

Liberty

January 2000

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Sex Behind Bars

The Libertarian of the Century

by the Editors

The Jihad Against Microsoft

by R. W. Bradford

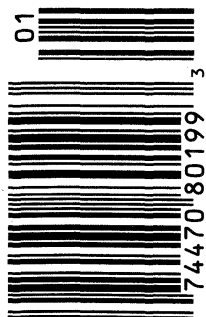
When the NAACP Went Armed

by David Kopel

Reagan in Fact and Fiction

by Gene Healy

Also: Stephen Cox skewers Naomi Wolf, Andrew Muriithi bemoans the strangulation of Kenya, Tom Garrison abandons socialism, Martin Tyrrell examines the two faces of George Orwell ... plus other articles, reviews & humor



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Letters

Repeal, Don't Legalize

R.W. Bradford is on the right train but the wrong track in urging the Libertarian Party to emphasize drug legalization in the next presidential campaign. What we don't need are more laws. And legalization of something may imply endorsement. Libertarians should abjure the notion that whatever is not permitted is prohibited. Imagine, for example, legalizing Judaism or Latin. This would be offensive, especially to the supposed beneficiaries. All we need do is the same thing we did with alcohol prohibition — repeal it. This should be, to put it simply, just another pro-choice issue. Why should we wage war against someone because they put in their minds and/or bodies ideas and substances we don't approve of?

What started as a metaphorical war is now a hot one with the Army involved on both domestic and foreign fronts. When they sold the American people on this war, they neglected to inform of the casualties. The war on drugs encompasses not only recreational drugs but orphan drugs, tobacco, and God knows what else in the future. If Libertarians don't bring this up, who will? It is up to us to make both the moral and practical case for the repeal of drug laws. It may happen all at once, or we may have to settle for piecemeal repeal, but either way we must paint the drug zealots as the self-serving liars and murderers that they are. Thus it would be more pointed to frame our argument not as legalize drugs, but as, stop the war.

David Kahn
Montville, N.J.

The Sensible Approach

R.W. Bradford's suggestion that the Libertarian Party focus on drug legalization as a wedge issue in the 2000 presidential election makes more sense than the party's current approach. I have another suggestion, one that I imagine

others have explored before: moderating the party's message and political goals so as to make both seem palatable to the larger public. This ties into the moralism-versus-consequentialism debate that *Liberty* hosted earlier this year.

What would be wrong with a Libertarian Party platform that took its cues from the Cato Institute? More than any other libertarian organization, the Cato Institute seems to recognize that while freedom should always serve as a beacon for further change, a roadmap of the incremental steps towards it is a necessity in the real political world. Following this approach, the party could endorse a flat tax or a sales tax rather than the elimination of all national taxes. It could suggest a gradual decrease in American policing of the world rather than an overnight return of all soldiers to our shores. It could work on convincing people to decriminalize marijuana on the federal level rather than asking them to imagine heroin vials at their local liquor store. And so on. Such a shift in the Libertarian Party's platform and rhetoric would decrease its marginalization, and serve as an actual blueprint for action when and if it ever elected a sizable number of politicians. Finally, it would just make the party seem less silly.

Peter Pfarrer
Ithaca, N.Y.

Suggestion Box

Finally, somebody is talking about concrete steps the party should consider to become a factor in the presidential race. Permit me to suggest some alternatives to drug legalization.

1) If I had to choose one (sorry, it ain't drug legalization) it would be a freeze to the federal budget for X number of years.

2) Guns. Talk about a single issue that gets people passionate and into the voting booth!

3) Abolish the minimum wage. Nuff

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said.

4) Evict the United Nations from American soil.

5) Foreign aid.

I could go on for another hour but I have to make a living (and pay the taxman).

I totally support drug legalization (I have two teenage boys and have thought very hard about this issue) but the country is not ready for this. It is the kind of polarizing issue that will lose more votes than it gains.

Thanks for listening.

Mark Granger

Marietta, Ga.

That's Crazy Talk!

Re your suggestion that drug legalization be used by a Libertarian presidential candidate as a wedge-issue: You're joking, right?

God knows I hope so because, speaking for myself and other Vermont party members of my acquaintance, I can't think of anything better designed to cool our ardor for the party and its truly important goals. Frankly I can't even imagine any serious party candidate acknowledging to potential voters that the relatively trivial matter of recreational drug use ranks anywhere near the top of his political agenda.

Does that mean I oppose drug legalization? Certainly not. But in politics as elsewhere there is such a thing as a sense of proportion; and bearing that sense in mind requires that things like recreational drug use fall in line fairly down the list.

So what's a good alternative suggestion? That's easy enough, both I and my Green Mountain friends have been pushing it for years. How about the Libertarian Party adopting a central theme rather than looking for any kind of Silver Bullet issue? With that theme being Personal Responsibility?

No question about it, despite the obvious fact that personal freedom and personal responsibility are obverse sides of the the same coin, the party has never done anything more than pay lip service to the need for developing Responsibility positions and language. Which of course is a damn shame, because without a lot of emphasis on individualized responsibility, the Libertarian Party will never amount to anything more than a funny little footnote in the history books of the mid-

21st century.

John M. Simons
Sheffield, Vt.

Ending the War on Drugs Is Not Noble

Having run for office, I can assure you that running on a "legalize marijuana" single issue platform would totally turn off your audience, and for good reason. We must stand for something noble, which resonates with mid-

dle America, like getting government off their back, getting our bombers out of world hot spots, keeping more of our hard-earned money for our kids, and, yes, stopping the insane war on drugs, not so that we can get high, but so that we can end the 7-11 robberies of hard-working immigrant clerks.

On a national level, this strategy wouldn't budge the 0.5 percent norm, in my opinion. But it would lower the stature of a Harry Browne or Ron Paul.

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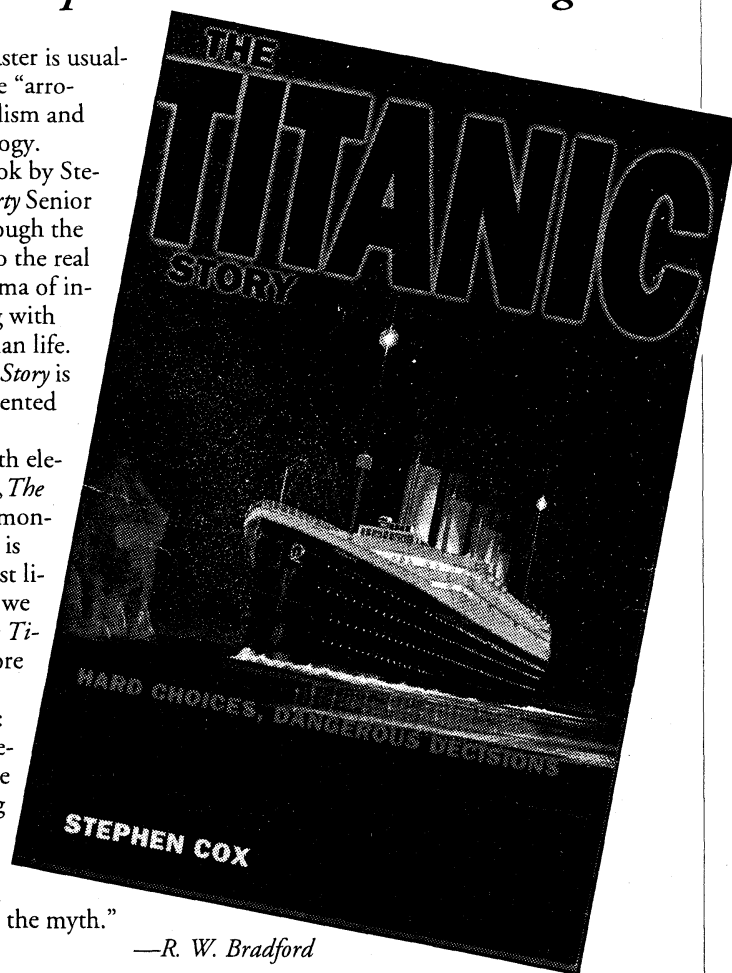
—R. W. Bradford

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These men stand for higher principles, mostly financial freedom and personal property rights. Besides, these two potential candidates are older gentlemen, grayer eminences, if you will, and a drug platform doesn't seem to resonate with their character or appearance. Most of us would rather keep more of our money than have a good toke now and then, and we risk the danger of coming across as a narcissistic pack of spoiled brats by focusing on drugs, while the opposition has noble-sounding (but empty) causes like "improving education, for the children's sake." I've learned that we need to speak to the noblest needs and desires of middle America in our campaigns, because we truly reflect their best hopes.

Gary Alexander
Vienna, Va.

Tough Question

Unfortunately, I have to agree with R.W. Bradford about the poor progress the Libertarian Party is making. But if we can't build the LP significantly enough to make a difference, what is our alternative?

Jeff Kradin
Delray Beach, Fla.

Bradford responds: I agree with David Kahn that "ending the War on Drugs" is a better theme than "Legalize Drugs;" my article was about strategy and didn't explore the question of how to market the issue that the strategy I suggested called for. Like Peter Pfarrer, I applaud the work that Cato has done; unlike him, I doubt that adopting an approach that helps a think tank gain influence in policy debates inside the beltway would also help a fringe political party get more votes.

I don't think focusing on the issues that Mark Granger lists could win many votes. For one thing, all of them are issues that other parties share the LP position on. If you want to get the UN out of the U.S. A., for example, why vote for the Libertarian Party when the Constitution Party advocates the same thing? And I have serious doubts that anyone feels so passionately about minimum wage laws that they'd jump to a new party to protest them.

John Simons and Gary Alexander

have a good point, although it's one that I made in my article: A campaign focused on ending the drug war isn't going to play well in all parts of the country and to all constituencies. My hypothesis is that the articulation of a broad libertarian program is an approach that has failed consistently for 26 years and that we might want at least to try an approach of focusing on a single issue that has a large constituency not served by any major party.

I strongly disagree with Simon's belief that ending the drug war is a "relatively trivial matter." It certainly isn't to the millions of Americans who have had a loved one thrown in jail or had their homes or other property stolen as a result of the drug war. I am astonished by Alexander's suggestion that a Libertarians would try to convince middle Americans to join them in trying to end the drug war "so we can get high." There are a lot of reasons to end the drug war (and to legalize drugs): to stop putting hundreds of thousands of people in jail who have done nothing but smoked an herb that the government doesn't like; to stop taking the property of people who are guilty only of having a friend or relative who has smoked or possessed such an herb, or, in the cases of many people stopped by traffic officers, guilty only of having in their possession United States currency; to save the \$30+ billion per year spent on keeping drug war victims in prison; to reaffirm the right of Americans to be secure in their homes and property . . . the list goes on and on.

Needless to say, I do not see this cause as an "ignoble" one that would demean Harry Browne or Ron Paul or anyone else. I realize there is a danger that advocates of ending the drug war might be portrayed as "a narcissistic pack of spoiled brats" who seek to "have a good toke now and then," just as advocates of private property are portrayed as defenders of the rich. But I think a campaign that focusses on the injustice of the drug war, by televising advertisements with nice middle class couples telling how drug agents busted down their doors and confiscated their house because their visiting nephew had a single marijuana cigarette, could prevent drug war opponents from being branded as "narcissistic spoiled brats"

at least as effectively as Libertarians' past efforts have kept them from being portrayed as defenders of the rich and privileged.

Suggestion Noted

Barry Loberfeld's half-baked ideas on jury nullification ("Just Say No!", *Reflections*, December) should have ended with BS, rather than BL.

Geb Sommer
Lexington, S.C.

Bad, Bad Boomers

Sarah McCarthy's piece (*Reflections*, November) issue sounded like it came from *Mother Jones*, not *Liberty*. The proof is in the pudding, as they say, and the generation that came of age in the sixties has not distinguished itself. By taking control of academia, boomers have given us socialist-style speech codes. Soccer moms are ready to vote for candidates who will take our guns away (or try!) Sixties social policies have led to the worst underclass ever seen in America. Boomer politicians have shown themselves to be statists to the core. The list goes on and on. I can only guess that in her excitement about "escape from sex role uniformity," she smoked one doobie too many.

Michell J. McConnell
Brookline, N.H.

Liberated Before Friedan

Sarah McCarthy apparently hadn't delved into much history when she was in her twenties, or she wouldn't have come up with the self-congratulatory myth we've heard from some women in every generation since the suffragettes were around; namely, "My generation truly liberated women!"

It's simply not true that women were unable to go to college before the 60s, or enter any careers except teaching or nursing. As Carolyn Graglia points out in her book *Domestic Tranquility*, she was a practicing lawyer in the 50s, and encountered no obstacles, except poverty, to her career. In the 50s my mom was getting her Ph. D. And the Pope was saying the same thing then he's saying now — that human life, including mothers' is precious beyond all reckoning. If he'd been heeded, perhaps we wouldn't have our current horrifying market in dead baby parts.

Women, in general, prefer inside

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Reflections

Harry Browne was wrong — After only 28 years of operation, the government-owned passenger rail service Amtrak announced in August a new “customer-satisfaction” program that will “involve checking each train before departure for adequate food supplies and properly running plumbing.” Who says government doesn’t work?

—R. W. Bradford

John Chafee, RIP — Moderate Republican: a socialist who for some reason relating to political expediency or heredity registers Republican.

—Sheldon Richman

Chicks dig alpha men — Al Gore’s ties to wacky feminist Naomi Wolf came to light, appropriately enough, at Hallowe’en, when many supposedly grown-up people do wacky things to amuse themselves. The difference is that Gore never admits that he does anything wacky, and he can never do anything the least bit amusing, even to himself.

It was on a Halloween morning interview show that Gore was asked whether he had hired the notorious Wolf to give him campaign advice in exchange for a salary of \$15,000 a month — the advice consisting of adjurations to stop being a “beta male” and start acting like an “alpha male.”

This in itself was amusing, especially for a “feminist” to say; and if Gore had any sense of humor, or any humanity, for that matter, he would have replied to his questioners with any of the numerous witticisms that immediately come to mind. “Why beta? Why not at least gamma?” “Well, I’ve always thought of myself as an omega.” “There isn’t one iota of truth in that.” “Beta! I’m a VHS!”

Of course, he said none of these things. The man whose lack of spontaneity is the very image of the planned society he champions muttered only things like, “She’s a valued advisor, and she’ll remain one.” Then he lied about how much she got paid.

Among Ms. Wolf’s accomplishments is reportedly the authorship of a book that advocates addressing the safe sex problem by teaching kids to masturbate. Naturally, in this vision of spontaneous order, they would have to be *taught* to do that.

—Stephen Cox

Medal heads — If you had been involved, however tangentially, in a debacle that ended in the murder of over 75 people — wouldn’t you be a little bit ashamed? Wouldn’t you show a little contrition, and conduct yourself with a decent respect for the victims’ relatives? Wouldn’t you have a little class? If so — well, then, you’re just not FBI material, son.

FBI documents recently turned over to the Danforth committee contain a host of revelations about the agency’s conduct at Waco in 1993. The most widely reported item so far has been that FBI agents did in fact fire incendiary devices at the Davidians’ home. But another, less well-covered, revelation from the new documents shows the FBI’s appalling lack of remorse over the carnage at Waco. It seems that FBI offi-

cials actually sought medals for the agents involved in the 51-day siege. One memo found at Quantico noted “there may be reluctance to award such a high number of shields of bravery, but the discipline and courage which was exhibited by the HRT [hostage rescue team] for the seven-week siege . . . cannot be overstated.” (Funny, I don’t remember any hostages at Waco.)

Just as revealing in its way was a little item printed in the *Washington Post*’s book review section on October 17. Reviewing *A Place Called Waco*, written by one of the nine survivors of the 1993 siege, reporter Robert Suro recounts a conversation he’d had recently with “a senior FBI executive.” The two spoke on the day the Justice Department seized the documents the FBI had been withholding, and the agent was none too happy about the way things had turned out. “Reflecting on the indignity, the FBI veteran said, ‘David Koresh won.’”

How do you like that? Koresh ends up six feet under, along with dozens of his followers, and some of his children. Six years later, thanks to FBI obstruction of justice, we still don’t know how the fire started at Waco. What we do know is that the agency’s behavior there revealed at best a reckless indifference to the loss of human life, and at worst, premeditated murder. Despite that, there have been no indictments for the crimes committed at Waco. And yet, somehow, in the agency’s bunker mentality, Koresh “won.” Harvard psychiatrist Alan Stone put it best in *Waco: The Rules of Engagement*. The problem isn’t understanding the psychology of the people inside the compound; the real trick is trying to fathom the people *outside* the compound.

—Gene Healy

Campaign update — Let’s see. What’s happening in the presidential race?

GOP-nominee-to-be George W. Bush is in hot water for failing to be able to name the heads of state of three countries and a region in Russia. Al Gore is under attack for hiring a highly-paid consultant to teach him how to be a “man.” And Pat Buchanan is denounced as “pro-Hitler” because he doubted the wisdom of the United States’s entering World War II.

Meanwhile, scant attention is paid to either of two subjects — *the* two subjects — that are genuinely relevant in choosing a president: character and beliefs.

No one cares that Pat Buchanan is a bully who still takes pleasure in recalling the unprovoked physical attacks he made on others as a young man. No one cares that George W. spent his college days partying, failing even to notice the Vietnam War. Or that he spent the first two decades of his adulthood strung out on drugs (aside from the question of whether the drug of choice was alcohol or cocaine). Or that his “career” as a businessman was largely a matter of exploiting his rich and politically powerful father’s connections. Or that the one really profitable business deal that he was involved in derived virtually all its profit from a huge raid on the public treasury. And no one cares that Al Gore grew up in

a luxury hotel without a clue about how ordinary Americans live, or that he made much of his fortune by cashing checks from international swindler Armand Hammer.

Nor does anyone care that Gore and Bill Bradley advocate the virtual destruction of the market system in the name of protecting the environment or ameliorating poverty. Or that Buchanan wants to end free trade, thereby harming virtually everyone in the world. Or that Bush has virtually no stands on any issue at all.

If politics were really a serious business, of course, the indifference of the press and the people to such serious issues would also be a serious matter. But politics is not drama. It is a comic sideshow. And we should no more expect politicians to be men of character or wisdom than we should expect a porn star to recite Shakespeare's sonnets or a sword-swallower to lecture in fluent Sumerian.

—Chester Alan Arthur

Show me the money — What do Jesse Ventura, Pat Buchanan and The Donald have in common? Large egos, and an appreciation of the fun they could have with \$13 million in taxpayers money. What political beliefs do they have in common? None. It's not clear that Donald Trump has any political beliefs at all. Buchanan has them, but it's not clear that the Reform Party stalwarts, if any be left, share them. It doesn't matter; the party is a kind of shell corporation ripe for takeover. Under Buchanan, it could become the Nationalist Party; under Ventura and Trump, a kind of show. In either case, it will be an excellent reminder of the value of checking off \$3 on one's federal income tax return for the support of presidential election campaigns.

—Bruce Ramsey

Crime seen — The Justice Department has rejected a proposal by Branch Davidian lawyers to participate in a reconstruction of the last day of the federal siege against the church at Waco in 1993. The idea was to fire weapons identical to those used on the day of the FBI assault at a firing range while a plane with an infrared camera like the one on a plane that flew overhead that day would take pictures. Then experts would supposedly be able to see if the gunfire created the same kind of images producers of the two films about Waco say indicate that the FBI (and/or the military personnel) fired weapons at Davidians attempting to escape from the church. Justice Department lawyers cited uncertainty over whether such a demonstration

continued on page 10

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How Environmental Regulation Prevents People From Protecting the Environment — Environmental economist Rick Stroup explains how iron-fisted regulators provide powerful incentives against private landowners caring for the environment. (audio: A402; video: V402)

The U.S. Forest Service: America's Experiment in Soviet Socialism — The country's premier expert on the U.S. Forest Service, Randal O'Toole, tells a sad tale of excessive road building, clearcutting and the strangling effects of Soviet-style centralized decision-making. (audio: A403; video: V403)

Environmental Religion in the Schools — Author Jane Shaw explores how schools indoctrinate children in the New Religion of Mother Earth. In this religion, wealth and production are among the deadly sins. (audio: A404; video: V404)

The Liberty Privacy Panel — R.W. Bradford, Fred Smith, David Friedman and Doug Casey explore the privacy issues of today and of the 21st century. (audio: A405; video: V405)

Advancing Liberty in the Courts — Washington Supreme Court Justice Richard Sanders explains how libertarians get more bang for their buck by supporting judicial candidates. You'll hear how one libertarian justice can make a huge difference! (audio: A406; video: V406)

A Libertarian in Congress — The sole libertarian in Congress, Ron Paul, on the art of building coalitions and on how he led the effort to slay the privacy-invading Know Your Customer regulations. Hear him recount the history of the Social Security number as an identifier, and learn how laws on immigration, welfare reform, and health care are shredding your privacy. (audio: A407; video: V407)

Does the Libertarian Party Have a Future? — R.W. Bradford makes a powerful case that the LP is failing to advance freedom, and suggests a controversial new approach that could lead to a political breakthrough. Judge for yourself whether the provocative strategy he outlines will propel the LP into the big leagues. (audio: A408; video: V408)

Exciting Minute of the 1999 *Liberty* Editors' Conference!

Al Gore's War on Freedom and Mobility — Al Gore hates the internal combustion engine. If he gets his way, America's cities will look a lot more like the cities of communist Europe, so says **Randal O'Toole**. (audio: A409; video: V409)

Selling Liberty in an Illiberal World — **Fred Smith** offers a revolutionary approach to spreading libertarian ideas, and explains how to frame issues for maximum appeal. (audio: A410; video: V410)

Contracts and the Net — The Internet will reshape contract law, argues **David Friedman**, at the expense of judicial power. Learn how ne-tizens are developing institutions to allow for private litigation, and hear how arbitration and reputation loss are actually more potent on the Net than in real space. (audio: A411; video: V411)

How to Write Op-Eds and Get Them Published — Join former *Business Week* editor **Jane Shaw**, *Orange County Register* senior columnist **Alan Bock** and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* business reporter **Bruce Ramsey** for a workshop on how you can air your opinions in the newspaper. Learn Jane's six points that will send you on your way to publication, and hear the one phrase which Ramsey says is taboo at his paper. (audio: A412; video: V412)

What Does Economics Have to Do With the Law, and What Do Both Have to Do With Libertarianism? — **David Friedman** explores how economics and law relate to each other and to libertarianism. (audio: A413; video V413)

Urban Sprawl, Liberty and the State — Urban sprawl may turn out to be one of the hot-button issues of the next elections. Learn why environmentalists want you caged in cities, and how they plan to do it with **Jane Shaw**, **Richard Stroup**, **Fred Smith**, and **Randal O'Toole**. (audio: A414; video: V414)

My Dinner With James Madison — **Scott Reid** views modern America through the eyes of a Founding Father. Our Madison discusses some little known alternatives at the Constitutional Convention, and why they would have been better for freedom. (audio: A415; video: V415)

The New Liberty and the Old — **R.W. Bradford** explains how fundamental changes are reshaping the libertarian movement, and forthrightly takes on the advocates of the non-aggression imperative. (audio: A416; video: V416)

Using the First Amendment to Smash the State — **Durk Pearson** and **Sandy Shaw** tell how they've used the First Amendment to wage total war against the government. Learn how they brought the FDA to its knees, and share their secrets for successful litigation. (audio: A417; video: V417)

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

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End the Drug War or Forget About Freedom — **Alan Bock** journeys to the heart of darkness in America's failed effort at drug prohibition. The casualties of the war, says Bock, are a lot of harmless

people and your civil rights. (audio: A419; video: V419)

Juries, Justice and the Law — Fully informed jury activist **Larry Dodge** explains the history and the importance of jury nullification, including efforts underway to increase the power of juries. (audio: A420; video: V420)

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would have any validity. Could it be they were more concerned that it might be utterly valid?

—Alan Bock

Homeless lords — On October 26, acting under coercion from Prime Minister Tony ("The Bruiser") Blair, the British House of Lords voted to commit suicide. More precisely, it voted to cast out its hereditary members and make way for a Canadian-style upper house composed of political yes-men appointed by the ruling party. It was, in effect, the end of the House of Lords.

Well, why bother? All the House of Lords is able to do anyway is to delay pieces of legislation until the next session of the Commons, and it's very bad about doing that. Its real job is simply to look arcane and traditional — sort of a living passenger pigeon. So why should Bonny Prince Blair want to throttle it?

A passion for the Scandinavian Modern style? Childhood memories of being whipped by a Viscount? A sick obsession with Oliver Cromwell? There's no good answer.

But consider this: the only time when modern liberals actually move to end a government institution, they go after one that has no power and that actually (simply because it has no power) provides a certain degree of mindless fun.

—Stephen Cox

None of that namby-pamby libertarian nonsense here, old chap — You can learn a lot about Third Way politics by listening to Britain's Tony Blair. Responding recently to criticism of New Labour's "tough-on-crime" policies — including local curfews, restrictions on jury trials, and compulsory DNA tests for arrestees — Prime Minister Blair averred that he was sick of "libertarian nonsense masquerading as freedom."

Last month, at the Labour Party's annual conference in Bournemouth, Blair outlined his vision for the coming millennium. According to Blair, "the 21st century will not be about the battle between capitalism and socialism, but between the forces of progress and the forces of conservatism." Nor will these reactionaries be found solely among old-style Tories, Blair tells us; instead progress will be opposed by adherents to the "conservatism of [either] Left or Right."

What characterizes these dark forces opposed to progress, motivated by what Blair refers to as "conservatism" or "libertarian nonsense"? The PM gives some examples: the forces of reaction cling to ridiculous old traditions like fox-hunting, which New Labour promises to ban; they oppose the use of military force in crusades for international human rights; they don't think crime control should be achieved with the sacrifice of basic freedoms; and worst of all, they resist integration into a monstrous European superstate.

