democrats, and Libertarians) and elected long-time activist Jim McLarin (running on the LP and Republican tickets) to the same position, but the LP's two other incumbent dual-party members of the New Hampshire House both lost their elections. As usual, the LP national office had to pad its list of electoral successes with extremely low-level non-partisan victories (e.g., the election of Daniel Walker and Dick Byornseth to the "Ochlockonee Soil & Water Conservation District Board" in

Florida and of David Morris to the "Advisory Neighborhood Commission 2F" in the District of Columbia.)

Richard Winger, editor of *Ballot Access News*, estimates that the LP received the votes of about 1.7% of voters who had the option of voting for an LP candidate, compared with 1.9% in 1990 and 1978.

Whether the LP's performance is encouraging in the context of the high voter dissatisfaction with major-party politics is debatable. But at the very least the LP showed that it can appeal to a visible number of voters when it mounts high-profile campaigns, as did its Senate candidates in Arizona, Missouri, and Michigan.

—Chester Alan Arthur

Welcome Back, Gridlock — I have to admit that I was delighted to see the massive Republican victory. I was overjoyed at the humiliation heaped upon President Clinton and the repudiation of his program, but I don't want to get too enthusiastic over the Republican takeover of Congress. After all, this is the same crowd that brought us the drug war, a wasteful defense buildup, and a multitude of needless military expeditions in Central America and the Middle East. As purveyors of a positive political program, the Republicans are pretty weak.

But it is in their other, much more important role — as mindless obstructionists — that a Republican Congress may be most useful. The victory of the Republican Party in the 1994 election was a reward for their stalwart efforts to block the Clinton program. They have managed to kill Clinton's "stimulus" package and health care plan and they came very close to killing his tax increases, the Brady Bill, and the execrable "crime bill." If Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich are smart, and I think

they are, they will deliver more of the same, irrespective of any nonsense they chatter about "bipartisanship."

As if the humiliation of Bill Clinton were not enough, there were other reasons to celebrate the 1994 election. Some big-name congressmen who betrayed gun owners on the assault weapons ban after years of cultivating their support paid with their jobs, including Jack Brooks of Texas and former House Speaker Tom Foley. Jim Sasser, who was instrumental in passing the last two major tax increases, was also turned out by a healthy margin. And the defeats of Mario Cuomo and Ann Richards were enjoyable, if only because that will silence their legions of media acolytes.

—Clark Stooksbury

Sic Transit Gloria Magistrati

— Readers may be wondering what some of the big names who lost in the November election will be doing in the future. I will now offer some of my predictions:

Oliver North will team up with Oliver Stone to play Alfred E. Neuman in *The Mad Magazine Story*.

North won't be the only big name to go into showbiz: Ann Richards of Texas will be added to the cast of *Hee Haw*.

Former Iowa Congressman Fred "Gopher" Grandy, who lost in his state's gubernatorial primary, will found the Department of Love Boat Studies at UCLA.

After beating the rap for his House Bank-related indictment, Dan Rostenkowski will dedicate the rest of his life to establishing the Richard J. Daley Foundation to Promote Democracy.

Former New York Governor Mario Cuomo will succeed Pope John Paul II. Larry King will immediately convert to Catholicism.

—Clark Stooksbury

Election '94

A Crisis of Faith

by R. W. Bradford

Something is happening here, but you don't know what it is — do you, Mr. President?

Contrary to the political consultants, news spinners, and media commentators, the Republican landslide was neither a "sea change" nor a "revolution." It was a public rejection of the established political religion, a rejection so profound that it shocked the political establishment and the media elite. But the public made no profession of a new faith, nor did it reject political faith altogether.

From the 1930s to the 1990s, American public life has been dominated by the notion that government is a magical entity that can take money from all of us and give back more than it took, making us all richer in the process. Stated baldly like that, this theory seems crazy. But it was seldom stated baldly.

This belief underlies all sorts of government policy, from subsidies to farmers to "free" college tuition, from Social Security to deficit spending to the Great Society to military adventures overseas. This faith dominated American political culture while most of us grew up — dominated so powerfully and so totally that it needed no name. It just passed as common belief. But it went by many names: modern liberalism, left-liberalism, the middle of the road. It has been tempered only by the American tradition of an open society, which provided limited protection for freedom of speech and religion.

There were dissenters from this faith, of course. There were totalitarians, who took it to its logical extreme, arguing that the state should control the economic, social, and even per-

sonal lives of the people. During the early years of the Welfare State Era, totalitarian dissent came from both the Left and the Right.

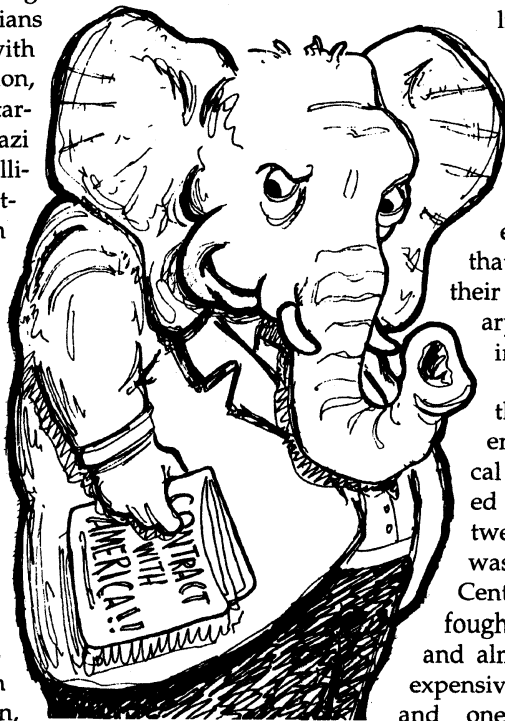
The left-totalitarians were in league with the Soviet Union, the right-totalitarians with Nazi Germany. The alliance of the United States with the Soviet Union against Germany in World War II pretty well wiped out the totalitarian Right in this country, but the totalitarian Left continued to prosper until the collapse of its sponsor.

There was also dissent from another direction, from people who altogether rejected faith in government as a magical institution. Some of these dissenters considered them-

selves a remnant of the previous liberal social order. Others considered themselves prophets of a new, even freer social order. These old-fashioned

liberals, libertarians, and anarchists were few and unorganized. All were profoundly alienated from a society that considered their views reactionary, lunatic, or irrelevant.

For a while the theory of government as magical institution seemed to work. The twentieth century was the American Century. As Europe fought two bloody and almost incalculably expensive world wars, and one third of the world's population fell under the control of a psychotic and reactionary Communist system, the U.S. became the richest country on earth.



But Communism failed, and Europe and Japan emerged from their wars with freer economies than before. Gradually, they have caught up with and surpassed the U.S.

Along the way, the old faith began to subside. In 1964, the Republican Party briefly stopped saying "me too" to the welfare state (though not, alas, to the warfare state) and chose Barry Goldwater as its presidential candidate. The intellectual establishment recognized Goldwater for the revolutionary he was and vilified him in the rankest terms. After a brutal smear campaign, Lyndon Johnson was elected with 61% of the popular vote, which he and the statolatrous establishment took as a mandate to accelerate government power, in the form of vast increases in domestic spending (the Great Society) and foreign policy (the Vietnam War).

The public reacted against the ex-

tremism of Johnson's programs. In 1968, Johnson's hand-picked successor got only 43% of the vote, a decline of 30% in just four years. But the winning candidate made no challenge to the ideological status quo, and the size and power of government continued to grow during the administrations of welfare state Republicans Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford and "moderate" Democrat Jimmy Carter.

It was obvious that things were changing during the 1970s. In 1971, the Libertarian Party was founded, and by 1976 it had established itself on the political landscape as a vocal challenger to the political faith. In 1978, California voters passed a tax limitation measure, despite the direst of threats from the media, politicians, and intellectuals, groups who benefited from the growth of government and whose piety was undiminished.

In 1980, the Republicans nominated

Ronald Reagan for the presidency. Reagan eloquently opposed the growth of government and proposed to reduce its size and power, cut taxes, and increase individual freedom. He was elected in a landslide, and brought in a GOP majority in the Senate — the first time the party had enjoyed a ma-

Clinton traipsed from one end of the country to the other like a political Joe Blfstk, spreading disaster wherever he went. Everywhere he visited, his fellow Democrats fell in the polls.

majority in either house of Congress since 1954. Reagan pursued his program, but with only limited success. Everywhere it ran into two problems:

(1) Welfare state Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, and welfare state Republicans among the GOP majority in the Senate limited Reagan's ability to enact his program.

(2) The American people were very reluctant to give up the favors that government had seemed to have bestowed on them.

Reagan dealt with both these difficulties by compromising. Because he believed the greatest threat to American liberty was international Communism, he made increasing the military power of the United States his top priority. To get Democrats to agree to increase military spending, he agreed to accept increases in spending for social programs.

Reagan made a similar compromise with the American people. When he broached the idea of cutting middle-class welfare spending (programs such as Social Security and guaranteed student loans), many voters reacted with horror. So Reagan limited his free-market reforms to a few areas: he tried to privatize a few government programs, lifted price controls on oil, opposed increases in the minimum wage, fought gun control, broke the back of the powerful air traffic controllers' union, and made a few other pro-market moves. But by and large, he made no attempt to cut back the pow-

Keep Ted Alive — Right-wing direct mail fundraisers held their collective breath until the results of the Massachusetts Senate election came in. A great bogeyman like Ted Kennedy would have been hard to replace.

—Clark Stooksbury

My Kind of Town? — The defeat of Dan Rostenkowski feels like having a hideous birthmark removed from my face: it is the loss of a familiar sight, but I'm feeling nothing but pleasure for it. Rosty, you see, is the only representative my native district has had in my lifetime. He was always "Chairman" Rostenkowski, the man who brought home the goods — and he was rewarded for it, time and again, with reelection. When the law caught up with him this year, my neighbor nonetheless canvassed the area for him, saying, in effect, "Yeah, he's a scoundrel, but so what? He's provided so much for us!"

Ah, yes, my kinda town. But something was amiss this year. Even Chicago voters have an intolerance threshold, I guess, and Danny-boy's arrogance and obvious contempt for the laws the rest of us have to obey, not to mention his allegiance to Bill Clinton, exposed it.

But lest anyone think that the repudiation of the quintessential big government Democrat is an indication that Chicagoans have decided to pave the way for the open society, I report that people in my old 'hood are happier than ever to push others around via the legislative broom. For example, "community-based policing" has taken root, and the paranoid are informing police of "suspicious activity" such as people coming in and out of houses at "all hours of the night." Obviously, drugs are being used! Or: certain people are renting out their basements without proper zoning, and by George we must put a stop to it! Or: . . .

You get the message, I hope. I've no doubt that some libertarians will huff and puff about an anti-government mood, pointing to the overthrow of Democrats in Congress. This is nonsense. People want their taxes lowered, sure; but there are plenty of busybodies out there, and plenty of people delighted to take government handouts if others pay for them. They will expect the Republicans to provide the goods.

So, let us revel for a moment that such jackasses as Rostenkowski have gotten their comeuppance. But then calm down, take a deep breath, and start harassing the Republicans.

—Michael Levine

er of the welfare state.

Almost every government program benefits someone, if only the people who are given money by it. Only one form of government activity has no popular support: taxation. So Reagan ended up cutting taxes and increasing spending. And everything seemed nice. Americans got the "benefits" of higher spending without paying the costs of higher taxes. Student loans, matching funds, grants for public buildings, summer job programs, higher military spending, pork-barrel projects galore. To pay for all this, we borrowed money. Our kids (or maybe their kids, or their kids' kids) could pay it back. Someday. The program "worked." We were all living beyond our means, thanks to the fact that our government had borrowed over \$1,500,000,000,000 and lavished it on us.

Democrats had always had trouble getting away with this sort of thing. Prior to the Reagan years, whenever Democratic presidents proposed huge

The Republican Contract with America is fundamentally dishonest. Yet this dishonesty pales beside the dishonesty of the Democratic alternative.

budget deficits, Republicans and conservative southern and western Democrats would complain that we were mortgaging our future, that the program was fiscally unsound, that in the end there would be a disaster.

But Reagan's followers were reluctant to criticize their leader. They were tired of losing elections, and Ronald Reagan had shown them that if only they would stop complaining about deficit spending and go along with the program, they could win for a change.

Americans were prosperous and happy, as prosperous and happy as a family that borrows against the value of its home and spends the money on parties. But like that family, we were in danger of losing our way of life.

Voters elected Reagan's vice president George Bush in 1988, thanks partly to the good will Americans had for

Reagan and partly to the Democrats' foolish decision to nominate an unreconstructed big-government, high-tax liberal. It quickly became evident that faith in big government was fading fast. Despite universal opposition from the media, politicians of both parties, and the entrenched bureaucracy of government, voters in numerous states passed term limitation measures. State after state passed tax limits.

In 1990, Bush raised taxes and lost the support of those who had elected him. In 1992, the Democrats nominated a "New Democrat," Bill Clinton, who claimed to favor less government power and lower taxes. Maverick populist Ross Perot entered the race with the aim of settling an old score with Bush. Perot got 19% of the vote, and Bill Clinton squeaked into office with 43%.

The Election

In 1988, it was widely and accurately observed that an incumbent member of Congress had a better chance of being re-elected than an incumbent member of the Soviet Politburo. It's easy to see why: congressmen had voted themselves huge powers to reward their constituents with spending bills, built up huge staffs to perform "constituent services," acquired tremendous government-subsidized campaigning privileges, and taken in huge amounts of "contributions" from special interests groups. But in 1992, things were different: 122 congresspeople lost their re-election bids or retired. (The retirement rate was extraordinarily high, thanks to two factors: many congresspeople were under fire for corruption and decided that discretion was the better form of valor, and a law prohibiting retiring congresspeople from pocketing for personal use campaign funds extorted from lobbyists and special interests was about to take effect.)

Clinton and the media saw his 43% of the popular vote as a mandate, and immediately set about promoting a traditional Democratic program. He sought to fight crime by pouring \$30 billion into midnight basketball leagues and other welfare programs and preventing private citizens from owning guns for self-defense. He sought to reduce the deficit by raising taxes. He stepped up regulation of business by appointing aggressive reg-

ulators to head federal agencies. He sought to address the health care problem by having the government take over the entire industry lock, stock, and barrel. By returning to the old welfare state agenda of higher taxes, more regulation, and more gigantic, elabo-

These old-fashioned liberals, libertarians, and anarchists were few and unorganized. All were profoundly alienated from a society that considered their views reactionary, lunatic, or irrelevant.

rate government programs, Clinton focused the voters' attention on the failures of their old faith.

The results were predictable.* Everywhere, energized anti-government conservatives sought Republican nominations for elective office. Almost everywhere, elected Democrats tried to downplay their records. They omitted the word "Democrat" from all advertising, claimed to favor downsizing government, claimed to be trying to balance the budget. In my state, the only political advertisement I saw that could even remotely be described as favoring the welfare state was a pro-Social Security ad by the incumbent Republican senator.

The voters weren't buying it. Forty years of Democratic control of the House were enough. Clinton clearly didn't have a clue about what was happening. After watching his popularity drop in the polls all year, he tried the oldest trick in the book: invade a tiny country, then go on a triumphant tour of the world. Sure enough, this boosted his popularity, to the point where almost half the American people thought

* I myself predicted the outcome of the election pretty accurately in mid-July, and reiterated my prediction in September. I also predicted in each article that Bill Clinton would not be re-elected in 1996 and that he would be the last Democrat to be elected president for a half-century, if not forever.

maybe he wasn't doing such a bad job.

But then he made a mistake. He came home and decided to hit the campaign trail on behalf of his fellow Democrats. He traipsed from one end of the country to the other like a political Joe Blfstk, spreading disaster wherever he went. Everywhere he visited, his fellow Democrats fell in the polls. He destroyed the campaigns of Democratic Senate candidates in Michigan, Washington, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. Of 21 Democrat-held Senate seats up for election, the Republicans won eight. Every Republican-held seat stayed Republican. Of 278 seats in the House held by Democrats, Republicans captured 56, including 33 where they ousted incumbents. Promi-

nent Democratic casualties included House Speaker Tom Foley, indicted Ways and Means chairman Dan Rostenkowski, and Judiciary chairman Jack Brooks.

Republicans won virtually every campaign they seriously contested. The exceptions merely illustrated their strength, though not always their sense. In Virginia, the party lost when they nominated a convicted perjurer and the party's senior elected official sponsored an "independent" candidacy by another Republican to split the GOP vote. In California, their nominee was an airhead who spent \$26 million of his inheritance on his campaign but never figured out where he stood on the issues and was caught in a blatant

act of hypocrisy. Even so, neither incumbent Democratic senator managed to get half the popular vote.

The president's spin doctors went to work, claiming that the voters were just expressing anti-Congress feelings. The trouble with this theory is that Clinton's fellow Democrats did even worse running for governor than they did running for Congress, winning just nine of 31 races and losing the governorship of every large state except Florida. The spin doctors also tried claiming that the voters weren't rejecting Clinton or his policies; they were just rejecting incumbents. The problem with this theory is that the only incumbents rejected were Democrats. Every single Republican incumbent in the

Measure for Measure — As in past elections, I have attempted to gauge the mood of the electorate by analyzing the state-wide ballot measures of special interest to libertarians. This year, I identified a total of 41 such measures, mostly on taxes or term limits.

Property Rights: It has been observed that if the Bill of Rights were put to a popular vote, it would have a very tough time finding a majority. In Arizona, voters were allowed to vote on the Fifth Amendment ("No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.") Their chance to confirm their support for the Bill of Rights came with a referendum on a law passed by the Arizona legislature requiring state agencies to identify potential takings and their costs when regulating private property, thereby insuring that private property would not be taken for public use without compensation.

The environmental movement, aware that environmental regulation takes private property for the public good without compensation, mounted an aggressive campaign against the measure, arguing that its passage would mean higher taxes and a degraded environment. Defenders of the Bill of Rights lost, and lost big: voters turned down the measure by a 60-40 margin.

Advocates of private property fared better in Massachusetts, where

voters repealed rent control by a 51-49 margin. This is probably a reaction to the gross impracticality of rent control, evident to voters who have lots of actual experience with it, rather than any new found commitment to property rights by residents of the Bay State, who also re-elected Teddy Kennedy by a wide margin.

Taxes and spending: A mixed bag here. Big tax cuts were rejected by big margins by voters in Oregon, Montana, and Missouri. Tobacco tax hikes were accepted in Arizona, but rejected in Colorado and California, where voters also overwhelmingly rejected a bond issue for a mass-transit boondoggle. Soft drink taxes were repealed in Ohio and Arkansas, but extended in Washington. An amusement tax to finance breast cancer research and treatment failed in Oklahoma, but a hefty bond issue for human services passed easily in New Jersey. Montana rejected a flat income tax to replace its heavily graduated tax, while Massachusetts rejected a graduated tax to replace its flat tax. Nevada voted to require a supermajority for tax hikes in its legislature, but a similar measure was rejected in Montana. And voters in Montana and Oregon rejected measures to require popular votes for taxes.

Term limits: Term limits were passed everywhere they were up, except in Utah. Nevada even passed two of them, one for state politicians and another for feds.

Health Care: In what might be the most important ballot measure in the country, California voters overwhelmingly rejected (by a whopping 73% of voters) a measure for socialized medicine of the "single-payer" variety, a slightly more honest version of the Clintons' plan. Also, Pennsylvania voters removed Harris Wofford from the Senate in favor of a young, unknown conservative opponent of socialized medicine. (Wofford was originally elected in 1991 on a "universal health care" platform, a phenomenon that was greatly celebrated in the media and is said to have inspired the Clintons' health care proposal.)

Abortion: A measure to criminalize abortion was turned down by a 60-40 margin by voters of conservative Wyoming, the state that has the fewest abortions per capita in the U.S.

Miscellaneous: Colorado voters rejected a measure that would allow the state to force *grandparents* to pay for teen pregnancies. Oregon legalized doctor-assisted suicide. Alaska prohibited local governments from restricting guns. Colorado rejected a measure to freeze legislators' pay, but New Mexico rejected a pay raise for legislators, and Illinois forced its legislature to meet only part-time. Voters in North Dakota and Massachusetts approved mandatory seat-belt laws. And voters in Oklahoma legalized the use of out-of-state grapes by in-state wineries.

You figure. —Chester Alan Arthur

House, the Senate, and the governors' mansions was re-elected. The salient characteristic of the overwhelming Republican victory is its pervasiveness. Republicans gained control of the Senate, the House, most governorships, and many state legislatures. The last time the United States saw anything like this was in 1930, when the Depression converted the Republicans from the natural majority party everywhere but the South into what seemed like a permanent minority.

Today, the Democrats are in virtually the same condition as the Republicans were in 1930. They still control the presidency, and they still have a few small constituencies that will continue to give them their die-hard support. But their day is through.

After 1930, Republicans lost the next five presidential elections. The Democrats controlled the presidency and both houses of Congress for 32 of the following 62 years. The Republicans controlled the presidency and Congress for just two years. The single two-year period of Republican domination (1953-54) was achieved by the Republicans' accepting virtually all the precepts of the Democratic New Deal: ever-expanding social programs, ever-more-intrusive government, ever-greater regulation, and ever-increasing taxes. The agenda of American politics, set by the Democrats from 1932 until 1980, never varied: the Democrats proposed bigger programs, more powerful government, and higher taxes; the Republicans responded by proposing to expand the power of government at a more moderate pace. In 1960, conservative commentator Tom Anderson summed it up: "Democrats want to move to socialism at 100 miles an hour.

Republicans only want to socialize at 50 miles per hour."

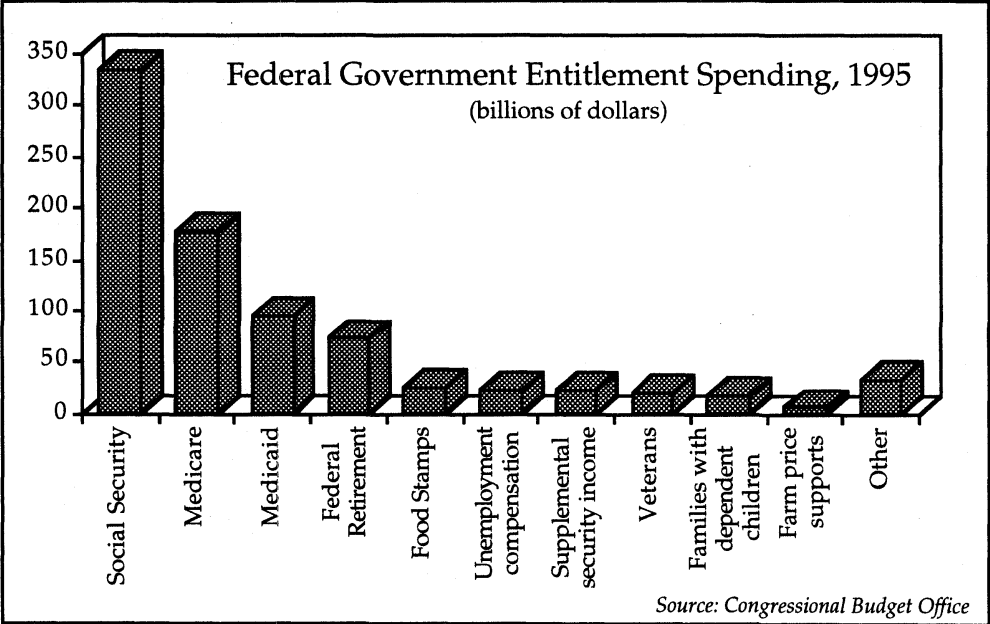
Americans Wake Up

But in 1994, things were different. Republicans had adopted a new theme, and proclaimed it in virtually all their races: the old faith isn't working. The old system of raising taxes, increasing regulation, and solving every problem by throwing money at it has wasted billions of dollars, left our streets unsafe, strangled the American economy, and created a Congress whose members live like oriental potentates while ignoring the people. The Republicans wrote a

The Republicans understand this evasion. That's why their Contract With America promised tax cuts and a balanced budget *and* promised to keep the biggest entitlement programs intact and increase defense spending. The Republicans have fudged the math, pretending that the economy will be stimulated so much by their tax cuts that personal income will rise sharply enough that taxes, even at their lower rates, would cover the shortfall.

This is so idiotic that hardly any Republicans actually believe it. It is simply impossible to increase military spending, cut taxes by \$50 billion per

year, and eliminate a \$200 billion deficit without touching the \$885 billion of entitlements. But Americans were not yet ready to bite the bullet, so not a single Republican congressional candidate could summon the courage to admit that Congress cannot cut taxes without in-



"Contract With America" that promised to address these problems in the first 100 days of a Republican Congress. And almost everywhere, the Republicans won.

The '94 election signifies a loss of the old faith in government. But Americans still don't understand the full implications of rejecting the legacy of FDR, JFK, LBJ, Nixon, Carter, and Clinton. They still don't understand that they're going to have to wean themselves from the teat of government and live within their means, that there ain't no such thing as a free lunch. They aren't yet ready to give up their welfare benefits, but they do understand that something is fundamentally wrong, and that if they continue to expand the power of government, their quality of life will continue to deteriorate.

creasing the deficit or cutting popular programs like Social Security and Medicare. The Contract With America is fundamentally dishonest.

Yet the dishonesty of the Contract With America pales beside the dishonesty of the Democratic alternative. "All politics is local," Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill used to say. What O'Neill (and the Democrats who like to quote him) meant was that you can increase government power and taxes in Washington, D.C., then go home to your district and tell the voters that you are working to cut taxes and regulation. If you deliver enough pork barrel spending, answer constituents' letters promptly, and don't get caught with your hand in the cookie jar, your district will re-elect you forever. So Democrats ran for office with no pro-

gram at all, just vague sloganeering about "moving forward."

Of course, the Republicans do advocate cutting *some* entitlements—just not for their middle-class constituents. Take a look at the chart on the previous page. It details entitlement spending for 1995. This is all so-called "off-budget" spending; that is, it will be spent without Congress having to approve it.

Note that the overwhelming percentage of this entitlement spending

The 1994 election signifies a loss of the old faith in government. But Americans still don't understand the full implications of rejecting the legacy of FDR, JFK, LBJ, Nixon, Carter, and Clinton.

goes, not to the poor, but to the "forgotten" middle class. Of the \$885 billion spent on federal entitlements in 1995, only \$140 billion goes to the poor (and their middle-class social workers). The rest goes to programs that primarily benefit the middle class: Medicare, college loans, federal retirement benefits, Social Security, veterans' benefits, etc.

These entitlement programs amount to over half of all federal spending. Together with interest on the national debt (which is also spent whether Congress authorizes it or not), in less than a decade they will consume more than 75% of all federal spending.

But neither the Republicans nor the Democrats will cut entitlements for the middle class. This is one thing you can bet on. The Democrats designed the programs and have always supported them. The Republicans are sometimes a little bit critical, but they don't want to risk losing votes by supporting cuts. During the eight years of the Reagan administration, spending on entitlements rose substantially, despite Reagan's rhetoric against them.

There is one exception. In California, Republican Governor Pete Wilson faced a budget crisis. He was afraid even to stand up to the state's teachers (who are politically organized and view their outrageous salaries as an entitlement), let alone the beneficiaries of the state's "generous" welfare system. So he raised taxes and watched his voter approval ratings collapse. Then he discovered an entitlement he could oppose: government aid to illegal immigrants, the one group of people who live in California but cannot vote. Of course, he didn't suggest that since illegal immigrants can't get the emoluments to which their fellow Californians are entitled, they should be exempt from taxes. He prefers to collect their taxes and show them the back of his hand. Capitalizing on the issue, he rose from 20 points behind to an easy victory.