In Blair's Bournemouth speech, we can see the true nature of Third Way politics revealed. It's the political Left shorn of its twin redeeming virtues: opposition to war and concern for civil liberties. New Labour's eagerness for war was made clear earlier this year by Blair's leadership role in NATO's attack on Serbia. Pushing for escalated bombing and ground troops in Kosovo, Blair showed himself bloodthirsty enough to draw the adjective "Churchillian" from Bill Kristol, America's leading talk-show hawk.

Blair's domestic policy, in turn, demonstrates that left-wing civil libertarianism will be left behind in the great leap

forward to the Third Way. Under a telecommunications bill to be introduced next month, computer users who refuse to reveal their passwords to the government will face up to two years in jail. Internet service providers will be forced, at their expense, to make their networks wiretap-friendly, and to keep records showing to and from whom material has passed. One crusty old Tory MP saw the bill as a plan for "a state surveillance system like something out of Orwell's 1984." (See what Blair means? What a tired old metaphor!)

This, then, is a statism for the 21st century. Intrusive at home, pursuing safety and social justice; violent abroad, with cruise missiles and cluster bombs for foreign forces of reaction — and all of it coated in dulcet phrases about compassion, altruism, the future, and "progress." Meet the new boss; but for the rhetoric, same as the old boss. When G.K. Chesterton wrote that "the old tyrants invoked the past; the new tyrants will invoke the future," he might have been thinking of a character like Tony Blair.

—Gene Healy

They'll still walk a mile . . . — The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention report that 24.7 percent of adults smoked in 1997. As a result, the CDC expects to fall far short of its goal of reducing smoking to 15 percent of the adult population by 2000. The human spirit is a disease that resists control. After ten years of congressional hearings, propaganda, censorship, lawsuits, regulation, taxation, indoctrination, and legislation, the statistics remain virtually unchanged. Maybe it's just time to leave us all alone.

—Tim Slagle

View the right thing — That a major museum in New York offered an image of the Virgin Mary spattered with elephant dung has raised the usual questions of whether the image is really art, whether the museum should have shown it and whether the blasphemer who did it should be sustained at the taxpayer's teat. It also poses the question of what you can get away with. Whom can you attack these days? The Virgin Mary? Yep. Absolutely anyone? I would think not. Could an artist have offered a Star of David spattered with shit? Would that have been accepted by a museum in New York City, or would the curator have found it "inappropriate?" Instead of spattering the Virgin with excrement, what if it was Martin Luther King, in doberman pinscher shit? Would that have been art? Would it have been defended as art?

I doubt it.

In my city a businessman bought a statue of Lenin in Eastern Europe. That statue is now erected on a public thoroughfare here, with the choreographer of the Red Terror thrusting forth in socialist certainty next to a dispensary of fish tacos. It's in a part of town known for its funky irreverence. When the statue went up, some Russian emigres put up a holler, but they were laughed down. Communism is dead. Get over it. We can laugh at it now. I tended to agree: I wasn't insulted by Lenin at the taco stand.

Suppose, however, it had been Adolf Hitler. Nazism is a lot deader than Communism. Can we laugh at Auschwitz? How about a statue of Mao Zedong? White people would find him funnier than Hitler, I'd guess, but the Chinese in this city, many of whom have Nationalist roots, might not.

I raise these questions not to suggest that one man's offense should trump another's freedom. But it's not only a

question of your freedom to do a thing; it's whether you do do it. Even in a free society, there are certain things that are not done.

I named my cat Mao — partly because "mao" is Cantonese for cat, and partly as a joke on the Great Helmsman. But the name is offensive to some people. A Chinese friend in Hong Kong told me it was in very bad taste. "It is an insult to the cat," he said. Of course, I was a foreigner, and I could be excused for my silliness. For a local to name his cat Mao might have interfered with its life expectancy.

—Bruce Ramsey

Once more with feeling! — Dozens of people have called or written me supporting my call for the Libertarian Party to come up with a strategy that could help it do substantially better at the polls than it has in its past pathetic showings. These kind respondents have also supported my suggestion that making drug legalization the centerpiece of the campaign might just enable the party to win enough votes to show up on the political landscape. (My theory is that ending the War on Drugs is a "wedge issue" that would have appeal to a significant minority of voters, enough appeal to get them to "waste" their votes on a candidate who manifestly cannot win.) Many people have asked me whether I had spoken to Harry Browne about all this, since Harry will almost certainly be the LP's nominee again next year.

So I called Harry and asked him. Yes, he said, he'd read my article. "Maybe if you'd talked to me about it before you'd written it, you'd know that it was one of the three main campaign issues in my campaign the last time around." Of course, I knew he'd supported drug legalization in his previous campaign. But my proposal, I remarked, was not merely to make drug legalization a campaign issue. I wanted to make it *the* campaign issue, the central theme of the campaign, just as Eugene McCarthy made ending the Vietnam War the central theme of his campaign in 1968. If the LP could offer voters a way of making an unequivocal statement for drug legalization enough might vote Libertarian for the party to escape the ignominy of getting less than half of one percent of the vote.

"I understand what you're saying," Harry said, "but it would have been nice if you'd pointed out to people that I have been pushing for the end of the drug war for a long time." I reiterated that I knew he had been doing that, but I was arguing that ending the War on Drugs should be the central theme of the campaign. "It probably will be, anyway," he responded. "We're working on a video right now . . . and there are three issues covered: Social Security, the drug war and the income tax." But he didn't want to do a "one-issue" campaign, because "the press would get tired of hearing the same things over and over again." You'd end up like the "vegetarian" candidate, he suggested, or the "prohibition" candidate. I overcame my urge to point out that the prohibition movement had enjoyed considerable political success with its single issue campaigns. Instead I suggested that the issue wouldn't work unless it was the focus of the campaign, reiterating that one had to give people a way to make an unequivocal statement against the drug war.

But Harry would have none of that. He agreed that the strategy he used in 1996 had failed, but he believed a campaign based on a central theme like McCarthy's would go

nowhere. But his idea of a way to energize the campaign and break through to voters was to explain to them that "if we could get just five percent of the vote we could change politics forever because we would now have the margin of victory in a lot of races around the country and that would be enough to cause the press to treat us as a major influence." "And how is this different from last time?" I wondered out loud. "We didn't set any goal last time," he replied.

Well, having a goal is a good thing. But I doubt that many voters will regard a Browne campaign that has the brave goal of getting five percent of the vote as that much more attractive than a similar campaign without that stated goal.

Harry is an old friend, and I was one of his first and most enthusiastic supporters in his 1996 presidential bid. But if the Browne campaign doesn't come up with a better idea than that, it looks to me like it's headed for another pathetic showing.

—R. W. Bradford

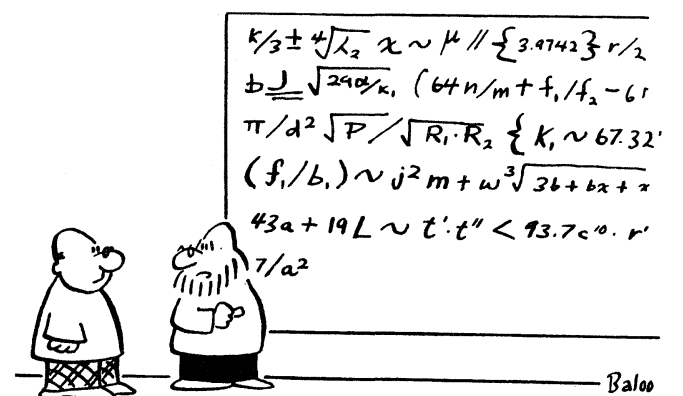
Is that a missile in your pants, or are you just glad to fly with me? — During the test-ban treaty debate Sen. Teddy-Boy Kennedy three times referred to the Stockpile Stewardship Program as the "Stockpile Stewardess Program." It's a good thing he's such a sensitive soul who votes right or some feminists might have become slightly upset with such Freudian slips.

—Alan Bock

Bye-bye, Buchanan — Pat Buchanan is a man with few real sympathizers, thanks in large part to his grab-bag approach to political consistency. While his noninterventionist views fit nicely with most libertarians, his rhetoric against trade, immigration, and free markets places him solidly in opposition territory.

But some recent comments about his decision to leave the GOP for the Reform Party show that, despite his renegade status among many Republicans, they'd prefer he stick around and take his lumps. Last month, *The New York Times* quoted Robert T. Bennett, chairman of the Ohio Republican Party as saying, "This is like a spoiled little kid who picks up his marbles and goes someplace else because he doesn't get his way," anticipating Buchanan's yet-to-come defection. After Buchanan's announcement, Bennett was parroted by the former first lady mom of current GOP presidential front-runner George W. Bush, who said, "He's like a whiny child who picks up his marbles and leaves."

It's obvious that this name-calling has its roots in political expediency. With Buchanan staging a publicity campaign



Baloo

"This is rather embarrassing — I've forgotten what the question was."

with a rival party, GOP presidential votes are compromised. Yawn. But these comments should offend everyone who benefits from freedom of association. The liberty to associate with whomever you want is one of the best aspects of a free society. When an organization no longer supports your values, having the ability to leave is a good thing. So pardon me if I give a polite nod to Buchanan as he takes his marbles and leaves. Assuming he still has all his marbles to take.

—Eric Dixon

Calculus vouchers — How about a calculus voucher for children in K-12 schools? This voucher would pay for the tuition and travel costs of taking calculus courses at approved nearby community colleges, universities, training centers, and even other public or private schools.

Students would get a calculus voucher only if they passed a standardized math exam on algebra and basic trigonometry. The exam need not have an age or grade limit. Any student could take the exam. A high level of parental income could disqualify some students or require that their parents pay part of the costs. Failing or bad grades in a calculus course would end the voucher and could require partial or total repayment.

Calculus is the door to a career in science or engineering. No one can get a bachelors of science degree if they do not master calculus. The film *Stand and Deliver* dramatized this in its portrayal of inner-city high-school calculus teacher Jaime Escalante and his motto that "Math is the great equalizer." Economic progress and the cumulative nature of technical knowledge demand ever more intensive training in math.

Training in calculus is a powerful way to help achieve a scientifically literate society. Basic calculus shows why a thrown rock falls in a parabola. It shows which price a cola firm should charge for a can of cola if the firm wants to maximize its profit. Advanced calculus shows how light emerges from electro-magnetism. Still more advanced calculus shows how much a bank should pay for a futures contract on a foreign currency or how it should price any of the other "derivatives" contracts that underlie the global economy. How many Americans can explain these things? Pollsters at Oxford and Northern Illinois Universities found in 1989 that only half of American adults knew that the Earth orbits the Sun and does so once a year.

Calculus vouchers would be far less costly and more focused than vouchers for total K-12 education. And they would pose far less of a threat to teachers' unions and to the other political opponents of school choice.

Community colleges and universities offer calculus

courses. So calculus vouchers would not require new schools, even though a sustained voucher experiment might lead to start-up training centers. Calculus courses tend to be the largest math courses that most colleges offer. Colleges could add new calculus sections or just expand their enrollment in current courses. Evening or late-afternoon courses would let voucher students commute to their calculus courses while missing little or none of their K-12 curricula.

Calculus vouchers would be too focused to directly threaten those who teach non-math subjects. But they are vouchers: They are coupons made of tax money. So they might at first provoke some ideological wrath from those who oppose all "choice" measures in K-12 education.

But the old arguments against school vouchers would not apply. Calculus vouchers would not displace public schools. Their cost would be low and would favor charitable contributions. Calculus vouchers would be value-neutral and need not subsidize private religious schools. And cities and states would risk little if they experimented with them. But such experiments would begin the slippery slope that might lead to vouchers for other subjects and might even lead to all-education vouchers. So be it.

Winning a calculus voucher would be much like winning a science contest. It would help students later with college admission and would add strength to their resumes. This prospect would induce many students to seek calculus vouchers and to make good on the vouchers if they received them.

The focused nature of calculus vouchers would let us measure their effectiveness over time. We could track how well calculus-voucher winners perform in terms of high-school and college graduation rates, standardized aptitude exams, grade point averages, job offers, and income levels. This objective data would help policy makers decide if experiments with calculus vouchers lead to a favorable ratio of social benefits to costs.

The final argument for calculus vouchers is pragmatic: How would society differ today or in 20 years if today twice as many people knew calculus?

—Bart Kosko

Au revoir, Claire — Life just got a little less interesting: Claire Wolfe, one of the living heroines of the freedom movement, has said she will drop out of sight indefinitely. She apparently got tired of being a libertarian rabbi, a shepherd to a flock of independent minds.

After three extremely helpful books, supplemented by a great weekly column at the website World Net Daily, she's going back to the straight world, and no longer responding to what she described as a torrent of email from dorks who wanted to argue endlessly with this or that point of her books and writings, or who wanted her to plan their lives for them, like an anarchist social worker.

I don't know many freedom lovers like the characters that appeared in Claire's books: Lawyer X, the Young Curmudgeon, the former special forces soldier who worshipped a Nordic war god (he was interviewed to prove that you don't have to be Christian to be a patriot). But then my friends are pretty stodgy. Party types. Runners of campaigns and policy wonks. They'll pour thousands into local races. They'll run as Republicans or Democrats, if they believe that will get them into office, where they can start to make a differ-



"I don't mind having the wolf at my door all the time — I just wish he'd stop pissing on it!"

ence. What the hell, I just ran for city council myself.

Claire's message for political libertarians is this: be ready for anything, and be able to play by other rules. The other rules are those followed by the residents of a police state, and of conquered republics. Disobey, evade, ridicule, defraud and be prepared, *in extremis*, to face down the oppressor. So my friends who study Austrian economics and campaign management should also know practical tax evasion and infantry tactics, the economics of Mises and the strategies of Mao. And you thought you were busy now.

—Brien Bartels

A royal flush? — Given the docility of the subjects of the British dominions, I suppose it was inevitable that Australia's voters would reject a proposal to toss out the British royal family and declare Australia a republic, despite the fact that a substantial portion of those voters are descendants of people shipped to prisons Down Under for the compound crime of being uppity and Irish.

It is more difficult to fathom the affection so many Americans have for the Queen and her brood. Some years back, Elizabeth and her retinue passed through Puget Sound. It was possible to get a momentary glimpse of the Royal Yacht from a certain point on the waterfront in Port Townsend. To my astonishment, nearly half the town stopped what they were doing to take advantage of this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I can understand why Canadians, Kiwis or Australians might be impressed by the aura of the Royal Family. Americans, I recall, actually fought a revolution to get rid of it.

—R. W. Bradford

One small step for monarchy — Here is one classical liberal who rejoices in Australia's vote to keep the Queen as Head of State. Constitutional monarchy is a reminder that democracy is not a good in its own right — certainly not in all areas of life, and not even in all parts of government itself. Democracy is merely a political method. In favorable circumstances it can help restrain government oppression; but it is no substitute for, and in unfavorable circumstances can even undermine, such restraint. Furthermore, constitutional monarchy is a sign of recognition that luck is a fact of reality: Luck, whether good or bad, can only be mitigated; and government action to override it in the name of equality costs liberty. May Australia's referendum set us to pondering the still further merits of constitutional monarchy.

—Leland B. Yeager

New Albrights for old — Six months ago, Madeleine Albright had morphed into werewolf mode. She fixed it so that NATO's Luftwaffe could bomb a peasant nation just southwest of Transylvania into submission. She howled in delight when the bombers and cruise missiles took to the air, and giggled orgasmically when word came that NATO bombs had incinerated maternity wards, refugee columns, television technicians, buses packed with children and old people, and all the other hits which sent at least 2,000 innocent civilians to their graves. She was as gung-ho for war as any warlord that ever roamed the Earth.

Today finds that the old, civilized Albright has reclaimed her body — she even cares about civilians! After Russian forces blasted dozens of Chechen civilians, the Madame denounced the attack as "ominous and deplorable," and told the Cossacks they are "taking a significant step in the wrong

direction." What concern she now displays for human rights! Could a Nobel Peace Prize be in her future?

The Russkies don't get it yet. In the New World Order, only the United States and its allies can go around vaporizing civilians.

—Jonathan Ellis

Forest for the trees — Public television used to have lots of nature shows. They were appealing and made PBS look non-controversial. That bipartisan appeal must explain why Republicans and Democrats in Congress are falling all over themselves to fund the Land and Water Conservation Fund to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars a year. This money would enable the federal government to buy more land and set it aside for conservation. Meanwhile, President Clinton, seeking an environmental legacy, is setting aside more land by telling the Forest Service to decree that there will be no logging on at least 40 million acres.

Apparently, adding millions of acres to the land that no average American can ever see, visit, hunt on, camp in, or derive any benefit from is a way to win votes. We have been adding about 860,000 acres per year to the federal estate since 1960, according to Holly Fretwell, a research associate at the Political Economy Research Center. We now have 272 million acres of federal land preserved as wilderness, parks, wild and scenic rivers, wilderness study areas or some other kind of observation area. This is about 12 percent of the land mass of the United States.

Yet federal management is a documented disaster, and one of the signs is that these "conservation areas" are going to pot. The General Accounting Office reports that 39 million acres of Forest Service land have trees that are so old, diseased, and insect-infested that they could go up in smoke at any minute. Other land is utterly unreachable except by a few ardent backpackers and rich folks who hire outfitters to guide them there on horseback (motorized vehicles are not allowed). These "protected lands" could be providing recreation for middle-class Americans and lumber for middle-class homes. Yet the way to win middle-class American votes seems to be to keep them out of reach.

—Jane S. Shaw

Stalking horse's ass — I think I've figured out the deal with Warren Beatty running for president; the Democrats are using him to pump up Al Gore's Image. Compared to Beatty, Gore seems brilliant. The press treats Al Gore as if he were smarter than Dan Quayle, but, at least Quayle had the cognizance to bow out when he realized he was a laughingstock.

—Tim Slagle

Winning intellectual battles, losing cultural wars — While free market advocates wage the intellectual fight, the statists have conquered much of our culture. Twice recently, I was asked to contribute to UNICEF (one of the many UN affiliates). UNICEF opposes privatization, limited government, free markets and free trade — while endorsing population control, foreign "aid," larger government — all of course for the children (for details read Nicholas Eberstadt's chapter in the Cato Institute's publication, *Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention*).

My first solicitation came from the Westin Hotel in

Seattle. I was reviewing my bill and noted a \$1.00 item for UNICEF. I queried the desk and was informed that Starwood (the corporation owning the Westin Hotels) was "proud" to support "children" and "presumed" that their guests would too. As you might imagine, the subsequent conversation was interesting. Then on a flight to Detroit on Northwest Airlines, the flight attendants came on the intercom to call our attention to Northwest's "Cause of the Quarter" which was again UNICEF. This time the contribution wasn't automatic, but the in-flight magazine devoted a full-page to this noble cause and the cabin crew was pushing the program.

This incident illustrates one of the many insights of Ayn Rand — that the left's real victories occur when they are granted legitimacy by their foes. The Show Trials of Stalin, the CEO of Monsanto's recent apology to Greenpeace (to an organization calling for ending the chlorinating of water!), pledges by business to be "green," Kathy Lee Gifford's eager willingness to deny economic opportunities to the children of the world, along with my UNICEF encounters — all indicate that whatever is going on in the War of Ideas, the Cultural War continues to go badly.

But there are occasional rays of hope. In a *Washington Post* review of *Princess Monokoke*, a recent Japanese anime film, Michael O'Sullivan noted the film's "heavy-handed ecological message," and suggested that the film might probably be enjoyed by anyone who can "sit through an entire hour of NPR coverage without screaming for air" and who isn't too irritated by "pro-environment sentimentality. . ." All this in the *Washington Post*! Can it be that even left-liberals are beginning to tire of the ranting of our Chattering Class elites?

—Fred Smith

She's got eggs! — Big controversy over the auctioning of Supermodel eggs. Some worry that beauty should not be for sale. But isn't it already? Ever notice how pretty the Kennedys are? Do you think that's just a coincidence? Rich people can always get good-looking mates. What this auction really does, is make attractive genes affordable to the middle class.

—Tim Slagle

WHO do you trust? — The World Health Organization — once one of the leading groups seeking to address the array of diseases crippling people around the globe — has "matured." Its new title may become the World Healthy LifeStyle Organization. Rather than focusing on the boring (but useful) task of conquering germs and reducing food contamination, the new WHO will discourage

unhealthy lifestyle choices such as smoking, drinking and driving. Africans will soon view the same billboards that proliferate in America — "Kissing a smoker is like licking an ash tray."

This shift from involuntary to voluntary threats is significant. The WHO is almost certain to become the global counterpart of America's CPSC, NHTSA, OSHA, FDA and, well you get the picture. Our new global Nanny — protecting the world from the risks of cigar/martini bars and BMW convertibles by ensuring perpetual poverty.

—Fred Smith

What is the sound of one fat person eating? — Once again obesity is in the news, and TV news crews take to the streets to tape footage of fat people eating.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, more than half of Americans are overweight. We all know the average American is taller than he was just 100 years ago. Would the CDC come out with statistics that most Americans are now overheight, and more prone to helicopter accidents? I prefer to believe that the modern American just has a higher fat content than his ancestors.

—Tim Slagle

A cowboy economy? — On recent trips to Europe, I've become increasingly aware of a reality disconnect between the way America is and the way we're viewed by Europeans. We're viewed as having a Cowboy Economy, a laissez-faire society of minimum taxation and regulation. The fact that America is only marginally less taxed and less regulated than Europe seems totally foreign to Europeans.

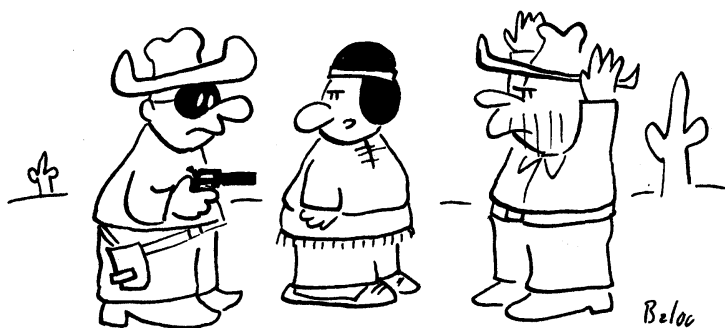
This misconception is a costly one. It enables the European statists to argue that any regulation or tax imposed in America must be costless. If America has a certain rule, the logic goes, it must be painless, otherwise it wouldn't have been imposed. The result is that the Brusselcrats are moving to import the whole American regulatory state. Europe was once relatively free from antitrust regulation but now they've bought our policies hook, line and sinker. The process of approving pharmaceuticals was once far less onerous in England, but no more. Poor Europe! To have finally escaped the relatively honest socialism of direct government ownership only to slip into the far less honest American version of the regulated economy. Europe has no future.

—Fred Smith

Why intellectuals hate Switzerland —

Switzerland is an outcast nation — the only nation to reject membership in the United Nations and one of the few to stay out of the European Union. Many have recently criticized the Swiss for remaining neutral in WW II and for allegedly mishandling wartime bank accounts. In this world of global ideologies, the preferences of the Swiss people (recently reaffirmed in popular elections) seem strangely out of tune.

Let me suggest that current criticisms of the Swiss reflect more the virtues of these people than their faults. The Swiss are ostracized today largely because they are not PC, because they are too bourgeois. The Swiss seem immune to the popular wisdom that all problems are best resolved politically, that all political problems are best resolved at the highest possible level of government. The Swiss remain a nation where government remains largely a state and local matter; the Swiss have few international political entanglements. They retain a



"He's right, Kemosabe — How do we know you're not Jesse James?"

vision of civil society in which the people retain power at the local level — we should not be surprised that this attitude finds little favor among today's elites who owe their prestige and power to the increasingly Mandarin nature of most societies.

They urge Switzerland to join Europe, the United Nations and perhaps even NATO. They see the Swiss canton system, which still sees local governments as more important than the national government, as outmoded. They view the Swiss engagement with the world via private institutions (both market and non-market) as an affront to the politicized elites of the world. Switzerland must get with it — adopt the system of centralized government and taxation, expand its political institutions. Only then will the elites of Europe and the world become comfortable with these peoples. Only a conformist Switzerland is ever likely to be admitted as a full-fledged if minor member of the global establishment.

But Switzerland is scarcely an isolationist nation. Few nations are more heavily engaged abroad. Swiss products — from chocolates to watches — are known throughout the world. Swiss Air is one of the world's premier airlines and, of course, Swiss banks have long been the one area where persecuted minorities could safeguard at least some of their hard-earned wealth against the exploitative urges of their home governments. Moreover, Switzerland has long recognized the non-profit side of voluntarism. Swiss organizations such as the International Red Cross have long played critical roles in a world where "humanitarian" concerns have become a cover for imperialistic interventionist strategies. Moreover, precisely because of its apolitical and neutral status, Switzerland has long served as a neutral ground where the warring ideologies of the world can meet — and perhaps advance more peaceful objectives. Switzerland reminds the world that everything is not politics. A nation can have a commanding world presence without an aggressive foreign policy or a guilt-driven taxpayer supported foreign subsidy program.

Switzerland is today one of the only countries to retain the classical liberal system of checks and balances that once placed limits on the utopian passions of the intellectual elites in democratic societies. In America and most of the world, progressive era "reforms" weakened such checks, seeing them as restraints on the "popular will" to use government to advance the "public good." History is likely to find that the Swiss model is far more creative than that of the other "developed" nations of the world.

—Fred Smith

Casting Atlas — Ever since Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* was published four decades ago, fans of the gigantic novel have enjoyed the parlor game selecting actors to play their superheroes (and supervillains). Selecting the right people for the parts is critically important (ask anyone who remembers Gary Cooper's embarrassingly wooden portrayal of Howard Roark in Warner Bros.' filmization of Rand's earlier novel, *The Fountainhead*.)

Back in the mid-1960s, when I first encountered *Atlas*, my friends suggested Charlton Heston, Steve McQueen, James Garner and Peter Graves, among others, for the role of *iibermensch* John Galt. These thespians are now too old or too dead for the part, but the parlor game goes on. In fact, it's suddenly somewhat more than a parlor game, now that the novel is actually about to be filmed for cable television.

If we are to believe a recent article by Jeannie Williams in *USA Today*, Al Ruddy, producer of the television film, "wants to hear your casting ideas!" and instructs readers to "Send them to me: JeannieWilliams@usatoday.com."