So this is where we are today. Most Americans have come to realize that the tax-and-tax, spend-and-spend, elect-and-elect philosophy of the Democrats isn't working. They realize that changes have to be made, and they are willing to turn to the Republicans. But so far, the Republicans have lacked the will to provide real leadership, to make the hard decisions to cut middle-class entitlements.

The 1994 election gives the Republicans an opportunity similar to the one handed the Democrats in 1930. If they can come up with a vision for the future and a coherent program for its imple-

mentation, they can become a long-term majority party. If they fail, they will be dumped into the ashcan of history, and the voters will elect a new party that *can* provide a coherent program.

But whatever happens in the next few years, one thing is certain: the political theory that has dominated the twentieth century so powerfully that it was advocated by almost all politicians, whether Democratic or Republican, is dead. The 1994 election is a crisis of faith. Americans now realize that we cannot spend money we do not have, that we cannot take money from

The Republicans have fudged the math, pretending that the economy will be stimulated so much by their tax cuts that personal income will rise sharply enough that taxes, even at their lower rates, would cover the shortfall.

ourselves and spread it around and make ourselves better off.

Whether Americans will emerge from this crisis with a new Republican faith in government as miracle-worker—one that can solve the problem of the breakdown of the family by throwing money at it, the problem of drug abuse by arresting marijuana smokers, the problem of crime by hiring more policemen and giving mandatory life sentences to people caught with foreign bank accounts—remains to be seen.

The alternative is to dispense with faith in government altogether, to return to the older view of government as a human institution bound by the same natural laws as the ecosystem and the same economic laws as society itself, and to realize that a system where individual liberty is maximized will optimize the ability of human beings to flourish. There is substantial rhetorical support for this view. The most prominent Republican who seems determined to reduce the size and power of government and enhance

continued on page 26



"If they can put a man on the Moon, why can't they open the bars on Election Day?"

Election '94

To Vote, or Not To Vote

by Loren E. Lomasky

There was much talk, not long ago, of a "politics of meaning." But all that most politicians can achieve is a politics *demeaning*.

I'm an academic who thinks and writes mostly about political subjects. I am also an adult citizen of the United States who is thereby eligible to trek to the polls every November and vote.

When I came of age I tossed away my fake ID and began to patronize watering establishments under my own name. I also registered to vote and three months thereafter cast a ballot for someone who became president, someone who became vice president, and assorted other men of dubious character. In subsequent years I continued to vote whenever presented with the opportunity to do so, although I made sure that I never again would be implicated in supporting a victorious candidate.

About ten years ago I began thinking in a serious way about how democratic decision-making works (and fails to work). These reflections centered on the extreme unlikelihood in any large-numbered electorate of one individual's vote making a difference to the outcome. I quickly came to believe that if there is some reason why one morally ought to vote, it cannot be because of any straightforwardly consequentialistic factors. Less quickly I came to believe that there is no good reason of any kind to suppose that it is morally dutiful to vote. This is one of only two instances in which my scholarly work led me to change my mind concerning some practical conclusion. And then I stopped voting.

But this year I had resolved to go back to my old ways. I now live in a very small town in a rural county of northwest Ohio. Although I remain only too glad to distance myself from the official predations of Washington, here where I live and work politics isn't the preserve of goons and grandees. It's how we get our snow plowed in the winter, our swimming pool staffed with life guards in the summer, a gate installed at the dangerous train crossing, strayed children found and deposited back home. Our politics is not a big deal — and that perhaps is its greatest virtue. I was under no illusions that my votes would appreciably lubricate the workings of public business, but I would thereby express solidarity with my fellow residents of the state of Ohio, Wood County, and town of Rudolph.

But then the political ads commenced. Our Senate candidates matched each other for sleaze, duplicity, and unflinching reliance on the irremediable stupidity of their would-be constituents. In other words, my Senate race probably was very much like your Senate race. And this was no more than I expected.

I had not, however, realized how far down the pipe the political sewage had flown. Local races too had become thoroughly noxious. This year the prevailing theme was a mindless display of "toughness on crime," regardless of whether the office being sought had anything to do with chastising criminals. It was not enough to be in favor of capital punishment for murderers, drug dealers, and high-profile perverts; to outflank one's opponent it was necessary also to oppose judicial appeals ("Frivolous!"). An extra plus was to demand not just hanging but preparatory drawing and quartering. When they had finished proclaiming their toughness on crime, each candidate vowed to cut taxes and decrease spending, but beef up support for every program that some constituent somewhere might favor. And if some question was raised about how this could be accomplished, they would mumble something about saving funds by not coddling killers.

Despite their common attachment to a low level of public discourse, these candidates didn't much care for each other. Or so it seemed from the barrels of vitriol they poured over

each other's heads. I had previously believed that no one could match my fourth grade teacher's petty vindictiveness, but these public servant wannabes matched his bile secretions drop by corrosive drop. Below-the-belt-politics? Hell, these blows were low enough to shatter ankles!

My name is not Pollyanna, so I can tolerate a level of political interchange considerably less than Ciceronian. But

the final straw was when one legislative race descended into a brawl concerning how many elections in which the Republican candidate had declined to exercise his franchise. "If he doesn't vote at home, how can you rely on him to vote in the House?" was one ad writer's catchy contribution.

"Doesn't vote . . . doesn't vote . . ." — it was a simple tune I couldn't get out of my mind. I asked: Do I really

want to associate myself symbolically with these manifestations of the democratic spirit? Answering wasn't difficult. Election day came and went without my making a pilgrimage to the polls. I do continue to hope that the snow will be efficiently removed from the roads this winter, but it will have to be done without any electoral involvement from me. I've already been snowed enough. □

R.W. Bradford, "A Crisis of Faith," *continued from page 24*

human liberty is Senator Phil Gramm of Texas. In a press conference the day after the election, Gramm told reporters:

It is not going to be easy to reverse 40 years of government policy. It is not going to be easy to reform a program like welfare. It is not going to be easy to ask and demand that the 40 million people riding in the wagon get out of the wagon and help the rest of us pull it. But it's something that has to be done if we're going to save our country. The American people are for it. They have given us the mandate to do it. They have sent us eleven new Republicans who are going to come into Washington like Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders, and they are not going to be of a mind to cut some type of a deal with Bill Clinton to raise taxes half as much, to increase spending half as much, and to implement half as

many new government regulations. They are going to be coming to Washington to reverse that process, to cut government spending, to reduce regulations to let working people keep more of what they earn.

Those are powerful words. But we've heard powerful words before, only to see those who spoke powerfully compromise and the government continue to grow. Gramm seems aware of this danger:

I am willing to compromise with the president as long as we're moving in the right direction. If we're talking about compromise where we meet the president halfway in moving in the right direction, that's a compromise that I'm willing to consider. But I am not willing to compromise meeting the president halfway and going in the wrong direction. Why should we want to go

halfway in the wrong direction?

If the Republicans or some new party can find the courage and the intelligence to articulate to the American people that the way to return to permanent prosperity and a free and open society is to return to the principle of self-reliance and individual responsibility by cutting spending, cutting taxes, eliminating regulation, restoring civil liberties, and re-establishing property rights, then the future of our country can be greater than its past. But if no one finds that vision, if no one has the necessary courage, if no one articulates the policies that are needed, then the U.S. can look forward to a period of lengthy decline of the sort that has turned Britain from the wealthiest nation on Earth at the beginning of this century to the poverty-laden welfare state it is today. □

Reflections, *continued from page 14*

hapless DJs at low-watt community stations around the country from airing his shows whenever their usual programming fountains run dry. The man has achieved a kind of immortality through his scattered recordings; a decade from now, he'll still be playing himself out over one tiny station or another. And no one will be able to tell the difference.

I'm sorry. That was mean. But it's also true. For as long as I've been

reading it, *The Progressive* has been repetitious and dull. It is occasionally spiced up by some good journalism, yes, but it usually offers little more than the tired leftism of a graying college sophomore. (There is one important exception to this: Knoll's *Progressive* has always been a stronghold of First Amendment absolutism, a position that is, alas, no longer fashionable among the sophomoric cadre.) Indeed, the magazine and its editor have been

saying the same old thing for so many years, he could have been sending out ten-year-old interviews to radio stations *before* he died and no one would have been the wiser.

Knoll preached his gospel of Old Left socialism (leavened by a bit of mod multiculturalism) from one of the rare remaining preserves where his opinions would turn few heads: Madison, Wisconsin. And now he's dead. His passing is an unhappy event, not only in the sense that any decent man's death is sad, but because it means the departure from this planet of a crusty old anachronism. And I have a soft spot in my heart for crusty anachronisms of all political stripes.

—JW

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The *Liberty* Interview

Russo and Revolution

*film producer turned politician Aaron Russo
explains why he is working to create a new libertarian party*

Aaron Russo burst upon the political scene earlier this year with a call for Americans to organize a new political party. But the Constitution Party he has proposed on talk-radio programs from coast to coast has an agenda a lot like the Libertarian Party's, which raises the question of why he believes a new party is needed.

Russo's first job was with his father's lingerie business in 1967: "I was designing ladies' bikini panties," he says. But then he moved from New York to Chicago, where he opened the Kinetic Playground, a rock music club. Before long, he was a major music promoter. In 1971, he met Bette Midler and began to manage her career. He produced a Tony-winning Broadway play and an Emmy-winning television special, both showcasing Midler's talents, before turning to Hollywood. His first film, *The Rose*, also starring Midler, was nominated for four Oscars. His second film, *Trading Places*, was a major hit. After producing two more Hollywood films at major studios, he returned to New York to work as an independent film producer. He then directed *Rude Awakening*, a commercial and critical failure — Roger Ebert awarded it zero stars and suggested that "the perpetrators of this film should seek out new directions."

After producing two more movies and retiring briefly to Tahiti, Russo took Ebert's advice and turned his attention — at least partially — to politics.

Russo spoke with *Liberty's* political correspondent, Chester Alan Arthur, on November 12, four days after the 1994 election.

Liberty: Why did the Republicans do so well on Tuesday?

Russo: Oh, boy. I think they did well because people are terrified of Big Brother. People revolted against the fact that Clinton tried to put out all these leftist policies. The fact that Clinton tried to pass the health bill was a big problem for a lot of Americans. I think this crime bill and the gun ban were enormous problems. There are militias forming all over this country to fight the federal government so they can keep their guns.

And I don't know if the Republicans can do any better.

I think the Republicans and Democrats are both the same party, with just a few minor differences. I think that the Right is going to make certain that the government gets a little bit smaller. They'll probably save a few dollars on taxes. But they're not going to eliminate taxes. They're not going to stop the trend of big government.

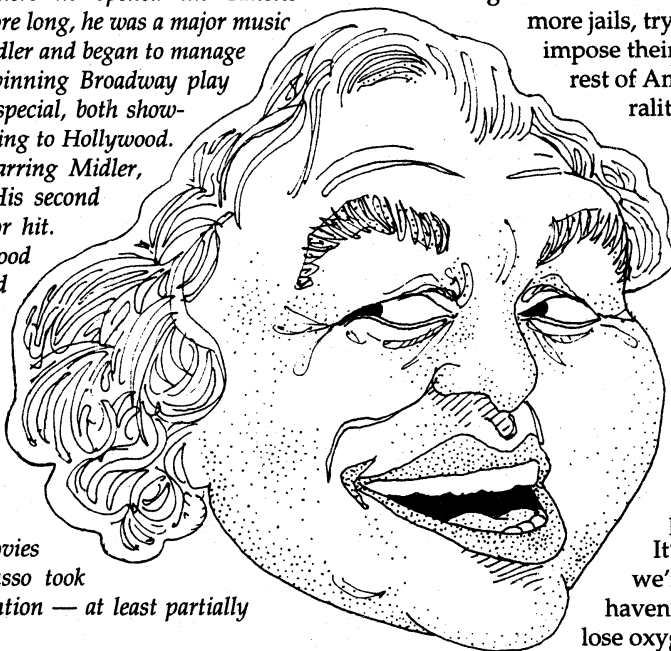
I'm very scared because I think the Republicans are going to come in and impose lots of restrictions, build more jails, try to arrest more people, and try to impose their will and their morality on the rest of America. The Left imposes their morality and the Right imposes their morality. No one recognizes that we're all individual people and we have our own morality, and government doesn't have the right to impose its morality on us.

Liberty: That has something to do with your attempt to launch the Constitution Party. You've been working on it for three months now. What progress have you made?

Russo: Starting a new political party is like climbing Mt. Everest. It's like we start up a mountain, we're doing real well so far, but we haven't hit the heights where we can lose oxygen. People seem to be responding to the idea of the party. They understand what the name of the party implies and what we're about.

We're doing really well, but we're fighting difficulties with the very far Right because we don't oppose abortion. I've taken on the right-wing fundamentalist Christians, and we're not going to kowtow to their ideas about abortion and homosexuality and drugs and those areas of morality. They think that they have a right to legislate morality. We don't. We've also had a problem with the very far Left, who believe in the redistribution of wealth, banning guns, stuff like that. But everywhere in-between, we're doing great.

We've been getting thousands and thousands of calls, and people are signing up very quickly. Never having been



in this position before, I don't know how to judge it exactly except that people are very enthusiastic. We're getting lots of volunteers.

Liberty: How many members do you have?

Russo: Between two and three thousand. That's in three months' time.

Liberty: Where are your members coming from?

Russo: My doing radio talk shows, mostly, and giving speeches in different places. I did a speech with *National Review* a couple of weeks ago, and got a standing ovation. I just gave a speech to all the alternative medicine doctors.

Liberty: Are you the Constitution Party's only spokesman?

Russo: So far. We're going to have to get more spokesmen because I obviously can't do the whole thing. But the party wasn't even supposed to be announced until after this election. It came out ahead of time and we've been trying to play catch up. In a way we're ahead of the game but in a way we weren't ready for what happened so quickly.

Liberty: How many states are you organized in?

Russo: We have coordinators in around 15 states and we have more people signing up. We have members in almost every state, so we're trying to decide which are the right people to be state coordinators in those particular states.

Liberty: Have you gotten the Constitution Party registered in California as a political party?

Russo: We're doing that, yes.

Liberty: Are you attracting people who have political experience?

Russo: Yes, we're getting some. We're getting mostly people who see the fact that there is no party out there for them to vote for, there's no one who is really there promoting our values. I guess the closest people are the Libertarians and a lot of people just don't want to be Libertarians, so they're coming to us.

Liberty: How's your program different from the Libertarian Party's program?

Russo: First of all there's the difference in terms of effectiveness. The Libertarians have had 23 years to be effective, and in my view they've failed. Ross Perot did in one year what they haven't done in 23 years. In this last election, the LP did nothing. As a matter of fact, in the state of Pennsylvania, the woman who ran for governor ran on a platform which is basically the platform of the Constitution Party, and she got almost 13% of the vote. The Libertarian candidate got less than 1%.

I think their *name* is a tremendous hindrance to them. People think it means "liberal" or "libertine." People don't understand that it stands for liberty. People don't even know what liberty means! Packaging is very important in today's world, and I don't think the Libertarians know how to package themselves well.

Also, I think one of the key differences between us and the Libertarians is the perception of us. The Libertarian Party is perceived as a bunch of intellectual, egg-headed people that the common man can't relate to. The perception of our party is that we're here to defend the Constitution of the United States and to restore it to its proper role as the law of the land.

Liberty: Okay, so you have a different image. But what about differences in the program you advocate?

Russo: We don't believe in GATT. The Libertarians have en-

dorsed GATT and they've endorsed NAFTA. We're against both of those. We're against open immigration, which the Libertarian Party is for.

Liberty: What immigration restrictions do you favor?

Russo: Before I can tell you what restrictions I favor, I have to do the appropriate research. All I'm saying is that I do not favor open immigration. What restrictions there should be I can't tell you that at this moment.

Liberty: Does the Constitution authorize restrictions on immigration?

Russo: Not that I'm aware of.

Liberty: If the Constitution doesn't authorize them, why do you favor them?

Russo: I think that it's impossible to have 100 million people come into this country and have the country be run properly. I think it's an impossible situation. I think if you eliminate welfare, you're going to eliminate the real problem of immigration, because people aren't going to be coming here on a free ride. So I think it almost becomes a moot point. Once entitlement programs are eliminated, then the immigration problem will cease to exist for the most part. But there have to be limits somewhere.

Liberty: It seems to me that you've made two different suggestions. On the one hand, you say we should have some kind of legislative restrictions; on the other, you say if we get rid of entitlements, the problem will solve itself.

Russo: What I'm saying to you is this: If you get rid of entitlement programs, then I don't believe immigration will be a problem any longer. But if that theory is wrong, and immigration remained a problem, then you still must draw a line at some point. You can't let 200 million people come. If there is no welfare here, but all of a sudden there's a problem in another country and everybody decides to come to America because it's open, and some absurd number of people want to come here, you just cannot allow it.

The only way I would agree with the libertarians about having an open border is if the whole world were living under the same philosophy and we weren't such a stand-out attracting everybody. But if we are the freest country in the world, and we're living under the philosophy of the Constitution Party or Libertarian Party, billions of people are going to want to come here.

Liberty: What do you think of Harry Browne's candidacy for president?

Russo: I think Harry Browne is a very intelligent man. As a matter of fact, he's probably the first person who got me involved in investing. *How to Profit From the Coming Devaluation* had a remarkable effect on my life and my career. When I read it, I understood everything he was saying and I totally agreed with him. I read *How I Found Freedom in an Unfree World*. He amazed me even further, I think he's a brilliant man. I have an enormous respect for the man. But I don't think he can run for the presidency and succeed.

Liberty: Why is that?

Russo: I don't want to say anything negative about Harry Browne.

Liberty: Would he make a good candidate for your party?

Russo: I'd have to sit down and talk to him before answering

that question honestly. I just don't think Harry Browne is well enough known to become a national candidate. He sets a good example for the kind of party you want and what the party stands for. However, I don't think Harry Browne is a good candidate if you want to win an election. He's a good candidate if he wants his position to be understood by people, but I don't think he's going to win an election for anybody. But I'd love to have Browne involved in the Constitution Party. I have an enormous respect for the guy.

Liberty: But probably not as a presidential candidate?

Russo: I would have to put that in the context of the choices that I have.

Liberty: You say you want someone with a high profile as a candidate.

Russo: Yes.

Liberty: Do you have anyone in particular in mind? Do you have anyone involved?

Russo: I have somebody in mind, but not involved. I have a ticket that I'd like to put together, but it's nowhere near happening yet.

Liberty: Does this mean you can't tell me who it is?

Russo: I'd rather not say it.

Liberty: Are you going to pursue cooperation with the Libertarian Party?

Russo: Sure.

Liberty: How?

Russo: I don't know. When I say "sure," what I'm saying is that I'm open to that. I'm not sure anything is going to happen.

Liberty: Have you had any talks with officials in the Libertarian Party?

Russo: I've spoken with a number of people who have come to us. As a matter of fact, the Colorado chapter of the Libertarian Party wrote a very nice story about us. I've been speaking to them.

Liberty: Obviously there are some similarities between your efforts and Ross Perot's. What are the differences between what you are trying to do and what he has done?

Russo: Well, first of all, he's got a lot more money than we do. (Laughs.) I've never seen a platform from Ross Perot, so it's hard to know what our differences are. I know that I've been told, and I've never seen this or heard it myself, that Ross Perot said we should throw out the Constitution; that's one of our biggest problems, having a Constitution. If he said that, that's obviously a big area of disagreement between us.

The only place I know I agree with Ross Perot is in getting rid of the deficit. We're certainly in agreement with that, but not in the same way. Perot wants to raise taxes to solve the problem. If you raise taxes in this country, it would be a disaster. We're heading as it is right now into a severe deflationary scenario in this country, and if you raise taxes, deflation will accelerate and you could have a depression in this country worse than the 1930s, because the debt is much, much larger. Right now, the debt in this country is so large that to finance the debt, we have to keep re-inflating.

As we inflate to finance the debt, the bond market sees

it and bucks forward, bringing interest rates up higher, creating more deflation, and acting as a governor on the inflation. So as the bond market sees inflation starting, it starts to crack, and as the bond market starts to crack, losses start mounting into the billions of dollars. It's like money going into a black hole, stopping the inflation and creating further deflation.

My feeling is that this country is going to enter into a massive deflation in the next couple years and the thing that we have to do to prevent that and to fight that is to get rid of taxes. Eliminate taxes to help fight the deflationary scenario. Ross Perot wants to raise taxes to get rid of the deficit. The only place that I know that we're in agreement with Ross Perot is to get rid of the debt. I don't know the rest of his

I think the Republicans are going to impose lots of restrictions, build more jails, try to arrest more people, and try to impose their will and their morality on the rest of America.

platform and I know we certainly don't agree on how to get rid of the debt.

Liberty: There are two ways to get rid of the debt. One is to pay it back and the other is to repudiate it. Which do you favor?

Russo: I favor paying it back, obviously. If you repudiate it, you're in a very difficult situation if you ever need to raise debt again. And you should always pay off your debts. However, that has to be done by downsizing the federal government: selling off a lot of the federal government's assets, not national assets. Once you start paying down the debt, you can start wiping out the interest payments. You get rid of the entitlement programs.

Liberty: What is the distinction between federal government assets and national assets?

Russo: National assets are like Yellowstone National Park.

Liberty: Well, the federal government owns about 85% of Nevada.

Russo: I'd like to know what they own. I don't see how they can own 85% of Nevada. How could they get to own 85% of Nevada? Under the Constitution, the federal government only owns Washington, Guam, Puerto Rico, and certain territories. How could they own 85% of Nevada? I don't understand that. According to the Constitution, it's not feasible. I doubt that they really own 85% of Nevada. As a matter of fact, I understand there was just a big showdown in Nevada on July 4, where one of the county commissioners in Nevada was going to build a county road and the federal government came to him . . . have you heard about this yet?

Liberty: Fill me in.

Russo: The federal government came to this gentleman and said you can't build a county road there, it's government land. He said, "Bullshit, it's county land." They said if you try to build it, we're going to stop you. He said, "8:00, July 4th, I'm going to build that road." The federal government

showed up, they told him not to build it. He said, "I'm going to build this road." They went back to their cars, got their guns out, and said, "Don't build it." The sheriff was there from the county and a bunch of ranchers, and they all pulled their guns on the feds, and the feds left. This is happening all over America. Counties are taking back their rights, taking back their land. Where does it say that the federal government owns the land?

Liberty: Where does it say that the federal government owns Yellowstone National Park?

Russo: They don't. That's what I'm saying.

Liberty: I'm sorry, I thought you said that was a national asset that you were going to have the federal government keep.

Russo: What I said was I don't consider Yellowstone National Park a federal asset, I consider it a national asset of that state, but that people from all over America can go visit it. Better put, it's a national treasure and not an asset. The fed-

The Libertarian Party is perceived as a bunch of intellectual, egg-headed people that the common man can't relate to.

eral government doesn't own Yellowstone National Park in my opinion. Under the Constitution the federal government owns Washington, D.C., that ten square miles.

Liberty: Do you favor privatizing some of the national parks and other federal land?

Russo: I haven't thought about that, honestly. When you say "privatizing," what do you mean?

Liberty: I mean selling them off. That would be one way to pay off the national debt.

Russo: But they can only sell it off if the federal government owns it. My feeling is that the states own the property, and the federal government cannot sell any of that off.

Liberty: So you're talking about paying off the national debt through taxes.

Russo: I'm talking about paying off the national debt through downsizing the federal government. Selling off the federal government assets, whatever they may be. I don't know what assets the federal government has. I'd like to know how much gold we have in Fort Knox. There hasn't been an order of that gold in years.

Liberty: What about the question of money? The Constitution prohibits states from making anything but gold or silver legal tender. It grants Congress the right to coin money.

Russo: It grants the Treasury the right to coin money.

Liberty: I believe it's listed in Section 8 as one of the powers granted Congress. What sort of money do you think the United States should have?

Russo: Sound money, intrinsically valuable whether it's gold and silver, or some combination of intrinsic money that makes it have a value, so that the dollar bill is only a receipt for something more valuable. The dollar shouldn't be the money in and of itself. You should always be able to trade in that receipt to get something real for it. The fact that the government can arbitrarily print money is a disgrace. Things

can't function that way for long.

Liberty: Has the Constitution Party recruited any high-profile people?

Russo: Julian Whitaker is the latest recruit. He's very high-profile in the alternative medicine movement. He's just joined now and has become one of our founding members, and he's writing about us in his medical newsletter. We're getting all of the alternative medicine doctors to come with us. We're focusing on them, we're focusing on the gun groups, and we're focusing on the hard money people, and on the drug people.

Liberty: Does the party have a staff in place?

Russo: Yes.

Liberty: How many people?

Russo: It's not a huge staff. We have eight people that work here on and off. And I'm always here. And we have people in different states working. I've never actually made a tally of how many people are working for the party.

Liberty: Does the Constitution Party intend to contest races for state legislature and governorships, or is it just a federal party?

Russo: This is such a monumental task that we're focusing on the presidential elections in '96. However, many of our people have been calling us and saying they want the party to challenge senators and members of the House in '96. We haven't committed to that yet, but if the growth of the party is big enough, I'm sure we'll be doing it.

Liberty: When you say "we" haven't made a decision yet, who's "we"?

Russo: The people in the party, the founders and every member of the party. This is going to be a grass-roots movement with everybody in the party taking a part in it. If it doesn't happen that way, if they don't get involved, the party will ultimately fail.

Liberty: You bring some skills as an impresario to this. I understand that your early career involved the management and promotion of rock music. Did this experience prepare for launching the CP?

Russo: I would think so.

Liberty: Who'd you work with?

Russo: The Who, Led Zeppelin, Grateful Dead, Janis Joplin, everybody. I used to promote the shows.

Liberty: Whereabouts?

Russo: Chicago and Detroit and St. Louis. Do you remember Bill Graham? They used to call him Hertz and me Avis. He was number one in the rock promotion business and I was number two. I controlled the midwest and Bill controlled the coasts.

Liberty: How'd you get started?

Russo: I got a job in New York at a club called the Electric Circus, and they made me a manager. At first I was a gopher. It was like a psychedelic nightclub in 1968. From there I learned the business, and then left for Chicago and became incredibly successful.

In Chicago I got my first taste of what big government can do during the Democratic convention in '68. My club was the club for the hippies, and the cops raided my club and beat the shit out of me and a bunch of kids in the club. The Chicago police were like the Gestapo. They could come

in and do whatever they goddamn pleased. Nobody cared what they did and nobody paid attention to it. They came into my club like stormtroopers, beat the hell out of people, split kids' heads open with clubs, even if they offered no resistance. I went on television and screamed about it, and nobody cared!

After a few years I forgot about it. But as I grew older and wiser I began to see that what happened in Chicago was happening in all of America. The police have total control of our lives.

Liberty: When did you first become politically active? Did the events of 1968 get you started?

Russo: No. I was a 24-year-old kid then. I was a pseudo-hippie.

Liberty: What does that mean?

Russo: It means I was involved with the hippies. I wasn't living the life of a hippie, but I had the style of a hippie.

Liberty: You mean you actually had an apartment?

Russo: Exactly. I wasn't living on the street, and I wasn't at Haight-Ashbury. But I sympathized with the hippie movement.