Well, I have my doubts: If a producer really wanted casting ideas from the public, why would he ask people to send them to a *USA Today* reporter? And how much insight into Rand's ideas would this indicate? After all, Galt didn't deliver a two-hour speech asking for suggestions about how to wrap up the plot?

But who knows? I've already emailed my suggestion that Gilbert Gottfried be cast as John Galt.

—R. W. Bradford

InTELLigence test — This from the UCLA campus newspaper, *The Daily Bruin*, under the headline "Students with Drug Convictions Will Soon Be Denied Financial Aid".

"A new rule from the U.S. Department of Education will require students applying for federal financial aid to disclose any prior drug convictions.

"The new version of the rule states that institutions will not be required to question students regarding any drug-related matters. Students will have the responsibility of self-identification, which means the student is supposed to indicate any convictions for drug-related activity on the application for financial aid.

"The U.S. Education Department, however, is confident that students applying for aid will identify themselves because they may be randomly chosen to undergo a verification process when applying. If caught lying on the application, students will lose financial aid privileges."

So, if you admit to a drug conviction, you lose financial aid. If you deny a drug conviction and don't get caught, you get financial aid. If you deny a drug conviction and get caught, you lose financial aid.

By these rules, any student who admits to a drug conviction is obviously too stupid for college.

—Peter McWilliams

Revenge of the idiots — Everyone appreciates the convenience of automatic teller machines, but only in the Soviets of San Francisco and Santa Monica do people expect to be able to use these machines for free. Those cities have now enacted laws making it illegal for anyone to charge for the use of ATMs. When some banks responded by limiting use of their ATMs to their own clients, Dan Rather reported the story as "the revenge of the banks."

I suppose soon we'll have cities make it illegal to charge a fee for the use of public telephones, and when public phones, like ATMS, become radically less available, Dan Rather will attribute this to "the revenge of the phone company."

But when San Francisco forbids restaurants imposing a charge for the meals they serve, and restaurants thereupon grow scarce as scarce as hen's teeth in that city of gourmands, will Rather call it "the revenge of the restaurants"?

When will he finally grasp the notion that people offer goods and services in anticipation of actually being paid for them? The enactment of a law forbidding television anchor-man to charge for their work?

—R. W. Bradford

Wrestling with regulations — Jesse Ventura calls himself a libertarian because he wants to legalize prostitution. But when it comes to managing urban areas through government regulation and pork-barrel spending, Ventura is

no libertarian.

The low population density of Minnesota's Twin Cities region, which includes more than 30 suburbs, has made it one of America's least congested and least polluted urban areas. The region's Metropolitan Council, which coordinates planning for the area, wants to change that. Recently it adopted a policy of building no new highways. "As traffic congestion builds," said the council, "alternative travel modes will become more attractive."

Some members of the council proposed building a \$600 million light-rail line and rezoning nearby neighborhoods to high densities in order to promote congestion. But the council was far from united on such "Smart-Growth" policies — until Ventura became governor.

After beating Hubert Humphrey's son in the race for governor, Ventura put Walter Mondale's son, Ted, in charge of the council. Then he declared himself a light-rail supporter and replaced council dissenters with Smart-Growth advocates.

Mondale says he and the council will force suburban communities to build high-density housing and support mass transit. Towns that don't cooperate will be denied their share of federal and state funds. "If we're giving money to communities that are thumbing their noses at [Smart Growth], then what's it all about?" says Mondale. "It's a charade!"

The *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* reports that, under pressure from the council, the suburb of Rosemount ignored "spirited community opposition" and the community's own comprehensive plan when it approved a 1,000-unit, high-density housing complex.

Despite increasing congestion, Mondale opposes not just new highways but highway expansions. "The pattern we want to break is where you widen the state highway, you widen the county roads leading up to it, you widen the arterials, everything gets bigger. We want to make sure that doesn't happen." Of course, such highway expansions are built with highway user fees, whereas rail construction must be fully subsidized by non-rail riders.

The Reform Party can have Jesse Ventura. Voter revolts are exciting, but libertarians should be wary of professional wrestlers entering politics.

—Randal O'Toole

Wait til next century — In the December 1999 issue of his modest little newsletter, *Liberty*, Mr. Bradford reported that "Of the 20 best non-fiction [sic: nonfiction has been one word for some time now] books of the 20th century, 17 are the work of libertarians." Rather than relish this fact, Mr. Bradford attributes it to libertarians who "seem to have a lot of time on their hands to surf the Net [sic: only the word Internet is capitalized; the abbreviation is not]" and "the result of ballot box stuffing." Mr. Bradford dismisses it all with the pungent literary criticism, "bullshit."

Time was when I would have written a terse letter to Mr. Bradford, wondering aloud if the lack of "Bradford" on any of those top-20 books, or even top-100 books, could be the cause of, to quote the great libertarian Aesop, "sour grapes."

But now that my book, *Ain't Nobody's Business if You Do*, has been enshrined as the 15th best nonfiction book of the 20th century, I belong to the Ages and am now naturally above all that. I must take my place, humbly, in the Pantheon of nonfiction gods in my little velvet niche just below Milton and Rose Friedman (*Free to Choose*, #14), and smile with com-

passionate understanding as I look down on those unfortunate writers who will have to wait until 2099 for another best-of-century poll to take place. I wish Mr. Bradshaw (very) long life and better luck next time.

All satire aside, the Internet is a libertarian environment and we should make the most of it. The Modern Library List will inspire curiosity for libertarian books for years to come, and I say it's a good thing. We did not "stuff" the ballot box, we played by the rules, one person, one vote, per day. We libertarians are in on the ground floor of the most magnificent communication device ever invented. Let's make the most of it.

—Peter McWilliams

Good wine, lousy economics — Jean-Claude Castex is surrounded by miracles, or at least the quest for miracles. As the official *feutier*, or tender of religious candles, at Lourdes, the spot in France where the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared in a grotto to a poor miller's daughter in the 19th century, Castex sees, on average, some 14,000 pilgrims heading his way each day. And now, on top of that, Castex is lucky enough to find himself on the receiving end of yet another miracle, this one more economic: A law passed by the Socialist-led government in France that guarantees him less hours on the job with no cut in pay, an idea that he sees as nothing short of divine.

"We used to work 39 hours a week," Castex explained to the *Los Angeles Times*. "Now we will work 34. I love walking in the mountains and hunting for mushrooms." Francis Dehaine, the manager of the \$22.5 million budget at Lourdes, also sees nothing but good coming from the new law. "The more we reduced the time worked, the better the assistance we could give our visitors," he says. "We've been able to hire 32 more people." As a footnote, the new law doesn't apply to priests; at Lourdes, they work 45 hours a week, saying four Masses a day.

What's behind this new less-work-for-the-same-pay legislation is the 11.4 percent unemployment rate in France, a jobless rate that's expanded steadily as France has piled on more and more labor regulations, including more employee benefits, and raised taxes again and again. The miracle here, if we're to believe the French socialists, is that an unemployment crisis that's been caused by too many government regulations will now be solved by yet another regulation.

The problem, of course, is that while less work for the same pay sounds wonderful, its actual effect is to produce higher labor costs per unit, more inflation, less competitiveness in the international market and, ultimately, even higher levels of unemployment. What the French socialists are attempting to do is repeal the Law of Demand, the elementary principle from Economics 101 that concludes we generally buy less of something when the price goes up. In effect, with this share-the-work scheme to cut unemployment, the French bureaucrats are saying that employers will hire more workers as their price is increased. It's like telling GM that it would sell more cars if it just jacked up its prices.

To sweeten the package for French companies, the Socialists in government are dishing out some big subsidies to the nation's capitalist employers. *Nouvelles Frontières*, a small company that organizes vacation packages, is getting a \$2 million gift from the French taxpayers. The president of the company, Jacques Maillot, while only too happy to pocket his

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Libertarian of the Century

by The Editors

Earlier this year, *Liberty's* editors cast ballots for Libertarian of the Century. The votes were counted, and five individuals stood head and shoulders above the rest: Milton Friedman, Friedrich A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Ayn Rand, and Murray Rothbard. *Liberty's* editors review the record and select the winner.

Milton Friedman

The complementary strengths of leading libertarians have made their combined influence greater than the total of what each could have accomplished separately. The economists Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Friedman influenced one another, in part, as founding members of the Mont Pelerin Society. Ayn Rand expounded the moral aspect of capitalism.

But it is Milton Friedman who merits the title Libertarian of the Century. More than anyone else, he made understanding of the free market and suspicion of government intervention respectable in the academic world. From there, ideas tend to filter through popularizers to politicians and eventually to the general public. A loose semi-socialism was the conventional wisdom among academic economists when I first began college teaching in 1949. How things have changed! Nowadays, many researchers on the supposed frontiers of the discipline even strive to outdo one another in expounding the real or imagined perfections of the free market.

More fully than Mises and Hayek, Friedman had the advantage of working at the center rather than the fringes of academe. He starred in the University of Chicago's admired graduate program, training generations of economists to spread his understanding worldwide. He earned his credentials as a hard-core scholar. Already as a young man, he made contributions of lasting importance to the theory and practice of statistics. Combining ample statistics with simple but penetrating theory, his *Theory of the Consumption Function* identified specific errors in Keynesian economics (as distinct from just fulminating against Keynesianism). So did his

detailed historical and statistical studies of money, conducted in collaboration with Anna J. Schwartz and reported in *A Monetary History of the United States*, *Monetary Statistics of the United States*, and *Monetary Trends in the United States and the United Kingdom*. Friedman demonstrated (and with fuller evidence than Clark Warburton had already supplied) that the Great Depression of 1929–1941, far from being a mammoth example of inherent defects of capitalism, as was widely supposed, in fact resulted from avoidable blunders by the Federal Reserve System.

Friedman's writings are models of clear reasoning and clear exposition. Unlike all too many academic economists, he mounts no pretentious display of technique for its own sake (although he could easily do so). His passion for clear communication carries over into his activity as an indefatigable conference participant, lecturer, and informal consultant throughout the world. A joyful debater, he strives to understand and restate his opponents' ideas in their strongest possible versions, then pinpointing and demolishing their collectivist strands. Throughout all, he is engagingly polite, exposing error without unnecessarily personalizing his own triumphs and his opponents' defeats.

Friedman's scientific accomplishments (recognized, for example, in the Nobel Prize, the National Medal of Science, and presidencies of the American Economic Association, the Western Economic Association, and the Mont Pelerin Society) have bolstered the impact of his popular writings. These include *Newsweek* columns written from 1966 to 1983, *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), *Free to Choose* (1980), *Tyranny of the Status Quo* (1984), and the acclaimed television series paralleling the latter books (written in collaboration with his wife Rose). The Friedmans published their joint memoirs, *Two Lucky People*, in 1998. Far from expressing mere ideol-

ogy, these writings derive from scientific research into how free markets and government regulations operate and how they contribute to or detract from individuals' prospects of achieving happy lives.

Beyond advancing the libertarian cause in economic policy, narrowly conceived, Friedman argues eloquently against the politicians' vastly counterproductive war on drugs. He supported making military service voluntary. He has long campaigned against government quasi-monopoly over elementary and secondary education. He and his wife have established the Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice (headquartered in Indianapolis and accessible at <http://www.friedmanfoundation.org>). The

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remedy for current deficiencies, they believe, lies in allowing effective competition in education and allowing parents genuine choice about where to send their children to school.

Friedman is commonly classified among consequentialist as opposed to moralistic libertarians. Some of the latter even accuse him (and fellow Chicagoans) of an excessively open mind, hesitant to take libertarian stands on particular issues until and unless further facts and statistics, yet to be gathered, turn out so to recommend. This stance, thus caricatured, disregards principle and requires judging each individual case on its own apparent separate merits. Actually, the supposed distinction is not sharp. Friedman does insist on the principles of standard morality and of personal, including economic, freedom. But these principles are themselves ultimately rooted in the facts of reality (and in a preference for human happiness over misery). Even morality itself, sensibly understood, requires and has a fact-oriented basis (or so I could argue in a way wholly compatible with Friedman's teachings).

—Leland B. Yeager

Friedrich A. Hayek

Richard Dawkins, the famous Darwinian, likes to say that Charles Darwin's theory of evolution enabled him to be an "intellectually fulfilled atheist." I like to say that Friedrich Hayek's philosophy enables me to be an intellectually fulfilled Episcopalian.

I do not trivialize Hayek with this statement. I cast my vote for Hayek to be Libertarian of the Century for several reasons. Certainly, he was influential in defending liberty, especially with *The Road to Serfdom* and through his role in the calculation debate. However, his greatest contribution was to help us understand how this great global web of relationships we know as the market order comes about, both how it occurs at any moment in time and how it evolved through time.

Hayek's explanation begins with the idea that knowledge

or information is dispersed throughout civilization. Individuals can use their knowledge (and their expectations of others' actions based on this knowledge) to obtain what they want, even though they may not be able to articulate this knowledge. Apart from their own wants, this information is conveyed by prices. As individuals adjust their actions in response to price changes, a "spontaneous order" emerges that coordinates people's activities without an overall designer or overseer.

Prices aren't just information in the usual sense; they are information backed by powerful incentives. Why? Prices reflect what people want and are willing to give up their resources for. Thus, government planning, which deliberately overrides market prices, can only work through coercion. Central planning cannot do better in achieving people's objectives than people can through the marketplace.

The market order has transformed the life of every person on the globe and permitted many more people to live than ever could before this market order developed. In the *Constitution of Liberty* and *The Fatal Conceit*, Hayek explains that this order evolved through the survival of the laws, rules, and customs that enabled some civilizations to succeed and other civilizations to copy their institutions. Through this evolution, people moved from a tribe-like existence highly dependent on a few nearby relatives to participation in the broad impersonal order that links together people

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from all over the globe, enabling them to be productive and, ultimately, wealthy.

Hayek warned against the conceit of believing that this evolution is a product of humankind's mind or design. The mind did not design culture; culture designed the human mind. We don't really know which institutions enabled civilizations to survive, and we don't know which institutions are maintaining them today. Thus, existing institutions, including religious institutions, should be viewed sympathetically and rejected cautiously.

"Paradoxical as it may appear, it is probably true that a successful free society will always in a large measure be a tradition-bound society," wrote Hayek in *The Constitution of Liberty*. For this humility, and for the humility that underlies his analysis, I am a grateful libertarian, and I remain an Episcopalian as well.

—Jane S. Shaw

Ludwig von Mises

Ludwig von Mises grew up in Europe when socialism was on the rise and people wanted government to regulate "profiteering" capitalists who "exploited" workers. Yet he

became the leading Austrian economist, an uncompromising advocate of free markets, and an indefatigable critic of government interference. He always stood for peaceful and voluntary cooperation.

Mises was born in pre-World War I Austria-Hungary and raised in Vienna. As a young man Ludwig surely had a healthy interest in fun and games, but he was also a conscientious student. At seven, he was already reading newspapers and collecting EXTRA newspaper editions. His early interest was in history. But when he read Carl Menger's

Mises showed us why a socialist society, without private property owners competing with one another, would not be able to discover where, when, and how best to use property in production.

Principles of Economics (1871) and encountered the subjective, marginal utility theory of value, he realized that economics was not history, but a science of reason and logic. As Mises wrote later, reading Menger made him an economist.

While still at the Gymnasium, the equivalent of high school, young Ludwig adopted a motto from Virgil, "Do not yield to the bad, but always oppose it with courage." Menger's explanation that subjective values guide the actions of individuals enabled Mises to recognize that the "good," for which he would strive "with courage," was whatever promoted freedom for individuals to seek their subjective values. And anything that prevented individuals from pursuing their personal subjectively-chosen goals was the "bad" to which he would refuse to yield. Thus an understanding of subjective value theory made Mises an advocate of individual freedom.

With the realization that everyone's actions were always guided by his or her subjective values, Mises came to understand all economic phenomena as the results of what people do in the attempt, as Mises put it, to "relieve some felt uneasiness." Prices, wages, the division of labor, barter, media of exchange, trade, interest rates, even markets themselves, evolve as each individual, along with countless other individuals, acts, adapts, and readapts as he or she thinks best given the circumstances, each hoping to attain his or her various personal goals. Thus the economic phenomena we assume as "given" and on which we base our actions are the unintended consequences of countless positive actions of individuals.

I once asked Mises what original idea he had contributed. His reply: "Everything I have written and said I learned from someone else." True, no doubt. But the genius of Mises, like that of an inventor or entrepreneur, rests on creating something new and original by further developing something already known. By adding something to earlier theories, he made at least three major contributions. He developed economics as a logical science and integrated it with all other knowledge. He showed why a socialist society, without private property owners competing with one another, would not be able to discover where, when, and

how best to use property in production. And by reasoning from Knut Wicksell's theory that a "natural interest rate" prevails on the market among would-be borrowers and lenders, Mises explained how the trade cycle was due to interest rates forced down artificially, distorting the "natural interest rate," disturbing the loan market and causing widespread business ups and downs.

By recognizing that all individuals, everywhere and always, act on the basis of their subjective values, Mises explained not only economic phenomena but also how individuals adapt when non-market forces distort market phenomena. Thus, Mises built on subjective value theory and added to knowledge. This was Mises' genius!

—Bettina Bien Greaves

Ayn Rand

Yes, Ayn Rand is the Libertarian of the Century. Others have presented libertarian ideas, but she set them forth with inimitable clarity and elan as only an accomplished novelist can do. What's more, she didn't just present the ideas, she gave them a foundation: she embedded her ideas in a philosophical context, including epistemology, metaphysics, and ethics. Not everyone agrees with the details of her "foundationalism" (she herself repudiated the name "libertarian"), but she was nevertheless the primary architect of libertarian thought in the twentieth century.

Mises, Friedman, Hayek, and Rothbard were all primarily economists who brilliantly defended the free market against its enemies. Mises, however, was a self-proclaimed utilitarian, believing that the market was the principal avenue toward economic prosperity; he did not distinguish (as far as I know) between a democracy (the rule of the majority) and a republic (based on the rights of individuals). Milton Friedman gives a primarily utilitarian justification for the market economy and for ethics in general. Rothbard presented an anarchist libertarian theory in *The Ethics of Liberty*,

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though some of his views appear to derive from his prior acquaintance with Rand's.

How far can one go in presenting libertarianism without mention of human rights? (Thomas Jefferson without the rights of man?) This depends, of course, on how one defines "libertarianism." In the popular mind, since the word "libertarian" has become familiar in the last thirty years, the application of the term seems to be a matter of degree: the more you want to keep government out of your affairs, the more likely you are to be deemed "libertarian." At one extreme, there are those who say that you can't be a 100 percent liber-

tarian if you believe in any government at all, since all government is intrusive: on this view the Libertarian Party is not really libertarian. At the other extreme, many people will say "So you're a libertarian, are you?" if you believe not merely in government-run defense and courts, but also in (1) a few other measures designed to protect you, such as food inspection and animal regulation, (2) other enterprises designed to defend others but not necessarily yourself, such as laws about adoption and the care of unwanted children, and (3) still other activities conceded to government as "the least inefficient way to do it," such as the creation and maintenance of roads and ownership of deserts and rangeland. However, once more than this is conceded to government, the less likely the person is to be called "a libertarian."

But if the scope of government is to be limited, why should it be limited to some things and not others? The answer most often given is that of general overall utility: more people are better off if things are done this way. But this is not Rand's answer, nor the answer that most people who call themselves libertarians would give. The task of government, said Rand, is to protect individual rights; it is the concept of rights which provides the required basis for libertarian political theory. And utilitarianism, she held, is inconsistent with belief in individual rights. Utilitarianism might sometimes permit railroading an innocent person if thereby more people would be deterred from crime, and might approve a physician killing a patient (as long as no one would find out) in order to provide life-saving organs for half a dozen others — whereas Rand would condemn both of these as violations of individual rights. Rand's dictum that one should never initiate the use of force against others (the non-aggression principle) is often accepted as the foundation stone of libertarian thought — so basic that membership in (for example) the California Libertarian Party is made contingent on the signed acceptance of this principle.

Regardless of possible qualifications, Rand's principle of non-initiation of force is an instrument of enormous power, cutting across layers of qualifications and nitpicking. It is not, as some have claimed, the central principle of all ethics: ethics has other worlds to conquer, such as why one should do act A instead of act B when neither of them violates the non-aggression principle. But it has fair claim to be considered the central thesis of the branch of ethics called political theory. And since libertarianism is first and foremost a political theory, Rand's principle is rightly taken as its cornerstone.

—John Hospers

Murray Rothbard

Murray Rothbard — whose nickname was "Mr. Libertarian" — analyzed society along straight, clean lines. His approach was "... to place central importance on the great conflict which is eternally waged between Liberty and Power." Using the conflict of Liberty vs. Power as a core integrating theme, Rothbard created an interdisciplinary system of thought. He did so by weaving together the theory of several traditions that offered only partial bridges to liberty. The system that resulted was modern libertarianism.

There are many candidates for the title of "greatest friend of freedom" in the 20th century: Ludwig von Mises,

Friedrich Hayek, Ayn Rand . . . the list is long and rich. But many of the candidates themselves would reject the label "libertarian," and some would reject it with scorn. Among the contenders, Rothbard is only one who embraced the word "libertarian" as a badge of political honor, perhaps because he had been instrumental in casting its definition.

In over two dozen books and thousands of articles (45 years of activism), Rothbard sorted the wheat from the chaff of various traditions and fused together: natural law theory, the radical civil libertarianism of 19th century individualist-anarchism, the free market philosophy of Austrian economics, and the foreign policy of the American Old Right.

Rothbard once complained, "Probably the most common question that has been hurled at me — in some exasperation — over the years is: 'Why don't you stick to economics?'" The answer: because he had a passion for social justice and for solving social problems. Nothing short of a philosophy of

Rothbard wove together natural law theory, the radical civil libertarianism of 19th century individualist-anarchism, the free market philosophy of Austrian economics, and the foreign policy of the American Old Right. The system that resulted was modern libertarianism.

Liberty could accomplish Rothbard's goals — a philosophy that included praxeology, history, political science, economics, ethical theory, artistic criticism Then, after laying this philosophical foundation, Rothbard used it to path break the strategies by which liberty could be achieved.

Like his mentor Mises, Rothbard emphasized the key role that human psychology and behavior — that "acting" man — played in economics. For example, he argued that the marketplace did not function according to mathematical calculations, but that it was the collective expression of human preference and, sometimes, had to be expressed in terms of human psychology. Perhaps this is one reason why Rothbard was able not only to build a system for liberty but also able to popularize it in works that rang out with the irreverent joy of ideas.

Another reason may be the scrupulous manner in which he built his arguments. For example, for several years after the appearance of *Man, Economy, and State*, Rothbard historically documented his case for economic liberty by dealing with specific issues. The books from this period included *The Panic of 1819: Reactions and Policies* (1962, and his Ph.D. dissertation), *America's Great Depression* (1963), *What Has Government Done to Our Money* (1964), and *Economic Depressions: Causes and Cures* (1969). This was typical of Rothbard's meticulous approach to ideas.

I would not even know the criteria by which to argue whether Murray Rothbard had made a greater contribution to human freedom than several other figures such as Ayn Rand. But — if we are talking about the specific political movement called "libertarianism" — there is no question in my mind. Rothbard is the most significant libertarian of our century.

—Wendy McElroy

Libertarian of the Century

Ludwig von Mises

by R. W. Bradford

One individual stands a bit taller than the others.

To say that the vote for Libertarian of the Century was very close is an understatement: only a single ballot separated the winner from the other four. This is as it should be. Friedman, Hayek, Mises, Rand, and Rothbard all made enormous contributions to the resurgence of libertarian thinking during the twentieth century. If any single one of these individuals had not existed, the libertarian movement would be a very different thing today.

Milton Friedman (1912 –) has advanced liberty with good humor, brilliant thinking and boundless energy over a fruitful career that has lasted more than half a century. As an academic economist, he has explored economic history, putting to work sophisticated statistical tools, earning a reputation as a great economist. At the same time, he has taken part in popular dialogue, through his column in *Newsweek*, his television series *Free to Choose*, and popular books like *Capitalism and Freedom*.

His career began at the time when liberal thinking was in steep decline, brought on by what most people perceived to be the inevitability of depressions under free markets. Never discouraged, he held up freedom's banner during those dark years, cheerfully advancing both the moral and economic argument for free markets. His brilliance as a scholar earned him admiration even from those who disagreed radically with him.

But advancing liberty was never far from his mind. He has broadened the public dialogue, proposing a transition measure for getting the state out of education, opposing conscription during the Vietnam War and drug prohibition during the War on Drugs. At every opportunity, he found ways to inject libertarian concerns into public debate.

If one were to select the Libertarian of the Century purely on the basis of how much an individual influenced public debate, Milton Friedman would be the hands-down winner.

Like Friedman, Friedrich A. Hayek (1899-1992) had enormous impact both in the academy and in the "real" world. And he provided critical support for liberty during its darkest hours, with his publication of *The Road to Serfdom* in 1944. As the 20th century ends, it is difficult to appreciate its impact

and easy to underestimate its libertarianism. I know that when I read *The Road to Serfdom*, I disliked the book: it countenanced the income tax and even limited redistribution of wealth. What kind of wimpy libertarianism is this, I thought?

But I read *The Road to Serfdom* in 1965, two decades after it was published. In 1944, it was not a wimpy attack on the state. At that time, libertarian thinking was at its nadir, and socialist thinking dominated public and intellectual opinion to an extent almost unimaginable today. Hayek argued simply that socialism was incompatible with democratic institutions like free speech and free press — and ultimately with democracy itself. Its impact was enormous and hard today even to fathom. Suddenly, opposition to the dominant statist ideology was again respectable. Suddenly, socialism was a debatable subject, not a foregone conclusion.

The impact of *The Road to Serfdom* was enormous, but in the context of his career it was relatively insignificant. He wrote on subjects as disparate as the epistemology of the social sciences and the way knowledge pervades society. He wrote voluminously, intelligently and originally, in a way that influenced not only libertarian thinking, but the thinking of intellectuals everywhere. It came as no surprise that Hayek was the first libertarian to win the Nobel Prize.