Liberty: Have you been involved with the Republicans or Democrats or any other party?

Russo: Never. Never. I've never been involved in politics before. I've never registered Republican or Democrat. I'm one of those people who was never active in politics.

Liberty: Were you registered at all?

Russo: I didn't register at all, no.

Liberty: Oh, wow. So you've never voted in a presidential election?

Russo: I think the only time I voted was for John Kennedy. He was the only one I've ever wanted to vote for. They always say that if you don't vote, you're not doing your duty, and I don't believe that. My philosophy is that if there is no one to vote for then you shouldn't vote, because they perpetuate the system by everybody saying they voted and that they've done as much as they can do. If nobody showed up to vote, that would send a strong message!

Liberty: Getting back to your personal history . . .

Russo: After Chicago I moved back to New York and met Bette Midler. She consumed my life for the next nine years or so. At that point I just worked on Bette. That's when I read Harry Browne's book and got involved in the gold market, the silver market, and started understanding finances.

Liberty: You produced Midler's first film?

Russo: In the '70s I thought that she should play Broadway, so I produced *Clams on a Half-Shell*, which won a Tony. Then I produced a TV show she did with Dustin Hoffman called *O! Red Hair Is Back*, for which I won an Emmy. And then I produced *The Rose* for her, which got her an Academy Award nomination.

Liberty: A real string of successes.

Russo: Oh yeah. And then we went on a world tour, and after that tour she and I split up. We were together from '71-'79. Then I went over to Paramount and made *Trading Places*, which was an enormous hit. Since then I've just been rolling around.

Liberty: What other films have you made?

Russo: I made another big movie called *Teachers* with Nick Nolte, and *Wise Guys* with Danny DeVito, and then I directed a movie called *Rude Awakening*, which was my first directing job and I loved doing. If I can ever get out of politics I'll go back to directing movies.

Liberty: How did *Rude Awakening* do?

Russo: Not very well. It got some tremendous critical applause, but it didn't do well financially.

Liberty: What have you done since then? I read about a couple of HBO films, one called *Off and Running*.

Russo: That was something with Cyndi Lauper. I also made a movie called *Missing Pieces*. Orion, my distributor, went bankrupt and it was never released.

Liberty: I heard that you are working on a film about the IRS. What stage is this in?

Russo: I've hired a writer, Paul Haypenney, and he's writing a script. We've met with a few people in the tax movement — Larry Beecraft from Alabama, Kenny Royce, and a number of other people who are very familiar with the IRS. We're

If you and I are walking down the street and we see a homeless person, do I have the right to put my hand in your pocket and give him your money? Of course I don't. And neither does the government.

writing a script about what the IRS is really about. I think it's going to be an Academy Award movie for me.

Liberty: When do you think it will reach production?

Russo: The script should be done in six to eight weeks, and then we'll take it out to different stars and get it packaged. I want to tie this in with what I'm doing with the party.

Liberty: I read somewhere you personally have IRS problems. Any truth to this?

Russo: Where'd you read that?

Liberty: In of the trade papers.

Russo: That must of been a few years ago. When I moved to Tahiti, that rumor started, — people wondered why I left the country. There was no truth to it.

Liberty: Getting back to the Constitution Party. . . your platform calls for the United States having the strongest military in the world, but it eschews military interference in the affairs of other nations.

Russo: Absolutely.

Liberty: What do we need the strongest military in the world for if we're not going to interfere in other nations?

Russo: Defensive reasons. The prime purpose of the federal government is to defend the individuals of this country. It's for everybody's common good. If we're going to have a federal government that's there to defend us, it should be the finest in the world. But I also believe that it's not our place to be in Haiti, or anyplace else. We do not have a right to violate other nations' sovereignties.

Liberty: So you see a much smaller role for the federal government than it currently has.

Russo: (*Laughs.*) I wouldn't say much smaller. I'd say *dramatically* smaller!

Liberty: Let me check off some current issues. You've already told me your opinion about Haiti. What about health care?

Russo: I'd eliminate government involvement in it.

Liberty: What about crime?

Russo: I believe that there should be no such thing as a victimless crime. If there is no victim, there is no crime. If somebody wants to smoke pot or shoot heroin, that's their own

As far as we're concerned, there should be the total elimination of the IRS. There should be no more income tax.

business. It's their life, and government doesn't have the right to legislate morality.

They're the most immoral people of all, the people running our government. They don't have the *authority* to legislate morality. They don't have the right to legislate morality, they don't have the ability to legislate morality, and it's none of their goddamn business what people do with their own lives. People want to commit suicide, that's their life. People who want to do drugs, that's their business.

I think that government outlaws drugs because it gives them police powers, and they use drugs as a propaganda weapon to take over and control people's lives.

Liberty: What exactly should the government do? The only thing you've mentioned so far is defense.

Russo: It should provide a judiciary system. I'm talking about federal government, not local. The federal government's basic job should be the judiciary system and defense. I don't even think they should be running the postal service!

Liberty: You've got the federal government doing vastly less than it is today. That means it's going to cost a lot less, so that means presumably we're going to have a massive reduction in taxes. Can you give me an idea of what taxes you would reduce or cap?

Russo: As far as we're concerned, there should be the total elimination of the IRS. There should be no more income tax. There should be no more estate tax. The Constitution states very clearly that there should be no direct taxes, and we want to get back to that.

Liberty: Does that mean you want to get rid of the Sixteenth Amendment?

Russo: The Sixteenth Amendment, as you may or may not know, was never ratified. It's a totally illegal amendment. An amendment to the Constitution takes ratification by 75% of the states and two-thirds of the Congress. And the states never ratified the Sixteenth Amendment. It is a hoax and a fraud. We want to see the federal government acknowledge that it was never ratified and take it off the books. Even the Supreme Court has just said the Sixteenth Amendment gives the federal government no new taxing powers. Direct taxes are wrong, they're illegal, and they're a detriment to the people in this country.

Liberty: Are there any other amendments to the Constitution

that you think weren't legally ratified?

Russo: I understand that the thirteenth might have a problem. I've heard rumors concerning the fourteenth. But the only one that I can feel certain about is the sixteenth. Everything else I've been told about the other amendments I don't have any evidence for. On the sixteenth I've read the books and seen some first-hand documents that prove it.

Liberty: What taxes are you going to leave in place? Or will you create new taxes to replace the ones you abolish?

Russo: We would create a national sales tax, as defined by Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution, which says we have a right to have excise taxes. That would be fine: a very small national sales tax to take care of the military that this country needs. Hopefully, the national sales tax would be 2 or 3%.

Liberty: What about import duties?

Russo: Import duties are authorized by the Constitution, but I don't know if there's a need for them or not. That's something that we'd have to find out fiscally. They're not something I really like the idea of in my own philosophy, but we're trying to get back to the Constitution and the Constitution does allow them, so they would be something I'd be willing to swallow in order to get back to the Constitution. Once we get back to the Constitution, whatever amendments need to be looked at and passed to adjust it for today's world, we should do.

Liberty: Earlier, you mentioned that militias are being organized. How extensive is this phenomenon?

Russo: When I started this party, I didn't know about these militias. I started this party because I was fed up with the laws, the regulations. I've never been into guns myself, though I think you have the right to own a gun. It's your life, your right. Then I started this party. All of a sudden I started getting calls from all these militia people all across

I'm very scared there's going to be a serious uprising in this country. Because the government is just choking people.

the country who wanted to join the party, asking me about the party, what does it stand for. We lost a lot of them because we weren't right-wing Christian fundamentalists. We don't believe in homosexuals not having rights and we don't believe that Christian morality should be forced on everybody else. So we lost a lot of them. Of course, we believe that the Christians have a right to their own morality, just like other people have a right to theirs.

But what did happen was the militias started calling, and from what I can tell and from the knowledge I have, it seems to me that there are millions of men in the militias across the United States at this point. At least 30-40 states have called me already — in Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, several western states — I mean, there are militias all across the country, and there's millions of people in these militias, and I think that the militias are very happy that the Republicans won.

But I also think that they're going to find out that it's not going to matter much. I don't think it's going to prove to be their salvation. I'm very scared there's going to be a serious uprising in this country. Because the government is just choking people.

Liberty: When you say "serious uprising," do you mean a violent uprising?

Russo: Yeah, that's what I'm afraid of. I certainly hope it doesn't happen. The Constitution Party is here to do things in a peaceful manner. We're trying to give people a choice so it doesn't get violent. These militia guys are saying to me that if the Constitution Party doesn't work, then there's going to be violence. As I understand it, there are many U.N. soldiers on American territory training to fight these militias. There are detention camps being built to put people away.

Liberty: Where are these camps?

Russo: I don't know.

Liberty: What makes a country a police state?

Russo: In a free country you have a right to be left alone as long as you don't hurt anybody else. You have a right to live your own life peacefully and enjoy your property, and to be free from government interference.

In a police state, the government can legally ransack your house; they can come into your business; they can take whatever you own; they can assault you with impunity; they have no accountability. In a free society, government can't do that. And we're not a free society any more. People have to recognize that.

Liberty: How did you react to the events in Waco?

Russo: It got me crazy. It just blew my mind. There's a bunch of people, minding their own business, they've done nothing wrong, they have their own little church, their own community, everybody's there because they want to be there, nobody's being coerced. Everybody is there of their own free will, and have a life they liked! And all of a sudden the government decides to come in and destroy these people. They used CS gas on these people. Do you know CS gas is banned? It's not even allowed to be used in wartime. And these are little children, and they shoot these people, they kill these people. The government fired first, they came in with helicopters and machine guns. They used army weapons against civilians. All this stuff is illegal, it's not allowed. And they lied, they manipulated the press. What really killed me is, with all the stuff that happened, the press doesn't report any of it! It just showed how manipulated the press was — they were dupes!

Liberty: I understand you are thinking of doing some kind of movie about Waco.

Russo: Yes. It's not as far along as I'd like it to be. I'm going to make David Koresh a hero in my Waco movie.

Liberty: Did you see the TV movie?

Russo: What a disaster. That was so disgusting. That's what I mean about propaganda. This is what's happening in America. It infuriates me.

It makes me nuts that people are actually being fooled by this. I had dinner a week ago with a friend of mine, and I was telling him that militias are forming. He started laughing at me like I was an idiot!

Liberty: Are you investing your own money in the Constitution Party?

Russo: Of course I am.

Liberty: Is your commitment for the long term? Just how far do you intend to go with this?

Russo: If the time ever comes where this thing isn't going to happen, and people just don't give a shit, and people are too apathetic — if that should ever happen, at that point, I don't know what I'll do. I do know that I can't think about that yet, because everything is working so well at this point.

I just want my kids to be free. Look at the crime bill, for example. The government can now come in and say: we're suspicious of you, and we're going to investigate you, and because we're doing so, we're going to take away your as-

We're not a free society any more. People have to recognize that.

sets, your house, car, money. We're selling it, dividing up all the proceeds among the different agencies, so we can investigate you. And we're not charging you with anything, and you haven't been convicted of anything, but we're taking your whole life's work. Now what the fuck is that? There's no more due process of law. The fact that the government can do that to us means that *we are now in a police state*, whether we want to recognize it or not. That's what has to stop. That's why I'm building this party.

They come in and take your house because you're smoking pot. Who gives them this authority? I don't. You have to work for the government from January to July. You're their slave! This has to stop because they don't have the legal authority to do this. The only reason they do this is because they have the guns and the weapons. This is why they want to take away everybody else's guns, just like Hitler did, so they can enforce these rules on us, and make us live by their code, be it Democratic or Republican. It's big government's code.

I want to stop this assault on our freedoms in this country. I want this country to be free and sovereign, and for my children to have a future here again. And I want to see the income tax repealed. Do you know what would happen if the income tax were repealed? All of a sudden, business would flourish, it would skyrocket. There would be millions and millions of jobs created. The welfare lines would be decreased dramatically. The unemployment lines would go down. You'll have a small bunch of people who would need help, and charity should take care of that. We don't need redistribution of wealth. We don't need welfare! That's ridiculous.

If you and I are walking down the street and we see a homeless person, do I have the right to put my hand in your pocket and give him your money? Of course I don't. And neither does the government. *It has nothing to do with government!*

All this stuff has to stop. That's why I'm starting this party. We've got to say to the government: "FUCK YOU! WE'RE NOT GOING TO TAKE THIS SHIT!" □

Free Speech, Blah, Blah

by Brian Taylor

Loose lips and tight asses in the war against (some) censorship.

Dave Gentry, conservative president of the recently founded First Amendment Coalition, claims that his organization is trying to recruit moderates, centrists, and leftists. "I'm always reminding people that we're a centrist organization," said Gentry. "We do not take a position on immigration, gun control, or homosexuality, but will sponsor debates on these issues."

Maybe so. But I'm the president of the Binghamton University chapter of First Amendment Coalition, and while I don't consider myself a conservative, I sure do feel like I'm in a minority.

FAC recently merged with the Individual Rights Foundation (IRF) and the Center for the Study of Popular Culture (CSPC). The CSPC is a right-wing group headed by radicals-turned-conservatives David Horowitz and Peter Collier. The IRF was founded in 1992 by Horowitz and John Howard. It has over 300 affiliate lawyers across the country committed to "defending First Amendment rights in the academy" by suing universities. A typical IRF case was their recent defense of a UC-Riverside fraternity accused of producing an offensive T-shirt; the frat was exonerated and campus administrators were forced to attend a "First Amendment sensitivity seminar."

On October 28 and 29, I attended a "Censorship on Campus" gala at Columbia University sponsored by FAC and the IRF. Other participating organizations included the Intercolle-

giate Studies Institute, Young America's Foundation, the Madison Center for Educational Affairs, Accuracy in Academia, the College Republican National Committee, the National Association of Scholars, and Delta Kappa Epsilon. In all, about 130 students participated.

Talkers, Talkers, Everywhere, and Not a Stop to Think

As is typical at academic conferences, most of the speakers had impressive titles but less-than-impressive things to say.

Take Ron Robinson. The president of Young America's Foundation did a fine job suppressing his sense of humor — assuming that he has one to suppress. He was mostly concerned with the "monopolistic mentality of the Left," going on incessantly about their efforts to restrict two essential, highbrow conservative mediums: talk radio and direct mail.

After he spoke, U-Penn's Dan Schorr gave a short address, from which I recall only two slogans: "Don't do to our children what our parents are doing to us" and "This is not the end, and definitely not the be-

ginning, nor the end of the beginning, but maybe the beginning of the end." I was perplexed by the first statement, which was supposed to refer to speech codes. I don't presume to speak for Schorr's family, but I'm fairly confident my parents haven't penned any speech regulations recently. His second statement, of course, was simply Churchill made incoherent.

Then came Berkeley's Scott Yent. The free speech movement of the '60s began at Berkeley, he pointed out, but it didn't get far. Now an ambiguous speech code is in place. A particularly obscure clause in it holds up the "ordinary" person as a standard. "Who's 'ordinary' at Berkeley?" asked Yent. "I was roommates with 'the naked guy.'"

After that, Peter Collier took the mike and feigned surprise when he "realized" that he was preaching to the converted. This shock didn't prevent him from remembering his talk. If leftists were really concerned with diversity, he said, they would seek out fundamentalist Christians and outspoken pro-life women to serve as faculty members. I can't speak for the leftists, but I know I wouldn't pursue

contact with those groups; it's bad enough when I run into them by accident.

Then, either for balance or the appearance thereof, left-liberal *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen gave an address emphasizing the importance of sensitivity when discussing minorities and other "historically underrepresented groups." He also gave etiquette advice, counseling a young woman in the front row that it was not polite to hiss at him. Some in the audience were visibly shaken when he told a North-Central Florida student that he was insensitive. The student had refused to remove a confederate flag flying over his fraternity house, despite repeated requests from offended minorities to do just that.

Later, attorney Edward Cleary defended what he called "the right to offend." Cleary had successfully argued *R.A.V. vs St. Paul* — the "cross-burning case" — before the Supreme Court. In its decision, the Court decided that the

Peter Collier took the mike and said that if leftists were really concerned with diversity they would seek out fundamentalist Christians and outspoken pro-life women to serve as faculty members.

government may not engage in "viewpoint discrimination." In other words, it can't single out one set of fighting words that express bias while not punishing others.

Cleary's talk was interesting and intelligent, but he forgot to bash the Left. We'll see if he gets invited to the next conference.

The presentations rolled on, and on, and on. David Eastlick, Jr., executive director of Delta Kappa Epsilon, explained why "fat, dumb, happy guys drinking beer" are the answer to campus censorship, claiming that "fraternities are the last bastion of heterodoxy, the last place on campus where you have free speech." The way to overcome campus repression, he suggested, is a conservative-fraternity alliance.

(Nothing like a bunch of drunk frat boys to spice up Nock's Remnant, eh?) The other speakers weren't much more interesting. *Daily News* columnist Jim Sleeper argued that multiculturalists should value American civic culture, because that is what allows them to protest against it. "Try to protest Islamic culture in an Islamic country," he suggested, on the odd chance that someone in the audience was not already in agreement with him.

Tales From the Frontlines — Sort Of

Next came the fun part: hand-picked students scaring the audience with politically correct horror stories. Gentry had spoken to me before the gathering about the possibility of my speaking at this point, but never got back to me. At the conference, I spied a tag embossed with a name suspiciously similar to my own, and asked a friend what it meant. "It means you're speaking," he replied. He was right.

About an hour later, I was telling the audience about P.C. at Binghamton. One example: 70 or so militant youths and their professors chanting, yelling, and reciting bad poetry as they "occupied" the administration building for a couple of days. They were clearly amateurs, as they neglected to assign anyone to guard the doors, allowing secretaries and others to enter and exit the building at will. Their demand: a more stringent "diversity requirement." Here's part of their proposal:

Harpur College [part of Binghamton University] requires that all students take two diversity courses to ensure that students encounter and understand the social construction of human diversity and the consequences of that construction. "Human diversity" refers to the differences which have hitherto been underrepresented in the traditional U.S. curriculum: that is, differences conventionally expressed by such categories as race, gender, religion, nationality, sexuality, class, and culture as well as their interrelations and intersections. Not only do these courses consider as central to the social construction of human diversity the asymmetries of power in structures of oppression, but also resistances to the hierarchical relations of dominance.

Because Binghamton is a state school and the diversity proposal requires teaching from a particular political view, it has been argued that the requirement is unconstitutional. Its proponents do not care. Neither, to tell you the truth, do I. The Constitution may read well, but on a practical level, it's failed to protect our freedoms.

The Constitution may read well, but on a practical level, it's failed to protect our freedoms. After all, it didn't prevent slavery, the New Deal, the Great Society, or Spam.

After all, it didn't prevent slavery, the New Deal, the Great Society, or Spam. I'm an outspoken critic of the diversity requirement, not because it's unconstitutional, but because there's not much else at my university worth protesting.

Other students told their anti-P.C. tales. Students from Swarthmore College's Conservative Union reported their attempt to fly the American flag over their campus last year, only to see it removed on the grounds that it is "a symbol of oppression and exploitation." The flag had been prohibited on campus since the '60s, and the administration demanded a student vote before allowing it to return. The motion carried by a vote of 376 to 239, and Swarthmore is once again a host to "oppression."

Mark Hardie, a black conservative student from the University of California at Riverside, told us about how he wrote a critical review of "gangsta rap" and picketed an appearance by Khalid Abdul Muhammad. For these actions, he and his family received numerous death threats. He was also called "Uncle Clarence Thomas" and an "oreo."

Delgado Dunks Hentoff

At the end of the day, one of the few non-conservative civil libertarians present — *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff — debated University of Colorado law professor Richard Delgado over campus speech codes. Delgado, in proper debate form, presented clear,

sequential arguments: there was no empirical evidence that colleges with speech codes have suffered any harm; "a racial slur is not a point of view, but a slap in the face"; speech codes make a campus environment more hospitable; prompting others to change their language can effectively help them change their attitudes, which is a function of education; many forms of speech are already limited, such as fighting words, libel, slander, defamation, and copyright.

In rebuttal, Hentoff retold anecdotes from his book, *Free Speech for Me But Not for Thee*, used the word "star chamber" a lot, and generally didn't bother responding to Delgado's points. He would have done as well had he not shown up.

The debate was followed by a Q&A with the audience. "Mr. Delgado," a young woman asked benignly, "if I was arguing with my boyfriend in his campus dorm room and he called me a bitch, could I charge him with violating a speech code?"

"Yes," replied Delgado, prompting the audience to laugh in disbelief.

Delgado may be wrong, and Hentoff may be right, but Delgado still won the debate. Maybe Nat is in better form when he doesn't already have his audience in his pocket.

Another Day

When the next day's sessions began, half the students were adorned in suits and ties. The other half had slept in or never returned from a night on the town. Only the committed — and those who wanted another free meal — remained.

It was fortunate that few blacks, gays, and "women from Third World countries who were educated in France

and have become socialists" attended the conference: they would have received a chilly reception from speaker Tanya Daly. Daly, a senior program officer at the Madison Center for Education Affairs, oversees the 30 or so "independent" (read: conservative) college papers her group funds. She gave a pep talk that put many to sleep.

The next speaker was Robert Bullock, managing editor of *Campus*

By the time David Horowitz observed that "slavery did not destroy black families," the black and Latino wait staff had finished serving the lily-white audience, so I was unable to gauge their reaction.

Report, a nationwide college paper published by Accuracy in Academia. Bullock rambled on for a while about college curricula, making fun of a course on witchcraft, sorcery, and Ouija boards. (A perceptive student from Michigan muttered, "That sounds like Reaganomics.") He also inadvertently raised a few questions about his organization's name when he asserted that the Aztecs were conquered by Columbus. Even Cortez knows that Marco Polo was the one responsible.

Next, *American Spectator* editor-founder R. Emmett Tyrrell was to deliver a call to arms called "The Rise of the Intellectual Warrior Spirit," but he called in sick with the stomach flu instead. Someone allegedly in the know told me that this was a euphemism; according to him, Mr. Tyrrell is a drunk. I

neither know nor care whether this is true; anyone who helped bring us Troopergate deserves the benefit of the doubt.

Fair-Weather Libertarians

Over some cold pizza, I asked David Horowitz why the IRF didn't defend Berkeley's "naked guy."

"It's public indecency," he explained. "I don't want my grandchildren exposed to that."

"What if they want to see 'that'?" I asked.

"It doesn't matter," he replied.

At dinner, Horowitz gave the keynote address, in which he apoplectically declared that "it's the left-wing racists who have stoked the fire of racism and denigrated America." What, exactly, does this have to do with free speech and censorship? About as much as the rest of his talk. "Nobody is oppressed in America," proclaimed Horowitz, "If America is racist, why do all the Haitians want to come here? There is only one group being attacked in America — white males. Yet they take it and still achieve, they're the role model."

By the time he observed that "slavery did not destroy black families," the black and Latino wait staff had finished serving the lily-white audience, so I was unable to gauge their reaction. "Political correctness is anathema to the center," said Horowitz, "presenting a great opportunity for coalition-building." Perhaps. But there wasn't much coalition-building going on this weekend in Columbia. For decades, leftists defended the First Amendment when it favored them, only to embrace censorship when that was to their advantage. Today, the opportunistic defenders of free speech are to be found on the Right. □

Letters, continued from page 6

context are meaningful and not merely anthropomorphic drivel. But my preference for humane treatment of animals does not mean that I believe the animal is not being treated as a "pure means" when it is slaughtered, even if it is slaughtered relatively painlessly.

For the record, I value liberty because it optimizes human flourishing, not because it enables me to "do anything I want." Nor do I believe that other

people must never be treated as "pure means" because of "our uniqueness."

Contrary to diZerega's friends, I am no more decent than my argument implies — I take full credit for whatever indecency diZerega and others have discovered in my essay.

Pacifism vs Ignorance

Stephen Cox ("Kill for peace," November 1994) may be right about those

close to Clinton on the ideological spectrum who have refused to condemn the invasion of Haiti, but he is wrong about actual pacifists.

Specifically, the American Friends Service Committee, which he denounces as being "no place" on the issue, strongly condemned the invasion. My source: Rush Limbaugh, who read the AFSC press release on the air along with

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Back to Work

by Richard K. Vedder and Lowell E. Gallaway

U.S. labor policy creates and prolongs unemployment. It's time to give it its walking papers.

The word "unemployment" wasn't even invented until 1888. During the first three decades of this century, government did very little about unemployment. Indeed, government involvement in labor markets was negligible: there was no federal minimum wage, no Davis-Bacon Act,

no federal unemployment insurance, no anti-discrimination laws, no laws promoting unionization, no AFDC or food stamps. Policymakers did not try to "stimulate" the economy with "countercyclical" fiscal policy during downturns.

Since the 1930s, all this has changed. Unemployment has become a dominant topic of public policy debate throughout the industrialized world. We have tried to stimulate demand by increasing disposable income and lowering interest rates; we have created a myriad of regulations to "protect" workers on and off the job; we have built massive training programs; we have passed anti-discrimination laws; we have introduced massive transfer payments to alleviate the problems associated with being out of work. In short, we have created a welfare state.

These efforts have been mostly well-intentioned — and largely unsuccessful. Indeed, they have probably destroyed more jobs than they have created, lowering both productivity and income in the process. In the past three decades — the years of the most active intervention — the average unemployment rate has risen to nearly 6.1%. That's an increase of

nearly 30% over the 4.7% rate of this century's first three decades.

Some would argue that, despite this increase in unemployment, the negative consequences of joblessness have fallen because the government-provided safety net has made unemployment more bearable. This argument is weak. While it is true that unemployment insurance reduces the pain of being unemployed, it does so in a costly and inefficient fashion; a private system would do a far better job. Moreover, many Americans now have a new form of income protection: their spouses. The present unemployment compensation system was conceived in an era when two-worker households were rare. Today, few families face starvation if one member loses a job.

Other defenders of the status quo might argue that sharp fluctuations in unemployment are a thing of the past. But painstaking research by Christine Romer at Berkeley has shown that business fluctuations were no greater in the era prior to interventionist government policies than today.

In short, after expending much money and effort, we are left with

higher unemployment and no greater economic stability. On top of that, taxes are higher, and all the activism they are financing is crowding out private investment: while public spending as a percentage of total output has risen since the 1920s, private investment as a percent of total output has fallen. This drop has reduced our ability to modernize our capital stock, slowing productivity and, therefore, keeping the standard of living from rising as quickly as it could.

Creating Unemployment

In our book *Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth Century America*, we argue that unemployment results when the price of labor rises above a level that will clear labor markets. What we call the *adjusted real wage* will rise if money wages go up or if prices or productivity falls. Most of the book is given over to documenting that this relationship exists, and that many recessions were caused by well-intentioned but inappropriate government interventions that raised the price of labor.

It is instructive to compare the depression of 1920-21 to the Great

Depression of the 1930s. The 1920–21 downturn was, by most measures, more severe than the first six or seven quarters of the depression that followed 1929. Industrial production fell more, as did prices. Yet we recovered quickly from the 1920–21 downturn, while the Great Depression lingered for a decade.

What made the difference? In 1920–21, the government did little or nothing to end the recession. As the downturn began, President Woodrow Wilson had

This century's massive efforts to curb unemployment have destroyed more jobs than they have created, lowering both productivity and income in the process.

a stroke and refrained from intervention. (As one colleague once rather tastelessly put it, this was truly a stroke of luck.) He was replaced, five quarters into the downturn, by Warren Harding, who was committed to a policy of non-intervention.