If one were to select the Libertarian of the Century purely on the basis of how much an individual influenced academic social philosophy, Friedrich Hayek would be the hands-down winner.

Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a very different sort of thinker. He was deeply critical of government and an ardent champion of *laissez-faire*, but he modeled his approach to ideology and social change on those of Marx and Lenin. He endeavored to make libertarianism a broad social science like the Marxism that dominated the ideological wars of his youth. He sought to combine Austrian economics, Randian rights theory, isolationism, Thomistic natural law philosophy, and class-struggle analysis into a "science of libertarianism."

Rothbard's first major work was *Man, Economy and State* (1962), a treatise on economics that more or less restated

Mises' economics in a much more readable form, in the process making it a bit more consistent. His major work in politics is *The Ethics of Liberty* (1982), an ambitious attempt to restate and expand Ayn Rand's political theory, a fact that Rothbard, who had quarrelled with Rand since 1958, did not acknowledge. He was a prolific writer, whose lively prose graced the pages of a great many academic journals, introducing libertarian thinking into many hostile environments.

His more enthusiastic followers liked to call him "Mr. Libertarian" and promulgated the myth that the libertarian movement began in his living room. Until he abandoned the libertarian movement for conservatism in 1989, he was much more movement-oriented than Friedman, Hayek, Rand and Mises, putting a good deal of energy into keeping the movement pure. He dubbed his column in *Reason* "The Plumb

Ludwig von Mises is the wisest choice to be honored as Libertarian of the Century: his intellectual achievements exceed the others, and his devastating analysis of socialism by itself merits our acclaim.

Line" and never hesitated in expecting other libertarians to hew to his line or leave the movement.

If one were to select the Libertarian of the Century purely on the basis of how much an individual directly shaped the libertarian movement in the 1970s, Murray Rothbard would be the hands-down winner.

If it was Murray Rothbard who made libertarians toe the line, it was Ayn Rand (1905-1982) who brought them into the movement. Her enormously popular novels *The Fountainhead* (1943) and *Atlas Shrugged* (1957) captivated millions. The social theory she advocated in these novels — an uncompromising *laissez-faire* capitalism — brought her obloquy from virtually the entire American intellectual establishment. But it also attracted the enthusiastic support of tens of thousands of readers, and touched off a renaissance of libertarian thinking.

Fundamental to her social thinking was the notion that all human beings by their very nature possess rights, by which she meant that other human beings had an obligation to refrain from initiating force against them or their property. Rand herself believed that this line of thought led to limited government of the sort advocated by America's founders, but many of her followers quickly concluded that no government at all could exist without initiating force, touching off a controversy between anarchists and "minarchists" (advocates of limited government) that continues to this day.

This thinking so dominated libertarian thinking during the 1960s, 70s and 80s that many libertarians came to see it and libertarianism as identical. It stood at the center of nearly every libertarian debate during this period. But during the 1980s, libertarians began to grow critical of the approach and by the mid-90s, the libertarian movement was more or less evenly split between the more consequentialist approach of Friedman, Hayek and Mises and the strictly moralistic approach of Rand and Rothbard.

But two facts are plain. No one brought more people to the libertarian movement during the period of its greatest growth than did Ayn Rand. And no one influenced the ideological

development of libertarianism during this period more than Rand.

If one were to select the Libertarian of the Century purely on the basis of the role played in the resurgence of libertarianism in the postwar generation, Ayn Rand would be the hands-down winner.

But *Liberty's* editors did not select the Libertarian of the Century on the basis of influence on public debate or academic social philosophy or the movement itself. Instead, we chose an individual whose intellectual achievements surpassed the others, whose contributions to the development of libertarian social theory was greatest. We selected an individual who was a great economist and an original political thinker, a man who provided the first and best analysis of the inevitable failure of socialism, a devastating criticism of nationalism, and a stalwart defense of the traditional liberal social order. We chose an individual who lived through the tragedy of the Great War, who watched liberty as a political force decline everywhere in the world, who lived through the rise of socialism and nationalism, and who never compromised, never for a moment abandoned or softened his intransigent advocacy of *laissez-faire* and of political liberty.

We selected Ludwig von Mises.

Sadly, Mises died in 1973, before the death of socialism and before there were many signs of the resurgence of libertarian thinking. But his achievements during the 50 years between publication of his first book (*Theory of Money and Credit*, 1912) and his final book (*The Ultimate Foundations of Economic Science*, 1962) shaped that resurgence.

It was Mises whose economic writing, culminating with *Human Action* (1949), extended the fresh economic approach of the early Austrian economists, an approach that broke with the mechanistic models of the early economists and provided a rational means of understanding how the market economy actually functions.

It was Mises whose political writing, notably *Liberalism* (1927), provided a vigorous intellectual defense of the institutions of private property, free markets and democracy.

It was Mises whose *Omnipotent Government* (1944) provided a devastating analysis of nationalism, the scourge of the late 19th century which vied with socialism to be the most destructive force in the first half of the 20th century.

It was Mises whose *Socialism* (1922) devastated any scientific rationale for socialism, at a time when almost all other intellectuals were infatuated with socialism. The 20th century is the century of the world's tragic experiment in socialism, an experiment that directly cost over 100 million human lives and left poverty and misery in its wake. Mises first realized that socialism was bound to fail because it kept capital from being invested rationally, resulting in malinvestment on a grand scale. A few other intellectuals (including Hayek and others) saw the wisdom of his analysis, but it was not until the collapse of communism 70 years later that mainline economists appreciated the value of his analysis.

The vote among *Liberty's* editors was so close that it is easy to see how Friedman, Hayek, Rand or Rothbard could have been selected as Libertarian of the Century. Ludwig von Mises won because he received a single vote more than each of the others. But in the final analysis, I believe Mises was the wisest choice: his intellectual achievements exceed the others, and his devastating analysis of socialism by itself merits our acclaim. □

Explanation

The Trial of the Century

by R. W. Bradford

From the Sanford White murder trial in 1906 to the trial of O.J. Simpson in 1995, the media have been quick to christen one after another unsequential celebrity trial as "The Trial of the Century." But the most important trial in the 20th century may prove to be the one in which the information revolution is at stake.

In 1993, *Liberty* published a small book entitled *It Came From Arkansas*. Besides selling the book ourselves, we offered it to bookstores and distributors. One distributor drove a very hard bargain. It would buy several hundred copies of the book, but only if we agreed to sell them at 70% off the cover price. That price barely covered our costs, but we wanted the book to be widely read, so we agreed.

A few weeks later, I mentioned this fact to a friend who heads a moderate-sized book publishing company. He was aghast. "Do you realize," he said, "that you've violated antitrust law?" Of course, I'd read my Lowell Mason, Harold Fleming, and Dom Armentano and was well aware that antitrust laws make a crime out of selling at discriminatory prices in order to gain market share. But these laws were originally intended, I told my friend, to regulate railroads and monopolistic trusts around the turn of the century. Surely, they could never be applied against such a small and modern enterprise as *Liberty*.

"You're just plain wrong," he said, and proceeded to tell me horror stories about small publishers being legally pursued for selling at a discount. Small booksellers were upset by the fact that large booksellers like Barnes & Noble, Costco, and Wal-Mart drive such hard bargains when buying books that they are capable of selling to the public at prices lower than those of the small guys. So the small guys filed complaints.

After hearing all this, I dutifully prepared a new price list, offering our book at the 70% discount to anyone at all who would purchase 400 copies, and I mailed this nondiscriminatory missive to all who had purchased books from us or inquired about purchasing books. No one took us up on the offer; few distributors want to buy 400 copies of a new book from an unknown publisher. But more importantly, no one filed a complaint or launched a lawsuit.

I bring this up because it illustrates just one aspect of the perniciousness of antitrust law. Rather than allowing a

producer or merchant to negotiate whatever price he can with individual buyers, the law forces him to establish fixed prices and stand by them. In so doing, it criminalizes what is arguably the most important part of the market process, the right of a buyer and seller to negotiate prices.

As Ayn Rand observed, taken as a whole, antitrust laws in the United States are "so vague, complex, contradictory and inconsistent that any business practice can now be construed as illegal." If antitrust laws were enforced uniformly, the economy would grind to a halt. That is to say, if a manufacturer or merchant or laborer were required to publish a schedule of all prices he would charge, and if the federal government punished every deviation from those price lists, business as we know it would be virtually impossible. The market process would simply stop.

But of course antitrust laws have never been enforced uniformly. They've been enforced only when a businessperson files a complaint against a competitor or when a politician figures he can get some political gain from enforcing them. Which brings us to Microsoft.

Microsoft made two mistakes:

1) It competed so effectively that its competitors sought a way to hurt it in hopes of improving their own profitability. The case against Microsoft began with the complaint of a competitor who held a dominant share of the market for web browsers, but who feared Microsoft's competition. Sometimes it is easier to defend your quasi-monopolistic position by unleashing a political persecution than by

making a better product at a cheaper price.

2) It failed to make "contributions" to politicians in amounts that politicians thought appropriate. The Clinton administration, which is persecuting Microsoft, has authorized the transfer of top-secret military technology to the Communist Chinese government, an institution that understood the importance of making large monetary donations to Clinton's campaign. You can learn more about getting along in Washington, D.C. in the smoke-filled rooms of the people's palaces of Beijing than you can on a research campus in Redmond, Washington.

To put this more concisely, Microsoft acted as if it were operating in a free market.

Now it pays the price. And so do we.

The question today is, just what will that price be?

Microsoft is already paying for its supposed sins. It has started to spend huge sums of money on lobbying and to contribute generously to political campaigns. In days past, Microsoft pretty much ignored what was going on in the nation's capital. Now it spends millions lobbying and gives millions to politicians. In Washington state, Bill Gates has hosted fundraisers for both the Democratic governor and a Republican senator. Not surprisingly, both are now strong defenders of Microsoft.

And Microsoft is paying the cost of litigation defending itself against a government vendetta. That doesn't come cheap. And the company will probably pay much more before it's over. Proposed remedies for the crime include requiring it to subsidize its competition and dismantling the company itself, not to mention fines, penalties, and other cash costs.

But the costs that we ordinary Americans will pay will be much greater if the persecution of Microsoft continues on the

Antitrust law criminalizes what is arguably the most important part of the market process, the right of a buyer and seller to negotiate prices.

course that Janet Reno's lawyers have set. Antitrust laws are fundamentally anticompetitive, subversive of the free market, and destructive of efficiency, innovation, and productivity.

Shortly after Netscape Navigator got the Clinton administration to try to hobble Microsoft by means of antitrust persecution, Pepsi filed a similar complaint against Coca-Cola. It seems that Coke, having worked hard for years to gain a dominant position in restaurants and fast-food outlets, while Pepsi chose not to compete aggressively, managed to get a dominant market share. Imagine! What a crime! I don't know how Coke's case is progressing. But one thing is sure: this is a harbinger of things to come.

When businesses that lose sales through inattention, neglect, or failure to provide products that consumers want choose to gain market share by siccing the government on

their more successful competitors, rather than by improving their products and developing better distribution and sales channels, it is not merely the competitors who suffer. It is all of us. We are all better off when people try to profit by producing better products, and marketing them better, than when they seek profit by harnessing the forces of the state to guarantee them higher profits.

The simple fact is that investments in production and distribution make products better and deliver them to consumers at lower prices, while investments in government power can at most merely take property from one group of people and give it to another — thereby invariably reducing innovations in production and distribution that make our lives healthier, richer, more worth living.

In this connection it is absolutely bizarre to hear defenders of the antitrust persecution of Microsoft cite the breakup of the telephone monopoly as a good example of a case in which ending a monopoly benefited consumers. Microsoft maintains its overwhelming market share by producing a product that people prefer over alternatives; the telephone monopoly maintained its overwhelming market share by getting the government to outlaw competition.

Breaking up Microsoft — Eric Raymond, high-tech author, fierce critic of Microsoft and an advocate of open-source operating systems like Linux, liked the criticism of Microsoft in Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson's judicial finding. But he doesn't want the government to break up the software giant. "Governments don't break up monopolies, markets do," he told *Salon* magazine. "Governments create monopolies."

—Alan Bock

iMonopoly — In his determination of the "fact" that Microsoft had achieved a monopoly, Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson observed that "Microsoft's share of the market for Intel-compatible PC operating systems is extremely large and stable . . . Every year for the last decade, Microsoft's share of the market for Intel-compatible operating systems has stood above ninety percent."

If the law were to be applied uniformly and objectively, Apple Computer would be shaking in its boots. Apple produces the operating systems used by 100% of "Motorola-compatible" computer chips.

But of course antitrust law isn't applied evenly. And Apple has donated generously to politicians of all stripes. So don't hold your breath waiting to see Steve Jobs hauled in to be deposed about Apple's "anticompetitive business practices."

—R. W. Bradford

Guilty as charged — The first chapter of my antitrust law casebook had short descriptions of about 30 transactions. I was told that some violated antitrust law, some did not. I was appalled to see that there was *no* substantive difference between the legal and illegal deals. The recent decision in *U.S. v. Microsoft* is merely another episode in the Orwellian world of antitrust law.

The government argued that Microsoft sought a monopoly position and benefited by gaining one. Microsoft denies any predatory intention. Even if *everything* the government witnesses and attorneys said is true, all it proves is that

Microsoft is a tough competitor. There were no allegations of espionage, sabotage, vandalism or other acts of force. Microsoft did not put viruses into its competitors' programs.

On November 5, Judge Thomas P. Jackson issued findings of fact in the case:

1. Microsoft had monopoly power in the operating system market. This is a question of status. The key point is that Microsoft offered an operating system so good that 85-90 percent of computers use it. The judge found that Microsoft could significantly raise the price for Windows without losing customers. Assuming the judge is right, Microsoft is *guilty* of producing a product that people want very badly.

2. Microsoft tried to divide markets with its browser competitors. This is called a horizontal restraint (between companies at the same functional level of the industry). If we are to believe witnesses from Microsoft's competitors, Microsoft

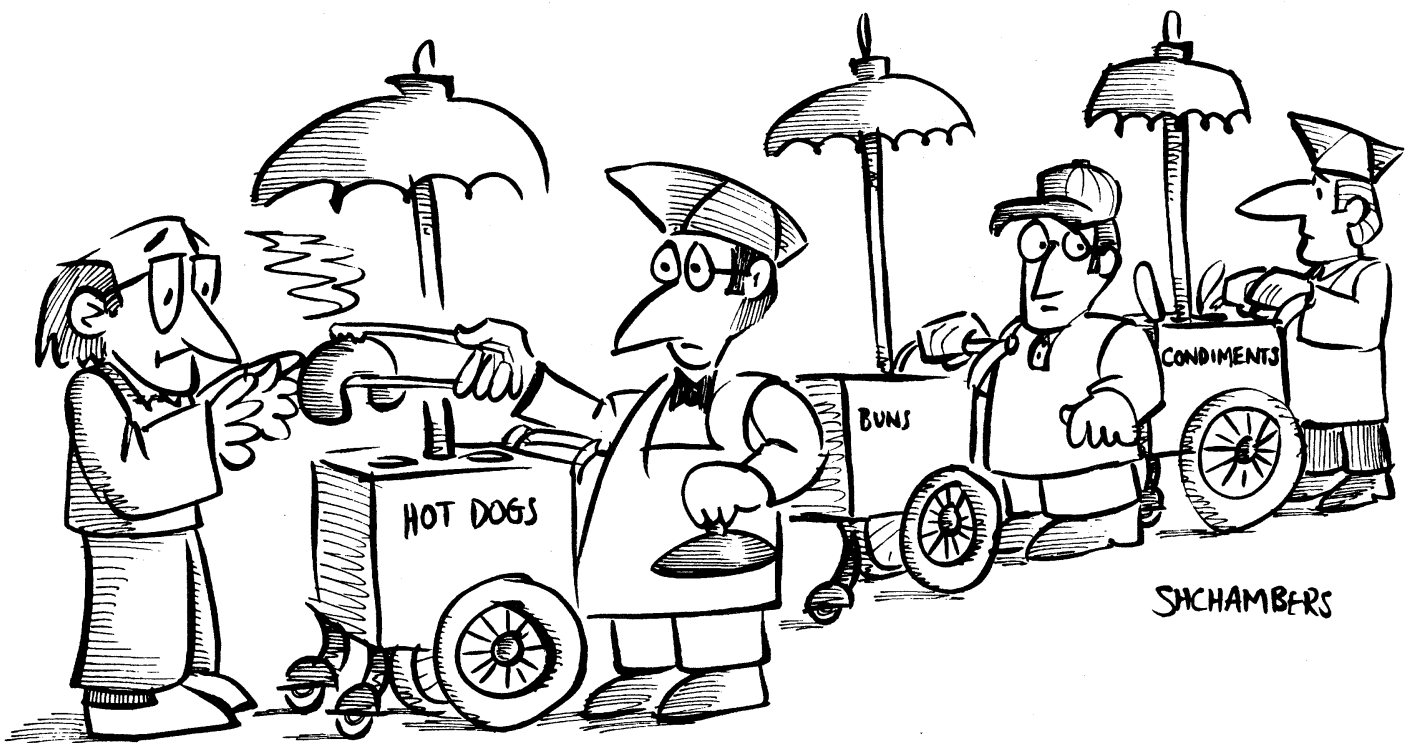
its software only if they would not use Netscape's browser. It offered exclusive sales agreements. MS is *guilty* of having such desirable products that customers will avoid dealing with other firms to buy them.

In 1863 Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson died from accidental fire of his own troops at Chancellorsville. In 1957, Thomas "Hurricane" Jackson lost to Floyd Patterson for the heavyweight championship. After this decision has crippled software development, the judge in this case may be remembered as Thomas "Technophobe" Jackson or Tommy "The Luddite" Jackson.

—Martin M. Solomon

Wisdom is where you find it — "The social model of the Bolsheviks failed, as will any model that denies individual rights, property rights, intellectual freedom, and freedom of competing political parties." said Mikhail

AFTER THE BREAK-UP



proposed they cooperate. This is a *per se* (automatic) violation, although firms prohibited from dividing the market are often allowed (if the politics are right) to engage in the much more intense form of cooperation called merger. Microsoft is *guilty* of proposing voluntary cooperation.

3. Microsoft illegally tied products by bundling its browser to its operating system. This supposedly was an effort to monopolize by using vertical pressure (a seller dealing with its buyers) by tying its browser to its desirable operating system. In plain English, Microsoft said if you want one product, you will take another (free) with it. Microsoft is *guilty* of choosing to market its products together.

4. Microsoft illegally agreed with its customers to sell

Gorbachev on the tenth anniversary of tearing down the Berlin Wall. "Without these freedoms and rights, there is no motivation for people to work. Such a system cannot be sustained, especially in light of the technological revolution of the information era."

On that same day, President Clinton was reportedly mulling over what sort of penalties ought to be meted out against Microsoft, the world's leading enterprise in the technological revolution Gorbachev was talking about, for the crime of producing computer software so popular that it is used by 80% of the world's computers. The former Communist boss of Soviet Russia apparently has discovered a few things that American political leaders are yet to learn.

—R. W. Bradford

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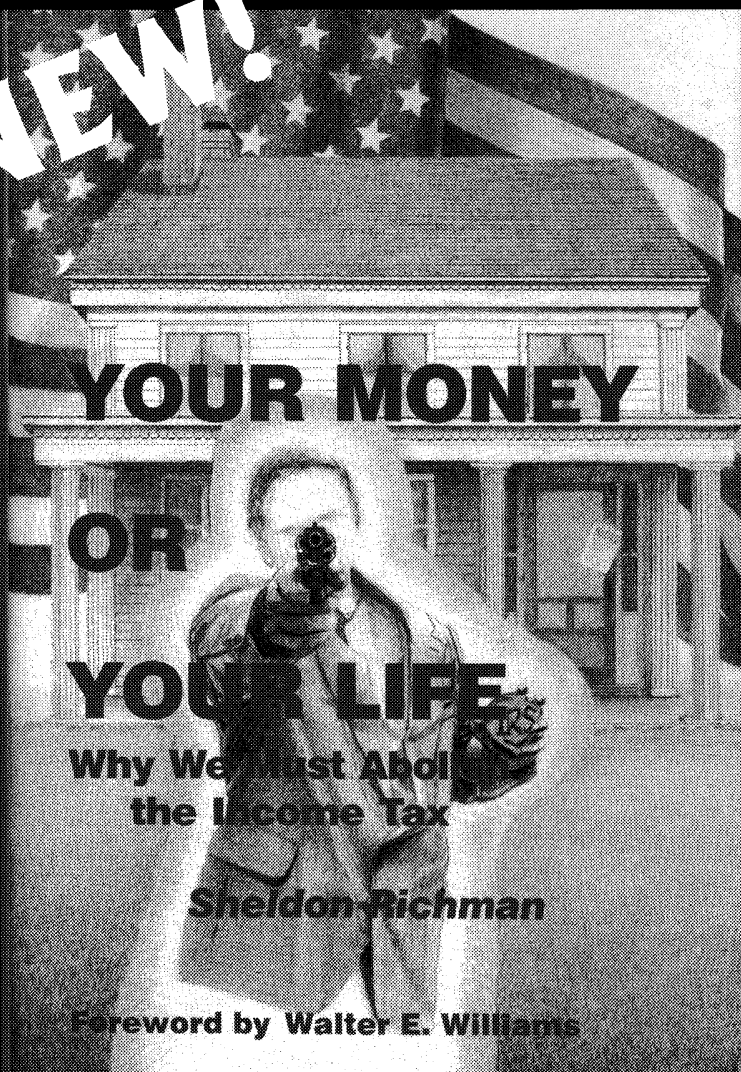
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When the NAACP Went Armed

by David Kopel

Time was when Civil Rights activists did not want to surrender their Second Amendment rights. And for good reason.

Recently the NAACP sued the nation's gun manufacturers. This frivolous and vexatious abuse of the legal system is a betrayal of its own history. During the hardest days of the NAACP's struggle against segregation, the Fourteenth Amendment and the Second Amendment marched hand in hand.

One thread of the story begins in 1957, in Monroe, North Carolina. Robert Williams, president of the local NAACP, chartered an official National Rifle Association gun club, where blacks were encouraged to learn armed self-defense.

At the same time that Williams was setting up an NRA gun club, he was leading demonstrations against the whites-only policy at the Monroe city swimming pool. Williams wasn't even asking that black children be allowed to swim at the same times as whites — only that black children be allowed in the pool at other hours.

The Ku Klux Klan death threats came to Williams by telephone. Thousands of people gathered at Klan rallies to denounce both Williams and Dr. Albert Perry, another Monroe civil rights advocate.

Collective Self Defense

Civil rights volunteers, in groups of 50 each night, took turns standing guard at Perry's house. They dug foxholes, piled up sandbags, and kept steel helmets and gas masks handy. They also stockpiled over 600 firearms, including automatic carbines and machine guns.

On the night of October 5, 1957, a Klan motorcade approached the Perry house. The civil rights workers opened fire, having been told not to shoot unless necessary. "The fire was blistering, disciplined and frightening," historian Harold Shapiro recounts. The Klan's "motorcade of about eighty cars, which had begun in a spirit of good fellowship, disintegrated into chaos, with panicky, robed men fleeing in every direction. Some had to abandon their automobiles and continue on foot."

The story of Monroe, North Carolina was repeated throughout the South in the Civil Rights Era. Over 100 civil rights workers were murdered during that era, and the federal Department of Justice refused to prosecute the Klan or to adequately protect civil rights workers. Help from the local police was out of the question; Klan dues were sometimes collected at the local station.

Blacks and civil rights workers armed for self-defense. The late Daisy Bates, publisher of a pro-rights newspaper and leader of the Arkansas NAACP during the Little Rock High School desegregation case, recalled that three crosses were burned on her lawn and gunshots fired into her home. Her husband, L.C. Bates, stayed up to guard their house with a .45 semi-automatic pistol. Some of their friends organized a volunteer patrol.

After the Bates' front lawn was bombed, Mrs. Bates telegraphed Attorney General Herbert Brownell in Washington. He replied that there was no federal jurisdiction, and told them to go to the local police. "Of course that wasn't going to protect us," Mrs. Bates remembered.

John Salter, a professor at Tougaloo College and chief organizer of the NAACP's Jackson Movement during the early 1960s, wrote, "No one knows what kind of massive racist retaliation would have been directed against grassroots black people had the black community not had a healthy measure of firearms within it." Salter personally had to defend his home and family several times against attacks by night riders. After Salter fired back, the night riders fled.

State or federal assistance sometimes came not when dis-

order began, but when blacks reacted by arming themselves. In North Carolina, governor Terry Sanford refused to command state police to protect a civil rights march from Klan attacks. When Salter warned Governor Sanford that if there were no police, the marchers would be armed for self-defense, the governor provided police protection.

Civil rights professionals and the black community generally viewed nonviolence as a useful tactic for certain situations, not as a moral injunction to let oneself be murdered on a deserted road in the middle of the night.

Based in local churches, the Deacons for Defense and Justice set up armed patrol car systems in cities such as Bogalusa and Jonesboro, Louisiana, and completely succeeded in deterring Klan and other attacks on civil rights

Civil rights professionals and the black community generally viewed nonviolence as a useful tactic for certain situations, not as a moral injunction to let oneself be murdered on a deserted road in the middle of the night.

workers and black residents. These modern black militias had the mobility to arrive quickly at the scene of Klan threats, thanks to automobiles and telephones. Sixty chapters of the Deacons were formed throughout the South. Almost none of the civil rights workers killed were armed.

One of the people who spent nights standing guard at the homes of civil rights workers was a young man from Yale Law School named Don Kates. The crucible of the civil rights movement helped Kates see the connection between the right to bear arms and all other civil rights. Today, Kates is a San Francisco attorney and legal scholar specializing in the Second Amendment. As the intellectual microprocessor of the entire right to bear arms movement, Kates has done as much as anyone else in American history to preserve the right to bear arms. (In fact, it was a Kates article in the *Michigan Law Review* that got me involved in the issue.)