Compare this with 1929. Within a month of the stock market crash, President Herbert Hoover summoned the nation's business leaders to a conference at the White House, where he urged them to keep wages high in order to stimulate consumption. They followed his advice, which resulted in higher unemployment, deteriorating corporate balance sheets, and a decline in ability to repay bank loans. This in turn brought down the market value of bank assets, leading to a decline in investor and then depositor confidence in banks, which in turn ultimately led to the banking crisis of late 1930. Compounding the high-wage folly were the Smoot-Hawley tariff, deflationary policies at the Fed, and a large increase in the income tax.

In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt was elected president on a platform of fiscal conservatism. But once in office, FDR continued Hooverism with a vengeance, institutionalizing the high-wage policy in legislation that priced labor out of the market. From March to August 1933, the unemployment rate

fell over 5%. Then Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act, passed in June, started to take effect. The NIRA's minimum wage provisions led to an extraordinary increase in factory wages of over 20% in just six months. The fall in unemployment came to a screeching stop, and the country became mired in 20% unemployment for two years.

Finally, in 1935, the Supreme Court ruled the NIRA unconstitutional. The adjusted real wage then started to fall significantly, bringing unemployment rates down to around 13% by early 1937. At that point, though, the Wagner Act took effect, leading to massive unionization, another double-digit wage increase, and 20% unemployment rates. New Social Security and unemployment insurance taxes didn't help matters either, as they pushed the real cost of hiring workers up further.

The New Deal didn't restore prosperity. It prolonged the economic misery. The Great Depression is often depicted as a spectacular market failure. In fact, it is the best example of government failure in this century.

The Mark of Keynes

The old classical economics that had more or less prevailed until the late 1920s had argued that market adjustments in wages, prices, and/or productivity will reduce labor costs, increasing hiring and thereby alleviating unemployment. Undergirding the Hoover-Roosevelt policy of increasing government expenditures to offset "underspending" in private markets, however, was the new economics of John Maynard Keynes, who argued that massive increases in budget deficits will stimulate demand and thus employment, while reduced spending will lead to rising unemployment.

On a superficial level, World War II seemed to justify Keynes's theory: U.S. budget deficits soared and unemployment decreased. Yet over half of this decline in unemployment actually occurred *before* Pearl Harbor. Moreover, much of the decline can be attributed to conscription. Take ten million people out of the civilian labor market and unemployment is bound to be reduced, but that's hardly a long-term means of curing unemployment in a

free society.

By 1945, all the Keynesian gurus were predicting that double-digit unemployment would return after the war. Government spending was reduced by about 75% almost overnight. Within a year, 10,000,000 people lost defense-related jobs. The huge deficit gave way to a sharp budget surplus, the equivalent today of moving from a more than \$1 trillion deficit to a \$250 billion surplus in one year. But despite the Keynesian warnings of a howling depression, unemployment never rose above 4%.

Why didn't the depression come? Because markets worked. Real wages (adjusted for the change in productivity) fell, allowing millions of civilian workers to be absorbed back into the economy. Truman did not initiate a job stimulus program — indeed, he pursued the most severely contractionary fiscal policy in modern American history — but the expected depression did not come, because the falling real price of labor made hiring attractive.

Ever ingenious, the Keynesians quickly came up with a theory to explain what had happened: *Postwar prosperity resulted from pent up demand for consumer goods*. But while that de-

The Great Depression is often depicted as a spectacular market failure. In fact, it is the best example of government failure in this century.

mand certainly existed, the relatively painless shift to a low-unemployment peacetime economy occurred long *before* civilian durable goods production and housing construction returned to normal levels.

In short, the most successful postwar economic transition in American history came during a period of sharp reduction in federal involvement in labor markets, a period when wartime wage and price controls ended.

The late '40s and the '50s saw more economic good times. There were several increases in the federal minimum wage during this period, but on the whole, the government avoided serious

"The most comprehensive book ever on unemployment in the United States." — **GEORGE GILDER**

OUT of WORK

Unemployment and Government
in Twentieth-Century America

**RICHARD K. VEDDER &
LOWELL E. GALLAWAY**

Foreword by Martin Bronfenbrenner

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Out of Work challenges Keynesian fiscal demand-management, and then shows that such policies as minimum wages, labor controls, civil rights legislation, unemployment compensation, and welfare have all played significant roles in generating joblessness. Too, *Out of Work* lucidly and absorbingly recounts the history of American unemployment. It demonstrates, for example, that the policies of both presidents Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt not only prolonged and exacerbated the unemployment of the Great Depression, but directly contributed to the depression's banking crisis as well.

Out of Work shows how real economic growth can be produced and how one of the most explosive issues of the 20th century can finally be ended.

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new interventions in labor markets. The Taft-Hartley Act trimmed union power, and union membership began its ongoing decline. Keynesian-style fiscal policy was used tepidly, if at all. The real per capita federal public debt was smaller at the end of the Truman administration than at the beginning. By the end of the Eisenhower presidency, it was smaller still.

The '60s marked the high tide of Keynesianism. The economy was strong, with unemployment falling — though not to levels as low as were sometimes reached in the '40s and '50s. Real output rose sharply, and the country went 100 months without a downturn. This success seemed to be accomplished with Keynesian policies. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson deliberately induced inflation, reducing real wages and increasing the attractiveness of labor. Richard Nixon not only continued the policies into the early '70s, but expanded the role of government further. "We are all Keynesians now," he explained.

Yet the prosperity of the late '60s set the stage for the stagflation of the next decade. It didn't take long for workers and creditors to catch on to what was happening and alter their behavior. Workers demanded greater wage increases to compensate for the inflation. Bankers demanded higher interest rates. Inflation became anticipated, and government fiscal stimulus became ineffective. It had worked in the past only because people were fooled into accepting abnormally low real wages or interest rates.

The Keynesians of the stagflation era — Democrats and Republicans alike — thought the solution was still more stimulus, more jobs programs, more intervention. From 1970 on, budget deficits were the rule. But unemployment remained high. In 1980, we had both double-digit inflation and 7% unemployment for the first time in American history. The misery index — the sum of the unemployment and inflation rates — had been running in the single digits in the '50s and '60s, but hit 20 in 1980, the highest level in modern history.

Enter Fed Chairman Paul Volcker and President Ronald Reagan. The Great Inflation was dramatically and

unexpectedly reduced, leading to a temporary surge in the purchasing power of wages that triggered the short but potent 1982 recession. In 1983, however, the longest peacetime recovery in American history began.

The '80s boom was further fueled by a retreat from government intervention. Labor unions became even weaker, aided by Reagan's symbolically important firing of air traffic controllers

You can shock markets, you can mutilate markets, you can spook markets, but they always come back.

after their illegal strike. In real terms, the federal minimum wage fell by more than a fourth. Deregulation increased the mobility of resources and the ability of market forces to reallocate resources efficiently. Labor productivity rose much faster than in the 1970s, lowering the real cost of labor per unit of output produced. Nearly 20 million jobs were created, the stock market more than tripled in value, and prosperity reigned.

The new approach might best be understood by contrasting Reagan's response to the 1987 stock market drop to Hoover's response to the crash of 1929. Reagan did, roughly speaking, nothing, and the 1987 crash quickly passed into memory. Today the Dow Jones is more than double what it was after the events of October 1987.

The election of George Bush brought in renewed government activism, resulting in a new stagflation barely a year after Reagan left office. On May 1, 1990 the minimum wage went up for the first time in nine years, followed by another large increase a year later. The total increase was 27%, creating a wage inflation that made labor too expensive and led to rising unemployment.

Compounding the problem were some new federal policies that increased employer uncertainty and raised the potential financial liabilities of hiring workers. The Americans with Disabilities Act threatened labor productivity and thus the real cost of each

unit of labor-produced output. A new civil rights act raised fears that workers would have to be hired and paid according to considerations other than productivity. New environmental legislation also raised costs, as did a big 1990 tax increase.

You can shock markets, you can mutilate markets, you can spook markets, but they always come back. Despite the awful policies of the Bush era, labor markets adjusted. Declining real wages gradually made American labor more attractive, as did soaring labor costs in other nations. A year or so ago, job expansion resumed at a healthy clip. A recovery was underway.

More than four million jobs have been created over the past couple of years, and nationwide unemployment has fallen below 6%. This job expansion has been aided by what some would call obstructionism and gridlock. Bill Clinton and his key aides have an interventionist domestic agenda that would dramatically increase labor costs. Fear of those plans kept job growth modest in the early months of the administration, but there has been a growing realization recently that Clinton will not be able to push through the more extreme elements of his program.

In particular, the tabling of health care "reform" removed, at least temporarily, a threat of significantly increased labor costs. Had that legislation passed, as many as one million jobs would have been lost, and there would have been a sharp reduction in real wages. In addition, Labor Secretary Robert Reich has failed to persuade President Clinton to push for a higher minimum wage, and the 10% decline in the real minimum wage over the past 41 months has aided job expansion. Other threats to employment, such as the striker replacement bill and a stronger plant-closing law, have diminished with the president's shrinking popularity.

But some fear remains. Employers worry that under Clinton, full-time workers will become a fixed cost that cannot be reduced in downturns. To an unprecedented extent, they have resorted to paying existing workers overtime and hiring part-time and temporary help.

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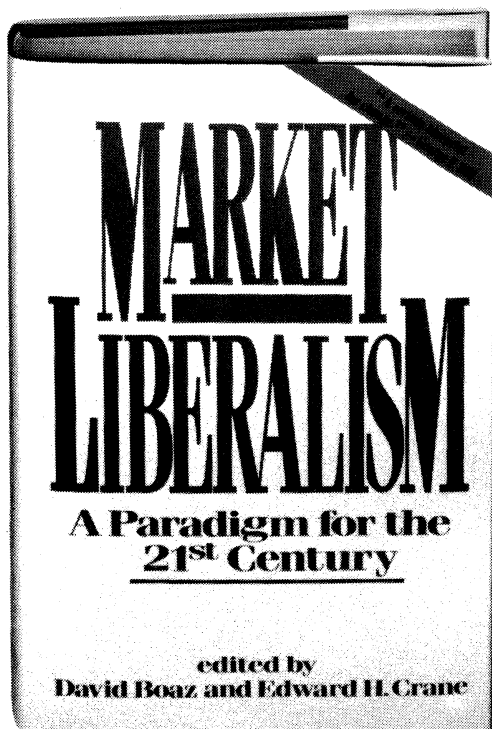
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The lessons of history are clear. Unemployment is generally low when markets are left unfettered. Major upsurges in joblessness often reflect labor cost shocks, usually resulting from well-intentioned but damaging government policies.

Paying People Not To Work

Meanwhile, the modern welfare state offers an alternate source of income, allowing many to *choose* to be unemployed. Unemployment compensation raises unemployment rates by as much as 1% by raising what in economics jargon is called the "reservation wage" — the minimum acceptable wage. If someone making \$300 a week loses her job, why should she take another job at \$200 a week when she can receive about that amount in unemployment compensation? Why work when you can stay home and watch *General Hospital* and live just as well?

The welfare state's impact on joblessness varies enormously among different groups. In the era of Jim Crow laws, KKK terror, and lynch mobs, the unemployment rate among black Americans was about the same as it was for whites. But in the past 40 years, as the lives of African Americans have improved in so many other respects, the black unemployment rate has typically been about twice that of whites. Why has black unemployment risen so much?

Part of the answer relates to demographics, but much of it reflects the fact that the modern welfare state induces incongruous numbers of blacks to choose public assistance payments over work. Welfare has raised the reservation wage. If a head of a household making \$1,200 a month in cash and noncash welfare benefits takes a job paying the same amount, he will lose virtually all of his benefits. His short-run gain from working is zero. In essence, the government is imposing a 100% work tax on the poor. This applies to people of all races, of course, but African Americans are disproportionately poor, and thus disproportionately eligible for welfare. Accordingly, a large number of blacks have, quite rationally, chosen to be unemployed.

Thus, the welfare state has de-

stroyed job opportunities for the most disadvantaged groups in society. *The welfare state is keeping people poor.* When a person goes on relief, he may improve his immediate economic position, but he will miss out on far more important long-run benefits. Job experience leads to higher incomes. Welfare experience does not.

Toward Full Employment

In August 1994, West Virginia's unemployment rate was 9%; Nebraska's was 2.4%. This difference is not new; throughout the past third of a century, unemployment rates have always been dramatically lower in Nebraska than West Virginia. Why?

While our analysis is still preliminary, statistical evidence suggests that states with relatively high long-term unemployment rates tend to have relatively high levels of public assistance,

States with relatively high long-term unemployment rates tend to have relatively high levels of public assistance, rising state and local tax burdens, and very high rates of unionization.

rising state and local tax burdens, and very high rates of unionization. In short, anywhere public policy and institutional rigidities tend to make labor expensive, more people will be without jobs.

To improve job opportunities, many restraints on labor markets, such as minimum wages, should simply be abolished. In addition, welfare should be privatized. John Fund of *The Wall Street Journal* has proposed a system that would freeze welfare spending but grant tax credits to citizens wishing to help the poor through private charities such as the Salvation Army. This would dramatically reduce the work disincentives of the current welfare system; few private charities would give someone \$1,200 in monthly benefits for extended periods of time.

There are other ingenious policies

that would maintain the intent of current legislation but lead to much greater efficiencies and higher employment in labor markets. Americans would be immensely better off if they privatized the unemployment compensation system — and we do *not* mean merely turning its administration over to private insurance companies. One good idea would build on the idea of the Individual Retirement Account. Individuals could deposit tax-free dollars in an Income Security Account, or ISA; withdrawals could be made after a worker loses his or her job or retires. Withdrawals might also be made for non-routine medical expenses, as in a Medical Savings Account, solving many of our health care problems.

By privatizing unemployment insurance, we would reduce the work disincentives in the present system. A worker who lost her job could draw on her ISA, and thus receive income protection. Yet she would have every incentive to quickly find a new job, as she would be living off personal savings, not off the taxpayer.

Another sensible reform would be to reduce the hidden taxes of regulation by forcing regulators to take the private costs of their actions into account when making pronouncements about private economic behavior. We can end damaging and ineffective attempts at fiscal policy stimulus through a variety of constitutional means, ranging from a balanced budget amendment to line-item vetoes to requirements for voter or supermajority approval of major tax or spending initiatives.

In short, the worthy goals of the welfare state can be achieved in ways that empower individuals, that restore a sense of individual responsibility, that unleash the spirit of enterprise, and that reduce disincentives to employment of both physical and human capital. We can aim to achieve the low unemployment of the pre-Keynesian era, when the joblessness rate averaged under 5% and periods of prolonged high unemployment were rare. In short, we can restore the labor market vitality that once reigned in our nation, a vitality that made the United States the leading economic power in the world. □

Encomium

I'll Take Manhattan

by Richard Kostelanetz

City air makes men free.

When a libertarian friend once asked me what I thought was the most livable place in America, I was surprised at how rural-centric the criteria he gave me were. Seat belt laws, for example — how would I know anything about that? As a native New Yorker, I've never owned a car; I

ride in private automobiles, as distinct from taxis, less than once a month. Don't think that I suffer from the lack of a car. I can get to my seat in Yankee Stadium in less than 45 minutes from my house and to a good beach in less than an hour, reading most of the way, with no worry about traffic jams or finding a parking space. One amenity unique to New York, in contrast to London or Paris or Berlin, is subways that operate all night, implicitly meaning that the poor need not get home by midnight. I can also purchase beer (though not hard liquor) in any of several all-night grocery stores within walking distance of my home. When fellow libertarians tell me they wouldn't live in a state with an income tax, my response is that I won't live anywhere where I might need to use a seat belt, which is to say, own a car.

Licensing restrictions? Doesn't Hernando de Soto hold up New York as the free-market contrast to his native Peru? To open a biz here you only need to get a d/b/a certificate, unless you plan to use your own name, and a sales tax exemption, which lets you purchase without paying the tax and requires you to collect 8.25% on sales. Most street vendors wear some kind of city-authorized badge, but a lot don't — and don't collect sales taxes either. Street book-

sellers don't need licensing at all, thanks to the First Amendment.

Taxes? I'm told they're terribly high, mostly to support a bloated city bureaucracy, but since I don't pay them directly, I don't "feel" them. Call me naive.

We've got sales taxes up the wazoo, but we also have such a competitive retail environment that even after the surplus gouge, common merchandise is much cheaper here. Since I purchase my Sony videotapes at \$2.03 each (and my Goldstars for \$1.52), I don't much mind paying that additional sales tax; for some purchases I show the exemption certificate, mentioned above, that I obtained for selling my art. I assume that this competition keeps out the vulgar chains that fill suburban-exurban malls. We have no Sears, no K-Marts, few Red Lobsters. Partly because you can survive without a car, it is possible to live here for far less than, say, in the suburbs. That — along with proximity to international airports — accounts for why 40% of New York is foreign-born. (The surest way the federal government could kill New York City's economy would be to further limit immigration.)

Choice? That's what we have more of than anywhere else, in schooling,

lovers, merchandise, friends, cultural events. I remember that when I was in college in Providence there would be occasional cultural events of a quality that could not be missed. In New York, every week there are several events of comparable quality, few of which I ever get to see, though I'm glad they're there.

New York has a tradition of specialized "public" high schools that provide the best applicants, in a reportedly honest competition, with the most advanced educations known. You may recall the pop movie *Fame*, in which teenagers receive a theatrical education elsewhere reserved for adults. As a freshman at an Ivy League college, I noticed that the best-prepared students — the guys and gals who knew how to write long papers and take tests — had gone to one of only six schools: Andover, Exeter, Bronx Science, Stuyvesant, Boston Latin, and Hunter, three of them "public" in New York City. I remember being in awe of them, as well as annoyed: I had gone to a suburban high school that billed itself as "one of the best in the country." That was just a real estate ploy; the parents with whom we lived wouldn't have tolerated the amount of work required at those six schools.

Sexual freedom? Freedom of speech? Freedom of drug use? Pornography? Social tolerance? Are you joking? Remember our motto: "None of your business." I know a European woman, well over six feet tall, who once told me one of her greatest pleasures in New York: "People don't stare at me." I remember once being on St. Marks Place — a genuine parade-ground for the odd and eccentric —

Whenever I see a psychotic performing on the subway, I congratulate myself on the experience of "free theater."

and noticing that no one could make eyes turn, not even scantily clad women. Then I saw the exception: four West Point cadets in costume.

Nearly two decades ago I taught at John Jay College, whose students were mostly policemen. It was they who told me that any NYC cop making a bust for drug use would be ridiculed by his colleagues; it was they who told me that the only cure for our putative drug problem was decriminalization.

The surest measure of a community's social tolerance is the visible presence of homeless people. Anyone found undomiciled within a hundred miles from here, without a family nearby, is reportedly put on a bus to New York — as one backwoods official once told me, "They know how to deal with such people there." Or not deal with them, to be more precise. A friend of mine lives in a mostly black neighborhood of middle-class homeowners in the north Bronx. "No homeless," he reminds me as we come out of the subway onto his street. What he's really saying, is that since his neighbors wouldn't give money to street beggars (and are generally inhospitable), those independents have gone elsewhere.

Recreational opportunities? I've already mentioned the proximity of Yankee Stadium and the beach, but more important is my living in a neighborhood filled with art galleries, with their regular "openings" — parties where friendships are renewed, new lovers are met, and one is reminded that even

in this allegedly expensive metropolis, the best things in life are free. (Another free benefit is the variety and quality of radio here, with two stations playing classical music most of the time and university stations playing it and much else esoteric some of the time. And whenever I see a psychotic performing on the subway, I congratulate myself on the experience of "free theater.")

Climate? Well, to each his own. I live here because I like changes in the seasons. Given my taste for ball games and the beach, it is not surprising that I get a lot more work done in the winter. Our airports are funnels aimed at Florida and Puerto Rico, with so many flights each day you need not fear getting stuck waiting for the next plane out.

Scenery? The great painter Ad Reinhardt inherited enough money, 40 years ago, to take a trip around the world. He took slides of whatever caught his eye. These slides, which I've seen, represent a wealth of verticals and horizontals, which is to say that everywhere he went Reinhardt captured a "nature" parallel to ours. I too prefer the urban landscape to any collection of trees. To my professionally estheticized sensibility there are few views in the world equal to that of the New York skyline — which, incidentally, I can see from the rooftop of our eight-story house. Murray Rothbard and I may not agree on much nowadays, but on these issues we'll stand united, taking on all comers. Woody Allen once complained that whenever he visited Mia Farrow in the country, he couldn't go out at night to look at people on the street. To him, as to me, *that* is compelling "scenery."

Let me tell you a secret. When a woman brings a bunch of flowers (a.k.a. "nature") to my home, my guard goes up — experience tells me I'm going to be subjected to some all-too-human abuse.

Level of pollution? A friend in medical school told me that he could distinguish NYC cadavers by the amount of "black junk in their lungs." On the other hand, I've lived here nearly all my life and I don't feel a thing yet.

I'll admit the real estate situation here is more screwed up than outsiders know. Rent control means not only that certain kinds of housing ownership is

an unnecessarily bad business but, more importantly, that people don't move unless their income suddenly increases. Likewise with ownership. My SoHo co-op loft is now worth many times what I paid for it, thankfully, but the rest of the real estate in this city has also inflated, so I can't afford to move. Colleagues elsewhere innocently wonder why none of their New York friends change their addresses.

A few years ago, I considered purchasing an empty city space, to build a simple cinder-block structure from scratch. All the contractors I interviewed cited the same price — a "minimum of \$75 per square foot" — which I knew to be too expensive. What accounted for the unanimity of responses was their sense of the cost of "bringing the building up to code," through their own efforts and/or payoffs to inspectors. Left-liberals frequently complain that no developers build moderate-rent housing, but given the elaborate rules — including some well-meaning ones, such as wheelchair access — it can't be done. The best solution to my problem

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would have been to become my own contractor and hire my own workers, since, unlike the full-time contractors, I wouldn't need to deal with the construction police again. Common wisdom holds that, New York being New York, I "could have gotten away with it."

New Yorkers are an instinctively anti-authoritarian bunch, the right folks with which to people my libertarian heaven. Nearly half a century ago, the street between Seventh Avenue and Fifth was officially renamed "Avenue of the Americas," and even though all official signs on that thoroughfare are emblazoned with that name, New Yorkers still call it "Sixth Avenue." Bless 'em. □

Lament

Memoirs of a Soviet Dissident in Canada

by Pierre Lemieux

Some Soviet dissidents have never touched Russian soil.

Even in the so-called free countries, the libertarian intellectual must live the life of a Soviet dissident. Whether he lived in the U.S.S.R. a few years ago or lives in Canada today, the Soviet dissident defends radical ideas that are incomprehensible to his contemporaries. He is isolated, with virtually no friends with real influence — or at any rate, virtually none who will put themselves in jeopardy to support him.

The dissident is often consulted by people from faraway lands. He corresponds with Nobel Prize winners. His name is mentioned in encyclopedias. But he is a stranger where he lives. He cannot get a job that would put him in the limelight, nor an ordinary job for which he would be overly qualified. He is poor, lives in perpetual insecurity, and is vulnerable to the slightest accidents of life. His few friends think he is a fine man, that he will make it, and wish him good luck. His family may think he is slightly crazy. The government does not like him and makes his life as difficult as it can.

Certainly, the Soviet dissident would rather live in Montreal or Paris than the Gulag Archipelago. The more totalitarian the country, the easier it is for the government to harass, persecute, or jail him. In more open societies, like ours, the process is more diffused and less easy to recognize — but from the dissident's point of view, not terribly different.

Alexis de Tocqueville explained in *Democracy in America* how "the majority raises very formidable barriers to

the liberty of opinion." The author who steps beyond them "is not exposed to the terrors of an *auto-da-fé*, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. . . . Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him." To be treated as an alien is his punishment — to be shunned "like an impure being." If you dissent, then "even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn."

What de Tocqueville had in mind was the tyranny of majority opinion in America, which, he argued, was only a prefiguration of all modern democratic societies. I suspect that he may have underestimated the power of free expression in his time. His description applies more to our day, when oversized government power lends support to, or manipulates, majority opinion. De Tocqueville's predictions apply to all modern democracies, especially the most statist and regulated ones — like Canada.

I am a Soviet dissident in Canada. While the following account of my experience is, of necessity, not objective, it still says something about what our

societies have become. I am sure that other dissidents will recognize themselves in this account.

The Making of a Dissident

I was raised with the right mindset to become a Soviet dissident. My father, a practicing lawyer for most of his career, was (and still is) a fierce individualist — not very talkative and not always consistent, but deeply committed. He was a staunch conservative and nationalist, but also the kind of person who thought that one should refuse family allowances as a matter of principle. A practicing Catholic (like all small-town Québécois), he was however a *libre-penseur*, and his bookshelves were crammed with works on the Index.

At the Catholic high school I attended, I rapidly became known as a *mauvais esprit*, but it took some time for the clerical management to suggest that I might be happier elsewhere, for I had the best grades in my class and this was something they respected. I owe a lot to a couple of priests who, for all their faults, taught me how to write — i.e., how to shuffle simple words to convey complicated

thoughts. Had I gone to public school, I probably would have missed this lesson.

I left the Church on my eighteenth birthday by telling my father that I was not going to church that day, and in fact would never go again. Like many individualists, I've avoided being identified as a member of a given chapel. I even try to avoid the libertarian label, though I don't know how else I could characterize my outlook.

I started down the road to Damascus in the late '60s, as a graduate

The Soviet dissident defends radical ideas that are incomprehensible to his contemporaries.

student in economics at the University of Toronto. Many of our teachers were Chicago-type economists, while most of the students (including myself) were leftists. I never paid much attention to the small group of Randian "Radicals for Capitalism," who put up propaganda stands next to the Trotskyists. Milton Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* was on our microeconomics reading list, but my classmates' standard recommendation was, "Don't read this — he's a fascist!"

A couple of years after graduating, I decided to read the fascist book. Somebody trained as a classical economist (or, for that matter, as a classical lawyer) cannot easily forget the individualist foundations of his training. A thought that had been insidiously creeping into my mind for years finally surfaced: liberty was not in traditional leftist ideologies, but in capitalism — real capitalism. I then read Robert Nozick, F.A. Hayek, some Ayn Rand, and, later, David Friedman, Murray Rothbard, and others. After reading *Capitalism and Freedom*, I wrote to its author — who, like all great men, replied to the young one. Friedman put me in touch with some U.S. organizations devoted to the ideal of liberty.

Socially Challenged

The Soviet dissident must overcome a handicap much heavier than

those suffered by the people that the American with Disabilities Act purports to help. He has to be twice as good as the normal person to have half the opportunities. There is no affirmative action program for him, and even if there were, he would resort to it only in the direst circumstances. Moreover, he is subjected to a flurry of laws and regulations that not only violate his ethics and dignity but continuously put obstacles in his path.

Around the time I was becoming a Soviet dissident, I held a position as an assistant professor at a major Quebec university. The atmosphere there was not very congenial to my inquiries, especially after the free-market dean who hired me left. This impression of incongruence was shared by many of my sheepish colleagues and all-powerful students, and I was not able to stay there long.

Then I had a stint as an analyst with a large oil company, where I met many interesting pro-market businessmen who, alas, were often more prone to cajoling powerful politicians than defending liberty. I resigned this job to study for a second graduate degree, in philosophy, and to do some part-time lecturing in economics.