Folks like Kates and the Deacons for Defense fulfilled the highest purposes of the right to bear arms. But Robert Williams — the militant whose history began this article —

fell prey to a less benign vision.

In 1959, Williams began to advocate more than mere resistance to white attacks. On the steps of a courthouse, following a trial in which a white man was acquitted of raping a pregnant black woman, Williams called for black lynching of white criminals: "[I]f it's necessary to stop lynching with lynching, then we must be willing to resort to that method."

Williams was suspended from the NAACP. When he appealed, the national convention upheld the suspension. Daisy Bates, the Little Rock civil rights leader whose family was armed for self-defense with a Colt .45, spoke in favor of the suspension of Williams.

While condemning revengeful retaliation in violation of the law, the NAACP defended the legitimate use of force, with a resolution stating: "we do not deny but reaffirm the right of individual and collective self-defense against unlawful assaults."

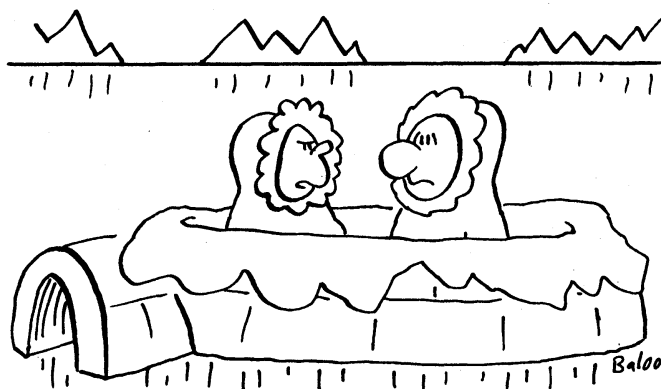
Malcom & Martin Agree

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. took the same position. King predicted that mass non-violent actions — boycotts, marches, sit-ins, and the like — would liberate blacks, and armed struggle would not. At the same time, King distinguished Williams' call for lynchings from violence "exercised in self-defense." King described the armed self-defense "as moral and legal" in all societies, and noted that not even Gandhi condemned it.

Although Dr. King differed with Malcolm X on many issues, the two agreed about the fundamental morality of self-defense. Argued Malcolm X, "It is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. . . . In areas where our people are the constant victims of brutality, and the government seems unable or unwilling to protect them, we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency. . . . We should be peaceful and law-abiding — but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked. If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, let the government start doing its job."

The moral issues raised by Dr. King and Malcolm X are the issues that arise today: when the government fails to protect your family, you have the right and the moral obligation to do the job yourself. If the government thinks you are wrong for doing this, let the government start doing its job. If the gun prohibition lobby thinks that you are wrong for owning a semiautomatic pistol, then let that lobby start finding ways to fill jails with violent criminals, rather than with people who didn't register their guns.

The gun prohibition lobby insists that when the government refuses to protect civil rights workers and other unpopular minorities, those people should passively accept being murdered. Supporters of gun rights believe that the moral choice is for innocent people to defend the lives that God gave them with force if necessary. This is the great moral question posed by the Great American Gun War. Where do you stand? What will you do to translate your beliefs into action? □



"You and your solar igloo!"

Sex Behind Bars

by Dyanne Petersen

At the federal prison in Dublin, California, sex between guards and female prisoners was consensual, a fact you'd never know from the way Amnesty International and Fox News reported the story.

On March 30, 1999, a special investigator for violence against women, Radhika Coomaraswamy of Sri Lanka, issued her report in Geneva to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. One of her conclusions was that sexual misconduct by prison guards is common in women's prisons in the U.S., based on her June 1998 visits to state and Federal prisons in six states and Washington, D.C. As reported in the *New York Times*, "In some prisons, she said that she was told that 'at least two-thirds of the female inmates have been sexually or physically abused.'"

A few weeks earlier, Amnesty International issued a report, "Not Part of My Sentence: Violations of the Human Rights of Women in Custody," which concluded that "sexual abuse is a fact of life for incarcerated women in the United States." Among other outrages, the study reported that rapes, sexual slavery and other sexual abuse had occurred at the Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) and Federal Prison Camp (FPC) in Dublin, California.

This was of more than academic interest to me. You see, I am an inmate at the FPC in Dublin, and I've had a chance to witness firsthand the activity alleged in these reports.

Federal Corrections Officer Jon C. Hyson was indicted February 17, 1999 by a federal grand jury in San Francisco on charges of engaging in sexual acts with female inmates at FCI and FPC Dublin where he had worked. The indictment included 17 counts of sexual acts and contact and five alleging that Hyson lied about the incidents to authorities. If convicted on all counts, Hyson could be sentenced to more than 20 years in prison and fined more than a million dollars. The prosecution followed a ten-month investigation by the FBI and the Department of Justice Inspector General.

Less than a year before the Hyson Sex Scandal hit the news, the Bureau of Prisons agreed to pay a half-million dollars to three female inmates who claimed that in 1995 they were sexually assaulted, beaten and sold by guards as sex slaves to male prisoners. Their lawsuit accused eight federal

prison officials of actively participating in or knowing about the sex slavery ring, while refusing the plaintiffs' repeated pleas for help.

Not surprisingly, the story got a lot of media attention. TV crews swarmed our facilities almost as much as when Unabomber Ted Kaczynski briefly stayed across the street at the Federal Detention Center. My family and friends saw the reports from as far away as Chicago and New York. Needless to say, they were concerned for my safety. Some were terrified for me.

But the media lost interest in the Hyson story. The prison grapevine gave staff and inmates news that Hyson's attorney was negotiating a plea agreement to lesser charges of sexual misconduct. Gossip about the inmates who had cooperated in the Hyson investigation continued but, for the most part, I thought the controversy had blown over. Then, in mid-April, a friend sent me the Spring 1999 issue of Amnesty International's newsletter, *Amnesty Action*, which presented its sensational study of sex abuse in prison, including its account of abuse at FCI/FPC Dublin, my home away from home.

AI's Distorted Report

My friend was understandably frightened for me. I wrote to him explaining that I wasn't in any particular danger. AI's account, I assured him, was grotesquely inaccurate. Contrary to the impression given in *Amnesty Action*, sexual abuse is not a fact of life for women incarcerated in either the FCI or FPC.

Jon Hyson was the Officer-in-Charge (OIC) when I was

assigned to his housing unit upon my arrival at FCI Dublin in March 1994. During my first 4:00 stand-up count with OIC Hyson, I was shocked to see how my fellow inmates treated him. Wolf whistles followed him down the hall. Women stood in their doorways licking their lips, offering open mouths and tongues or making lewd comments and gestures.

Women flirted shamelessly with him. It was often impossible to reach him at his officer's station to ask a question or get one's mail because so many women were jockeying for his attention. And this was repeated on each of his work shifts. I witnessed scores of provocative women offer themselves to him during my full year at the FCI and for almost four years at the FPC.

The women's lack of respect for the officer and for themselves was disturbing and embarrassing. And the disrespect was not directed exclusively to Officer Hyson. Any relatively

I am safer from random acts of violence or rape than free women in Washington, D.C., Belfast or Kinshasa.

young or good-looking male staffer found an abundance of sexually willing and eager women to tempt and proposition them. Men who were less attractive or desirable were also propositioned, but the sexual favors they were offered often required payment in contraband cosmetics or other goodies.

In this sexually charged atmosphere it is inconceivable to me that Officer Hyson would seek out "victims" for non-consensual sex. What I do find conceivable is that inmates who had consented to sexual activity, but were later dissatisfied with the level of emotional commitment or special favors they received, registered complaints. Inmates who were suspicious or jealous of relationships between other inmates and staff, or who were envious of the special gifts and favors that come with such relationships, would also be probable sources of complaints.

What happened is this: The prison administration attempted to enforce its own policies to prevent inappropriate physical contact between inmates and staff. The "investigation" of Officer Hyson included using inmates to entrap him, to lure him into acts of sexual misconduct that he neither initiated nor coerced. The incentives for inmates to cooperate with such investigations range from simple vindictiveness against staff/officers, to promises — real or imagined — of administration-directed favors. Cooperating "victims" have the added incentive of pursuing civil litigation for monetary awards if the criminal charges against the "offender" are proven. There are plenty of crusading and feminist lawyers to offer *pro bono* assistance to the "victims," and even more ambitious attorneys who are willing to pursue large cash settlements on a contingency basis.

Sex Vacations at Club FDC

Several months after my transfer to the FPC, across the street from the FCI, a friend and two other campers were ordered into the Special Housing Unit (SHU/disciplinary segregation) for a marijuana possession investigation.

Campers were normally taken to the SHU at the FCI, but because of overcrowding at that time, the women were put in temporary segregated custody at the Federal Detention Center (FDC), which houses male inmates. During the first half of 1995, FCI inmates, including the three female inmates who won the half-million dollar settlement from the Bureau of Prisons, were also sent to the FDC for disciplinary housing when the FCI SHU was full or under renovation. My friend and her companions returned to camp from their extended FDC segregation with happy stories of repeated sexual activity with the male inmates, facilitated by one or more FDC officers. Although these women couldn't verify the arrangements made between the cooperating parties, we assumed that the inmates paid officers for opportunities to be with the women of their choice. My friend and her companions were willing, eager, consenting participants in the sexual activity.

Once their stories spread through the FPC, an epidemic of bad behavior broke out among campers hoping for disciplinary action and housing with the male inmates at the FDC. The same thing happened among the FCI women who sought sex vacations at the FDC. It's not a pleasant story. But it's also not a story of coercion, abuse or violence.

The impression that all women in prison are weak, helpless, potential victims is Victorian, insulting nonsense. Women, like men, are sexual beings and most women inmates, separated from their husbands, lovers or children, are hungry for physical and emotional affection. Others use sex as a tool or weapon with officers and staff to secure lighter work details, special privileges, money or contraband. And some women become the sexual predators other women fear.

Prison policy prohibits consensual acts of sex for the same reasons that universities, the military and many corporations prohibit superior-subordinate sexual relationships: discipline and objectivity are compromised and opportunities for abuse and coercion increase in these relationships. I believe this policy is a good one.

But I would never advocate civil or criminal penalties for consensual relations. Abusive, rogue officers here are dismissed and frequently criminal charges are filed and convicted.

There are real problems in our nation's prisons and I applaud AI's efforts to bring attention to and correct them. But more energy should be spent on reforming the draconian drug laws, mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines that are filling up America's prisons.

tions obtained. But abuses are also perpetrated by inmates who, out of anger, frustration, boredom, the desire for monetary awards or early release, are quite willing to destroy an officer's or staff member's reputation, career and family.

I witness truly tragic human rights violations every day and most are the result of legislation and the court of public opinion, a misguided, paternalistic team that will remove

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A Woman's Right, A Man's Duty

by David Allan Roberts

In a single week in 1973, the Supreme Court gave women both the right to have a child without consent of the father and the right to force the father to pay for the child.

On January 22, the nation will observe another anniversary of the Supreme Court's landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision, an event that some sectors of society equate with the Fourth of July as a symbol of freedom. Ironically, January also marks the same anniversary of another Supreme Court case having to do with reproduction that rarely receives any mention at all.

Just five days prior to *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *Gomez v. Perez* that men are liable for the financial support of their illegitimate children, on the theory if biological fathers are required by law to support their legitimate children, the law would have to require them to support their illegitimate children too.

Generally speaking, about four to six weeks after a case is argued before the Supreme Court, the Court issues its decision. In the 1972 Term, decisions were rendered in approximately the same order as the cases were argued before the Court. But there was an exception: *Roe v. Wade* was argued before the Court on October 10, 1972 and, after an unusual length of fourteen weeks, was decided on January 22, 1973. *Gomez v. Perez* was argued on December 6, 1972 and decided on January 17, 1973.

Had the Supreme Court followed its usual practice, it would have had a problem. How could the Supreme Court set a precedent, as it did in *Roe v. Wade*, holding a woman's pregnancy to be autonomous and affirming the concept of "freedom of choice" through a "right of privacy," and a week later render a decision that would assign an unmarried man a financial responsibility for that "autonomous" situation?

Obviously, the answer was to delay the decision of *Roe v. Wade* until after *Gomez v. Perez*.

Under *Roe v. Wade*, a man has no rights whatsoever in the issue of childbearing. While the man plays a role in fertilizing an egg, it is the woman's personal and private "choice" to cultivate that fertilized egg into a living and breathing entity. And the woman has the right to excise that fertilized egg from her reproductive system, without any regard for

the wishes of the "biological father."

The Court created an unjust anomaly. A man cannot even require the woman to whom he is married to bear his child to term, thanks to *Roe v. Wade*. But thanks to *Gomez v. Perez*, a woman can require a man, with whom no relationship exists other than a casual sexual encounter, to support a child that she unilaterally chooses to have.

Adoption law is a second perversion of justice. Whether a child is supported by its biological parents is arbitrarily decided by the "choice" of the birth mother. Even after the birth of a child, the birth mother still has the option to decline her parental responsibilities through the adoption process. After a birth mother relinquishes her child through adoption, she is free of any further responsibilities to her child regardless of the future hardships that may befall that child.

In a disingenuous effort to balance the scales of justice, some states now require the consent of a biological father before an adoption is allowed. This is nothing more than legal sophistry. In the instance of illegitimacy, where a meaningful relationship seldom exists between the birth mother and biological father, the man is not liable to object to an adoption. If he did, the state would seize a portion of his income-as support for the child.

The One-Two Punch

Welfare exacerbates the unfairness in the relation of the biological parents. While both parents supposedly have an obligation to support a child, in many cases the State, funded in part by the father's taxes, will provide the birth mother's

part of the parental obligation, with cash benefits, housing allowances, food stamps, Medicaid, and other forms of assistance, while confiscating the biological father's income and sanctimoniously chastising him about his parental obligation.

In practice, child support and welfare payments enable birth mothers with little or no education or job skills the means of keeping the children that they choose to bring into the world without the benefit of marriage. They are further supported by the assumption by social service agencies that a child is naturally better off with a biological parent, despite the almost daily evidence of children who would obviously fare much better with loving adoptive parents. The result of this system is that having an illegitimate child offers some

After gallantly rushing to the defense of the young lady facing an unplanned pregnancy, the pro-choice movement stands by idly while the law denies equal protection to an unmarried man by forcing him into an 20-year obligation to pay for the consequences of that same unplanned pregnancy.

young women an opportunity for a lifestyle they otherwise could not afford.

Is there any wonder that America's illegitimacy rate is skyrocketing?

While rape, incest, and the health of the mother are the most publicly touted justifications for legalized abortion, abortion is most often used to remedy a "mistake," or a malfunction of birth control. The Supreme Court's decision in *Roe v. Wade* essentially established legislation which provided women with a remedy to their mistakes, a means of undoing, or at least limiting, the consequences of their "mistake."

But "equal protection of the law" does not offer men the same option. Whether or not a man wants an unwanted pregnancy he helped cause ended, the woman and the woman alone decides. If a man resists paying for the consequences of a choice that a woman makes, he is liable to be vilified and forced, under the threat of incarceration, to be fully accountable for their mistakes.

Approximately 1.75 million conceptions occur annually because of contraceptive failure. Abortion rights activists insist that abortion remain a safe and legal procedure because a young woman should not have to suffer the consequences of having her life interrupted with an unplanned pregnancy. Should a failure of birth control or a "mistake" occur, the young woman should have the option to terminate her pregnancy for any reason. She may wish to continue her education, enter the job market or concentrate on her career. She may wish to travel, purchase a home or automobile, or just avoid the responsibilities of parenthood if she should so desire.

The true agenda of the pro-choice movement is exposed when they, after gallantly rushing to the defense of the young lady facing an unplanned pregnancy, idly stand by while the law denies equal protection to an unmarried man

by forcing him into an eighteen to twenty-one year parental obligation for the same unplanned pregnancy.

In *Roe v. Wade*, a woman's pregnancy was determined to be autonomous and protected by a constitutional "right to privacy," giving women an absolute right to choose between bringing a child into the world or terminating a pregnancy without any regard for the wishes of the man involved. For child support laws to be consistent with the equality of law that our system of jurisprudence demands, a certain relationship must exist between a birth mother and a biological father to create a duty of support. If the birth mother has a "contract" of marriage or an "implied contract" of a sustained relationship with the biological father of her child, only then should the law require that man provide support for a child that is the result of that relationship. If a birth mother does not have the obligatory contract with the biological father, then the man should not be required to support a child that the birth mother unilaterally chooses to bring into the world.

For the State to require an individual, not bound by contract, to be financially responsible for a "private" decision of a second party, violates the very essence of liberty, and justice that America stands for. □

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jobs with no heavy lifting — it's this, and not insidious discrimination, that keeps us largely in the service and nurturing fields. I notice that Ms. McCarthy, for all her freedom, isn't a lumberjack, but a journalist — a career that's been open to women at least since Nelly Bly was around.

Alexandra Low

Newport Beach, Calif.

Casual About Casualties

Sarah McCarthy's reflection on the Sixties (November) omitted an important distinction, reading: "Opposition to the Vietnam War is the primary reason American politicians still strive to wage wars with no casualties." It should have read: "...with no U.S. casualties." As *Liberty* has repeatedly and humanely noted, the U.S. warfare state — since Vietnam — has inflicted terrible casualties on teenage infantry draftees and civilians in small countries which have never attacked or even threatened the U.S.

Michael Holasek

Cudahy, Wis.

Two Kinds of Conspiracy

I appreciate your November article "Waco: Fire and Lies" by R.W. Bradford. But I do have a comment concerning "Conspiracy Types" found on page 17. Three-fourths down the left column the author says, "Nor was a cover-up a conspiracy to hide the truth. FBI agents are trained to omit embarrassing details from their Action Reports. It was Standard Operating Procedure." Let's analyze the author's position.

Omitting embarrassing details from law enforcement reports is concealing evidence, which obstructs justice. Obstructing justice is a felony, no matter if you are an ordinary citizen or the president of the United States. Certainly

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Chicago's Ego

by Eric Miller

Skyscrapers aren't just tall buildings.

You might not have heard of Scott Toberman, but he could come to be known as the man who gave Chicago, and Capitalist America, its ego back. Toberman wants Chicago to be home to the "World's Tallest Building" again. He plans to pour enough concrete on the city's broad shoulders to take the title back from Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

In decades past, people in Chicago would have greeted Toberman's effort with enthusiasm. Today, however, Chicago has long since put aside concerns over empty pursuits like building the world's tallest buildings. It took Toberman more than a year to get the nod from the Chicago Plan Commission, this in the birthplace of the skyscraper. The Commission's hesitant decision has irritated those who want the city to retire from a century of progress.

Toberman's venture has exposed some interesting attitudes about the state of capitalism in America and Asia. He had to look beyond Lake Michigan, the Allegheny Mountains and the skyline of the world's financial capital to find investors in a project that's better mainly because it's bigger. Toberman's capital will come from a consortium of financial institutions from Asia and the Pacific Rim.

Scraping Bottom?

Inside the land of Louis Sullivan, George Pullman, J.P. Morgan and Louis Armour, interest in reaching for the sky has been limited in recent decades. Donald Trump sought several times to bring the world's tallest building to New York, but public interest has amounted to little more than a whimper. A few skyscrapers have been built in Philadelphia since the regulation limiting building size to the height of a statue of William Penn was lifted, but none this decade. And across the state in Pittsburgh, buildings are still limited to the height of the U.S. Steel building, forever keeping the city's skyline at the height of its grimy steel age.

"The age of the skyscraper is gone. This is the age of the housing project. Which is always a prelude to the age of the

cave," said Gail Wynand in Ayn Rand's classic architecture novel *The Fountainhead*. *The Weekly Standard's* architecture critic, David Gelernter, seemed to agree when he wrote that while we were once proud of boasting of the Empire State Building or the Sears Tower as the tallest building in the world, now "we find the exuberance of the skyscraper builders incomprehensible and damned annoying."

"Tall buildings do not reflect brazen, adolescent cultures on-the-make," Gelernter wrote. "They emerge in fact out of eminently mature cultures flaunting their wealth, technology, design genius, and sheer radiant self-confidence. America no longer wants them, that's for sure, or at least her spokesmen don't. But that's not because we are too mature, but because we are too passive and tired."

As we see architecture moving from modernism to post-modernism and perhaps back to classicism, it is hard to deny that the United States as a culture is passive and tired. The loss of a vintage 18-story building on the site of Toberman's slender, proud and poignant skyscraper seems to aggravate those who view the idea of building the world's tallest building as meaningless and selfish.

Once the supreme symbol of a corporation, capitalism, progress and America itself, the skyscraper isn't a symbol we need or want anymore.

In contemporary America, modernity means horizontal buildings with large floors representing the lineation of company management. The advocates of the horizontal building argue that with automobiles and highways, we no longer need to be crammed into the city. Now, we can spread out in

an office park, no matter that the psychological image of an upright posture is now laying down.

They Knew How to Build 'Em

This argument fails to consider that skyscrapers weren't always built because they were useful, or to maximize building size on hyperexpensive sites. They were, for the most part, billboards boasting of capitalism and commerce, hailing the leaders in insurance (Metropolitan Life Building), sewing machines (Singer Building), cars (Chrysler Building), railroads (New York Central Building) and even media empires (Chicago Tribune Building). Architect Phillip Johnson, famed for the post-modern AT&T and PPG Buildings, asked if land values were the reason for the skyscraper, why were

Once the supreme symbol of capitalism, progress and America itself, the skyscraper isn't a symbol we need or want anymore.

they being built in China? Frank Lloyd Wright didn't seem to like the idea of the vertical building and thought that if they were to be built at all, they should be alone in a field rather than in midtown Manhattan or inside the Chicago Loop. Le Corbusier complained, "The skyscrapers of New York are too small and there are too many of them."

The early American skyscrapers, ornately decorated and lavishly furnished, were unmistakably more than utilitarian. After the positive public response to skyscrapers, especially the Flatiron Building in New York and Monadnock Building in Chicago erected around the turn of the last century, the race for the sky was underway. Soon the towers of commerce included the magnificent Singer Building (1908) and the Woolworth Building (1913). But it wasn't the first time man had tried to build taller.

As Witold Rybczynski pointed out in his 1995 book *City Life*, in medieval Lucia, Bologna and San Gimignano there was competition among merchant families who built towers up to 300 feet high. Later they were demolished as communal authority "affirmed its power over private interests." But for most of this century, only the height restrictions of such cities as Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia prevented the race for the "world's tallest building" in the United States. Today the New York City Planning Commission is considering building height restrictions.

As later skyscrapers were built, and some older ones remodeled, the buildings lost their ornament and it seemed that the new buildings, no longer monuments to industry, were erected for practical economic reasons (or in part publicly financed in the name of economic development). The new breed included the Pan Am (now Met Life) Building (1963), the World Trade Center (1976) in New York, and the Sears Tower (1974) in Chicago. But as the glass and steel buildings bared their structure and reached new heights, some like Paul Goldberger, author of *The Skyscraper*, wondered if "The truly vast size of the new generation of skyscrapers seemed to make certain questions valid again. Did it make sense to build so tall?"

"I like to see man standing at the foot of a skyscraper,"

newspaper magnate Gail Wynand says in *The Fountainhead*, "It makes him no bigger than an ant — isn't that the correct bromide for the occasion? The God-damn fools! It's man who made it — the whole incredible mass of stone and steel. It doesn't dwarf him, it makes him greater than the structure. It reveals his true dimensions to the world."

The Age of Asian Towers

Meanwhile, on the continent of Mao Tse-tung, the race has been fast and furious to build symbols of capitalism in Shanghai, Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur. If ego is the reason for building tall buildings, it shouldn't be a secret that there's more of it lately on the other side of the globe. While Americans raise their eyebrows and groan, in the East buildings are rising to new heights.

Using new construction techniques involving a high strength concrete, the currently tallest towers are twins built by the Petronas Oil Company. But more important than the new building techniques, they are the first towers to break height records built on foreign shores. The towers barely surpass the Sears Tower, and in actuality the highest occupied floors in Petronas are lower than those in the Chicago landmark. Steel masts capping the Malaysian buildings were determined by the Council on Tall Buildings to be integral to the building's design, while antennas on the Sears Tower were not, forcing Chicago to lose the record it held for 22 years. Maybe it doesn't matter in the U.S., but in Malaysia it surely does.

Malaysia is not likely to hold the record nearly as long as Chicago did. Taller buildings in Shanghai and Hong Kong, some delayed because of the economic crisis, await approval or completion, as others attempt to reveal the dimensions of emerging cultures and companies to the world.

Emulating America at the turn of the 21st century isn't so apparent as emulating her at the turn of the 20th. The new Asian towers in some ways more closely resemble the Art Deco examples in New York than the blank relics of the 1960s and '70s, such as the U.S. Steel Building in Pittsburgh.

Like the towers of the World Trade Center in New York, the Petronas Towers mirror each other. But they spire upward in a Gothic fashion rather than cut off at a flat plane. The Jin Mao Building, which had been planned for 1998 completion in Shanghai, tapers upward in a spire inspired by a pagoda. Stylistically, it would probably look quite comforta-

Chicago has long since put aside concerns over empty pursuits like building the world's tallest buildings.

ble in the company of Rockefeller Center and the Chrysler Building.

Other new tall structures have been built outside Asia, though they didn't really aim to break records. Inside the United States, Philadelphia saw Two Liberty Place, the 50th tallest in the world in the 1980s, and Charlotte welcomed NationsBank Corporate Center in 1992. Nashville welcomed

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The Strangulation of Kenya

by Andrew Muriithi

While bloated bureaucrats in Brussels, Washington and Nairobi eat in fine restaurants, the people of Kenya are starving.

I am a Kenyan. It is a pity to watch our bureaucrats cart off to Washington, D.C. every year to pitch like beggars to international bureaucrats for "development money" in what are euphemistically referred to as "consultative meetings." This year, they went back home heads bowed, having been denied — at least for now. Not enough has been done to eradicate official corruption, the international bureaucrats said.