In Canada, intellectual life has been almost entirely nationalized. Publishers rely on government subsidy or protection. Nearly all social science research is done in public institutions, or else is subsidized directly by government bureaus. Quebec still contains some nominally private universities, but 90% of their budgets comes from the state, which approves their programs and regulates them intensively. University professors have academic freedom, but tenure forces them into the mold. They must teach their students what they want to learn — i.e., as little as possible. It is better not to have opinions, not to believe anything that goes against the Ptolemaic wisdom, to have nothing to teach but textbooks. In virtually all universities, the teachers are unionized, and departmental assemblies are all-powerful in hiring and promoting. It may be as difficult for a known libertarian radical to find an academic position here as it was for a Soviet dissident to be admitted to the U.S.S.R.'s Academy of Science.

In the mid-'70s, I was fortunate to be awarded a fellowship by an American foundation. I moved to California with my wife and baby son. That was probably the best and most productive time in my life, as I was able to indulge in my research and writing without financial worries. Out of this stay came my first book, published at a major Paris publishing house.*

This was still the time when one could open a bank account without a Social Security number and lead a peaceful life as an illegal alien. This is one of the few crimes I will admit (although I confessed a few more in my last book). After one year in California, my visa expired. I tried to phone the INS office in San Francisco, but the line was always busy. So with a "The heck with the bureaucrats!" I continued to live peacefully until the birth of my second son. As I suspected, registering the birth raised no problem; we didn't have to provide any paper or proof of anything. The only information the State of California was interested in was the name and date of birth of the newborn and the names, ages, and birthplaces of the father and mother. When, one month after the birth, I

If you dissent, even those who believe in your innocence will abandon you, lest they should be shunned in their turn.

drove back to Quebec with my wife, sister, and two sons in the car, I was stopped for (barely) speeding on a straight, endless, desert road in the great Western plains. The large-hat cop, completely unaware that 60% of his catch were illegal aliens, gave me only a speed warning.

One reason why living a dissident's life has become increasingly difficult in the Western world is the tightening of government controls — tax, ID, immigration, etc. The right to ignore the state was never officially recognized,

* *Du libéralisme à l'anarcho-capitalisme* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1983).

but its practical exercise used to be possible, to a certain extent. Nowadays, you need state authorization to fight the tyrant.

My return to Canada was difficult. I was still only a small-fry dissident, relatively unknown, and probably not very efficient at lobbying for jobs. I had already been called all possible names after a series of articles I had authored on separatism and for a speech on classical liberalism I had delivered at a political convention. People thought I had strong, strange ideas they had never heard before. For a couple of years, I could not find any employment. I applied to many small colleges but was turned down everywhere.

With two young children to feed, my wife and I quickly depleted our modest savings. Since I had life insurance, the fleeting thought of committing suicide with the gun I had brought from the United States crossed my mind (which shows how dangerous guns are), but I decided that a responsible man with young children does not do this. I also thought of becoming a drug dealer, which would have been a better idea.

I submitted many articles to newspapers and magazines. These usually paid nothing, but they brought libertarian ideas to the attention of a few business executives worried about the drift away from liberty. This led to some consulting contracts. The chief of the opposition in the National Assembly even hired me for some months; a conservative welfarist, this unconventional politician felt that Soviet dissidents ought to be heard. Although it is easier to be an enterprising Soviet dissident in an open society than a closed one, life was still tough.

I pursued my subversive activities, often making small hits. One day, for instance, I heard on the radio a speech excerpt from the then-prime minister of Quebec (now dead and adulated, with streets named after him in Montreal and remote villages). He was explaining how the government had decided which sectors of Laval Island (north of Montreal) would be zoned agricultural, thereby forbidding land owners to sell or subdivide their land for commercial or residential purposes. As he told the story, a map of the

island was spread on the floor of the Council of Ministers' boardroom, and the minister of agriculture and the minister of economic development crawled over it hassling over which pieces of land would be expropriated. So much for rational economic planning. I requested a tape of the program from the public radio station, but they would only allow me to listen to it at their offices and take notes. I went with a portable tape recorder hidden under my coat, and recorded it. When

I met many businessmen who, alas, were often more prone to cajoling powerful politicians than defending liberty.

some time later I was consulted by a journalist working on a TV documentary, I gave him the tape, which he broadcasted in his film.

Harassment and Beautiful Spies

In the early '80s, with the help of a few business friends, I created my own monthly magazine, *Liberté-Magazine*. It was basically a classical liberal magazine, though the paucity of editorial resources and the need to keep its business support did lead to some conservative compromises. I reflected that this society was still, underneath it all, free — after all, I could start my own magazine without asking anybody's permission. Then, right after the first issue hit the newsstands, a strange string of events unfolded.

There was a small journal called *Liberté*, edited by a who's who of the literary establishment and heavily subsidized by the federal and provincial governments. I had been barely aware of its existence, and would never have thought that "liberty" was a trademark of the statist; moreover, the format and the contents of the two publications were unmistakably different. Arguing that the very name of our magazine intentionally created a confusion in the public, the publisher of the literary journal — the "Liberty Collective" — obtained a provisional court order

barring the use of the word "liberty" in our title, stopping the distribution of the first issue, and forbidding anybody to call attention to *Liberté-Magazine* until the matter was resolved in a future trial. This court order was issued without prior warning and without a public hearing, which apparently is not unusual for provisional court orders here.

A Soviet dissident cannot be silenced so easily. Despite my lawyer's warnings, I contacted a few journalists. Either because they considered the matter unimportant or because they feared being held in contempt of court themselves, they would not talk about it. Then a reporter from a large-circulation tabloid phoned me to inquire about the matter. I went out of my way to explain everything and to provide supporting documents. A few days later, a citation for contempt of court was issued on the basis of an affidavit sworn by the reporter, who accused me of having "incited him to write an article." Delivered to my home at night by a court bailiff, the citation requested \$150,000 in fines and a three-year jail sentence.

Nobody ever looked into the underpinnings of this story, which remain unknown. Anyway, the court contempt citation did not make much news, even though I was still willing to talk to whomever was willing to listen. Before this accusation was disposed of, a trial was held on the original court order. I spent two days in court, facing alone many members of the literary establishment; only one of my friends came to attend the trial. The judge finally agreed with the suing party and issued a permanent order barring the word "liberty" in the magazine title. We had already changed it, because otherwise nobody would print, distribute, or advertise in the magazine. The contempt fight dragged on and on, until my accusers more or less backed off, probably because it was becoming an expensive proposition for them and because the case had by then received some public attention.

All this did not help the magazine, which folded after a few issues. I found myself deeply in debt and with vanishing support — although some of my business friends did finally take care of the legal bill. Some friends tried

to get me hired as a columnist for one of the main Montreal dailies, with no success. Very worried about my family's future, I was willing at this point to take any job and, as de Tocqueville said, "to subside into silence."

A few remaining supporters in the business community persuaded an important association with a free-market philosophy to offer me a consulting contract, which eventually evolved into a position as an economic advisor. Although this contract was not very secure, it did allow me to survive, and provided me over a period of nearly ten years with some institutional support. The research and writing I was doing for the association was obviously useful to them. It also often fell within my own fields of interest, and I was able to grapple some time away for my own work. I published many articles and two more books in Paris.*

But my contractual position was uncomfortable, since I had to take care to distinguish my own opinions from my employers', and to hope that attacks on me were not deflected onto them. I now realize, and acknowledge, the personal risks some officers of the association took on my behalf. One editorial writer singled me out in her paper as the business association's "outrageously libertarian economic adviser." (At least I had taught her the word "libertarian.")

Respectable people continued to distance themselves from the Soviet dissident. A few years after the failure of my magazine, a small group of classical liberals and conservatives — with a high proportion of the latter — started another one. Although one could argue that it transmitted the wrong image of liberty, it did provide a much-needed outlet for classical liberal writings, and a few friends of mine were regular contributors. However, to avoid being seen as too radical, the principals cleverly decided not to involve me. Their editorial committee even rejected one of the two or three articles I later submitted; I knew I had two real friends on the committee

when they both immediately resigned. Strangely, most people I meet now seem to think that I was one of the principals in this magazine — a convenient interpretation of history, as it allows them either to explain why it also folded, or to rest confident that the dissidents have had their day.

The Soviet dissident has enemies who will take any occasion to injure him. Not believing in efficient conspiracies, I never discovered any, nor have

It may be as difficult for a known libertarian radical to find an academic position here as it was for a Soviet dissident to be admitted to the Academy of Science.

I looked for one. I never had my phone line checked for taps, although I recently learned to use PGP ("Pretty Good Privacy," the "encryption software for the masses") for sensitive e-mail: even paranoids sometimes have real enemies. Anyway, I was too busy defending the victims of whatever attacks the Powers That Be can wage. I wrote articles, and later a book,† in defense of Michael Milken and other honest inside traders. My wife wondered why I would defend people who did nothing for me in return.

About the time my third book, on anarcho-capitalism, appeared in a pocket-encyclopedia collection that was well-known and widely read in France, I was invited to lunch in Montreal, and then to dinner in Paris, by a man who was probably a French counter-spy (from the DST, or *Direction de la Surveillance Territoire*). He obviously wanted to know who I was and what I was up to. Just as in the movies, I had been set up for these meetings by a beautiful 20-year-old secret agent — who, unfortunately, did not complete her mission. (I would have talked much more on the pillow — were I not married, of course.) The Canadian secret police

may have been more discrete, for I never recognized them in any of my strange encounters. I suspect that they are too politically correct to hire anybody other than retired Air Canada hostesses.

Even without any overt conspiracies against him, the Soviet dissident is subjected to much small but nerve-racking harassment. Once, I mistakenly left a copy of a restricted firearm registration form on a Xerox machine. One of my foes at the business association found it and cleverly deduced that I might have a gun in my office. And indeed I did — I often came in late at night or over weekends to work on my personal writings, and there had been burglaries in our former office building. Moreover, I am a free man. One day, a police detective unexpectedly asked for me at the reception desk and requested that I show him the gun. This was back when you weren't necessarily deemed a criminal for owning a registered handgun, but not complying with this request would have been professionally, if not legally, risky. When I showed him the Smith & Wesson in my desk drawer, the policeman saw that it was not loaded, although a ready speed-loader was right beside the revolver. The cop mumbled something to the effect that there was nothing to make a fuss about, and left.

Today, with the new Canadian firearm controls, they would seize the gun and I would be charged with a criminal offense. Soviet dissidents can't protect themselves, and their increasing dependency is a great victory for the tyrant.

Occupational Hazards

In the late '80s, a group of "pragmatic" businessmen decided the business association was too dogmatic, fired the top management, and brought in a new team. Even before the change of guard was completed, they reallocated office space and asked me to work from home. That was fine with me, but I wasn't surprised a few months later to learn that my contract would not be renewed. I was back to square one.

I always had a few loyal friends in the business community, even if not many of them would go out of their way to support the cause of liberty.

* *La souveraineté de l'individu* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1987); and *L'anarcho-capitalisme* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1988).

† *Apolgie des sorcières modernes* (Les Belles Lettres, 1991).

Some of us attempted to start a free-market institute in Montreal. After months of meetings and reports, we managed to raise only a few miserable thousand dollars.

I have often observed that it is mainly among the businessmen that one finds whatever liberal and individualist instinct remains: they are the only ones who know of a world where individuals and entrepreneurs live by voluntary relations and make responsible decisions. With growing government subsidies and intervention, though, many corporate executives and even small businessmen have become players in the political game and lost all sense of liberty.

One would think that in a polarized, bi-P.C. society like Quebec, the Soviet dissident would find support in one group or the other. Not really. The majority — in Quebec, the French-speaking Québécois — keeps a good distance from the dissident, as it (with good reason) suspects him of being inclined to side with minorities. The minority, meanwhile, won't touch him with a ten-foot pole, for fear of endangering their already tarnished public image. Quebec separatists resent those

Since I had life insurance, the fleeting thought of committing suicide crossed my mind. I also thought of becoming a drug dealer, which would have been a better idea.

who take aim at their national tyrant, as I often did at the beginning of my dissenting career, while Canadian "federalists" don't appreciate attacks on their preferred tyrant, which I've done a lot more recently as the central tyrant became more dangerous.

And businessmen, even persecuted ones, prefer to lie low and reach accommodations.

I had a few friends in the academic community too, but none who could get me a university appointment. An internationally renowned University of Montréal criminologist tried, to no avail, to persuade the Department of Economics to hire me. Paradoxically,

the academic from whom I've received the greatest practical support is a Marxist turned social democrat (but a personal friend). The problem is, he became a university president, a political position with little leeway. And being admired by the general gives the soldiers yet another reason to reject the dissident.

In the late '80s, some American and French friends offered me an opportunity to earn a living in France. I welcomed the chance to substitute one tyrant for another, and moved to Paris with my family. I survived quite successfully in Paris' more lively, less Tocquevillian intellectual environment. Not only did I pursue my subversive intellectual activities and publish another book,* but I also got an interesting consulting contract with a major French company.

I returned to Montreal, mainly for family reasons. Some friends in the Montreal business community had missed their national Soviet dissident, and offered me an opportunity to justify my move. They told me they were willing to "take a certain amount of heat" on my behalf, but their resolution did not survive the first economic downturn. This was followed by an unusual and more or less unofficial arrangement as a visiting professor, offered by my friend the university president. This last arrangement has now run its course, and the Soviet dissident is back to square minus one.

As I glide over thousands of events, let me mention that after having quit smoking for nearly 15 years, I started again. This is mainly a result of occupational hazards: the Soviet dissident's stress, the sensuous atmosphere of France, and one lunch with Fernando Arrabal, who ordered Havanas. But I am also doing my civic duty by resisting the new state puritanism. In this day and age, smoking is, as they say, a "social responsibility." I smoked in my university office, where P.C. regulations were not really enforced. When the Quebec government introduced steep fines for smoking contraband cigarettes, I wrote the minister of public security a letter saying that he would

need to have me arrested, since I was proudly buying and smoking them. His reply was friendly but skirted the question, and I am still waiting for his goons.

I was struck by the progress of statism in Canada during the few years I had been away. The value-added tax introduced by the federal government implied new reporting requirements and tax controls for any businessman

A citation was issued on the basis of an affidavit sworn by the reporter, who accused me of having "incited him to write an article." It requested \$150,000 in fines and a three-year jail sentence.

or independent professional trying to earn a living on the market. The tax and customs bureaucracies had become noticeably more powerful and intrusive. Firearm controls had been, and are being, tightened to the point of near prohibition. As a reflection of all this, total public expenditures now exceed 50% of GDP, a first in peace and wartime. In all, a bad country for a Soviet dissident.

The Economics of Dissent

There is dissent and there is dissent. There is Scharansky and there is Yevtushenko. There is radical criticism and there is official opposition. One must distinguish the real, Soviet dissidents from the false, official dissidents.

One sort of false dissident is that of the politically correct, who basically espouse the intellectual mainstream and only push its logic farther. They criticize the government for not doing enough, or attack the actual state in the name of the state that could be. Because they bring grist to the mill of state power, they are not only tolerated but also heavily subsidized through the nationalization of academia, cultural policy, and trade union protection. They have taken over most public institutions, and university departments are full of them. At least in the social sciences, you are pretty sure to get an

* *Le droit de porter des armes* (Les Belles Lettres, 1992).

academic appointment if you are a '60s activist, a former unionist or politician — in brief, a docile member of the intellectual flock. It does not matter whether or not you have a Ph.D. or "the equivalent," or even if you don't have a Master's degree.

The real dissident, the Soviet dissident, is something else. Since he radically questions the existing order, the doors of the intellectual institutions are closed to him, unless he has two Ph.D.s from Harvard and Berkeley or got his appointment when he was 20. He finds bureaucratic obstacles everywhere, including in the heavily unionized press. This asymmetry means lots of false dissidents agitating for more government power, and very few Soviet dissidents fighting tyranny.

I don't mean to disparage all intellectuals and academics who hold established positions, for I know among them a few quasi-Soviet dissidents who have done much to promote liberty. Neither do I want to imply that character traits and the random accidents of life bear no responsibility for the real Soviet dissident's difficulties. Unless he is a professional hustler, the Soviet dissident does not know when his exclusion is caused by the Tocqueville syndrome, personality clashes, personal jealousy, or the lack of any organized dissident network. Some dissidents are more efficient than others at fighting by the rules. My main point here is twofold: growing statism makes it more and more difficult to promote liberty while abiding by the rules; and there is an unwritten rule that the closet dissident is better off not openly supporting the real one.

Real dissent is a public good that you cannot expect government to provide. In a free society, it is provided by private institutions, wealthy patrons, and other independent social authorities. But independent social powers have been all but destroyed by centralized governments. Wealthy patrons have been decimated by tax loads — the Canadian government even denies tax-deductible donations to non-P.C. research organizations. As for private firms, they are either scared of offending the state or its trade union creatures, or they have lost any leeway through difficult economic conditions

created by state intervention. The more nationalized a society is, the more the Soviet dissident is forced to finance the public good he provides himself. I did much of this over the years, devoting a sizable portion of my scarce resources (including time) to subversive intellectual activities.

Bertrand de Jouvenel argued that forced redistribution of income destroys the elite that would privately finance the provision of public or cultural goods, including literary salons, large receptions and dinners, and other

I am doing my civic duty by resisting the new puritanism. In this day and age, smoking is a social responsibility.

productive socializing activities. One of my tiny contributions to keeping these alive was, in 1986, to declare March 15 the International Day of the Individual. At least we now had one non-collectivist international day, even if only a handful of individuals knew it. To celebrate the first International Day of the Individual, I organized a fancy-dress ball at my Montreal apartment, which I financed with whatever money was left after the highwayman had passed. The neighborhood newspaper turned the event into a one-page feature.

The Soviet dissident living in Canada does have access to a free press, doesn't he? Over the last 15 years, probably half the articles I submitted to Canadian publications were accepted. The traditionally Catholic and now social democratic Montreal daily *Le Devoir* did not treat me badly, even before I had published books in Paris. Three of my article series even made it to their front page, and I should have been more grateful to a couple of their editors who probably incurred much risk in doing so. I have not been offered the front page recently, but the proportion of my pieces accepted for publication has come close to 100%. Mind you, the dissident does this for free, and no media would offer him a regular column, lest he get some real influence and alienate the all-powerful

intellectual establishment or the journalists' unions.

Most of my books have been favorably reviewed by the Montreal French press, sometimes with glamorous interviews. I also gave a fair number of interviews on radio and TV stations, albeit quite interspersed in time. Often, the media only need a pet radical to parade to the masses. Yet more than once I have met producers and interviewers who were *libre-penseurs* genuinely interested in the dissident's ideas. These people generally haunt the federally owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, not the private radio or TV stations. This is not as paradoxical as it may seem. Public radio and TV are divorced from the market, and among the disproportionate number of intellectuals they have attracted, you are bound to find a few foes of political authority. Private stations, meanwhile, mainly cater to the debilitating tastes of their *fin de siècle* audiences. Radio-Québec, the provincially owned TV network, is the counterexample. It combines all the failures: decadence, sheepishness, and implicit (or perhaps even explicit) political control. Needless to say, it seldom invites Soviet dissidents, or does so only, as once happened, to set up a trap.

On CBC radio in Montreal, there was recently an impromptu, on-air debate between the morning man and one of his regular contributors. The latter had read some of my writings on the right to keep and bear arms, and he naively suggested that some conventional wisdom might have to be reconsidered. This brought the wrath of the P.C. morning man, who tried to question my credibility. He even resorted to one of Quebec's oldest xenophobic insults: "Moreover, he is a Frenchman." Who else but a Frenchman could ever contradict what everybody thinks are articles of faith? The irony is that I was born in Canada 300 years after my Norman ancestors touched shore, while my attacker is himself an immigrant from . . . France, whose nice-talk and newspeak must have seduced some moron in the CBC management.

Fortunately, the Western Soviet dissident still has an advantage that was unknown to his predecessor in the Communist bloc: access to cheap and

efficient communications technology. As long as the state does not succeed in taming or killing this tool, a single dissident is multiplied manyfold. Had I not gotten my first personal computer in 1986, I could not have done a fraction of all I've accomplished. And since I went on e-mail more than two years ago and started exploring cyberspace, I have been able to establish more contacts in the world than in the ten preceding years.

What is perhaps most difficult for the Soviet dissident is making his personal life as congruent as possible with his beliefs. In a statist society, you cannot avoid taking advantage of government programs, if only because health care is nationalized and private schools subsidized heavily. But I think I have done as well as one can: my children never went to day care centers and always attended private schools (with the exception of one year in a village nursery school), and we never asked for government scholarships. For the last two years, I did not claim family allowances. And, of course, I never took a cent in unemployment insurance or welfare.

An alternative approach is to scrounge as much as possible of the money that was stolen in taxes. Stealing

In 1986, I declared March 15 the International Day of the Individual. Now we have at least one non-collectivist international day, even if only a handful know it.

from the thief is no theft. In academia, you cannot avoid this. I confess that my recent two-year visiting professorship at a public university was partly financed by a federal grant. But, as the president said, the money had been laundered by the university.

Erratum

The recent biography of Kenneth Rexroth referred to in Richard Kostelanetz's "The Critic, Years After" (December 1994) was written by Linda Hamalian, not Linda Hamilton.

Obviously, the Soviet dissident is not morally obliged to refuse all government money when this would condemn him to starvation and stop him from producing the public good of resistance. The problem with government money mainly lies in the danger of corrupting the dissident's sense of personal dignity and affecting his willingness to fight.

The Cost of Influence

The most difficult challenges for a Soviet dissident may be to avoid cynicism and not let his personal difficulties taint his opinions, his relations with his children, or his loyalty to his friends. This last moral requirement is especially difficult to fulfill, as it is sometimes difficult to distinguish real from false friends. On this point, I might have some confessions to make, but this is not the place for an auto-critique before the large masses.

Once in a while, perhaps when he reaches his mid-life crisis, the dissident wonders if whatever influence he has had was worth it. His childhood buddies, his university classmates, his colleagues before he became a Soviet dissident, even his present personal friends — most of them have had secure jobs and regular incomes for decades, own a house and a pension fund, can show a positive net worth to their bankers, and don't have to worry each month about how they will pay the rent, the school bills, or the car installments. True, their own mid-life crises bring forth other kinds of concerns: the nearing peak of their careers, problems with their bosses, only making it once to Paris and San Francisco, the meaning of their lives, and, perhaps, the vacuity of their servitude. But most of them have an easy life.

What is the Soviet dissident's influence? In my own case, I think I can say that many of the debates that were to (softly) agitate Quebec society at some point were started under my pen, at a time when nobody thought there was a matter for debate. Nearly 15 years ago, I was the first, in a major feature in *L'Actualité* magazine, to question corporatism and regulations in the construction trades. About the same time, I was also the first, in a series of front-page *Le Devoir* articles, to report on the libertarian movement. For many years,

I was the only one out of seven million to repeatedly question Quebec's tyrannical laws forbidding anybody but official parties to spend their resources on expressing their opinions in electoral or referendum campaigns. I often succeeded in deflecting the terms of the debates toward the real issues — like the rights issue in firearm controls. I brought up topics that mainstream academics were to consider only years

The most difficult challenges may be to avoid cynicism and not let his difficulties taint his opinions, his relations with his children, or his loyalty to his friends.

later, i.e., after they noticed that they were debated in the U.S. or France.

What my influence will have been in Quebec is too soon to tell, but I suspect that most of it will have been indirect and anonymous. I have often seen ideas I just put forward attacked, sometimes in government press conferences, without my name being mentioned. That's their first rule: don't give credit to a seemingly credible dissident.

One recent (happy) event illustrates this last point. After my book, articles, and interviews had raised some hell on firearm controls, the main Quebec newsmagazine sent a reporter to Washington and ran a feature interview on self-defense with attorney Jeffrey Snyder. I had not yet met Jeff, but I had publicized the great article he wrote in the fall 1993 issue of *The Public Interest* — just as my book on the right to bear arms came out in Paris. So I was delighted that Snyder received this unusual press coverage here. In the presentation of the interview, the reporter did mention my book (which had not been reviewed in her magazine). One of my sons remarked that it was just as if they had said: "We went to Katmandu to interview one of the inventors of the four-hole button. Incidentally, the co-inventor lives here in Quebec." But just a few years ago, the typical reporter would have taken

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Dispute

Minds, Drugs, and the State

There is mind, and there is body, and between the two the war ever rages.
Pharmacists supply some of the biggest guns.

Comment

Better Living Through (Voluntary) Chemistry

by *Sandy Shaw*

Seth Farber's "The Bedlamming of America" (December 1994) attacks coercive psychiatric hospitalization — in particular, the practice of drugging inmates into a stupor to make them more controllable. More of this kind of coercion, he explains, will occur under Clinton's health "reforms." While I agree with his conclusion about Clinton's takeover of medical care, there are two things about this article that bother me:

(1) Farber fails to distinguish between involuntary and voluntary drug use.

(2) He seems to believe that genetic or medical theories of mental function are all invalid.

Farber tells us of the horrors of a study by the National Institute of Mental Health: "the NIMH study is based on the questionable assumption that unhappiness has nothing to do with anything in individuals' lives, but is a manifestation of a medical or biological disorder requiring medical intervention" (p. 36). I do not know what the NIMH study actually said, since I didn't read it. But I do know that, while it is undeniably true that unhappiness is related to what a person does and what happens to him/her, it is also true that unhappiness is

related to the biochemical states in the brain. You can change your brain's biochemistry by changing your behavior; you can also change your behavior by altering your brain's biochemistry.

Behavior, emotions, and the underlying biochemistry are just different aspects of the same thing, just as steel girders and iron atoms are different aspects of the same building. The physical and chemical properties of iron atoms are directly related to the physical and chemical properties of steel girders. You could not change the basic properties of one without changing the other.

Elsewhere Farber writes: "Since the feelings of distress and unhappiness that lead people to seek psychiatric help are not medical in nature, except when they are actually physically ill, it is not surprising that the mental health system has been so unsuccessful in solving them" (37). I do not know exactly what Farber means by "the mental health system" or being "actually physically ill," but I am quite familiar with work on psychobiochemistry reported in such respected peer-reviewed research journals as *Science* and *Nature*. Distress and unhappiness are not floating abstractions with no connection to physical reality; every emotion, every thought, every physical act depends upon the brain's biochemical states, including the movement of chemical messengers called neurotransmitters that carry information between nerve cells. There are many modern psychiatric drugs that are very effective

in altering specific aspects of brain biochemistry and causing a change in emotions and/or behavior. This can be very useful to distressed people.

Farber approvingly quotes Peter Breggin's comment that psychiatric drugs are part and parcel of a "multi-billion-dollar psychopharmaceutical complex that pushes biological and genetic theories as well as drugs on society" (35). I am sure there are many asinine theories out there. But Farber has overlooked the fact that there is a

Behavior, emotions, and the underlying biochemistry are just different aspects of the same thing, just as steel girders and iron atoms are different aspects of the same building.

well-developed and rapidly growing scientific literature that reports on biological and genetic theories of mental function, including learning, memory, depression, anxiety, sexual behavior, impulsive violence, and more. Where have Farber and Breggin been? A search of the National Library of Medicine's MEDLARS database on, for example, the effects of the neurotransmitter serotonin on behavior (including impulsive violence, suicide, and obsessive-compulsive behavior) yields hundreds of studies.

Antidepressant drugs that increase serotonin activity, such as Prozac, have

benefited millions of people — taking them voluntarily — providing them with increased confidence and self-respect. Some puritans find this obnoxious because, without any apparent self-denial, one can increase his or her mental and/or physical performance and happiness by taking the right pill. Does Farber fall into this category?