Our bureaucrats skipped the traditional triumphal press conference on arrival in Nairobi and were whisked to some unknown destination in the capitol. It illustrates how we Kenyans have been suckered. For 40 post-independence years, we have combined an unwieldy meld of African socialism and European collectivist welfare in our political and economic fabric. Despite empirical evidence that clearly demonstrates the monumental failure of our current setup, we persist. Our megalomaniac politicians continue to peddle statist propaganda and we readily buy.

When we realize that individual freedom and responsibility are the best way to encourage dynamism and innovation, we will have liberated ourselves. Today, we have government that plans our lives and decisions. We fail to understand that government works on the principle of collective coercion. That principle invariably leaves some people worse off in order to benefit others. In personal economic decisions, there is no way a broad consensus can be achieved. There can be no national economic agenda.

National development is a crock! We all have different wants and needs. We make decisions to meet those needs considering our personal resource constraints. Unfortunately, we Kenyans have convinced ourselves that "the good of the country" overrides our individual preferences. So have many other Africans.

Consider the following thought experiment. If a stranger knocked on your door, held up a gun to your face and demanded the right to use your money to pay for the educa-

tion and health care of another stranger's children, you would be outraged, and rightfully so. For most Kenyans, this is a no-brainer. There is no moral basis for taking what rightfully belongs to one individual by force and giving it to another who has not earned it. But when the Kenyan government does precisely the same thing, we pass it off as custom — for the good of the country. It takes part of our hard-earned income and uses it on things like agricultural subsidies, "poverty alleviation", public education, building roads, airports and dams we never use, bailing out banks we do not deposit with, and funding political parties we may or may not support. If we fail to surrender part of our income, we get hauled to jail on pain of death. Even with all its "good intentions," the government creates a great deal of waste, corruption and suffering. But we still continue with the demagoguery. The "independent" national press decries the government's failure to provide this good or that service, and applauds ecstatically when so-called private sector experts are appointed to clean up corruption or to regulate private commerce.

The cost of public solutions to private problems is great indeed. Democracy, the rule of law and economic freedom solve many if not almost all of our ills. Those regions and countries that closest approach this ideal — Hong Kong, New Zealand, Switzerland, the United States — create the most welfare for their citizens and are the best places to live in. But we ignore their example, providing lame excuses like national sovereignty and neo-colonialism. Every year, after spiriting away the money they have looted from us, our

benevolent bureaucrats drive in their shiny European limousines to the airport for their first-class flights to Washington, D.C., hoping to convince their foreign cousins to fork over the hard-earned money of U.S. taxpayers. Citizens in Washington, D.C. and citizens in Nairobi both end up with the short end of the stick.

Damn the IMF, World Bank and donor bureaucrats! Damn the technocrats of the Kenyan Treasury and Civil Service! What good has all their benevolence done? Let's see: The structural adjustment candy of the last two decades has produced good things like revenue authorities, retirement benefit authorities, capital market authorities, transport authorities, telecommunications authorities, development authorities, export processing authorities, anti-corruption authorities, and all the other authorities one can concoct with a fertile imagination.

Yes! The only ones happy are all the new bureaucrats with new jobs and new authority. The rest of us humans — farmers, small traders, bankers, manufacturers, physicians, students and academics — continue to run the endless rat race under the heavy hand of the state. The lucky ones escape to the United States, Canada, the UK, Australia, Botswana or South Africa where they can breathe a little freer. Instead of the government concentrating resources on traditional functions like law and order, defense and the administration of justice, it regulates how much we get paid for our coffee crop, who gets to practice law or medicine, whether or not we should save money for our retirement and how we should invest it, paying "export compensation" transfers to unscrupulous businessmen (one recent financial scandal cost the country 12% of its GDP) and creating commissions to investigate devil worship in schools.

Why do we have a highly regressive value-added tax, income tax, dividend tax, estate tax, social security tax, customs tariffs and all manner of levies, fees and charges that discourage savings, investment and entrepreneurship? Can't

a simple, flat, one-rate income tax or sales tax that allows economic growth earn the same amount of revenue for the government? Do we really need development authorities, farm produce marketing boards and parastatal corporations? Can't people coordinate their own economic activities? Do we need 20 ministries and nearly 100 departments? Can't elected local governments perform these functions better? Do we need more public universities? Aren't private schools already providing a higher standard of education? Should we spend on so-called poverty alleviation programs? What then would be the work of churches, volunteer groups, non-governmental organizations and private charities and foundations?

We Kenyans are desperate now. We suffer with grinding poverty, corruption, disease and hunger. Why haven't we corrected these things? Well, the reforms required would have to be so radical that the international bureaucrats, as long as it was within their power, would never allow them. Such reforms would destabilize prices and budgets from their "correct" levels, expose the failure of structural adjustment programs and reduce the influence of the bureaucrats.

Kenyans may be experiencing a classic case of what economists call "rational ignorance." The mindboggling deceit of our post-independence experiment may be too much to contemplate. No one likes to admit to being wrong, much less suckered. The clientele of the state are also strong and not easily vanquished. They are a complex network of informal political and ethnic coalitions. The IMF, World Bank and bilateral lenders (NOT donors!) are part of that clientele. They need to continue lending to us and other developing countries in order to keep their triple-A credit rating with Standard & Poors. So then, why not just coast along until a real crisis catches up with us and bowls us over?

Perhaps this way purposeful change — like in some parts of Eastern Europe — will come. □

Miller, "Skyscrapers" *continued from page 34*

NationsBank Corporate Center in 1992. Nashville welcomed the boldly styled BellSouth building (known affectionately by locals as the Bat Building because of twin spires resembling a superhero) in 1994, but it hardly competed for the title of world's-tallest at 30 stories. In Canada, Toronto erected the 68-story Scotia Plaza in 1989.

In Europe, the Commerzbank Tower was completed in Frankfurt, Germany last year and became Europe's tallest building, while a "Millennium Tower" is being built in London to be completed in 2001, in time to celebrate the first year of the new century. At 1,265 feet, it would surpass the Empire State Building by a mere 15 feet, dwarf the tower in Frankfurt (984 feet), but not come close to the Petronas Towers (1,476 feet).

Of the 50-tallest buildings listed in the 1996 *Universal Almanac*, 31 were in the United States. Four of the top ten were in the U.S. and three of those in New York. One building under construction in the United States today will join the 100 tallest. In contrast, Xiamen, China has two buildings under construction that will enter the top 25.

Buildings that aren't the tallest don't get as much atten-

tion. Who knows (or cares) that Cleveland saw construction of the 38th tallest (Society Center) in 1991, Atlanta the Peachtree Center in 1992 and Philadelphia One Liberty Place in 1987?

Chicago Hope

What Kaoshiung, Taiwan and Shenzhen, China know, Chicago has forgotten — building it to be the tallest is something that goes with building a self-respecting skyscraper, at least one that makes more than economic sense to an assertive culture.

In New York and Chicago they knew and in Asia they know that, despite some rough weather and throwbacks to a dying communist system, capitalism means more than just an efficient use of resources. It means asserting to the world that the city, the company and the individual have arrived.

"This is very beautiful and exciting," Toberman said. "What an exciting time this is in Chicago." But the rest of the city must decide if new skyscrapers in America are excitement or irritation. □

Why I Left the Left

by Tom Garrison

What does an honest leftist do when his ideals are betrayed?

I was a member of the Central Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) — the only avowedly socialist party with ballot status in California — from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, and observed firsthand the attitudes and behaviors of the leadership and, most painfully, of friends, acquaintances, and comrades. Gradually, over the past decade, I grew disillusioned with the way the left approached important issues in America.

Basically, there were four characteristics of the left that disillusioned me:

- 1) Its lack of respect for and understanding of the concept of personal responsibility for one's own actions;
- 2) its unnecessary lying, that undermines the democratic process;
- 3) its slavish adherence to affirmative-action preferences and quotas, identity politics, and multicultural diversity; and
- 4) its intolerance of a real diversity of ideas.

As time went on, I found myself more and more at the non-leftist part of the continuum. While not the only issues that split me from the left, these are representative of how the left (and contemporary liberals in general) just don't get it.

Personal Responsibility

Our local Socialist Party/PFP chapter held a meeting soon after the April 1992 riots in Los Angeles that followed the acquittal of the Los Angeles police officers involved in the Rodney King beating. During those riots, a white truck driver, Reginald Denny, was savagely attacked by several black men for no reason other than being a white man in the wrong place at the wrong time. Damian Williams, the prime attacker of Denny, used a piece of concrete to fracture Denny's skull in 91 places. Williams also performed the "revolutionary" act of pulling down the pants of another unconscious white man and spray-painting his genitals black, while a mob watched and laughed. Even though

Williams's acts were captured on videotape, he was eventually acquitted of all serious charges.

At our meeting, one member proclaimed that we needed to understand the black thugs (not their words) who attacked Denny and to see that their actions were not their fault but rather a function of societal oppression. Incredible! This thug attacks a totally innocent white man, and we're supposed to tolerate it because the attacker is black. In our present culture, feeling trumps behavior.

Look at the facts. Damian Williams had a long history of gang-related violence. He could clearly make a choice between attacking a white man with whom he had no grudge and not attacking him — the choice was his. But at least one member (and most likely several other sympathizers) of our local socialist group accepted and advanced the idea that poor Damian Williams was not to blame for his purposeful and vicious attack on a truly innocent victim who happened to be white. Society made him do it. Amazing!

Another very popular and obvious example of dismissing personal responsibility is the fairly recent classification of alcoholism as a disease. Come on! If you believe that, then it is the only disease to have ever been eradicated by will power. Quitting may be a difficult process, but an alcoholic can put an end to his "disease" by simply *choosing* not to drink, that is, taking responsibility for his actions and not drinking.

If this were not the case, how else could we explain the millions of former alcoholics who simply choose not to drink

and don't? Does their "disease" simply go away? In a sense, yes, it does, once they decide to show some willpower and character.

It may be true that some folks have a genetic predisposition toward alcoholism. But that just means that once they know this, they shouldn't drink. Abstaining may not be easy and requires willpower, but that certainly does not mean that alcoholism is a disease.

It is true that society plays a role in molding people and that a black person in a racist society may face problems not of his own making. But contemporary America is not oppressively racist, and there are plenty of chances for any hardworking person who makes thoughtful choices to carve

It didn't matter that Bradley would offer at best lukewarm support for the goals of the Tenants Union, while the PFP candidate would wholeheartedly support them. Bradley was black. That was enough.

out a decent life. However, leftists and liberals are thoroughly immersed in the narcissism of minor differences. Noted civil rights activist James Meredith points out:

[S]omewhere along the line, someone in power decided that the proud black race, a people who built cultures in Africa and built many of the physical structures of this nation, could not survive without a host of federal programs and giveaways. . . . A "dependency mentality" was created and fostered by black and white liberals looking to buy power. . . . I have come to realize that while white racism exists, our main roadblocks in the '90s are ones that have been created by our own so-called leadership.

Dr. Laura Schlessinger, a radio talk-show personality who consistently stresses personal responsibility, is the bane of people on the left. I have yet to meet a leftist, or even a liberal, who likes her show. Her bluntness may offend some people, but she is worth quoting on personal responsibility:

We have created a unique society in which those who do bad things are shown compassion and understanding, and those who point out the badness and expect consequences and justice are called judgmental and mean. I believe this attitude is so pervasive because it provides a huge gray area in which no one has to assume any responsibility for their actions, and they are immune from annoying judgment.

To be sure, leftists and liberals judge all the time, but they most often direct their judgments at those in society who are successful — dirty executives, entrepreneurs, etc. — and who take responsibility for their own actions and welfare.

Unnecessary Lying

During the 1980s, my wife and I were very active in the local Santa Barbara Tenants Union. Other than our local socialist group, the Tenants Union was the most active and progressive organization in Santa Barbara at that time. The leadership was dominated by members of the League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). Anyone on the left in the 1980s remembers them. They never admitted to membership in the LRS, but weren't shy about pushing their newspaper.

The mantra was, "I am a supporter of the *Revolutionary Worker*." They didn't fool anybody.

But this transparent lying about their political affiliation means that, when the revolution comes, it will be led in Santa Barbara by political activists who are, if not skilled at lying, at least comfortable with it. A great start for a new humanistic order.

Of course, lying about one's principal political affiliation has a long tradition on the left. There may have been justification for underground political work (including lying about leftist political affiliations) in czarist Russia or in El Salvador in the 1980s. But in the U.S. today?

I ran for the Santa Barbara City Council twice (in 1985 and in 1987). In all of my years of intense political activity — which I had done openly as a member of the California PFP and the Socialist Party, USA — I never had a major hassle with the public because I was a socialist or advocated socialism. Neither did any of the twenty core members of our local socialist group.

The only real problem came from liberals who wanted me to lie and say I was simply another progressive Democrat — a stupid idea for several reasons. Progressive or liberal Democrats are a dime a dozen in Santa Barbara. At least one runs for every office in the county. I was not a Democrat, and was not about to lie concerning my basic political affiliations, even though I surely would have received more votes if I did. But that would have been a betrayal of the public trust and my own values. It still seems odd that Democratic Party activists encouraged me to lie.

Far Beyond the Melting Pot

Among the many interesting discussions during my two campaigns for Santa Barbara City Council was one that emerged in both campaigns and revealed an illogical pandering to the god of multicultural "diversity" and identity politics.

To become a U.S. citizen, one must demonstrate competence in the English language. My campaign committees had serious discussions about whether to print some of our campaign literature in Spanish. Many felt that doing so would help us gain the Hispanic vote. (More than one-third of the population in Santa Barbara is Hispanic.)

My wife and I consistently argued that since only citizens could register to vote and since naturalized Hispanic citizens

It was a bit of a shock for me that Mr. N — while not a leftist, but a strong liberal — could not accept as valid the idea that there exist people of good will who are not of his own political persuasion.

must have competence in the English language (or they could not become citizens in the first place), there was no need for Spanish language campaign material. Those not competent in English could not become citizens and, thus, could not vote. Our logic won the day, but it was interesting that the thoughtful folks working in my campaigns even broached this subject in a serious manner. Their arguments

demonstrated the power of multiculturalism and their need to pander to identity politics.

The LRS folks and their supporters also exhibited an incredible ability to support almost anyone — excepting, of course, the most blatant conservatives — so long as that person had black or brown skin and, preferably, was also a woman.

They demonstrated this behavior when Democrat Tom Bradley, a black moderate, ran for governor of California in 1986. Other than being black, Bradley had almost no progressive or leftist credentials. The Tenants Union had a radical constitution, and my wife and I, being serious and open leftists, argued that the Tenants Union should endorse the PFP candidate, a Hispanic woman named Maria Elizabeth Muñoz, instead of Bradley. While we managed to convince several members of the Tenants Union to endorse the true leftist candidate, the majority voted to endorse Bradley.

Understand the underlying political context. An endorsement by the Santa Barbara Tenants Union for any candidate for statewide office would only influence at most a couple of hundred voters in Santa Barbara — almost certainly not enough to make a difference for any candidate. But, by openly backing a socialist (the PFP candidate), the organization would help build a base outside the Democratic Party for progressives and leftists. On the other hand, backing a tired, old moderate Democrat would mean almost nothing, and would build little except allegiance to what almost everyone in the leadership agreed was a corrupt Democratic Party. Moreover, it would show that the Tenants Union supported a black male candidate (over a Hispanic woman). It didn't matter that Bradley would offer at best lukewarm support for the goals of the Tenants Union, while the PFP candidate would wholeheartedly support them. Bradley was black. That was enough.

One of the most impressive examples of identity politics and race pandering was the hoopla surrounding the 1995 U.S. Supreme Court decision ordering that the 11th congressional district in Georgia be redrawn in a manner that omits race as the "predominant" factor. Subsequent redistricting of five "racially gerrymandered," black-majority districts into white-majority districts in Florida, Georgia, and Texas nearly spurred leftists, liberals, and so-called black leaders to predict the coming of Armageddon for black folks in America.

The ruling was "the first step in the resegregation of American electoral democracy," according to Wade Henderson, legal director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He added, "If race can't be a factor, it's going to be almost impossible to preserve these black districts." Cynthia McKinney, the black Democratic incumbent in Georgia's 11th

district, lamented the ruling as "a setback for democracy" and said she believed that "[t]he issue of fairness has been squarely left behind." That paragon of virtue President Clinton called the decision a "setback in the struggle to ensure that all Americans participate fully in the electoral process." And the Rev. Jesse Jackson said that this limit on racial gerrymandering would produce an "ethnic cleansing of Congress."

Guess what? The sky did not fall, and black folks are not once again in slavery. All five black incumbents in the former black-majority and now white-majority Southern districts won their races in November 1996. Maybe Americans, even white Southerners, are not as racist as the identity politicians would have us believe.

By early 1996, I had become fed up with affirmative-action preferences and quotas in government and college admissions. I took a small, unscientific poll of friends and co-workers to get a better sense of the extent to which discrimination against women exists on college campuses and in the workplace. I polled nine women, who ranged in age from their early 20s to their late 40s, asking if they had ever been discriminated against in school or the workplace because of their sex during the past ten years. (I used ten years because I figured that even the most retrograde men had at least heard of sexual discrimination by the mid-1980s and knew that it was unacceptable and could be illegal.) It turned out that none of the respondents reported any discrimination on account of their sex.

Of course, my sample was small, and my methods unscientific. But if sexual discrimination has been as rampant

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as leftists and feminists would have us believe, I figured that at least half the women I talked to would report some sexual discrimination in the past decade. And if we are to believe feminists and the advocates of preferences and quotas, it is impossible that not one of the nine women had been a victim of sexual discrimination.

In the March 23, 1998, issue of *Newsweek*, Meg Greenfield clearly stated the major problem with identity politics and, hence, the arguments in favor of affirmative-action preferences and multiculturalism:

To let yourself be transformed into the emblem of some cause, any cause, or demographic category, and to draw your identity and take your marching orders from it is to kick away your freedom, your independence and your individuality. It is to suspend all these and basically to lose your influence over events that matter to you. You will find you have forgotten how to speak out with views that do not conform to those of the group or that you will have been led not to trust such views. You will see life through a very narrow lens and be very much in the control of those who do the defining of the group interest.

Intolerance for a True Diversity of Ideas

A couple of years ago my wife and I got into a political discussion with another couple. I related that I have two very good friends who are conservative. My friend — let's call him Mr. N — replied that he had never met a conservative who was not a fascist in disguise. No matter what I said, Mr. N would not accept the idea that a

These same people began suggesting my views were racist. Never mind that during the preceding 15 years, I had voted for, contributed money to, and worked on the campaigns of candidates who were black or brown 70-80 percent of the time.

conservative could be a principled and decent person — that there exists such an animal as a Burkean conservative who is not racist, not sexist, not anti-democratic, though opposing many of the tenets of modern liberalism.

It was a bit of a shock for me that Mr. N — while not a leftist, but a strong liberal — could not accept as valid the idea that there exist people of good will who are not of his own political persuasion. He was clearly being intolerant of other political views. It was then I began to realize that perhaps even the much-touted cultural diversity of the past 15 years or so does not include the most meaningful type of diversity, a diversity of ideas.

Last May, I came across an interesting article in *The Wall Street Journal* that reported on a study of academic tolerance at the University of Colorado — or, should I say, lack thereof. Keep in mind that the University of Colorado is the premiere public university in a state in which registered Republicans outnumber Democrats by more than 100,000 — a state in which the Republican Party has controlled both houses of the state legislature since the mid-1970s. The article noted that in 13 social science and humanities departments

at the university's main campus in Boulder, Democrats outnumbered Republicans by a ratio of 31 to 1. Of the 190 professors affiliated with a political party, 184 were Democrats. Not a single Republican turned up in major departments such as English (29 Democrats) and psychology (20 Democrats). There was a single Republican in anthropology (10 Democrats), education (21 Democrats), and sociology (12 Democrats), and there were two Republicans in political science (14 Democrats). Students can easily go through four years of "liberal" education without taking a social science or humanities class from a single Republican professor. Students find themselves in an environment in which liberal professors don't merely dominate the faculty, they essentially are the faculty.

This ideological hegemony is the obvious result of diversity that only takes ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation into consideration. What happened to the idea that an undergraduate education was intended to provide diverse ideological stimuli and produce graduates who are able to think critically about a range of subjects? Unfortunately, the University of Colorado at Boulder is not an anomaly in its slavish adherence to a very narrow notion of diversity. How is this ideological bias different in method and result from the McCarthyism of the 1950s?

I personally experienced ideological intimidation during the campaign for Proposition 187, which was designed to deny state welfare benefits to illegal immigrants. I wrote a few letters to the editor and opinion pieces that were published in the local newspapers. Of course, some liberals replied, and I was referred to in print as "mean-spirited." In addition, a couple of friends simply refused to take my arguments seriously, and publicly derided me for questioning the left-liberal belief that the U.S. should be an open house with complete benefits for anyone who can sneak across the border. Almost immediately, these same people began suggesting my views were racist. Never mind that during the preceding 15 years, I had voted for, contributed money to, and worked on the campaigns of candidates who were black or brown 70-80 percent of the time, and women more than half the time. These people were not concerned with the particulars of my argument. Their concern was to threaten me with vile labels if I overstepped the bounds of politically correct thought.

Left Out by the Left

The left has betrayed me. As a young man I eagerly read about the left, Marxism, and socialism. I thought that the left was striving to create a society in which people could fully use their talents and together create a truly democratic society. It seemed obvious to me that taking responsibility for one's actions was a necessary part of the equation, as was being forthright about one's political views and not engaging in political lying. Equally obvious was the need to put an end to racism and sexism, but not by creating new systems where some folks are given extra consideration because of their skin tone or sex, which seemed to me a long-term recipe for polarization and divisiveness. I also expected the new society to show tolerance for a diversity of ideas. Real diversity is what I assumed then to be the keystone for a better society, and I still strongly believe that today. □

What Libertarians Can Learn From History

by James C. Bennett

Those who don't learn from history are doomed to get less than one percent of the vote.

The Libertarian Party has been attempting to influence the United States through electoral politics since its first Presidential election in 1972. Over the course of its history, two main strategies have been identified by those concerned with its success: one might be roughly summarized as the "become a major party" model; the other as the "Socialist Party" model. The first model advocates a strategy of fighting elections to win, with the intention of building a party organization which will eventually grow large and successful enough to replace one of the two existing major parties. The second model implies a strategy of fighting elections primarily to educate the public and to force the major parties, through the popularity of its proposals, to enact such proposals themselves. The latter model points to the experience of the Socialist Party, which had regional successes, but never rose to the status of a major political party. But Socialists saw many planks from their platforms — for example, the graduated income tax and government-run mandatory pension schemes — eventually implemented by major-party politicians.

Libertarians have been pursuing one or the other of these strategies for the bulk of the Party's history, expending large amounts of their money and energy, without any demonstrable success. Perhaps it is time to look at the validity of these models in light of historical experience to see whether alternative models might be more productive.

The Norman Thomas Model

The "Socialist Party" strategy seems simple enough: do well enough in local and regional elections — even win a few — that the major parties begin to hijack your issues; let the Republicans and Democrats implement your goals.

A good many libertarians believe this is exactly what happened. They observe that in the U.S. today the government substantially regulates the economy and transfers wealth by means of progressive taxation, and

conclude that the Socialist Party has succeeded in its fundamental aims. But the simple fact remains that, *measured by its own standards*, the Socialist Party was a complete failure.

The Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs was a hard-core socialist party based on Marxist theory and principles. Its members believed that the government should nationalize all means of production, including banks, railroads, mines, health care, farms, and factories, suppress entrepreneurship and the money economy completely, and run the entire economy on the basis of centralized economic planning. Their goal was complete state control of the economy. They differed from the radical socialists who took over Russia in 1917 only in that they were gradualists and democrats — they intended to build a party and union movement which would eventually gain political power, replace the existing Constitution with a socialist one, and then expropriate all industrial property. The original members of the Communist Party, USA, were members of the Socialist Party through this period. They split off in 1920-21 primarily because they believed (correctly) that the gradualist program could not be implemented by the ballot and (incorrectly) that they could effect a revolutionary *coup d'état* on the Soviet model.

The Socialist Party platform measures that were enacted, such as graduated income tax and state pension schemes, were viewed as short-term tactical moves needed to weaken capitalism and build mass support for the more radical program of the party. (These planks, in fact, were taken over from earlier third parties, principally the Populists and

Greenbacks, in order to recruit their veterans. They were never core Socialist demands.) When these measures *were* adopted, it was by liberal reformers such as the Roosevelts, who were trying to save capitalism, not destroy it. Their parties, not the Socialists, benefited from the adoption of these measures. The strength gained by these measures was used to defeat the wider and more basic agenda of the Socialists, not to advance it. Recent free-market reforms enacted by Republicans, which are more rhetorical than substantive, serve the same function. They are mere window dressing that cover up an agenda of continued growth in government power — in such disparate forms as Internet censorship and asset forfeiture — capturing the Rooseveltian state for their own ends.

In order for the Libertarian Party to force major parties to co-opt even its most immediate tactical planks, it would be necessary for the Party to show much more electoral strength than it has to date.

In fact, as Democrats and Progressives co-opted short-term Socialist measures, the Socialists drifted further from realizing their fundamental goals. Some Socialists gradually convinced themselves that the adoption of their short-term program constituted success, and congratulated themselves on it, while others realized that they had failed in transforming the nation into a workers' paradise.

No matter how little we like the interference of the federal government in our economy, we have to admit that the present regulatory state is nothing at all like what the Socialist Party proposed. Libertarians would be ill-served to choose a strategy by repeating a myth invented by losers to excuse their failure.

Why did the major parties preempt certain Socialist short-term planks? Because the Socialist Party was beginning to represent a genuine electoral threat to their success. By 1912, the Socialists were running over 5 percent in the presidential vote, and had elected hundreds of state and local officials. In some places, the Socialist Party established itself as the second or even first party — the Socialists governed Milwaukee until 1962. In order for the Libertarian Party to force major parties to co-opt even its most immediate tactical planks, it would be necessary for the Party to show much more electoral strength than it has to date.

The Major Party Model

The other strategy is far more challenging: the LP should become a major party in its own right, supplanting one of the major parties, or emerging as a major national party during a period of confusion and realignment. The best way to estimate the chances of that happening, and to determine the most likely effective strategy for it happening, is to look at the historical record. How many times has a new political party ascended to major-party status, and by what means did this happen? How many parties have tried to emerge,

and failed? And what can we learn from those successes and those failures?

The federal political system was launched around the time that the modern political party system began to emerge throughout the English-speaking world. The United States has one of the oldest and most stable party systems in existence; only the British party system could credibly claim to be older. Indeed, the American system has deep roots in the British system, as the ideals of the American Revolution are largely drawn from the principles of the English Whig party. Pre-revolutionary Americans identified themselves as Whigs and Tories, and the Revolution had much of the character of an armed civil war between the two parties. The losers were expelled, disenfranchised, or otherwise marginalized; the American Whig movement became the sole political interest. (In percentage terms, the American Revolution generated more political exiles than the French.) Soon, however, the question of ratification of the Constitution repolarized politics into Federalist and Anti-Federalist parties. Many returning or reenfranchised Tories joined the Federalists.

At the end of the struggle over ratification of the Constitution, the Federalists coalesced as a formal ruling party, while the opposition Anti-Federalists organized themselves as the Republican-Democratic Party. Over the subsequent decades, the Democrats (to use their modern name) became dominant, while the Federalists fell apart, primarily because they could not adopt policies relevant to the westward expansion of the U.S. The opposition to the Democrats reformulated itself, first as the National Republicans, and then as the Whigs. The Whigs never created a truly effective governing coalition, winning presidential elections only when they nominated popular war heroes. The Whigs failed when they could not deal effectively with the rising issue of slavery. Too many centers of support for the Whigs — even in the North — were

The experience of the Free-Soil Party demonstrated that a small group of experienced, ideologically motivated people with energy and organizational skills could provide leadership to a larger group accustomed to torpid, opportunist, and mercenary politics.

dependent on slavery-related businesses, and the party was never able to develop positions on the issue that were acceptable to their own supporters and the electorate.

As the Whigs collapsed, a number of new parties attempted to replace them. The Anti-Masonic Party had some success appealing to fears of that Order; the American Party (commonly called the "Know-Nothing" Party), attempted to appeal to anti-immigrant sentiment. Both ran ex-presidents for the presidency, and broke into the 10–20 percent range at least regionally, but their focus was too narrow to break into truly major-party status. A third small party, the Free-Soil Party, focused on the issue of preventing the extension of slavery into the western territories. It started

by polling numbers comparable to the Anti-Masonic and American parties, and began to improve its numbers when it began to serve as the focus for disaffected ex-Whigs and American Party supporters. The Free-Soilers merged these blocs into a new party, the Republicans, which rapidly rose to major-party status in the elections of 1856. By the end of the Civil War, the American political system had settled into the bipartisan dominance which has lasted to this day — Republicans and Democrats. Voting preferences have changed only glacially, usually requiring at least a generation to solidify. However, if neither party has been replaced since 1860, it has not been for lack of trying. Just about every generation since then has seen a substantial third party arise and attempt to challenge the bipartisan consensus. The Greenback party; the Populists; the Socialists from 1900 through 1920; Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive or Bull Moose Party in 1912; LaFollette's Progressive bid in 1924; Lemke's Liberty Party running against Franklin Roosevelt; Henry Wallace's Progressives and Strom Thurmond's States Rights Party in 1948; George Wallace's American Independent Party in 1968, John Anderson's independent campaign in 1980, and Ross Perot's Reform Party in 1992 and 1996 all achieved significant electoral support that towered above the Libertarian Party's most successful efforts. Several of these polled over 10 percent; typically they polled around 5 percent nationally, and often much higher regionally. Despite this success, none was able to replace either existing major political party.

So, what lessons does this experience offer to Libertarians interested in major-party status? The first obvious lesson is that it will not be easy. Major parties seem to get replaced only when one major party fails to offer a viable position on an emerging and important issue of the day, one which cannot be addressed successfully within the coalition politics on which the party is built. Note that the position does not have to be universally acceptable — only acceptable to a substantial portion of the party's core support. The Republicans rose to major-party status by opposing extension of slavery; the Democrats retained that status by favoring it. The Whigs waffled, and disappeared.

The second lesson is that although it is difficult, it has been done before, and therefore can be done again. The trick seems to be latching onto a key

issue on which a large number of people are or can be strongly engaged, and taking a clear position which neither major party can or will adopt, because of the nature of their governing coalitions. The latter part is essential.

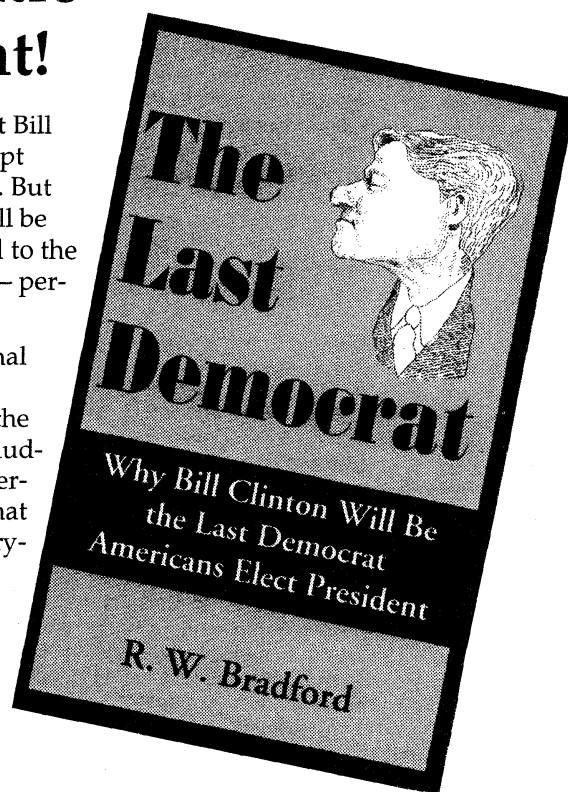
Looking over the long list of would-be new major parties, they can be quickly divided into those centered around a great idea and those centered around a great man. The former have invariably failed when a major quickly adopted a position which satisfied its own supporters (not necessarily delivering on the goods, but making enough promises to steal the third party's constituency). The latter have invariably failed when it became evident that although the

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central personality (Teddy Roosevelt, George Wallace, Ross Perot) had enough appeal to gather a significant mass of voters, he did not have enough to sway a plurality to abandon their comfortable hereditary party identifications, nor to attract viable candidates to build the party at the state and local levels.

The Third Way

A closer look at the last successful party replacement, that of the Republicans replacing the Whigs, demonstrates something interesting. As we have seen, the Republican Party was created by accretion — the Free-Soil party mobilized a core bloc of voters (“free-soil” advocates) who could not be satisfied by the Whigs, and added to this

To apply the Free-Soil precedent, Libertarians must identify an issue which has the potential to excite and motivate the types of people not currently supporting their program, which neither party is likely to adopt, and which, would further the goals of the libertarian movement.

successful core ex-Whigs who now were attracted by the bandwagon effect of Free-Soil success. The Free-Soil party contested the elections of 1848 and 1852; by 1856 its members had become the core of the new Republican party, which was able to attract celebrity John Fremont as its presidential candidate. The Republicans won in the genuinely multiparty election of 1860 by adding the bloc of American Party voters to its Free-Soil and Whig core and capturing pluralities in the largest region of the nation. This, with the eventual addition of some of Bell’s Constitutional Union voters in subsequent elections, became the base of Republican support from 1864 through 1936.

So, where did the Free-Soil Party come from? It was not formed out of thin air. It was built out of a smaller, regional party, the Liberty Party, which had built itself as an abolition party with most of its support in New England and New England-settled areas of the West. Its electoral performance was typical of small, ideologically-based parties: it captured 0.3 percent of the vote in its first Presidential election (1840), 2.3 percent in 1844, while showing strong regional performances in its core area of New England. In general, its national performance was comparable to the Libertarian Party, though of course it was far more successful.

By itself, the Liberty Party would probably have remained a minor, marginalized, and ineffective group of ideologues who enjoyed their moral righteousness, but who never moved significantly toward their stated goal of abolishing slavery. However, the Liberty Party took a fateful step: it decided to become the core of a larger mass party, one dedicated to a more short-term goal upon which others who didn’t share the abolitionist fervor could also agree. By focusing on the free-soil issue, they created a movement which, no matter who supported it, or for which reasons,

could only move the nation closer to Liberty’s goal of freeing slaves.

Joining with the Free-Soil Party must have been a difficult choice for many Liberty Party abolitionists. It required appealing to, recruiting, and working with, persons with diametrically opposed views and values, except on the principal issue of extending slavery. Some free-soil advocates were violent racists who opposed extending slavery to the territories because they wanted to ensure that the new states would be all-white; many of them proposed and voted for laws excluding free blacks from the new territories, and their own states. Many others were indifferent to the issue of abolishing slavery in its existing regions. Yet the Liberty activists understood very well that the extension of slavery into the new territories of Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, had been instrumental in preserving slavery in the early 1800s, and its extension into Kansas and other new territories would likely have helped preserve slavery even longer. The non-abolitionist free-soil advocates, on the other hand, accepted the leadership of the Liberty activists because they needed the energy, organizational skills, and eloquence that had been a hallmark of the Liberty Party’s years of lonely struggle.

The experience of the Free-Soil Party demonstrated that a small group of experienced, ideologically motivated people with energy and organizational skills could provide leadership to a larger group accustomed to torpid, opportunist, and mercenary politics. Free-Soil and its Republican Party successor remained far more strongly influenced by the Liberty activists (eventually known as Radical Republicans) than by the former Whigs and Know-Nothings who later came under their banner.

What’s a Libertarian to Do?

It is by now obvious that the LP is unlikely to grow to replace either of the current parties. It is equally apparent that it is unlikely that either major party will adopt enough of the Party’s programs to make a difference, assuming it ever becomes enough of a threat to force them to do so. As an alternative strategy, the Free-Soil precedent is worth a look.

How could Libertarians apply the lessons of the Free-Soil experience? The Libertarian Party is closer to the situation of the Liberty Party in the late 1840s, than to any other historical parallel. To apply the Free-Soil precedent, it needs to identify an issue which has the potential to excite and motivate the types of people not currently supporting libertarian goals and principles, which neither party is likely to adopt itself, and which, if successfully pursued, would clearly further the goals of the libertarian movement. Even if one of the major parties tried to co-opt the issue, it would only increase the tide toward its adoption, moving the nation in a more desirable direction. Finally, one should try to be moving with the tide of history. The Free-Soil movement represented history’s winners — the rising industrial market economy of the North. The Libertarian movement has the potential to form the core of the party of the emerging cybereconomy — as such, it would similarly be at the forefront of a historical trend. □

Queen of the Soapbox

by Wendy McElroy

A life of anarchism, agitation, and intellectual growth . . .

To the legendary film producer Cecil B. DeMille, she was “The Godless Girl” in a Hollywood movie (1929) of that title which was modeled on her young life. For a teenager with the unlikely name of Queen Silver, the film was just one more in a continuing series of adventures. Queen had been born at the cusp of a social revolution that ushered in women’s equality, world wars, the labor movement, and increased governmental repression of dissent. She helped to create the independence that some of us now carelessly view as the status quo. She was also my best friend.

Queen was born into radicalism. She attended her first political rally at six days of age. There, her mother, Grace Verne Silver, stood at the podium to denounce the laws and mores that restricted labor — in particular, the labor of women. Indeed, the fiery Grace had halted an intensive lecture tour only long enough to give birth. Political agitation was a tradition for the Silver women. Grace’s mother, Azuba, had lost her health — and eventually her life — from working 16 to 18 hours a day in cotton mills from the age of eight. Azuba became a vocal opponent of child labor. Queen delighted in introducing herself as “a second generation *free-thinker* [atheist], a third generation feminist, and directly descended from framers of the Constitution.”

At eight years old — and already a veteran speaker at the Free Speech Zone on Los Angeles Street — the diminutive Queen stunned Los Angeles crowds by delivering a series of six lectures sponsored by the London Society of Science. The subjects ranged from Darwinian evolution to Einstein’s then new theory of relativity. The internationally acclaimed botanist Luther Burbank praised one of her presentations as the best he had heard on the topic. In announcing an upcoming lecture, *The Los Angeles Recorder* (December 24, 1919) wrote, “A good share [of the speech] . . . will be extemporaneously delivered. She has already traveled 50,000 miles in work on the stage and lecture platform.” Queen’s lectures drew hundreds of people; hundreds more were turned away at the

door.

Preaching evolution, “The Girl Scientist” became a major voice for the separation of church and state. Her most famous lecture (and pamphlet) was entitled, “Evolution, From Monkey to Bryan” — Bryan being the famous prosecutor in the Scopes Monkey Trial. (There, in Tennessee, a high school teacher was tried for teaching evolution.) The young Queen challenged Bryan to public debate. He declined to reply, but her well-publicized taunts resulted in national notoriety. Her pamphlet was translated into various languages, including Yiddish and Esperanto.

Grace’s was a strong presence behind the scenes but, sometimes, she assumed center stage. For example, in late 1925, Grace physically attacked an evangelist who made unflattering comments about Queen. For several weeks, he and Queen had been verbally slugging it out on adjacent soapboxes. When Grace was arrested for assault and battery, headlines in the *Los Angeles Evening Express* (November 7, 1925) declared, “Modern Portia of 14 Fights for Mother Before Court.” Queen defended Grace in criminal court, and won.

Meanwhile, *Queen Silver’s Magazine* (1923-1931) — a periodical she published and edited — showcased the teenager’s lectures and attracted over 5,000 subscribers worldwide. Best-selling freethought author William Smith Bryan (*Bible Stories*) wrote to his young protege, “Your talent belongs to the world, and there is no telling the amount of good that you may be able to accomplish if you should live to a reasonable old age.” Queen lived to be eighty-seven, but she was

silenced by circumstances beyond her control.

The American Legion Attacks

Queen and Grace had been active in the early labor movement, especially in the left-leaning I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). When the Russian Revolution rippled panic through America, deputized members of the American Legion — a patriotic veterans association — began to attend labor meetings. At a given signal, they performed a 'citizen's arrest' on the persons sitting to either side of them.

Queen explained what happened next: "[T]he Merchants and Manufacturers Association . . . was the group maintaining 'the files.' . . . When radicals were arrested, they were usually not taken . . . to the police department. They were taken to the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. On one occasion, they showed my mother her file. . . . They had

During World War II, when it became clear that internment of Japanese-Americans was imminent, she violated DMV rules to rush their paperwork so vehicles could be sold quickly.

everything from the time she had left the farm, to her speaking on Boston Common and every organization she'd ever spoken for and, I suppose, every man she'd been friendly with."

Grace always pressed carfare and "a safe address" into Queen's hand before meetings. At a hint of trouble, she was to flee and ask "anyone but a policeman" for directions. One child was not lucky enough to get away in time. A man who had come to break up the meeting picked the child up and lowered him waist-deep into a cauldron of scalding coffee. At another meeting, a child was killed.

Queen also witnessed the destruction of Grace's bookstore — the first socialist bookstore in Los Angeles. It was "raided three times by the Legion" while the police stood and watched. Queen told me, "a truckload of books were taken out and burned, not only socialist literature but also scientific things by Darwin and Haeckel, fiction by Jack London and Mark Twain . . ." The store closed. Confronted by Grace's deteriorating health and increased government repression, Queen made a difficult decision. In the late 1930's, the "Girl Wonder" became a clerk at the Department of Motor Vehicles. Without complaint, she worked days and attended night classes to get her high school diploma and to boost her shorthand to the 210 words a minute that allowed her to become one of the first woman hearing reporters in California. She withdrew politically for decades, but Queen never abandoned the "prime social principle" of "harming no one." For example, during World War II, when it became clear that internment of Japanese-Americans was imminent, she violated DMV rules to rush their paperwork so vehicles could be sold quickly. When the L.A. schools gave up on several Hispanic children, she and Grace tutored them at night in basic language and math skills.

Grace died in 1972. Queen was both devastated and released. After experiencing what she termed "a nervous breakdown," she plunged back into women's rights and the

First Amendment. Privately, she lived her principles. I vividly remember riding with her on a bus in which an old fellow was haranguing a well-meaning driver. Queen stood up and loudly proclaimed, "You are the type of old person who gives old people a bad name!" She sat down to applause. On a more public level, she donned her "uniform": a wig, a hat with a matching skirt and jacket, an empty purse for snatchers, and an underarm pouch for valuables. Day after day, she rode buses to the American Civil Liberties Union (where she sat on committees until her death), to deliver lectures, to preside at meetings, or to "woman" the literature table that she set up on Venice Beach, California every Sunday.

Grace once wrote, "I like to think what a century of honest thinking and brave living, particularly by women, could accomplish." Perhaps we could produce a generation of women who can say — as Queen said to me shortly before her death — "I have never been ashamed of anything I've done."

Creating a "Girl-Wonder"

A pivotal event in Queen Silver's life occurred at the age of three: she pronounced her first word, and she did so in a remarkable manner. Her mother Grace — a socialist lecturer — explained,

. . . that first word ever pronounced developed into a speech, delivered when some friends lifted her to the platform, while I stood out of sight in the wings, and some one told her to "make a speech" like mother. She talked over five minutes, repeating verbatim the peroration of a speech I had been giving at one-night stands all winter.

At that instant, Grace decided to form her daughter into a lecturer and writer along her own mold by using an innovative style of home schooling. On November 1, 1916, when Grace and the almost six-year-old Queen arrived in Los Angeles, one of the first places they visited was the Los Angeles Central Public Library, from which Queen obtained a borrower's card. She proudly wrote, rather than printed, her own name on it. Queen's life-long affair with books had begun. And the public library became an integral aspect of Grace's ambitious plan to raise a girl-wonder — although she always insisted, a bit disingenuously, that Queen was merely an average child who had been given "proper"

A man who had come to break up the meeting picked the child up and lowered him waist-deep into a cauldron of scalding coffee. At another meeting, a child was killed.

instruction. The "proper" education of other children, however, hardly included speaking on soapboxes at outdoor meetings of atheists and radicals.

Until the late twenties, the city of Los Angeles had a "free speech zone" that extended between 1st and 2nd Avenue on Los Angeles Street. Along this stretch, speakers were permitted to set up soapboxes and audiences were allowed to gather in an atmosphere relatively free from interference by police. It was a favorite outdoor auditorium for evangelists and radicals of all causes.

Much later in life, Queen gave a sense of how the free speech zone in Los Angeles had evolved: "A woman named Dorothy Johns in 1908 . . . along with three other women . . . was arrested for using the streets of L.A. to speak on free-thought, since preachers were allowed to freely speak on religion. Thirty-five men were also arrested. The prisoners were all acquitted." Channing Severance wrote:

The Socialists and Freethinkers of Los Angeles have won a notable victory for free speech — that is, the right to speak unmolested on the street — and religious ranters no longer

I vividly remember riding with her on a bus in which an old fellow was haranguing a well-meaning driver. Queen stood up and loudly proclaimed, "You are the type of old person who gives old people a bad name!"

enjoy a monopoly given them by pinheaded officials afflicted with the idea that only believers in the Christian superstition have any rights under a secular government.

Queen also reminisced about her own experience of the free speech zone:

By the time mother and I arrived in Los Angeles, the free-speech zone was well established. With the exception of people throwing rocks occasionally and of a truck that purposefully drove into a meeting one night killing two people and injuring several — (mother jumped off the soapbox just in time to avoid injury) — there were no incidents. That is, as far as the law was involved, we had no problems, except that my mother did get arrested once during a speech. She read a clipping out of the newspaper which said that the army camp near Riverside had issued a command that people should not kiss each other publicly on the streets of Riverside. The army people explained that they needed to protect the morals of the soldiers who were stationed at the camp. So my mother said that if these soldiers hadn't all had good Christian upbringings, they wouldn't need someone to pass a law to protect their morals. For that she got taken off on the charge of disturbing the peace.

Several photographs exist of Queen as a child lecturer, standing on a tabletop in the open air of Los Angeles Street. In one, Queen — who was always diminutive — is a tiny 7-year-old, poised on a soap box with arms spread wide open in front of a fascinated crowd of men. In another, her back is to the camera, her hands rest demurely by her side, there is no podium to hold any notes because she is speaking extemporaneously. To one side of Queen and slightly closer to the camera, with her face included downward, Grace is seated and seems to be following Queen's speech from a sheaf of papers in her lap. Again, a few dozen men have gathered and seem to be listening intently. How large the audience actually was in either case cannot be ascertained as the photograph captures only a segment of the scene.

Queen had become her mother in miniature.

Years later, Grace would still be grooming Queen to take her rightful place on the lecture circuit. On June 8, 1934, Grace wrote to her 23-year-old daughter:

Now that I am traveling again I recall several rules for traveling speakers which you might also find useful:

1) The first thing when you get into a new town, before you leave the station, find out and write down what time train (etc.) leaves for your next stop, and how much it will cost to get there.

2) Get mail at P.O. first thing when you arrive and last thing before you leave. There might be something important. When you leave forwarding order, have mail forwarded to where you expect to be a week later. The P.O. is too slow to catch up with you sooner than that.

3) Look for room somewhere within 3 or 4 blocks of main Library. It is likely to be fairly reasonable, in the business district — or near — and semi-respectable at least. Besides, you can use the library.

4) Get some kind of city map and study it so you know where you are. Can get them free on hotel folders.

5) Pack suitcases, if you have two, so that literature for first meeting, and clothes for that night, will both be in same case and the other and heaviest case can be checked from one town to another and left 24 hours without charge at the station.

6) Sleep on trains or boats or buses with all your clothes on except dress and shoes. Better yet, if you must take off a dress, use another dress, not a nightgown to sleep in. Then if anything happens you are at least dressed. No night gown or kimonos when traveling. Use a loose dress instead.

7) Take your own collection if possible and watch that helpers in meetings don't go away with half your literature money.

But Los Angeles County would not merely be a stop on a lecture tour: it became home for both Grace and Queen, who would stay there virtually without an absence for the rest of their lives.

Inevitably, the spectacle of a girl-wonder delivering radical speeches in the streets of L.A. stirred curiosity.

Grace's home schooling philosophy was given credit and her methodology was later chronicled in an article that appeared in *National Brain Power Monthly* entitled "Making Your Child A Genius." It was written by Henry H. Roser, whom Grace married in 1921, making him Queen's stepfather. The article was subtitled, "Grace Verne Silver Tells the Secret of the Home Teaching Methods that Have Made Queen Silver the Marvel of the School World."

Roser described Grace as a "noted author, lecturer, and mother and educator of a so-called 'child prodigy.'" Like Grace, he claimed Queen was an ordinary little girl who had fulfilled the intellectual promise available to any other child who was appropriately educated.

Grace is quoted within the article as criticizing the public school system for inculcating compromise and mediocrity into its students. She contended:

The educators of our schools worship a holy trinity of their own, namely, Average, Authority, and Standardized Methods. . . . We are fast becoming a nation of average people. Instead of statesmen, we have politicians of average ability; we aim at an average weight and height for every child and adult, at an average wage rate, based upon an average standard of life. . . . Average is the great god of modern life. A sausage machine is a fine thing — with which to make sausages. School administrators have generally considered it a good method of making brains for children.

Among the "fundamental principles of education" that

Grace believed were universally ignored by the current education system were: developing constructive thought until it became a reflex action; directing the child's energy into constructive pursuits, rather than destructive ones that wasted time; allowing a child's mind to develop according to its own natural tendencies, just as the body grew naturally; realizing that the child inherits its "chief bias" from its mother; and understanding that a successful education leaves the child with ultimately more knowledge than the adult from whom it learns.

Grace explained the process by which she tutored Queen, which included no lullabies or nursery rhymes. "A woman once repeated a nursery rhyme to her," Grace recounted. "'Stop, stop,' she [Queen] cried, 'that sound hurts my ears.' Another told her a fairy tale. 'Is that true?' she asked me. Upon being informed that it was not, Queen remarked, 'That

At eight years old the diminutive Queen stunned Los Angeles crowds by delivering a series of six lectures sponsored by the London Society of Science. The subjects ranged from Darwinian evolution to Einstein's then new theory of relativity.

woman must think that I am as ignorant as she is!' She was four-years-old at that time."

In the early years of Queen's development, Grace claimed that she subordinated her own career. "I gave up traveling and remained in Los Angeles in order to make use of the unusually good library facilities in that city. In one year, between six and seven, I took her through the first six grades of grammar school work in reading, arithmetic, grammar, history and much besides . . . At seven and a half she was reading Darwin's 'Coral Reefs,' and 'Expression of the Emotions' in *Man and Animals*. Soon after, she began to read Haeckel's *Natural History of Creation*."

Roser went on to add that Queen had also been taught self-reliance and, from the age of seven, had been earning her own money by writing, speaking, and working in motion pictures.

Life as Women Radicals

Details on how Grace and Queen actually supported themselves during this period are vague. Despite Roser's claims of how Queen earned enough money to support herself, she later spoke of how desperately poor she and her mother had been. To acquire a little extra money, they sold fertile goose eggs. Queen recalled their joy when, during a day of particularly acute hunger, Grace suddenly discovered a crock of goose eggs that she had put away and forgotten. They also supplemented their food supply by going into the bean fields of farmers who permitted the poor to search through the vines after harvest, looking for beans that had been overlooked.

All three of them scrambled to pick up work as extras in the silent movie industry that had sprouted in Los Angeles. In the manuscript of a later article, Grace commented on the

process of finding work as an extra. It involved nothing so much as constant driving. "There was no Central Casting Agency in those days, and all us extras used to make the rounds from one studio to another, morning and night, when we were not working. Universal City, Culver City, Hollywood, back and forth. One might easily drive 50 to 75 miles a day, looking for work and not getting it."

Several photos of Grace "in costume" exist. In one photograph, a saronged Grace with her skin browned to a Polynesian hue embraces a distressed monkey. In another, she poses in the all-concealing Puritan garb of 18th century New England. Meanwhile, because Roser sported a beard and owned a six gun (that probably didn't shoot), he generally received extra pay for work in cowboy movies. For her part, Queen used to speak delightedly of one movie set on which she had to climb up a rope to board a ship that was made to rock as though in a gale.