On page 38, Farber comments that "Large segments of the American population are now on toxic psychotropic drugs." This may be true in some cases, but why doesn't Farber at least allude to the existence of many useful and reasonably safe psychiatric drugs that are also part of the pharmaceutical industry and modern psychiatry? As with any powerful technology, these drugs must be used with care and responsibility. But that doesn't mean they shouldn't be used.

Some people are using certain nutrient supplements to alter their mental state, and there has been a fairly large amount of research on this subject. But no psychiatric patients are being forced to take vitamins, minerals, and amino acids. Using nutrients to alter brain biochemistry is likely to be safer than using xenobiotic drugs (substances not normally found in the human body).

Unfortunately, the FDA doesn't allow those who manufacture or sell nutrient supplements to make any claims of improved performance or mental attitude for them. The FDA is unlikely to permit nutrient supplement companies to provide much information on the relation between "structure and function" (which is supposedly allowed under the recently passed Hatch-Harkin bill). Truthful statements about structure and function are not health claims at all, but statements of well-established chemical relationships; for example, that vitamin C is required for the body's manufacture of collagen or that neurons can make the neurotransmitter serotonin from the nutrient amino acid tryptophan, along with cofactors vitamins B-6 and C, copper, and folic acid. But the FDA believes — rightly — that even that much information would threaten its attempts to strictly limit the use of nutrient supplements.

Increasing knowledge of brain bio-

chemistry is offering millions of people a freedom of choice that has never existed before: an ability to turn yourself into the person you want to be by directly intervening in biochemical processes. Libertarians should celebrate, not oppose, this option. □

References

These are just a few examples of the scientific work that has been done in the field of psychobiochemistry. Interested readers should also examine *CA Selects: Psychobiochemistry*, published by the American Chemical Society. Each issue of this biweekly journal contains nearly 400 abstracts of recent scientific papers on psychobiochemistry. A MEDLARS search (which can be done at any university medical library) of several thousand indexed biomedical journals is recommended for the unpersuaded.

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Response

When Pushers Come To Shove

by Seth Farber

I fail to distinguish, Sandy Shaw states, between involuntary and voluntary drug use. I agree with her that this distinction is useful, and unlike "some puritans," I do not advocate abstaining from all mood-altering substances. But this distinction fails to take into account the fact that most *psychiatric* drug usage (even when uncoerced) is not voluntary in any meaningful sense of the term: it

is not based on informed awareness of the benefits and risks of particular drugs. How could it be, when the government-licensed drug pushers known as psychiatrists, who are venerated by the public, will go to any extreme to market their drugs? How could it be, when they have no compunction against withholding from their customers the facts about tardive dyskinesia, no moral qualms about using their authority to persuade nervous parents that a restless or energetic three-year old has a biochemical imbalance that can only be corrected by amphetamines? How can consent be informed when the government itself is involved in this conspiracy? Is it cynical to expect that the FDA will deem Prozac "safe" and "effective" when five out of the ten members of their Psychopharmacologic Drugs Advisory Committee had ongoing relations with the manufacturers of antidepressant drugs?

Shaw is correct on one point: I do not accept the medical theory of mental illness. That does not mean that I am unaware that there is a relation between the mind and the body, and a correlation between mental and physical states. But — need it be stated again? — *correlation* is not *causation*. Despite decades of trying, mental health professionals have failed to prove that human unhappiness is genetically caused or the manifestation of illness. Yet they have managed to sell their theories to the American public, to convince millions of people who are unhappy for real reasons that they are constitutionally defective, thus instilling in them the seeds of self-contempt, rendering them even more unhappy, and sending them scurrying to psychiatrists for their quick drug fix and a pat on the head to help attenuate the insecurities that the mental health professionals have worked so hard to cultivate. They have managed to obscure the interpersonal, environmental, and political causes of unhappiness, rendering people helpless to alleviate their problems.

This perpetuates the social crisis that disposes many to look to the mental health system as a scientific beacon of salvation — and leads a small group of dissidents to recognize it as the Grand Inquisitor in modern garb. □

Reviews

The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life, by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray. Free Press, 1994, 845 pp. \$30.00.

Not to the Swift, But to the Smart

Jane S. Shaw

The media buzz over *The Bell Curve* may lead the unwary reader to think that the book is obsessed with race and intelligence. In fact, this subject is only one segment of a book that aims to make three major points:

(1) Intelligence can be measured and is important in predicting performance in jobs and other aspects of life;

(2) Over the past few decades, highly intelligent people have been segregating themselves into a "cognitive elite" that is increasingly powerful and isolated from the rest of society; and

(3) Ethnic groups differ in their average intelligence, thanks in large part to genetic inheritance.

The bitter controversy over the last point has not erupted because the authors, Charles Murray and the late Richard Herrnstein, have introduced any shocking new information. Rather, they have reported, in exhaustive and unflinching detail, their analyses of the psychological studies of race and intelligence. They find that on most IQ tests blacks score lower, on average, than whites, by about 15 points or one standard deviation; Asians score a little higher than whites, by about three points or so. (You can read essentially the same message in Thomas Sowell's new book *Race and Culture*, leavened with more detail about subgroups and a more upbeat discussion.)

They also report that intelligence is at least partly inherited. They estimate that somewhere between 40% and 80% of cognitive ability is passed on genetically. This finding is not new, either; everyone knows that bright children are likely to be born to bright parents, and dull children to dull parents.

So why the firestorm of outrage? Because the authors have linked these findings to suggest that blacks are less intelligent, on average, than whites (although there are plenty of blacks who are more intelligent than plenty of whites), and that a major cause of this difference is genetic, not environmental.

Furthermore, while linking race and intelligence is not the book's major focus — it is not brought up until the thirteenth chapter — once it is introduced, the authors present it with single-minded determination. They do not soften their message or make it more palatable by discussing the varying IQs of racial subgroups, as Thomas Sowell does. They make the reader swallow the bitter pill without sugarcoating.

It's almost as though there are two books inside this 845-page volume. One is a stern and depressing discussion of race and intelligence and its implications (mostly, for affirmative action programs). The other is a much longer book, a broad discussion of intelligence and its social impact. I'd certainly be happier if they had written two books and let the one about race be published in an obscure university press. But they

didn't. They chose to discuss the social implications of intelligence and to challenge one of the most highly charged of present-day taboos. Murray may reap the traditional reward: ostracism. (Herrnstein died shortly before the book's publication.)

Herrnstein and Murray offer two reasons for taking intelligence seriously. First, they provide evidence that low intelligence correlates closely with poverty, illegitimacy, and crime. The implication is that if we had fewer people of low intelligence, we would have fewer social ills. Thus, steps that improve the intelligence of the underclass — if such a thing is possible, a point which hasn't been determined — are good for society.

Second, *The Bell Curve* argues that an efficient sorting process based on cognitive ability is creating a new and dangerous power elite. If correct, this is an important insight.

According to Herrnstein and Murray, this trend took off in the 1960s, when large numbers of bright young men and women began to go to college, the brightest attending the most elite schools. The authors illustrate this process by noting the dramatic rise in the SAT scores of incoming Harvard students between 1952 and 1960. In eight years, Harvard changed from a finishing school for the social elite to a university for people with high intelligence. The authors argue that this is only an extreme example of an intellectual stratification that has gone on for several decades.

Earlier in the century, the vast majority of smart people didn't go to college at all — certainly not to elite schools like Harvard. In 1900 only 2% of the nation's 23-year-olds had received college degrees. Even if all were among the smartest people, it is evident that many highly intelligent people didn't go to college at all. That has changed. The sorting process has become highly efficient; sorting by col-

lege is followed by sorting by occupation and even marriage.

The most dangerous potential effect of this process is a growing separation between the intellectual elite and the rest of society, especially the underclass, which the authors contend is heavily weighted with people of low cognitive ability. Admitting that they are being somewhat apocalyptic, they warn of a coming "custodial state" in which the smart upper class protects itself with a grim "expanded welfare state for the underclass," an increasingly totalitarian "high-tech and more lavish version of the Indian reservation for some substantial minority of the nation's population." To forestall this nightmare, Herrnstein and Murray recommend a number of steps, ranging from changes in immigration policy that would encourage competence as a criterion for entry to simplifying bureaucratic regulations that hold people who are cognitively weak back from opening shops and running businesses.

Other recommendations include abolishing welfare (Murray, of course, has argued that case persuasively before) and restoring more functions to neighborhoods, so more people can find "valued places" in communities regardless of their intelligence. They also argue for simplifying rules about what constitutes a crime and what obligations marriage demands. (The relatively new practice of forcing unwed fathers to pay child support by-passes marriage; Herrnstein and Murray think that the obligations of wedlock should be clear, and that the institution should be returned to its "formerly unique legal status.")

They also recommend redirecting (to some extent) public education money from serving the disadvantaged, which hasn't worked very well, to providing a better education for the gifted. Right now, a minuscule portion of

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***The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray. Free Press, 1994, 845 pp. \$30.00.**

Politically Sensitive Science

Leland B. Yeager

In *The Bell Curve*, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray investigate relations between intelligence and various indicators of successful lives and social pathology.

Their methods are primarily statistical. They make heavy use of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, a representative sample of 12,686 American men and women aged 14 to 22 at the start of the study in 1979 who have

been followed ever since. Dropouts from the sample have been kept few, and the quality of the data, gathered by the National Opinion Research Council under the supervision of experts at Ohio State University, has been judged excellent. The survey brings detailed information on childhood environment, parental socioeconomic status, sub-

sequent educational and occupational achievement, work history, and family formation together with measures of intelligence. Herrnstein and Murray also employ meta-analysis, systematically pulling together, evaluating, and combining the findings of hundreds of other researchers' studies. They take pains to explain their procedures. Useful analogies aid their exposition. Ingenious diagrams portray the results of their multiple regressions, showing

how certain variables are related when "corrected" for the influence of others. Lengthy appendices show the numerical details of the authors' calculations.

Measured intelligence turns out to be associated with educational attainment, income, socioeconomic status, and civic responsibility (proxied, for example, by voting). The authors find low intelligence associated with low positive attainments and with crime, births out of wedlock, low birth weight of babies, unemployment or absence from the labor force, and enrollment on welfare. Intelligence appears to play a distinct role; it and education are far from the same thing. Herrnstein and Murray do *not* maintain that the correlations they find would persist, and to the same degree, under radically changed circumstances.

It is easy to question whether intelligence, socioeconomic status, and the like are measurable. Herrnstein and Murray take such questions seriously, citing abundant evidence that IQ and similar tests do indeed measure some actual quality, called *g*, or general intelligence. They also confront questions of whether the tests might not be vitiated by the "cultural biases" so routinely but vaguely invoked. It would be a rare critic, I suspect, who could raise plausible objections that the authors have not already carefully considered.

The ingenuity of Herrnstein, Murray, and other researchers in measuring psychological and social variables and in finding apparently reliable associations among them testifies that social science need not be a mere refuge for fuzzy thinkers. It can be a challenging enterprise. Work like theirs goes far toward dispelling the snobbish condescension with which we economists too often dismiss "sociology." Herrnstein and Murray are indeed doing science — framing hypotheses, thinking of



what observations would tend to discredit some hypotheses and leave others looking better, and then hunting for the facts and doing the calculations. They also conscientiously point out occasional anomalies requiring further research. Even the reader who opens *The Bell Curve* already harboring some

Not only technology but also the increasing complexity of life and the increasing centralization of authority are eroding the relative status of the less intelligent.

notions about it can share its authors' evident excitement in their quest and some suspense about what detailed conclusions they will reach.

Some of their findings are politically awkward. This raises the question of whether the authors are pursuing a political agenda. No scientific findings, of course, can be guaranteed correct and immune to revision, and no work of this scope can be free of error. (A trivial example: the last three endnotes of chapter 22, promised by the usual superscripted numbers, are nowhere to be found.) But this reviewer, anyway, could find none of the usual signs of dishonesty or biased sloppiness, and I doubt that dishonest researchers would offer potential critics so many details and citations to challenge if in fact they had committed misrepresentation. As things now stand, Herrnstein and Murray have earned a strong presumption of intellectual integrity.

Besides reporting their research, the authors discuss why the topics they investigate are important. They offer frank conjectures about social trends and policy implications. They worry about increasing intelligence-based stratification of American society, especially as other barriers to equality of opportunity fall. Persons at the upper reaches of the intelligence distribution attend the best colleges and graduate or professional schools, enter fulfilling and prestigious careers, and enjoy rising incomes. Advancing technology enhances their options, freedom, and capacity to enjoy life. Members of this

elite of intelligence increasingly confine their professional and social contacts and their marriages to each other, becoming ever-more isolated from the lower strata. Differential reproduction rates between these classes make for an overall dysgenic effect. At the bottom of society, poverty, drugs, and crime are rampant, and the traditional family decays. For the most unfortunate, technology is no boon but, through TV, "an electronic opiate." In the information age, technology seems to be developing in ways that put a growing premium on brains and render hard-to-train workers ever more a glut on the labor market. Not only technology but also the increasing complexity of life and the increasing centralization of authority are eroding the relative status of the less intelligent.

Education does not appear to offer an easy way out. Barring some unforeseen revolution in teaching technology, all the fine rhetoric about "investing in human capital" will not overturn stark reality: "For many people, there is nothing they can learn that will repay the cost of the teaching" (p. 520).

Between the two extremes, the mass of the nation finds their lives shaped by the power of the few and the plight of the underclass. Civility erodes, as does the prevalent sense of right and wrong. Herrnstein and Murray worry about the possibility of a Latin American-style "custodial state": driven by guilt, condescension, paternalism, and fear, the elites will keep the unintelligent decently fed and housed, but marginalized.

In their worries and diagnoses and in their very tentative suggestions for how to build a society in which all can live together in mutual respect, each person filling a valued role from which he would be missed, Herrnstein and Murray come across to me as deeply humanitarian. They simply are not insensitive or mean-spirited. They are decent, compassionate human beings. Although they might not phrase the matter exactly as I would, they would regret having one single scale by which everyone's status is ranked; they value a diverse society instead, one affording a great variety of self-chosen niches in which people have a chance to excel in their own individual ways.

Today, the unnecessary complexity of life gives the intellectual elite still further opportunities to outrun the others. It multiplies demands for lawyers — and in the adversarial business, being absolutely top-notch is worth vastly more than being merely very good. (Here the theory of positional goods expounded by Fred Hirsch and Robert Frank would come into the story.) Growing burdens on entrepreneurs, including tight government restrictions on occupational testing and the *de facto* mandating of quotas obstruct the creation of jobs. (Relevant here is the work of Richard A. Epstein.) In particular — so I conjecture — burdens on employers obstruct innovative experiments in enhancing the market values and self-esteem of less intelligent workers. Most generally, policymakers and their constituents should avoid presumptuously supposing that legislation, regulation, and lawsuits can solve any problem,

Herrnstein and Murray's own findings may be unpleasant, but serving one's values — even deeply humanitarian values — presupposes perceiving reality correctly.

actual or contrived. They should take to heart the law of unintended consequences. They should beware of gurus attuned less to science than to ideological fashion, political expediency, and character assassination.

Race is *not* Herrnstein and Murray's main topic. This point deserves emphasis, since commentators (including me) tend to emphasize topics made exciting by controversy or taboo. Still, Herrnstein and Murray can hardly avoid observing racial patterns in the course of their research. In agreement with dozens of other studies, they find a difference between blacks and whites in average measured intelligence. It amounts, roughly, to one standard deviation. "[T]his means that the average white person tests higher than about 84 percent of the population of blacks and that the average black person tests higher than about 16 percent of the population of whites" (269).

This difference cannot be plausibly explained away as a meaningless fluke. To an apparently slighter degree, estimated at from a few points to ten points on the IQ scale, East Asians also show a different intellectual distribution than whites, scoring higher in non-verbal intelligence and the same or perhaps slightly lower in verbal intelligence. Racial differences persist whether the tests are given in the United States or in Africa and East Asia.

Though the measured black-white difference appears genuine and is large in statistical terms, how much it really matters in job performance and other aspects of life is not intuitively obvious. Herrnstein and Murray emphasize that many blacks are brilliant and many whites are dumb; it is the whole distributions that fail to coincide. In the past few decades, furthermore, the gap between black and white test scores has been narrowing slightly, apparently because of fewer very low scores in the black population rather than because of a growing number of high scores.

Herrnstein and Murray believe that the available evidence (including studies on twins and adoptions) suggests that this gap has at least as much a genetic or hereditary basis as a purely environmental basis, but they attach little importance to the question. Even a purely environmental difference is nevertheless real. A child whose brain has been damaged by his mother's alcohol abuse during pregnancy — an environmental factor — is still intellectually impaired. As this very example suggests, however, knowing the sources of differences in intelligence may carry implications about possible improvements.

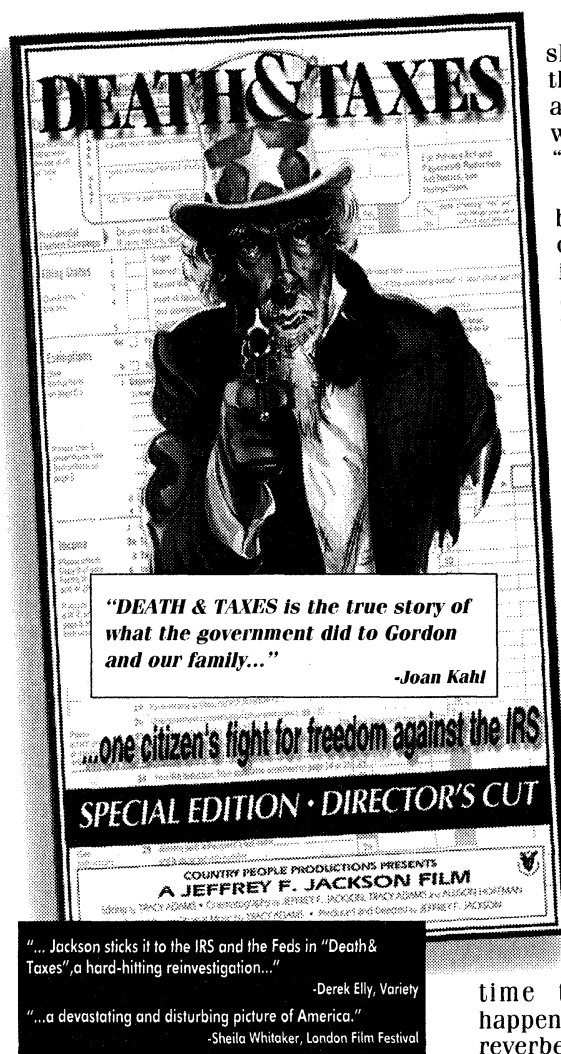
Herrnstein and Murray comment briefly on research that J. Philippe Rushton, a developmental psychologist at the University of Western Ontario, reported in numerous articles and has now (since Herrnstein and Murray wrote) pulled together in *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*. Rushton argues that differences among races in average intelligence scores correlate not only with several other behavioral differences but also with differences in such physical characteristics as brain size, size of genitals, conspicuousness of secondary sex characteristics, gestation time, age of sexual maturity, rate of skeletal and dental development, gamete produc-

tion, and frequency of dizygotic twins. Several, at least, of such physical differences seem hard to explain on nongenetic grounds.

They do fit in well, though, with observed differences in reproductive strategies among species and among groups within some species. At one extreme, the strategy is to produce many offspring per parent, of which only a few survive. The opposite strategy is to produce few offspring but give each one

great parental care. *Homo sapiens* is far toward the pole of few offspring, well cared-for and given high chances of survival to maturity. Within the human species, however, some groups tend more toward this polar strategy, while others lean closer to the strategy of promiscuous reproduction and slight parental care. Fathers and mothers tend to differ in these respects for obvious biological reasons. So do the human races. Natural selection operating in the races'

DEATH & TAXES



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different ancestral environments could explain those differences, as Rushton shows.

Recognizing how the observed behavioral and physical differences fit together in the light of the theory of differential reproductive strategies, Rushton concludes that even the racial differences in average intelligence do indeed have a largely genetic basis and an evolutionary explanation. This conclusion has drawn charges that Rushton is a crackpot or bigot, as well as demands that he be fired from his tenured professorship. Herrnstein and Murray are

loath to judge "whether his work is timely or worthwhile," but "it is plainly science" (643). This is my own judgment also, for what it may be worth, after reading Rushton's book. "As science," the authors write, "there is nothing wrong with Rushton's work in principle; we expect that time will tell whether it is right or wrong in fact."

Herrnstein and Murray's own findings may also be unpleasant, but serving one's values — even or especially deeply humanitarian values — presupposes perceiving reality correctly. It would be convenient if truth were

quickly, cheaply, and dependably knowable because it always coincided with our wishes or with what is politically palatable. But it isn't.

In a research program as difficult and ambitious as theirs, Herrnstein and Murray almost surely have made errors of fact and reasoning. These need to be found and corrected by painstaking further research. Sweeping imputations of agenda, motives, and character flaws are no substitute. Critics of *The Bell Curve* have their work cut out for them. For starters, they should actually read the book. □

Shaw, "Not to the Swift, But to the Smart," *continued from page 55*

federal education funds are going to the gifted, who, it turns out, aren't getting educated very well in spite of their high intelligence. (Murray and Herrnstein assume that government will retain control of the schools, though they do recommend vouchers and other programs allowing more choice.)

These recommendations have little or nothing to do with the issue of race and intelligence (another reason why I wish they hadn't focused on that so much). Two chapters, however, discuss affirmative action, and the harms it has brought. The policies recommended in this area will bring few surprises; the authors want to do away with current programs and go back to the original idea behind affirmative action, which they say was to expand job opportunities and places in college by widening the search for applicants and voluntarily giving slight preference to qualified but disadvantaged candidates.

Given the furor, perhaps it's fair to ask why Herrnstein and Murray wrote this book. They ask themselves this question, but I didn't find their answers — that they had an important idea and they thought that it would help public policy — particularly enlightening. There are other possible reasons, of course. Perhaps they wanted to sell a lot of books. Perhaps Herrnstein's previous work with James Q. Wilson relating crime to IQ suggested this more recent research. Or perhaps they felt that once they started on the subject, it was a matter of intellectual integrity to get it all out on the table, to end the taboo.

These factors may have played a role. But I suspect the authors believed that their writing would be so engaging, their evidence so extensive, and their arguments so persuasive that people would come around and accept their message after all. They were wrong.

Of course, people will come around if the ideas withstand scholarly challenge over time. While I cannot judge the truth of their findings, the authors clearly are careful in making their arguments (approximately three hundred pages are devoted to appendices, notes and bibliography) and, from what I've heard and seen, the critics have failed to draw blood.

If it is possible for good writing to overcome a hostile audience, this book will: like other Murray books, it is beautifully written, in many ways a pleasure to read. Herrnstein and Murray take many steps to win over the reader, not the least of which is flattery. (They imply that any reader is virtually in the cognitive elite or close to it; at the same time, they provide an appendix that explains "Statistics for People Who Are Sure They Can't Learn Statistics"! Those familiar with Murray's other books will recognize the pleasing, conversational tone and the "thought experiments.")

They go to great lengths to disarm an initially antagonistic reader. For example, they stress that intelligence is not everything (even while making it count for very much indeed). They write: "We all know people who do not seem all that smart but who handle

their jobs much more effectively than colleagues who probably have more raw intelligence." In other words, "moderate correlations mean many exceptions."

They then explain that this does not invalidate their findings. Correlations between IQ and various measures of job performance tend to be between .2 and .6, they say, and in social science this is a "highly significant correlation." At the same time, it leaves room for many exceptions.

Along the same lines, they say later that knowing that if one child has an IQ of 110 and one an IQ of 90, on many important topics "we can tell you nothing with any confidence." But that is different from the question, "Given two sixth-grade classes, one for which the average IQ is 110 and the other for which it is 90, what can you tell us about the difference between those two classes and their average prospects for the future?" On this, they can say a lot.

Such careful, skillful writing might work, over time. In any case, the information is now there. If the content of *The Bell Curve* has merit, some of the thousands of purchasers will pay attention to it.

A More Personal Note

Before reading this book, I was, like many Americans, concerned about what seemed to be a society in disarray. From drive-by shootings to the decline in SAT test scores, I saw signs of civilization imploding through the decay of values, absence of intellectual discipline, and loss of civility. However, in

the face of this deterioration, I thought that I was helping to counter it, simply by bringing up my son properly.

By living in a small town where crime is rare, by sending my son to the best school I knew, and by taking him to church each Sunday, I was doing what I could at the very least to shelter him from this decay. I even thought I might be somewhat heroically contributing to the preservation of a civil society.

But if Herrnstein and Murray are correct, I completely misunderstood the situation. If they are right, thousands, perhaps millions, of other parents are doing precisely what my husband and I do. They are rescuing their children from ignorance and incivility by sending them to prestigious nursery schools, enriching their education with travel, introducing them to dictionaries, computers, and the Great Books, and teaching moral virtues.

The problem is that the people who are really good at this, the cognitive elite, are also moving more and more into a separate class. Most of the cognitive elite live in metropolitan areas. To achieve their goals for their children, they must separate themselves and their children from the social ills that are all around them. They have separate neighborhoods and separate schools and separate play groups. The symbol of their isolation is "the gated community, secure behind its walls and guard posts," say Herrnstein and Murray.

And this cognitive elite is not just isolating itself from the rest of society; it is beginning to control it. In the modern welfare state it is the cognitive elite who structure the laws and regulations. And because they are so bright, these members of the elite see nothing wrong with making the rules of life very technical and complicated.

The elite want less pollution, so it requires businesses — even small dry cleaners, for example — to meet onerous and complex environmental standards. While there may be ways to get around these standards, they involve complicated forms and permits; and the elite see nothing wrong with making failure to fill out a form a criminal act. In the same way, to ensure nice houses and authentically historic buildings in its communities, the elite is forcing people to go through complex zoning and

permitting processes to make small changes such as adding a porch.

It used to be possible to open businesses or build homes through "sweat equity," but the barriers are getting more difficult. "Anyone who has tried to open or run a small business in recent years can supply evidence of how formidable those barriers have become," the authors say. Yet for the cognitive elite the barriers are easy to surmount, if necessary by hiring someone to figure them out. So, write Herrnstein and Murray, this group "busily goes about making the world a better place," at the price of making life difficult for everyone else.

I can see this happening now. What the authors foresee, somewhat farther into the future, is an even more complete separation of the elite, and the expansion of today's welfare state to keep the underclass "out from underfoot." This is the "custodial state," with government in charge of virtually everything.

So, if Herrnstein and Murray are right, my efforts to raise an intelligent, educated son are not likely to advance a more virtuous society. Instead, I may be training a centurion to man the barricades of the custodial state. It is a frightening dystopia, and the matter of race has little to do with it. □

Sliding Down the Bell Curve

To observe that *The Bell Curve* has had a hostile reception is a gross understatement. Typical of the media reaction is the treatment of the book in the *Seattle Times*. In order to be fair about the controversial book, the *Times* headlined a page of its Sunday book review section "Two Views of *The Bell Curve*."

The first view, by *Times* columnist Jerry Large, observed:

Ever since someone had to come up with a justification for slavery, the hunt has been on for reasons why blacks are lesser humans. The authors of this book dismiss studies that show children of any race can improve their IQs if their environment is enriched. They downplay environmental and cultural factors that affect mental development, and they ignore the last 100 years of neuroscience. But this is all less about science than about social order. The authors say it nicely, but they still say it: Know your place and keep to it. . . .

We don't wear IQ tags, so black people who are at the top of the chart will be assumed by the casual observer to be lesser lights until they prove otherwise, every day, to every new person, over and over.

And maybe learn to resent other black people. "If it weren't for all those dumb black people everyone would love me."

But make no mistake, once it be-

comes OK to cut black people adrift, poor whites, old people, people with disabilities, well just about anybody not in that perfect elite, will be subject to being judged a liability and treated as such. That kind of thinking isn't new, but there has usually been some kind of legal and moral mitigation. This current intellectual push would change discrimination from an embarrassment to a duty.

The second review, by *Times* columnist Jennifer James, is even more hostile:

One of the news stories this week was another attempt to divide Americans for political gain. Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein's book on race and intelligence, *The Bell Curve*, is such bad science and so obviously a racist polemic that it could have been published by a Ku Klux Klan press. . . .

Citizenship in a democracy requires so much more than Murray's lifelong dedication to trying to prove his skin alone makes him smarter and therefore entitled to be an elite. He reveals his own intellectual limits. He is unable to synthesize data, accept modern intelligence research or maintain an awareness of the world he lives in.

He tries to demonstrate his lack of bias by pointing out that on the IQ tests he uses "Asians" are now smarter than "Caucasians" (he never

defines "Caucasians," he just knows one when he sees one) but he doesn't suggest giving Asians control over the future. Charles Murray's need to reinforce his own politics reveals him as a sad fool.

The deeper questions revealed in this book and the dialogue about it are: What is so wrong with Charles Murray or any other racists that

their self-worth is dependent on setting themselves apart and therefore hoping to claim unearned privileges? What is wrong with our self-worth that we are still printing and discussing these ideas in our newspapers without qualification?

How's that for a full range of opinions on a controversial book?

—R. W. Bradford

***Angry Classrooms, Vacant Minds*, by Martin Morse Wooster. Pacific Research Institute, 1994, 198 pp., \$19.95.**

***Separating School & State*, by Sheldon Richman. The Future of Freedom Foundation, 1994, 128 pp., \$22.95 hc, \$14.95 sc.**

Scandal for Schools

Jesse Walker

School brings out the critic, or at least the cynic, in all of us — bored students, harried teachers, and frustrated parents alike. Reformers all have their pet panaceas — values curricula, or Outcome-Based Education, or national standards, or school choice, or whatever remedy is currently being touted on the op-ed pages of the *New York Times*. Some of these ideas have merit. Some don't. The best way to judge them is to look at the historical record: *Has this plan been put in place before? How well did it do then?*

But today's debates seem to take place in a historical vacuum. Few realize that Vermont has had what amounts to a voucher system for over a century, or that today's centralized efforts to inculcate "values" were tried, without much success, 80 years ago. Few know the typhonic history of the relationship between public and private schools, or between federal, state, and local education bureaucracies. Few seem to care about the past at all: better to pretend the latest public policy fad

appeared *sui generis* than to investigate its roots.

Martin Morse Wooster's book *Angry Classrooms, Vacant Minds: What's Happened to Our High Schools?* is a noble effort to provide a short, readable summary of the history of American schools — not just high schools, as the subtitle suggests — a "book useful to parents, teachers, and concerned citizens who want to learn about the problems of American education but do not have the time or the patience to read all the books about the schools that I have read" (p. ix). Wooster's overview of the fads and trends of the last 150 years tries to be objective, but his prejudices aren't difficult to discern: he prefers decentralization to centralization and initiative to bureaucracy, and is particularly interested in attempts to restore some semblance of local control to the schools.

That leads him to examine two broadly defined reforms. One is "choice," the policy of allowing parents to select, within variably defined parameters, which schools their children will attend. Though sympathetic to the idea, Wooster is far from Pollyannish about it, and is unafraid to criticize such sacred

texts of the choice movement as John Chubb and Terry Moe's *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. All things considered, concludes Wooster, "school choice will not convince parents that education is worthwhile, tell students to do their homework, teach right and wrong, dissolve red tape, or even ensure that students are as educated as their parents and grandparents. Certainly school choice will provide some improvements in schools, but these improvements will probably be incremental and take place over time. The available evidence suggests that the benefits school choice will provide are more gradual and less dramatic than either friends or foes of the reform contend will take place" (171).

Sometimes choice programs don't even offer much in the way of choice. When Michigan's "schools of choice" legislation passed, most districts saw it as a mandate imposed from Lansing, not an opportunity to innovate. In Massachusetts, the school guides provided to parents were extremely vague: "every school in Worcester appeared 'to be committed to two things: recognizing diversity and using computers'" (158). Furthermore, unlike a real market, no choice plan yet implemented allows public schools to go out of business; instead, they simply receive more government money.

The other decentralist proposal Wooster examines is "site-based management," the transfer of decision-making power from central offices to individual schools. This is a sensible idea, but a hard one to put into practice; most efforts to implement it have proven to be little more than localist window-dressing for business as usual. Still, Wooster argues, meaningful education reform will have to restore the authority principals and teachers have lost to the school bureaucracy.

All this is well and good, but there's something missing here, a dimension of criticism that Wooster avoids. That critique can be found in another book, Sheldon Richman's *Separating School and State: How to Liberate America's Families*. Where Wooster is a reformer, Richman is a revolutionary. Where Wooster examines the origins of centralized schooling, Richman digs out the roots of government schooling.

Where Wooster evaluates quasi-libertarian proposals for improving public education, Richman steps out of the debate altogether, daring to ask whether there is a need for public schools at all.

That notion may sound radical, but it isn't as unpopular as one might think. A 1994 survey by the Wirthlin Group, a respected national polling organization, found that 13% of their

Martin Wooster's book is a litany of reforms that went bad once they left the world of ideas and entered the realm of bureaucracy.

sample supported an end to compulsory, tax-funded education, and that a full 26% at least sympathized with the idea. That's a minority, but it's a far more substantial minority than most observers would expect. *Separating School and State* is a persuasive argument for their position.

Richman brings up issues that many people don't bother to think about anymore: the difference between schooling and learning, the insanity of expecting different students with different aptitudes to learn at the same rate, the corrosive effects of government schooling on families and other intermediary institutions. He takes on the propaganda included in school curricula, relating his daughter's scholastic encounters with Gulf War sloganeering, anti-drug puritanism, and discredited environmental theories. He points out the absurdity of referring to government schools as "public schools," as though they were somehow closer to the community than the "private" academies that parents voluntarily support. He demonstrates that even curricula designed to teach critical thinking usually wind up reinforcing conformity.

Richman puts his views in a historical context, pointing out similar criticisms offered in their day by such classical liberals as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Herbert Spencer. But many of his positions also resemble the radical critiques of the 1960s and '70s, critiques associated with such figures as Ivan Illich, Paul Goodman, and John Holt.

Interestingly, some of these critics' ideas had considerable influence on public school policies in the 1970s. Wooster makes this point in a passage that, in a burst of bad editing, appears twice in his book:

Many of the new teachers, fortified by reading John Holt or Jonathan Kozol, listening to Jefferson Airplane or Bob Dylan albums, or watching *To Sir With Love*, attempted to alter the schools radically. The result was to destroy the informal moral consensus that had governed public schools and replace it with what sociologist Gerald Grant calls a "more impersonal legal-bureaucratic order." The decisions teachers made were no longer based primarily on whether or not a student's action was right or wrong but on whether or not a student act violated federal statutes and district regulations. (xiii, 72)

It's clear from Wooster's tone that he has little use for the John Holts of the world. And, on one level, he is right. While some alternative education experiments worked pretty well — usually programs in private schools, such as those run by the Quakers, or in autonomous charter schools — many failed. "Open classrooms" and the like eroded personal responsibility in the name of a fabricated freedom, a process summed up in the infamous, perhaps apocryphal anecdote of the little girl who asked her teacher, "Do we *have* to do what we want to do again today?"

But while Wooster sees this as evidence against Holt's critique, Holt saw it as evidence against schooling itself. By the '70s, Holt realized that the deinstitutionalized learning he advocated was incompatible with an institutionalized learning environment. Even as other critics, such as Kozol, devolved into the left flank of the educational establishment, Holt and others began to adopt a more radical position, summed up eloquently on the fiery first page of Illich's *Deschooling Society*:

[People are schooled] to confuse process and substance. Once these become blurred, a new logic is assumed: the more treatment there is, the better are the results; or, escalation leads to success. The pupil is thereby "schooled" to confuse teaching with learning, grade advancement with education, a diploma with competence, and fluency with the

ability to say something new. His imagination is "schooled" to accept service in place of value. Medical treatment is mistaken for health care, social work for improvement of community life, police protection for safety, military poise for national security, the rat race for productive work. Health, learning, dignity, independence, and creative endeavor are defined as little more than the performance of the institutions which claim to serve those ends, and their improvement is made to depend on allocating more resources to the management of hospitals, schools, and other agencies.

In this perspective, schooling is not only uncondusive to real education; often, it is diametrically opposed to it. Richman sympathizes with this view, commenting that schools "teach children that learning can take place only when they are shut away from the world with children their own age in a

Richman steps out of the debate altogether, daring to ask whether there is a need for public schools at all.

special place and are under the direction of a specially trained adult. The children are empty vessels into which the teacher pours knowledge" (p. 91). And that, of course, is nonsense.

Richman has little patience with most of the reforms Wooster examines. Charter schools — the ultimate in site-based management — are to Richman a mess of contradictions, allegedly autonomous but still financed by the state and unable to go out of business. Vouchers he sees as a sly means for government to extend control over private schools. Contracting out school management to private firms, a new reform in Baltimore, comes under fire for maintaining government financing and monopoly. Some of these may be steps in the right direction, Richman concedes, but they still leave the fundamental problems in place: compulsory attendance and government control.

Even readers who agree with Richman might argue that his radicalism is far less practical, strategically speaking,

than incremental change. But Wooster's book is nothing if not a testament to the pitfalls of working within the system, a litany of reforms that went bad once they left the world of ideas and entered the realm of bureaucracy and politics. I have little doubt that a sensibly designed choice or decentralization plan might make the world a little more free and livable. But Richman offers an *immediate* out: homeschooling — or, as he prefers to call it, "family-based education."

In the media, homeschooling is usually associated with the Christian Right, but in fact it crosses all religious and political lines (Richman, after all, is a secular Jew and an anarchist). It rarely involves reinventing a classroom environment at home, relying instead on considerable self-directed learning, though most homeschoolers are happy to turn to specialized instructors where necessary. Most homeschooled children outperform their peers by the standard academic measures. This should not be surprising: as Richman points out, literacy rates were far higher in the years before compulsory government schooling than after.

Not every child is inclined to learn this way, of course, nor does every parent have the time or enthusiasm to spare for it. The greatest practical obstacle to family-based education is that parents tire of dealing with their kids all the time; school may not be the best babysitter around, but it's cheap and compulsory. But if as few as 10% of the families in a single state were to decide to homeschool, compulsory schooling would become a dead letter there. At that point, government regulation of schooling would also begin to crumble — if parents can homeschool legally, why can't a group of unlicensed neighbors or entrepreneurs start a storefront school of their own? And then real choices in education would emerge for those families who prefer not to teach their own but are dissatisfied with the government's schools and can't afford to send their kids to a private one.

Both of these books are worth reading. But only one offers real hope to people interested in seeing substantial change in the American education system in their lifetime. Ironically, it's the "impractical" one. □

***On Looking Into the Abyss*, by Gertrude Himmelfarb. Alfred A. Knopf, 1994, 192 pp., \$23.00.**

Farce and Madness

Ronald F. Lipp

Early in our century, at a time of cynicism and fatigue born of war and the collapse of the old order, W.B. Yeats penned the celebrated lines that have come to symbolize the despair of modern times:

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

The horror Yeats captured was the impotence of modern man in confronting the destructiveness latent in all human society. A generation earlier, Nietzsche had warned that man must either master the abyss or be mastered by it.

The distinguished historian Gertrude Himmelfarb has now provided us with an essay of our progress with this struggle in the intervening 70-odd years:

The abyss has grown deeper and more perilous, with new and more dreadful terrors lurking at the bottom. The beasts of modernism have mutated into postmodernism, relativism into nihilism, amorality into immorality, irrationality into insanity, sexual deviancy into polymorphous perversity.

In *On Looking Into the Abyss*, a slender volume collecting and expanding seven essays written over a three-and-one-half-year period, Himmelfarb has provided a compelling analysis of the pathology of the late twentieth century. It is more disturbing than Yeats' grim

portrait. Himmelfarb describes a progressive flinching from reality: if early modern man recoiled in horror from human evil, he has now dispensed with it, first by denying that the denizens of the abyss are monsters and then by rejecting the very process of judgment which admits the possibility of monsters at all. If Himmelfarb is correct, the salient characteristic of our postmodern retreat from the abyss is a disconnection from reality that amounts to a kind of collective madness. The modern abyss is the habitat of meaninglessness, of unbeing embraced as such.

Exhibit A for Himmelfarb is Richard Rorty, "one of America's most respected philosophers." Rorty, she says, proposes to abolish reality, knowingly and altogether:

It is getting more and more difficult, Rorty goodhumoredly observes, to locate "a real live metaphysical prig" who thinks there is a "reality" to be explored and a "truth" about reality to be discovered. . . .

Rather than seek an essential truth, Rorty calls upon philosophers to . . . [adopt] a "lightminded aestheticism" to traditional philosophical questions, for only such an aestheticism can further the "disenchantment of the world." The disenchantment, moreover, must extend to morality as well as truth.

In response, Ms. Himmelfarb offers her book for a purpose which would once have seemed both prosaic and self-evident:

Perhaps this book should be labeled "The Confessions of an Unregenerate Prig," for it is dedicated to the proposition that there are such things as truth and reality and that there is a connection between them, as there is also a connection between the aesthetic sensibility and the moral imagination, between culture and society.

It is a mark of our times that such a bald proclamation should seem remarkable and, in today's intellectual circles, even a little embarrassing — rather like cousin Fyodor, recently emigrated from Minsk, who shows up at a neighborhood party wearing a double-knit leisure suit and vinyl shoes. Much of what Himmelfarb says — about the evils of relativism and the deconstruction of history, of the abasement of our values and even of the concept of value itself, and of the conscious, deliberate, and altogether too successful campaign to denigrate Western civilization — has been said before. But it is said here so coherently, so succinctly, and with such grace, that the volume itself stands as

The salient characteristic of our postmodern retreat from the abyss is a disconnection from reality that amounts to a kind of collective madness.

an exposition of the culture it champions and whose loss it deplors. Lest it all be blackness and horror, Ms. Himmelfarb offers as a kind of midcourse sorbet a witty and self-deprecating discourse titled "Where Have All the Footnotes Gone?" — to the delight of all of us who as students in bygone days worshipped at the altar of her inspiration, Saint Kate Turabian.

Himmelfarb's essays focus on three areas of intellectual activity: philosophy, literary criticism, and the study of history. In these venues, she dissects deconstructionism, nihilistic relativism, the new historicism, and postmodernism generally. But a central theme runs lucidly throughout her work: the prevailing modes of thought involve a fundamental detachment from reality and abandonment of moral integrity. As Derrida once smirked that metaphysics is mere mythology, Rorty reduces morality to idle aestheticism. Post-structuralism has de-historicized history, trivializing and demoralizing it so far as to make it utterly banal. Contemporary literary theory has elevated criticism above creation at the same time that criticism itself has become so malle-

able and indeterminate as to render literature devoid of any meaning at all.

In history, philosophy, anthropology, law, theology, and architecture, Himmelfarb sees various strains of contemporary thought denying the existence of any "essential reality" and reducing intellectual inquiry to a kind of aesthetic exercise for the amusement of its practitioners.

At best, these activities make intellectual inquiry an emasculated farce. At worst, they embody a cognitive madness.

By disclaiming the existence of truth or reality, all moral judgments are disavowed and all modes of perversion equilibrated. Thus, Rorty has asserted that the failing of the Nazi is not a lack of morality, but of feeling or heart. Similarly, he confesses that he can find no plain moral facts in the world, no truth outside language, nor any inherent reason to prefer kindness over torture.

The depth of moral disengagement is astonishing. One of the founts of postmodernism, Martin Heidegger, was an early and opportunistic member of the Nazi party who remained unrepentant even after its horrors, including the Holocaust, were well known. Himmelfarb quotes him writing in 1949:

Agriculture is now a motorized food industry, in essence the same as the manufacturing of corpses in the gas chambers and extermination camps, the same as the blockade and starvation of the countryside, the same as the production of the hydrogen bomb.

Rorty, while admitting that "as a human being," Heidegger was a "rather nasty piece of work," denies that any connection can be drawn between the man and his philosophy. Heidegger should, Rorty says, be seen as an "original and interesting writer" whose work should be read "in a cool hour, with curiosity, and an open tolerant mind."

Ms. Himmelfarb's book is both elegant and compelling. As adjuncts to her main thesis, she also provides an insightful exposition of the triumph of Hegel over Marx as seen by Vaclav Havel, a critique of John Stuart Mill as a harbinger of the value-free society, and a sketch of "the dark and bloody crossroads where nationalism and religion meet." It is, in all, a virtuoso performance. □

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Radiotext(e), edited by Neil Strauss with Dave Mandl. *Semiotext(e)*, 1993, 365 pp., \$12.00.

Radio Ga-Ga

Phil Leggiere

With only a few sporadic exceptions that even a confirmed radio addict can count on the fingers of one hand, radio — commercial and “public” stations alike — has become a chronically, banally familiar environmental white noise in our lives, the antithesis of authentic communication, much less art. Yet as *Radiotext(e)*, a collection of radical writings on and about radio, reminds us, the wireless remains the most protean, mysterious, and potentially powerful of cultural media.

The challenge and substantial achievement of Neil Strauss and Dave Mandl’s anthology is to defamiliarize radio, to provoke and compel us to listen to it with a new sense of its possibilities. Mixed like an eclectic all-night freeform show, this book incorporates obscure and forgotten documents, manifestos, and analyses covering all phases of the medium’s development. Above all, it makes it clear that radio’s history, far from being seamless or innocuous, has been socially and politically tumultuous from the start.

The book is clustered around a series of themes, beginning with the development of radio technology itself. In the chapter “Early Radio Bigwigs,” Dwight Frizzell and Jay Mandeville make it clear that the wireless was the Internet of its day. A technology inadvertently developed to speed and facilitate communications within the command structure of the military and the shipping industry, radio soon spilled over into the enthusiastic hands of artistic and political visionaries, grassroots entrepreneurs, and hobbyists

(hams were the original hackers). From there, in one of the less investigated and more important subtexts of the ‘20s and ‘30s, the medium was corporatized in the U.S. and bureaucratized in Europe. But this happened neither smoothly nor without resistance. It has been a process fraught with conflict — conflict that, as this book makes clear, continues to this day.

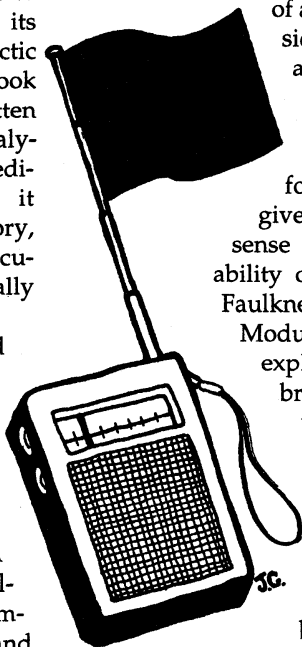
Early visionary hopes for the technology make for alternately poignant, ironic, terrifyingly prescient, and still inspired reading. Few, in the context they are presented here, are merely of nostalgic interest. To read Bertolt Brecht’s elaboration of radio as vehicle for populist theater, George Orwell’s “Poetry and the Microphone,” or Rudolf Arnheim’s prophecy of a new audio art alongside Derrick Sington and Arthur Weidenfeld’s classic analysis of Nazi broadcasting (written in 1932, before the Reichstag fire) gives one a dramatic sense of the inherent variability of the medium. Tony Faulkner’s “FM: Frequency Modulation or Fallen Man” explores a particularly brutal example of the war for financial control of the technology, a process that literally (as in the case of engineer/inventor Edwin Armstrong) left dead bodies and defeated minds in its wake.

Such writings, raw and unpolished as they may seem, convey a sense of the excitement and urgency prompted by a burgeoning communications technology of unprecedented scope. So too

does the debate between Walter Benjamin, who argues for the liberatory potential of radio, and Theodore Adorno, who saw radio as the epitome of commercial society’s drive to reduce all authentic culture to a commodity. Exchanges like these, while fascinating in themselves, are even more interesting for their uncanny resemblance to today’s debates between infotopians and cyberspace pessimists.

Radio’s dual nature — tool of control, conduit of grassroots communication — is explored in a playfully developed clash of first-person accounts and historical narratives. Joseph Lanza’s “Adventures in Mood Radio” and Steve Post’s “Son of Playlist” delineate the convoluted workings of the regime of format as it has shaped most of what we’ve come to accept as radio as usual. “Mood Radio,” a fascinating history of Muzak (the word’s a jabberwocky jumble of music and Kodak), shows in great detail how the very lucrative industry of easy-listening radio has evolved at the cutting edge of the pursuit of the pacified consumer. “Son of Playlist,” written in the mid-’70s, is a case study and personal account of the short life and gruesome death of freeform FM radio as it existed from the mid-’60s to the early ‘70s. Post’s account, which focuses primarily on the saga of WABC-FM (now WPLJ) in New York, sketches the process by which the great exception, “alternative commercial” programming, ultimately proved the rule of increasing corporate control of format. In some senses, as Post shows, freeform actually paved the way for the fine-tuned, ever-more precise, fragmented, and airtight niche programming of the ‘80s and ‘90s.

While such accounts seem to validate Adorno’s worst nightmares, this collection is also rich in evidence that a countervailing tradition of grassroots rebel radio tenaciously persists, occasionally even prevailing. These emanations range from the eccentric fringes of commercial broadcasting (nicely memorialized in “Lives of the Great DJs,” a fun tribute to Wolfman Jack and others), to the entrepreneurial outlaw adventures in offshore “pirate” radio (particularly Radio Luxemburg, which successfully challenged the monopoly and monotony of the 1960s BBC), to a



myriad of anarcho-experiments in non-commercial community radio.

Accounts of these "free radio" initiatives and cultural guerrilla actions make for some of the anthology's best reading. Tetsuo Kogawa's "Free Radio in Japan" recounts how a small core of students, artists, and other troublemakers monkeywrenched the normal, boring functioning of official Tokyo radio by broadcasting from local bookshops, bars, and parks with low-power FM transmitters capable of covering about a third of a mile. WFMU's underground radio luminary, Bart Platenga, delivers a similar report on free radio in France. Other essays detail radio insurgencies in Italy, Germany, and around the world. And Jeff Zilm offers a hilarious account of a mobile CB-based operation called Radio Asphalt Nomad.

Essays by composer LaMonte Young, philosopher Murray Schaefer,

Radio's dual nature — tool of control, conduit of grassroots communication — is explored in a playfully developed clash of first-person accounts and historical narratives.

performance artist Jacki Apple, and Negativland (a unique avant-garde rock band that "broadcasts" live from their Berkeley apartment, over the phone lines, via a network of college radio stations) explore the notion of radio as a medium for a new acoustic aesthetics and musical and theatrical art forms, rounding out an unpredictable collection.

If eclecticism, passion, and provocative organization are the criteria for a strong anthology, this book must be judged a success. My only criticisms spring from the few gaps in Strauss's rich mix. It would have been interesting to include more on the regional, R&B, country, and Mexican border radio of the 1950s — the stations which, outside the purview of the national networks, nurtured the development of that grassroots, spontaneous revolutionary direct action known as rock'n'roll, initiating many a sheltered

middle-class white adolescent into the lores and traditions of black and poor white music. I also would have liked to see more on the two major counter-institutions designed to provide alternative (as in more expressive, experimental, dissident, and controversial) programming: Pacifica and — warts and all — National Public Radio. The omission of Richard Kostelanetz and Peter Bochan's thoughts on sound art weaken the section on radio and acoustic art, as each are in the forefront of ex-

perimental radio today. Finally, despite frequent allusions to the importance of radio in the national liberation movements of the Third World, little documentation of these struggles is actually offered.

Other readers are likely to notice other omissions, but that's a sign of this book's vitality as a critical stimulant. Despite the gaps, one thing is sure: you'll never listen to radio quite the same way after reading *Radiotext(e)*. □

Booknotes

Renaissance Economist — The few economists who write well, such as John Kenneth Galbraith, are usually bad economists. A remarkable exception is Donald N. McCloskey, whose latest book is *Knowledge and Persuasion in Economics* (Cambridge University Press, 1994, 445 pp., \$17.95).

McCloskey is the leader of the small but growing "rhetoric school" of economics. Proponents of this approach hark back to the Aristotelian conception of rhetoric as the full collection of noncoercive devices speakers use to persuade their audience. McCloskey and his followers argue that, despite the "official" methodological doctrine of modern economics — roughly, that economists should ape physicists — economists actually use a variety of means to make their arguments, including mathematical models, accounting, appeals to authority, stories, arguments by analogy, and statistical studies. Rather than regarding this motley collection as an indication of deplorable scientific disarray, the rhetoricians view it as desirable and, in any event, inevitable. Economics, they say, is not only a science *about* humans; it is *practiced* by humans, and economists resort to whatever rhetorical devices will help to persuade the human beings who comprise their audience. Philosophers of science and other outsiders may deliver uninvited lectures on "scientific methodology," but real scientists need not — and usually do not — take their counsel seriously.

Don't worry about whether or not you find this thesis compelling. If you

have a serious interest in the human sciences and you enjoy dazzling intellectual aerobics, then McCloskey's writing is for you. He brings to his exposition an extraordinary grasp of literature, literary criticism, poetry, history, philosophy, and the natural and social sciences, and delivers his message with stunning ingenuity and flourish. Reading McCloskey is *fun*. Whatever you learn is a bonus.

—Robert Higgs

Broken Promise — James D. Squires' *Read All About It! The Corporate Takeover of America's Newspapers* (Times Books, 1994, 244 pp., \$12), while necessary for any student of modern journalism, is in the end an infuriating book for the same reasons that most old newspapermen's nostalgic or hortatory writings on their craft infuriate. It's a fault you'd think a crusty old newsman would instantly catch with his first glance over the rough copy: details, details, details are missing, missing, missing. Squires' thesis is that the takeover of most newspapers by huge corporate chains has been fatal to the editorial quality and independence of papers. But he provides virtually no details, either anecdotal or analytical, to back up his point. He just complains about what jerks his old paymasters at the Tribune Company were, for whom he edited the *Chicago Tribune* from 1981 to 1989.

His major points: newspapers in general make a ton of money, and are making more and more all the time. But when newspapers are part of large

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er conglomerates, their profits are not churned back in to help fertilize journalism; they are used to prop up the Big Money's bottom line. Executives are expected to keep that profit line heading up eternally, and at eternally higher rate. The better a newspaper does for the Big Bosses, the less it is allowed to do for itself. He recounts sadly his own culpability in this trend at the *Tribune*.

But while praising the kind of real, meaty, shoeleathery journalism that is now missing from papers because of the almighty bottom line, he gives only one example: John Crewdson's exposé on Robert Gallo and the discovery of the AIDS.

Squires never explains why the evils he sees — kowtowing to local business and political interests and advertisers, mostly — were any less prevalent under the old regime, about which he is resolutely rosy-eyed. And he laments the fact that the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have lost the power to ignore a story and thus "keep it from becoming one." He also mourns the passing of hard news in favor of mere entertainment, but never makes a compelling case for what hard news *is* and why it should be privileged.

As an entertaining memoir of one old journalist's experience and perspective, this book is well worth reading. But ultimately, Squires fails to deliver what he promises. —Brian Doherty

The Mother, Not the Daughter, of Order — Benjamin Tucker began publishing *Liberty* from his Boston home in 1881; it lasted until 1908, when a fire ended Tucker's publishing career. During its 27 years, Tucker's *Liberty* published a wide range of individualist writers, from the English minimalist Auberon Herbert to disciples of Bakunin and Kropotkin. But at all times, Tucker, a proponent of the labor theory of value who eschewed natural rights as a "fiction," was the guiding hand. *Liberty*, Tucker wrote in the first issue, "will be edited to suit its editor, not its readers. He hopes that what suits him will suit them; but if not, it will make no difference. No subscriber, or body of subscribers, will be allowed to govern his course, dictate his policy, or prescribe his methods."

Until now, the primary collection of selections from *Liberty* has been *Instead of a Book, by a Man Too Busy To Write One*, published by Tucker in 1893. But it consists almost entirely of Tucker's own contributions, and draws only from the journal's first twelve years. **The Individualist Anarchists** (Transaction, 1994, 330 pp., \$39.95), edited by Frank H. Brooks, is an attempt to produce a more complete and representative anthology.

The book contains over 70 articles and is divided into four parts: "The Political Theory of Individualist Anarchism," "Economics," "Social Controversies," and "Strategies for Advancing Anarchism." Among the more interesting pieces are Tucker's obituary for Karl Marx, "The Ethics of Dynamite," a debate between Auberon Herbert and Victor Yarros, and the essay for which Tucker is best known, "State Socialism and Anarchism: How Far They Agree, And Wherein They Differ."

The Individualist Anarchists is a fine introduction to a fine paper. Readers with a continuing interest in the topic may prefer to examine Greenwood's multivolume reproduction of *Liberty*, published as part of their Radical Periodicals in the United States series. But those simply looking for a solid survey of nineteenth-century individualist anarchist thought need look no further than Brooks' excellent book, ironically supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

—Aaron T. Steelman

Atlas shmucked — Many of *Liberty*'s readers have read and loved Ayn Rand's monumental novel *Atlas Shrugged*, no doubt. But few have seen through the surface of that engaging fiction to the sinister symbolic reality beneath. Apparently, *Atlas Shrugged*, written at the behest of Phillippe Rothchild, for whom Rand served as mistress, is in fact a secret codebook for satanic world Jewry's diabolical plans for world conquest.

The full outline of the incontrovertible facts leading to this conclusion can be found in an engaging little pamphlet called *Witchcraft and the Illuminati*, which I picked up about a decade ago in a Jacksonville, Florida bookstore. I read the pamphlet, chuckled, and since

it wasn't perfect-bound it never found its way onto my bookshelves, languishing instead in random piles of papers, miraculously surviving the ten or so times its peripatetic owner has moved in the past decade.

I was delighted to be reminded of it when I read Michael Barkun's *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (University of North Carolina Press, 1994, 290 pp., \$39.95 hc, \$15.95 sc), and to discover exactly which ideological cubbyhole produced this curious and fascinating screed. Barkun identifies the author as James Ellison of the Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord, a Christian Identity organization.

The subject of Christian Identity is far more dramatic, zany, and fascinating than this book, which mostly leeches its information from secondary sources and refuses to grapple with the sheer crazed absurdity of many of the ersatz religion's tenets. Worse yet, the author does not bring to his subject the requisite wit and irony.

Barkun blandly and straightfacedly reports that Christian Identity types see the white Anglo-Saxon-Celtic-Germanic races as the true Israel of the Bible. God's Chosen are in an eternal war with the "pre-Adamic" races (blacks and orientals) and Jews, the literal biological spawn of Satan through the line of Cain. Their visions of history and eschatology are wild, dynamic, frightening, and apocalyptic, incorporating flying saucers, ancient Babylonian one-world government, satanic cults, ritual murder of infants, and bloody and violent tribulations from which the righteous *won't* be raptured away, but must be prepared to tough out. But Barkun runs them through the strainer of the political scientist and sociologist, and what comes out is a tasteless mush, a numbing adumbration of the gradual evolution of their ideology from its source in British Israelism (surviving today mostly through the Worldwide Church of God, publishers of *The Plain Truth*, a nifty giveaway zine you might be familiar with) to present-day organizations such as the Order, and occasional plots to overthrow the Zionist Occupation Government of America or secede into a racially pure stronghold. This book has too much dull sociologi-

cal categorization and not enough getting down in the dirt to explain in detail why Identity believers actually think the way they do — as individuals, not links in a historic ideological chain.

I can certainly understand why one might want to write a book on the

Christian Identity movement without having to meet any of its adherents, but it isn't the way to guarantee an interesting volume. There are plenty of good books to write on this topic, but this, alas, is not one of them.

—Brian Doherty

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Lemieux, "Memoirs," continued from page 51

great care not to mention the name of the local Soviet dissident.

Until very recently, I could not interest the local book publishers in my work. I had to publish in Paris, which was a good idea anyway: as far as Quebec is concerned, the North Atlantic is a one-way street for books and ideas. An association for the reduction of public expenditures was launched in Quebec, but I only heard about it after the attempt had failed. I recently applied for a university position, with little hope, but I thought that the worst that could happen would be to give me a couple more lines for my memoirs. Although, or perhaps because, the rumor quickly spread (I am told) among the faculty, I was turned down by a word-processed letter. If I liked to complain, I could tell many other such stories.

English Canada is another planet: I have never been able to do anything with any established institution there. Recently, a group considered creating a free-market think tank in Quebec but kept me in the dark, even though I had put myself in touch with some of the principals involved. But after the *Toronto Globe and Mail* published a piece of mine a few months ago, I have been in touch with a few interesting individuals from "ROC" (the "Rest of Canada," as we say here), including the John Locke Institute.

I have often brought subversion right into the tyrant's fortress. The totalitarian federal minister of justice phoned me at home one weekend as a kind of goodwill gesture after he disagreed with one of my articles against firearm controls. Following another one of these articles, the Quebec minister of public security wrote me a rather congratulatory letter on his official letterhead. On the morning CBC radio show in Ottawa, I gave a long interview on the right to keep and bear arms, just as the bureaucrats were caught in the traffic listening to their car radios. I sometimes had pieces of subversive research done for me by people within government. Without much institutional support, though, the results of all this have been mitigated, and we lost many would-be fellow travelers.

Fortunately, I think my influence in

the real wide world may have been larger. After the publication of one of my books, French novelist and Academician Jean d'Ormesson wrote to me: "You are among those who will have redirected the intellectual history of our time." I am quoted more often in France, and perhaps better known among the intellectuals there, than in my Canadian Siberia. When I was living in Paris, I met the Spoonerian president of Les Belles Lettres, a small but well-known publishing house, who has given me unflagging support. (Before you find a Canadian publishing house with a Spoonerian president, the pope will have posted *Playboy* centerfolds in the Sistine Chapel.)

At Les Belles Lettres, we created a book series that catered to anti-statists from Left to Right, and which was favorably reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement*: "They order this matter better in France," the reviewer wrote. Among the authors we published are Lysander Spooner, Herbert Spencer, and Ayn Rand.

Here, I have to be careful, since my readers may know first-hand what I am talking about. For I also like to think that I have had some audience (if only for my *Wall Street Journal* pieces) in the land of Spooner, where I have a few great friends. Perhaps there are just more freemen left there. Only two periodicals have ever asked me to be a contributing editor: both were American, and one of them is *Liberty*. One recent night, while electronically wondering through D.C. on the World Wide Web, I had a Soviet dissident's ego trip: I discovered that the Library of Congress catalog lists more of my books (in the original French) than most university libraries in Quebec.

To tell the truth, I enjoyed this life when I was younger and had some temporary financial security for my family. Fighting the tyrant isn't just a moral duty; it's more fun than being a nine-to-four-thirty bureaucrat with an ugly wife, fat kids, and a suburban swimming pool. But in this society, the personal costs imposed on Soviet dissidents are getting prohibitively high.

Yet . . . yet, perhaps the new generations will one day discover that the Soviet dissidents were right. ☐

one from another religious pacifist organization, Clergy and Laity Concerned. I know other pacifist organizations have taken similar positions.

Cox has not outgrown the right-wing ignorance of the difference between leftist opponents of only "capitalist" wars and pacifist opponents of war, period. Like libertarians, pacifists tend to take positions based on principles rather than political expediency and, like libertarians, they are condemned as left-wing or right-wing depending on who is doing the warmaking at the time.

In my experience, most pacifists are natural libertarians who will become more so as they come to realize the violent nature of the state. Rather than making ignorant accusations of hypocrisy, we should be encouraging them to understand that "war is the health of the state" and that limiting government is requisite for achieving a peaceful world.

Bruce Baechler
Austin, Tex.

How It Plays in Peoria

I was just beginning to develop a great respect for your publication until your November 1994 issue dashed it practically to pieces. I find "Talking Sex, Not Gender" by Wendy McElroy trash unworthy to be published in a magazine such as *Liberty*. Maybe in *Playboy* or *Penthouse*, but not *Liberty*. You do nothing to advance the cause of liberty by publishing such depraved material.

I believe McElroy has a right to have her article published in any magazine that will accept it, but you should have shown better discretion in deciding whether or not to print it.

I hope that any new readers of *Liberty* will not judge libertarians on the whole as being callous to the moral sensitivities of others. I also hope that this is the last time you publish a graphic, perverted article — or, regretfully, I will look elsewhere for current libertarian thought.

Mark Manthey
Peoria, Ill.

U.K. Jive

Given his penchant for deep research and accuracy — as well as his broad knowledge of history — I was somewhat amazed by R.W. Bradford's recent comment ("Conservatism über alles," November 1994) that "Great Britain has neither a Constitution nor a Bill of Rights."

Britain obtained a bill of rights in 1689, 100 years before your country got its document. Further, the Magna Carta,

Notes on Contributors

Chester Alan Arthur is *Liberty's* political correspondent.

"Baloo" is cartoonist *Rex F. May's* favorite pseudonym.

John Bergstrom has gone back to school, God help him.

R.W. Bradford is editor of *Liberty*.

Stephen Cox is Professor of Literature at the University of California at San Diego.

Brian Doherty is an assistant editor at *Reason* magazine.

Seth Farber is author of *Madness, Heresy, and the Rumor of Angels*.

Lowell E. Gallaway is coauthor of *Out of Work* and a research fellow at the Independent Institute.

James Gill is *Liberty's* staff artist.

Leon T. Hadar is the author of *Quagmire: America in the Middle East*.

Robert Higgs is research director for the Independent Institute.

Richard Kostelanetz has produced many books, tapes, and other media, virtually all of which are available from Archae Editions.

Phil Leggiere is a journalist and critic in New Jersey.

Pierre Lemieux is author of French-language books on gun control, anarchism, and other topics.

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Jane S. Shaw is a senior associate of the Political Economy Research Center in Bozeman, Montana.

Sandy Shaw is coauthor of *Freedom of Informed Choice: The FDA vs Nutrient Supplements*.

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Clark Stooksbury is assistant publisher of *Liberty*.

Brian Taylor is editor of *Guillotine: A Slice of Reality*.

Richard K. Vedder is coauthor of *Out of Work* and a research fellow at the Independent Institute.

Jesse Walker is assistant editor of *Liberty*.

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

Coming in *Liberty*

"The Case Against Politics"

John Pugsley and *Wendy McElroy* argue the inherent immorality and futility of political action in general and the campaign of presidential campaign of Harry Browne in particular. *Doug Casey* responds.

signed by a reluctant King John in 1215, was simply a bill of rights by another name. This earlier document enshrined such cornerstones of liberty as the rule of law (outlawing arbitrary acts by the government), and became the basis for similar documents in many other countries.

And Britain has a constitution. We simply do not have a *written* constitution.

Adrian Day
Annapolis, Md.

Bradford responds: The British Bill of Rights protects the rights of Britain's Parliament, not its citizens. The trouble with "unwritten" constitutions is that they're always "evolving" to fit whatever the current government wants to do. Despite all of America's problems, it is much harder, to give one example, for the state to censor here than in Britain. If you don't believe me, ask yourself in which country it is easier to buy a copy of *Spycatcher*.

Terra Incognita

Reno, Nevada

The ongoing persecution of Jesus Christ, as reported in *The Progressive*:

Actor Mark Williams, wearing a beard, robes, and sandals for his title role in *Jesus Christ Superstar*, was ejected from the Pioneer Center for the Performing Arts when the theater's director mistook him for a homeless person.

Maricopa County, Ariz.

Consumer protection, Southwestern-style, reported by *Freedom Network News*:

Undercover agents from the Maricopa County Health Department have been crashing weddings to seize cakes baked without licenses by friends or relatives.

Milwaukee

An Earth-shaking law suit, described by the *Milwaukee Journal*:

Harmanjit S. Saini has filed a lawsuit seeking compensation for "unprecedented discrimination as the result of a worldwide conspiracy to prevent him from making a decent living and marrying a white woman." The 249 defendants named include CBS, Chrysler, the ambassador of Kuwait, Milwaukee public schools superintendent Howard Fuller, and Sen. Ted Kennedy.

Russia

Pre- and post-revolutionary protective headwear, described by the Russian newspaper *Segodnya*:

The familiar big fur hats worn on Soviet holidays by Politburo members were actually lined with steel. They were custom-made by a helmet factory, which now offers similar hats to entrepreneurs who fear attacks from gangsters.

China

Advice to Chinese travelling abroad, from a four-page government-issued guide quoted in the *Baltimore Sun*:

"If a problem comes up or you did something wrong due to inexperience, be sure to report the truth of what happened as soon as possible in case of the possibility of being taken advantage of by spies and special agents."

New York

Evidence of progress in social engineering, from an essay by Tamar Jacoby published on the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*:

"A renewed pursuit of integration need not mean a return to '60s-style social engineering. Washington can provide some opportunities for black and white to get to know each other: a conscripted national service corps, for example."

Missoula, Mont.

A change in policy in the Treasure State, reported by the Associated Press:

Hank Hudson, director of the Department of Family Services, said that his agency would no longer place children with known sex offenders.

Port Townsend, Wash.

A penetrating comment from *Together: A Newsletter for the Port Townsend School District Community*:

"All children and adults, regardless of economic class, experience what is known as 'transient hunger.' This is occasional hunger and is eliminated by eating."

Florida

Covering all bases, as reported by the *Washington Post*:

Michael Gifford should be acquitted of shooting abortionist David Gunn on grounds of diminished capacity, because anti-abortionists brainwashed and crazed him by showing him fetuses and hateful, blood-drenched effigies, his lawyers told jurors. And, they added, he didn't do it.

Prince William County, Va.

Advance in the ongoing fight against child abuse, reported by *The Amicus Curiae*:

Social workers may seize latchkey children as old as ten and put them in foster homes for three days with no hearing or notice, the Fourth Circuit ruled.

Albany, N.Y.

Judicial progress in the Empire State, reported by the Associated Press:

Owners of property near high-voltage power lines can be awarded damages when "cancerphobia" lowers their property value, even without proof of a health risk, New York's Court of Appeals ruled.

Mentor, Ohio

City planning meets art criticism in Middle America, as reported by the *Lake County News-Herald*:

Applebee's plans for a new downtown restaurant is facing problems from Mentor's city planners, who fear that its architectural flavor is "a bit bland." Meanwhile, Chi-Chi's Mexican Restaurant is being challenged from the opposite direction. "I think those canopies might be too gaudy," says Municipal Planning Commission Chair Ray Kirchner.

Fort Lauderdale

The declining education standards of American Nazis, as reported by the *Washington City Paper*:

Donald Leroy Evans, accused of strangling a prostitute, filed a motion before his trial to wear his KKK robe and for his name to be changed on all court documents to "the honorable and respected name of Hi Hitler." Courthouse employees explained that Evans thought Hitler's followers said "Hi Hitler" rather than "Heil Hitler."

Hillsboro, Ill.

Avant-garde religious education, described in *USA Today*:

To demonstrate how God will treat Satan on the Day of Jubilee, Rev. Anthony Dearing picked up and threw an eight-year-old boy.

(Readers are invited to forward newspaper clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*.)

Stimulate Your Mind! with *Liberty* back issues

(continued from back cover)

- "Canada Explodes," by Scott Reid and Barry Chamish
- Plus articles and reviews by R.W. Bradford, Frank Fox, John Hospers, Mark Skousen, Sheldon Richman, and others. (72 pages)

November 1991

- "The Road to Nowhere," by David Horowitz
- "Thelma and Louise: Feminist Heroes," by Miles Fowler
- Plus articles and reviews by Robert Higgs, Leland Yeager, Carol Moore, and others; and a short story by J. E. Goodman. (80 pages)

January 1992

- "The National Park Disgrace," by R.W. Bradford and Karl Hess, Jr
- "Beyond Austrian Economics: Bionomics," by Michael Rothschild
- "How To Think About Pollution," by David Friedman
- Plus articles and reviews by Leland Yeager, Bill Kauffman, Henry Veatch, Jane Shaw, Richard Kostelanetz, and others. (80 pages)

March 1992

- "Albert Jay Nock: Prophet of Libertarianism?" by Stephen Cox
- "P.C. or B.S.?" by Meredith McGhan
- "Sylvan Socialism," by John Baden and Randal O'Toole
- Plus articles and reviews by Karl Hess, Jane Shaw, Edward C. Krug, and others; and an interview with Pat Buchanan. (72 pages)

May 1992

- "Hong Kong: Free Markets, Full Employment," by Mark Tier
- "The Sex Lives of Animals," by Kyle Rothweiler
- "Who is Richard Rorty?" by Dan Klein and David Horowitz
- Plus articles and reviews by Eric Banfield, Karl Hess, Vernon L. Smith, and others; and fiction by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

July 1992

- "The 'Lock' on the Electoral College," by David Brin
- "Christians and Libertarians in a Hostile World," by Doug Bandow
- "The Myth of (Heavy) Metal Illness," by Gracie & Zarkov
- Plus commentary on the L.A. Riots, and articles and reviews by David Kelley, Leland Yeager, George H. Smith, and others. (72 pages)

Volume 6

September 1992

- "War on Drugs, War on Progress," by James Ostrowski
- "Five Years of *Liberty*," by R.W. Bradford
- "Stupid About Schools," by Martin Morse Wooster
- Plus articles and reviews by J. Neil Schulman, Murray Rothbard, William Mellor III, and others; and an index to back issues. (80 pages)

November 1992

- "The First Time: I Run for the Presidency," by John Hospers
- "At the Margins of the Republican Convention," by Thomas D. Walls
- Plus articles and reviews by David Kelley, Richard Kostelanetz, Loren Lomasky, Ben Best, Gregory Johnson, and others. (80 pages)

February 1993

- "Perot's 200-Proof Populism," by Bill Kauffman
- "How to Secede in Politics," by Scott Reid
- "Malcolm X Reborn," by Jesse Walker
- Plus election coverage, and articles and reviews by John Hospers, James Ostrowski, Jesse Walker, Ron Lipp, and others. (80 pages)

April 1993

- "How to Cut Your Taxes by 75%," by R. W. Bradford
- "Clinton and the New Class," by Douglas Casey
- "Peter Drucker: The Other Austrian," by Mark Skousen
- Plus articles and reviews by John Hospers, John Baden, Stephen Cox, and others; and an interview with Roy Childs. (72 pages)

June 1993

- "Holocaust in Waco," by R.W. Bradford and Stephen Cox
- "Understanding the State," by Albert Jay Nock

- "Who Benefits from the Clinton Program?" by Harry Browne
- Plus articles and reviews by Leland Yeager, Randal O'Toole, Bart Kosko, C.A. Arthur, and others. (72 pages)

August 1993

- "How Do I Hate NPR? Let Me Count the Ways," by Glenn Garvin
- "What Happened in Waco?" by Loren Lomasky and R.W. Bradford
- "Wildlife Management: Public vs Private," by John McCormack
- Plus articles and reviews by Stephen Cox, Jane Shaw, and others; poetry by Marc Ponomareff; and fiction by J. Orlin Grabbe. (72 pages)

Volume 7

October 1993

- "The Real Health Care Crisis," by R.W. Bradford
- "White Liberals *Can* Jump," by William Moulton
- "Isabel Paterson, Individualist," by Stephen Cox
- Plus articles and reviews by Greg Kaza, Brian Doherty, and others; aphorisms by Isabel Paterson; and an index to Volume 6. (72 pages)

January 1994

- "First They Came for the Fascists. . ." by Gerry Spence
- "My Dinner With Slick Willie," by Douglas Casey
- "Presidential Malpractice," by R.W. Bradford
- "The Inevitability of the Welfare State," by Todd Seavey
- Plus articles and reviews by Wendy McElroy, Ross Overbeek, Jesse Walker, and others. (72 pages)

March 1994

- "Chaos and Liberty," by J. Orlin Grabbe and Pierre Lemieux
- "Secession as a First Amendment Right," by Robert Nelson
- "Partial Recall: Manufacturing Child Abuse," by David Ramsay Steele
- "Panopticon, U.S.A.," by John Hospers
- Plus articles and reviews by Victor Niederhoffer, R.W. Bradford, and others; and a short story by Richard Kostelanetz. (72 pages)

May 1994

- "The Aristocratic Menace," by David Brin
- "Creation Myths of the Right," by R.W. Bradford
- "Trafficking in Numbers: The Seat Belt Scam," by Gwynne Nettler
- Plus articles and reviews by R.W. Bradford, Jane Shaw, James Ostrowski, and others. (72 pages)

July 1994

- "Hillary's Trades, Hillary's Lies," by Victor Niederhoffer
- "Remembering Karl Hess," by R.W. Bradford
- "Tribes in a High-Tech World," by Leon T. Hadar
- Plus articles and reviews by Justin Raimondo, Douglas Casey, Bruce Ramsey, and others. (72 pages)

September 1994

- "Howard Stern: The Man vs the Empire State," by Todd Seavey
- "Diagnosis in the Therapeutic State," by Thomas Szasz
- "The New Mythology of Rape," by Wendy McElroy
- Plus articles and reviews by Bart Kosko, Jesse Walker, Leland Yeager, Bill Kauffman, and others. (72 pages)

Volume 8

November 1994

- "Hail to the Wimp!" by Leon T. Hadar
- "The WTO: Trading Away Free Trade," by Fred L. Smith, Jr.
- "Deep Ecology Meets the Market," by Gus diZerega
- Plus articles and reviews by Wendy McElroy, Bart Kosko, and others; a short story by Greg Jenkins; and an index to Volume 7. (72 pages)

December 1994

- "The War Against Cuban Refugees," by Grover Joseph Rees
- "Where Taxes Rise Fastest," by R.W. Bradford
- "Truth and Lies in the Balkan War," by George Manolovich
- Plus articles and reviews by Richard Kostelanetz, David Ramsay Steele, Susan Rutter, Stephen Cox, Wendy McElroy, and others. (72 pages)

Back issues from the first two volumes also available; see *Liberty*, September (p. 40), or write Liberty Back Issues for information.

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There is a world of good reading in **Liberty**! Whether you want to catch up on what you missed, provide intellectual relief to your friends (or enemies!), or complete your collection, now is a good time to buy. Enjoy!

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September 1989

- "Abortion Without Absurdity," by R.W. Bradford
 - "The Argument from Mere Argument," by Loren Lomasky
 - "Reconstructionism and Liberty," by Jeffrey Tucker and Gary North
- Plus articles and reviews by David Friedman, Murray Rothbard, Richard Kostelanetz, Ralph Raico, and others. (72 pages)

November 1989

- "Loathing the Fear in New York," by Murray Rothbard
 - "The Case Against a Capital Gains Tax Cut," by Michael Christian
- Plus articles and reviews by Loren Lomasky, Richard Kostelanetz, Tibor R. Machan, Joseph Miranda, R.W. Bradford, and others; and an interview with Russell Means. (72 pages)

January 1990

- "The Politics of the Millennium," by Murray Rothbard
 - "The Case for Paleolibertarianism," by Llewelyn Rockwell
 - "In Pursuit of Charles Murray," by David Gordon
- Plus writing by Patrick J. Michaels, Karl Hess, R.W. Bradford, Stephen Cox, William Moulton, and others; and an interview with Barbara Branden. (80 pages)

March 1990

- "H.L. Mencken: Anti-Semite?" by R.W. Bradford

- "Libertarian Intellectuals on Welfare," by George H. Smith
- Plus articles and reviews by Sheldon Richman, John Hospers, Stephen Cox, Loren Lomasky, Richard Kostelanetz, and others. (80 pages)

May 1990

- "Killing as Therapy," by Thomas Szasz
 - "Smokestacks vs Rhinos," by Robert Higgs
 - "Liberty Without Romance," by Bart Kosko
- Plus articles and reviews by Bill Kauffman, Richard Kostelanetz, Jane Shaw, Karl Hess, Loren Lomasky, and others. (72 pages)

July 1990

- "Conversations with Ayn Rand (part 1)," by John Hospers
 - "If You Believe in Dentistry, Why Should You Mind Having Your Teeth Knocked Out?" by William Moulton
- Plus articles and reviews by David Friedman, Bill Kauffman, James Robbins, Mark Skousen, John Baden, and others. (72 pages)

Volume 4

September 1990

- "Conversations with Ayn Rand (part 2)," by John Hospers
 - "Me and AIDS," by Richard Kostelanetz
 - "Fighting the Draft in World War II," by Jim Bristol
- Plus articles and reviews by Jane Shaw, Ron Paul, James Robbins, and others; and a *fiction* by Harvey Segal. (72 pages)

November 1990

- "Why We Should Leave the Middle East," by Sheldon Richman
 - "Government vs Farmers," by Leslie Fleming
- Plus articles and reviews by Robert Higgs, Richard Kostelanetz, David Friedman, and others; and an interview with Ed Crane. (80 pages)

January 1991

- "Gordon Gekko, Mike Milken, and Me," by Douglas Casey
 - "Marxism, Liberalism, and the State," by Ralph Raico
 - "Skatepunks, UFOs, and Anarchy for Fun," by Lawrence Person
- Plus articles and reviews by Karl Hess, David Boaz, Loren Lomasky, and others; plus special election coverage. (80 pages)

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- "The Myth of War Prosperity," by Robert Higgs
 - "Downloading Education," by David Friedman
 - "The Strange Death of the McDLT," by R.W. Bradford
- Plus articles and reviews by Jan Narveson, Jane Shaw, Richard Weaver, Linda Locke, William Holtz, John Baden, and others. (72 pages)

May 1991

- "Christiania: Something Anarchical in Denmark," by Benjamin Best
 - "Journalists and the Drug War," by David Boaz
 - "Recall Gorbys Peace Prize," by James Robbins
- Plus writing by John Baden, Scott Reid, Richard Stroup, Leland Yeager, and others; and a short story by Lawrence Thompson. (72 pages)

July 1991

- "Say 'No' to Intolerance," by Milton Friedman
 - "Ex-Nazis Say the Darndest Things," by Richard Kostelanetz
- Plus articles and reviews by David Friedman, Karl Hess, and others; and Mark Skousen's interview with Robert Heilbroner. (72 pages)

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