In a letter dated July 23, 1982, Queen, then 71, seemed to minimize her film experience: "While I did do some movie work, it was much earlier (1917-1928) and was only extra work." She also spoke of the boredom of being a face in the crowd. The extras used to mull about, chatting on whatever subject they wished, which could cause some trouble if audiences in the movie theatres were able to read lips.

At some point, probably in the early 1920's, the family moved to what Queen always referred to as 'the half-acre' in Inglewood, California, where they raised chickens for eggs and lived largely off vegetables from their substantial garden. They also acquired a cow named Bossy, who would give milk only if fed alfalfa hay. Queen became unusually fond of Bossy, whom she and Grace had chosen as "the one" when they found her down on her haunches looking under a car where her owner was working. In bad weather, Bossy had her own shed with a small wooden window that she could slide back and forth with her nose to adjust the ventilation.

In some ways, Queen's childhood seemed idyllic.

But an aspect of Queen's self-reliance that was not covered in Roser's article was later related to me by Queen herself: it was political street sense. And she acquired it while most other children were having *Peter Rabbit* read to them. Upon arriving in Los Angeles, Grace and Queen may have first visited the public library, but making connections in the

Grace physically attacked an evangelist who made unflattering comments about Queen. For several weeks, he and Queen had been verbally slugging it out on adjacent soapboxes.

freethought and socialist communities had not been far behind. In 1916, the main free-thought organization in the city was The Los Angeles Liberal Club, of which the well-known libertarian radical Charles T. Sprading was the President.

Sprading became something of a point of contention between Queen and me. As a staunch libertarian, I often and openly favored individual and free market solutions to the social problems for which Queen often and openly favored

collective and legal solutions. On many occasions she and I found ourselves at ideological loggerheads, with our conflicting political assumptions allowing no chance of resolution. At some point in such conversations, Queen would exercise seniority and call a halt by saying, "as always, we must agree to disagree." The exaggerated patience of her tone left little doubt that she hoped libertarianism was a political phase I would outgrow.

Immediately after we experienced such a dispute, Queen seemed especially prone to recount a childhood encounter she'd had with Sprading, whom she knew I admired. The libertarian guru had attended a freethought meeting in someone's home, at which Grace and Queen were also

present. He spoke with what must have been great enthusiasm or outrage on some subject or, perhaps, he was merely given to gesturing. The diminutive Queen stood beside him, listening. As Sprading drove home an argument, an impulsive sweep of his hand lightly hit her head, which must have come up to about his waist level.

She looked up at Sprading and stated, "Don't do that again." The meeting went on, passions flowed anew, until lo and behold, he did it again. Whereupon, Queen kicked him in the shins so hard that Sprading was still limping hours later when the meeting concluded and he left the house. Queen told me the story several times. She always smiled when she did so.

Petersen, "Sex in Prison" *continued from page 30*

men and women from their families, friends, careers and communities for peaceful, non-aggressive, non-coercive, non-fraudulent and genuinely consensual activities, and warehouse them for years and decades with murderers, arsonists, terrorists, rapists and thieves. What outrages me, what I can't say loud enough or often enough, is that half the women don't belong here because they've done nothing wrong, they have no victims; the other half don't belong here because it's too good for them.

The model of egalitarianism that is prison, houses and feeds and punishes the marijuana grower and the serial killer together and in the same way — and at a cost to taxpayers of over \$20,000 per year per inmate. This is an atrocity that far exceeds the questionable claims of possible sexual abuse from a nano-fraction percent of the thousands of women who have been in custody at FCI/FPC Dublin in the past five years.

Life in prison is far from my idea of a good time, but I've traveled enough in my pre-prison life to know and appreciate that women in FCI/FPC Dublin live, by any objective standard, better than three-quarters of the world's population. I am safer from random acts of violence or rape than free women in Washington, D.C., Belfast or Kinshasa. And I'm old enough to remember fugitive Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver's comment to the press when he returned from exile to face prison time in the U.S.: "I'd rather be incarcerated in America than free in Algeria."

There are real problems in our nation's prisons and I applaud AI's efforts to bring attention to and correct them. But more energy should be spent on reforming the draconian drug laws, mandatory minimums and sentencing guidelines that are filling up America's prisons, and on rallying support for the hundreds of thousands of victims of the War on Drugs, not just as "prisoners of war," but as "political prisoners" who are imprisoned for holding dear and expressing in practice the radical ideas of self-ownership and individualism.

Rape is *not* part of our sentence at FCI/FPC Dublin. It's not encouraged, condoned, sanctioned, nor is it a systemic problem: it is an anomaly, an ugly and infrequent exception to a vigorously enforced rule.

I don't fear sexual abuse here as much as I fear being released into an America with fewer and fewer personal freedoms and with increasing violations of the rights which used

to enjoy constitutional guarantees and protections that made us the envy of the world.

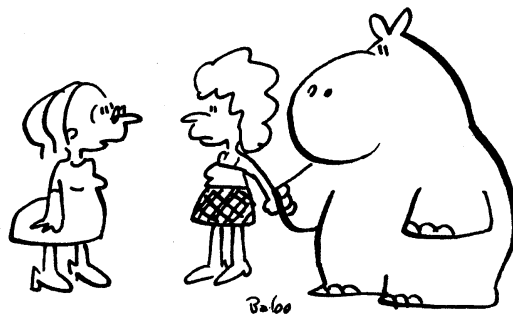
I sent Amnesty International a letter detailing all this, suggesting that its report was inaccurate in many details. AI replied with a simple note that acknowledged receipt of my letter, and that was it.

About a week after I sent my letter to AI, Fox News ran a two-night "Segment Two" report on prison sex scandals, the first part devoted exclusively to FCI/FPC Dublin. One of the officials interviewed in the Fox News report was Ralph Paige, from the U.S. Justice Department Office of Inspector General, the agency that assisted in Jon Hyson's investigation and which has the responsibility of accepting and investigating new complaints of sexual harassment and abuse from federal inmates. He reported receiving, on average, one complaint per month from the Dublin facilities since his office's phone number had been made available for free calls from inmates.

What Paige failed to make clear, or what was edited out of his interview, was the fact that on any given day, there are 1400-1500 female inmates in the two facilities of FCI/FPC Dublin and that some percentage of those complaints are without merit and undeserving of active investigation.

I would bet a carton of cigarettes (at tax-free prison prices, thank you) that free-world, private or public sector ombudsmen would welcome that rate of complaint, given today's litigious society and the legions of gender feminists coming out of Women's Studies programs and into the job market. I sent Mr. Paige my Amnesty letter with a note suggesting that he remember my perspective every time he and his colleagues receive complaints from Dublin.

I'm still waiting for his response.



"Ask yourself dear — is this what you really want?"

Reflections, continued from page 16

fair share of corporate welfare, condemns the law as "idiotic and useless." On its own, he says, Nouvelles Frontieres would have created the 104 new jobs that he's now being rewarded for. At Lourdes, a \$670,000 government check will help cover the cost of Castex's replacement while he's off collecting mushrooms. "The cost of the new hires at Lourdes is more or less going to be compensated for by the aid I get from the state," says Dehaine.

Not everyone, of course, is 100 percent happy with the new law. At Renault's Cleon factory, the Communist-aligned CGT union ordered a strike because management, in order to meet production requirements under the new mandate, wanted employees to work eight Saturdays a year. Others see Big Brother running out of control. A new squad of government labor inspectors, to ensure full compliance, is being sent out to workplaces to make sure no one is spending too much time on the job. Last month, the top executive of a company that makes military radar equipment was found guilty and fined for encouraging managers to put in overtime.

Others see the likelihood of less take-home pay. The government, previously promising the 35-hour week wouldn't mean new taxes, has now announced that, in part to compensate for business subsidies, it will have to raise more than \$5 billion in new revenue next year. Special levies on excess profits and on industries that pollute are being considered.

There's growing concern, too, that the government is weakening France's competitive position in Europe. "This is a decision of a political nature that deliberately ignores economic realities," charges Bernard Boisson, counselor at the Movement of French Enterprises, the country's main Paris-based business lobby. "It's even graver, we think, because France is the only country to put this program in place, with no other European country doing likewise." Patrick Artus, research director at the Caisse des Depots et Consignations, a government-affiliated investment institution, believes the Socialists' legislation is foolhardy and could produce a supreme irony: the net loss of up to 200,000 jobs.

The lesson? Watch your wallet when the bureaucrats start promising something for nothing.

—Ralph Reiland

Letters, continued from page 32

that includes law enforcement personnel.

Is omitting embarrassing details from a law enforcement document a conspiracy? Yes, if the agent has been trained to do so, as the author stated; for then we have the trainer and the trainee, the necessary two people conspiring to obstruct justice. Yes, if the supervisor directs the agent to do so, and the agent complies; for again we have the necessary two people conspiring to obstruct justice. Conspiracy is that simple and more widespread than we wish to admit. Why are we reluctant to consider conspiracy a possibility in our government? There are several reasons but the most compelling reason is fear.

We neither wish to be called "Conspiracy Types" nor conspiracy nuts because someone will immediately label us as being paranoid. Paranoia is a mental disease. Lord knows we do not wish to be known as being mentally ill. When the conspirator calls someone paranoid, he knows that victory follows. Wishing to avoid the mental illness stigma, we jump into the conspirator's camp, even repeating his bazooka word "paranoid" against other discerning people. Eventually, we become desensitized as to what is happening.

A good defense against the paranoid is to reply, "Rather than think myself as being paranoid, I would rather think of you as being naive." Or, less offensive, you can just make light of being para-

noid. At that point, if you have the courage, quickly turn the conversation toward educating the person calling you paranoid. That is a skill I have yet to master.

Milton Scoutaris
Neosho, Mo.

Playing Monopoly with Bill Gates

Matt Ruff's letter in the December issue implies that Bill Gates and Microsoft have a coercive monopoly. He is wrong.

No one is forced to buy Microsoft's products. Why people do so without a gun to their heads I'm not sure, but people do buy them. A few years ago my new boss bought a Microsoft-made monstrosity that was so screwed up and ill-conceived that everything we do in my business was made more difficult. I don't blame my boss, really. He probably got suckered in by a slick sales pitch, and when haven't we all, at one time or another?

I've sworn not to buy any of that company's mediocre products for my own use. Let's see them make me!

Scott Williams
Denver, Colo.

Please, Eschew Euphuisms and Macaronics!

I consider myself to be an average American. I am a ten year veteran of the armed forces and of late, a new libertarian. I read your magazine because it gives me political thought that our media does not offer. In many ways I am like a dry sponge, I soak up all the information that I can from your articles. the

only thing that I don't like about your magazine is that a few of your authors seem to think that only fifth year Harvard graduates who have an enormous vocabulary read your publication. Case in point, just what the heck is Mr. Kyle Rothweiler talking about?

I'm guessing even you aren't sure.
David L. McKinney
Chesapeake, Va.

Go Ahead. Bust My Window

About Adrian Day's "Reflection" (December) on the reportage of Hurricane Floyd being good for the Bahamas' economy because of all the work it would generate:

This, of course, is nothing more than Bastiat's "Broken Window Fallacy," so ably recounted by Henry Hazlitt in *Economics in One Lesson*. And such idiosyncy is not new. In my own copy are marginal notes dated 1993 and 1994 after the LA riots and the SF earthquake; in both cases the *New York Times* wrote much as Day reports CNBC as doing. For example, on January 23, 1994, the *Times* said the earthquake "may actually give the economy a boost" and "GDP and employment [were] actually higher than they would have been."

This led me to suggest a remedy for recessions, very un-Keynesian but in agreement with Day: Next recession, simply burn everything in sight. Trash the city. Think of all the jobs we'll create rebuilding! (I wrote a letter to the *Times* to that effect back then. They elected not to print it.)

Albert S. Kirsch
Brookline, Mass.

Reviews

Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan, by Edmund Morris. Random House, 1999, 874 pages.

Reagan in Fact and Fiction

Gene Healy

If you listen to conservative talking heads, or read the reviews of *Dutch* published in right-wing magazines, you'd think Edmund Morris was a literary John Hinckley, Jr. In *National Review*, Peter Robinson laments: "How . . . could Morris have engaged in such a grotesque betrayal of the confidence the Reagans had placed in him?" George Will, in his sometime role as Nancy Reagan's attack terrier, called Morris "dishonorable," while Robert Novak, writing in *The Weekly Standard*, grouched that the book "presents — and embroiders — the conventional liberal wisdom about Ronald Reagan, and the book will be read with satisfaction by the president's detractors."

Whatever are they so upset about? It's hard to imagine that American liberals would be happy with a biography that dispels the myth that Reagan was a charming idiot, out of his depth in affairs of state, lavishly praises its subject's honesty and strength of character, and credits Reagan with great moral vision, which hastened the collapse of communism. Reaganites in the commentariat seem ill-disposed to accept any biographical treatment of Reagan with more critical bite than Dinesh

D'Souza's 1998 hagiography, *Ronald Reagan: How an Ordinary Man Became an Extraordinary Leader*. D'Souza's book, which could have been written by any young Republican with a few free months and a stack of Heritage Foundation policy papers, provided less insight into the man than one might get from a Reagan campaign brochure.

In contrast, Morris makes an heroic attempt to understand his subject, to crack the actor's facade and uncover the real Reagan. If he ultimately fails in this attempt, at least it can be said that he produces some lyrical and interesting passages along the way.

Of course, it's impossible to review *Dutch* without saying a word or two about Edmund Morris's unorthodox methods. Morris, as everyone now knows, made himself a quasi-fictional character in the book, and peopled it with several other fictional characters who observe Reagan and argue about him. At times, the device succeeds brilliantly; at other times, it's utterly obnoxious. But the idea, propounded by George Will and others, that Morris's method represents a sinister, postmodern assault on the truth, is as overwrought as the conservative cry of "betrayal!" There are far worse examples of the phenomenon Will critiques: Robert Reich's *Locked in the Cabinet*, for

example, in which the diminutive former Labor Secretary repeatedly falsified important details of meetings with Congress and industry leaders — later defending his account as the truth as he "experienced it." Or Bob Woodward's latest book, *Shadow*, in which Woodward recounts privileged communications between the president and his lawyer in the Lewinsky matter, communications to which Woodward could not possibly have had access. With *Dutch*, on the other hand, one has little difficulty discerning what Morris made up and what he didn't.

And there's much here that's worth reading. Second Amendment aficionados will be charmed by Morris's description of Young Reagan armed and chivalrous: "A nurse. . . had been held up beneath Dutch's bedroom window in Des Moines. A warm Sunday night; the time about eleven o'clock; suddenly the sound of a man snarling

If you listen to conservative talking heads, or read the reviews of Dutch published in right-wing magazines, you'd think Edmund Morris was a literary John Hinckley, Jr.

something, and a young woman's voice, high and panicky: 'Take everything I've got but let me go.' Reagan leaps out of bed, seizes his latest acquisition, a .45 automatic (unloaded), and in the glow of a street lamp outside sees one of the girls from Broadlawn General Hospital with her hands in the air. The man menacing her is stooping to pick up her bag, when a light baritone that carries well on the air rings out: 'Leave her alone or I'll shoot you right between the shoulders!'"

Of particular interest from a political standpoint is Morris's chronicle of

Reagan's path to the political Right. Paleoconservatives have been known to mutter darkly about the Reagan administration being infiltrated and sabotaged by neocons who thwarted the promise of the Reagan presidency. But, as

Reagan's intellectual trajectory followed the standard neocon path: (1) Start out as a dedicated leftist; (2) become disillusioned with Communists and their fellow travellers; and then (3) dedicate yourself to the international struggle against Soviet Communism.

Morris shows, Reagan's intellectual trajectory followed the standard neocon path: (1) Start out as a dedicated leftist; (2) become disillusioned with Communists and their fellow travellers; and then (3) dedicate yourself to the international struggle against Soviet Communism. This may explain why, as president, Reagan was perfectly willing to scuttle his domestic agenda for his foreign policy goals.

In the '80s, Reagan often commented on his years as a "hemophiliac liberal" and dedicated soldier of the New Deal. Anyone who thought that was a rhetorical device designed to tweak American liberals will be set straight by *Dutch*. Indeed, Reagan's early leftism went significantly beyond mainstream New-Dealism. At the close of WWII, Reagan served as chairman of the American Veteran's Committee, a left-wing organization motivated by the "determination that the bad old days of isolationism would never return" and the idea of "expanding the Committee into an international lobby under the aegis of the United Nations, working to contain the A-bomb." The AVC's draft constitution, which Reagan approved, was "liberal enough to satisfy a Swede": full employment, national health care, federal civil rights legislation, among its planks. Reagan wrote an article for the AVC Bulletin decrying "native fascism": "I believe this is a great menace and is closely aligned with part of the present attack on labor and price controls."

Morris's contention that Reagan attempted to join the Communist Party has insufficient support to be fully convincing, though Reagan did serve in an activist group, the Hollywood Democratic Committee, which was "Communist-organized but not Communist-controlled." And he allowed his name to appear in a political advertisement in the Communist *People's Daily World*. But Reagan soon became disgusted with the tactics of Communists within the AVC, and concluded that "the extreme left . . . [was] as undemocratic as the far right of fascism." As Morris puts it, the AVC "went pink on him. Then in the fall [of 1946] the labor situation in Hollywood broke down again . . . [and] Reagan became a Red-baiter almost overnight."

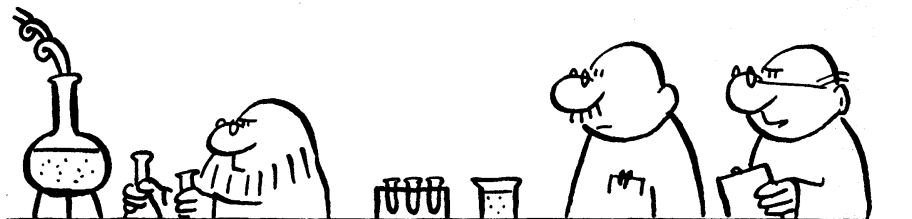
Morris traces Reagan's rise from head of the Screen Actors Guild, to corporate spokesman, stump speaker for Republicans, Governor of California (where he presided over a near-doubling of the state budget), and — improbably — President of the United States. He gives Reagan full credit for the two singular achievements of his presidency: slashing marginal tax rates and speaking truth to Soviet power. Indeed, Morris suggests that the two were interrelated: "I can only note that what Dutch believed has largely come to be. Across America and Europe, and in huge areas of the world where commerce was once state-controlled, his philosophy of hard work and earned reward has made Marxism a memory. If [upon signing the '81 tax cuts] he had laid down his last pen on August 13, 1981, and said to the press, 'Ten years from now, you fellows, there are going to be stock markets in Moscow and Shanghai,' guffaws would have filled the valley. But who can doubt that somewhere deep down (as he leaned back in his chair, put one high-heeled boot on the table, and mugged for the

cameras), Dutch *believed?*"

This moral certainty, and the rhetorical force with which Reagan conveyed it, Morris intimates, may have done more to topple communism than any multi-billion dollar increase in the Pentagon budget. Morris describes the dramatic effect of Reagan's March 1983 address to the National Association of Evangelicals, in which he urged the congregation to "pray for the salvation of all those who live in totalitarian darkness . . . the focus of evil in the modern world." The American press squealed, calling Reagan a bigot and a war-monger, but: "Western travellers who happened to be well connected and in Moscow at the time of the President's speech remember a feeling of instant shock. 'Within twenty-four hours,' one of them told me, 'I was hearing of the reaction spreading through society — of self-disgust and self-acknowledgment.'"

If Morris can interject himself into a biography, then perhaps you'll excuse me for inserting myself into this review. I have to admit, I'm soft-hearted (and perhaps soft-headed) when it comes to Reagan. Sure, he was a paper tiger when it came to rolling back government. But at least he had class. In four short years, we went from a guy too straight-laced to take off his jacket in the Oval Office, to one who could use that office's phone to lobby a congressman for American troops in Bosnia, undistracted by the slurping sounds below. We've gone from a man who basically meant well, to one whose will-to-power will not be constrained by any standard of honesty or decency. Given that we're now ruled by a degenerate war criminal, it's not hard to get sentimental about the essentially decent fellow who made such stirring speeches.

There's a particularly syrupy passage from Reagan's Second Inaugural Address: "A settler pushes west and



"A little squirt like Blumenkraft would theorize that the universe is contracting!" *Ba/oo*

sings a song, and the song echoes out forever and fills the unknowing air. It is the American sound: it is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair. That's our heritage; that is our song. We sing it still . . . We raise our voices to the God who is the author of this most tender music. And may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our sound . . . one people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and hopeful world." I've seen it several times on a documentary videotape, and each time I have the same, awkward reaction. I'm left wondering what the hell all that means, but the lump in my throat is real and palpable.

But for an honest appraisal of the Reagan legacy we need to go beyond sentiment. In that endeavor, one can hardly do better than the Cato Institute's *Assessing the Reagan Years* (1988). In chapter after chapter, its authors toss cold water on the fires of Reaganite optimism. We learn that under Reagan federal spending actually increased from 22 percent of GNP to 24, and that successive hikes in payroll taxes resulted in a net tax increase on most taxpayers during the Reagan years. Not only did Reagan fail to make good on his promise to abolish the two Carter-era cabinet departments, he put men dedicated to their preservation in charge of them. We learn that Carter's administration did more to deregulate the economy than did Reagan's; and that Reagan only eliminated one (one!) major federal program, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (and it was almost immediately reborn under another name). In the speech for Barry Goldwater that catapulted Reagan to national prominence, Reagan quoted Plutarch: "the real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations, and benefits." One wonders what Reagan had against farmers, who benefited from a tripling in government aid under his watch.

On issue after issue, as David Boaz notes in the introduction, "the Reagan administration 'never even showed up' for battle." Worse still, on some of the issues for which it did show up, the Reagan administration left the country

notably less free. No other president did as much to escalate the drug war, dramatically increasing civil forfeiture, mandatory minimum sentencing, drug testing, and incarceration for drug offenses. Any assessment of Reagan's legacy will have to come to terms with his contribution to an evil empire of sorts at home.

What lessons can be drawn from Reagan's utter failure to downsize government? Several of the authors in *Assessing the Reagan Years* suggest that

what we need is a political leader with Reagan's political skills, and a stronger commitment to limited government. I have my doubts. It's probably a mistake to wait for a presidential Shane, who will ride into town, shoot the bad guys, and make things right. It's damned unlikely that a figure accustomed to wielding political power, and good enough at it to rise to the presidency, will ever be fully committed to a radical reduction in such power. And strong, efficacious presidents, whatever their

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politics, lend an aura of legitimacy to government; they tend to reinforce the notion that the state can be an effective tool for positive social change.

Enviro-anarchistic crank Edward Abbey condemned the latter notion. He declared that "Government should be weak, amateurish, and ridiculous. At present, it fulfills only a third of the role." In the Reagan years, government was none of the above. Today, we've got two out of the three: government in the Clinton era is *menacing*, amateurish, and ridiculous. In a strange way, perhaps this represents progress.

Herbert Spencer wrote of "the right to ignore the state." As the American political system continues to elevate

mediocrity after untrustworthy mediocrity to high office, many Americans find themselves doing just that: ignoring the state. They send their kids to private schools, they live in private communities with private security forces, and they provide for their own retirement with private pensions. Their interaction with the public sphere comes when they pay their taxes, and perhaps when they make an occasional trip to the restroom in a train station. They find the private sector clean, pleasant, and efficient; the public sector, untidy and reeking of urine. They note that those who rule them are men of no particular merit or virtue, and they wonder if there's a better way. ┘

The Quest for Cosmic Justice, by Thomas Sowell. The Free Press, 1999, 214 pages.

Justice vs. Cosmic Justice

Alan Bock

Tom Sowell has an extraordinary ability to approach issues from unexpected angles, which induces people to think about them in different ways. Some people who are not particularly libertarian, and who might otherwise dismiss arguments laced with the standard jargon, are willing to consider his fresh-sounding arguments, especially when those arguments are backed by solid scholarship and expressed stylishly.

Sowell isn't the only writer to insist on using the term "preferences" rather than "affirmative action," of course, but he was influential in shifting the terms of the debate. His previous book, *The Vision of the Anointed*, caused some influential thinkers to see the arguments of socialists and other social tinkers in a different light, as reflections of the psychology or psychic self-interest of the advocate, rather than as disembodied, disinterested and altruis-

tic proposals for the betterment of society.

Sowell's new book, *The Quest for Cosmic Justice*, accomplishes a similar intellectual shift. He argues that there are two kinds of justice: traditional justice, a process of rules and procedures whose results most people accept even if they aren't satisfied with the outcome in a particular instance; and what he calls "cosmic justice" a process by which people try "to mitigate and make more just the undeserved misfortunes arising from the cosmos, as well as from society." It is just unfair, such advocates would argue, that some people are smarter than others, and are born into loving families with the resources to prepare them for success, while others are born into broken homes and cultural dysfunction, that some are healthy and some have handicaps, and on and on. Most people, Sowell acknowledges, do agree that all of this is unfair.

The rub comes when we try to use the blunt instrument of the law to com-

pensate for the advantages some people have over others. For starters:

The knowledge required to sort this out, much less rectify it politically, is staggering and superhuman. Far from society being divided into those with a more or less standard package of benefits and those lacking those benefits, each individual may have both windfall advantages and windfall disadvantages, and the particular combination of windfall gains and losses varies enormously from individual to individual.

Traditional justice, which Sowell believes is the system appropriate to a society of free and equal individuals, requires no such superhuman knowledge. "To apply the same rules to everyone requires no prior knowledge of anyone's childhood, cultural heritage, philosophical (or sexual) orientation, or the innumerable historical influences to which he or his forebears may have been subjected."

Sowell argues that traditional and cosmic justice are not simply different degrees or interpretations of a common vision of justice, but fundamentally different and ultimately incompatible understandings of what justice means. Thus, a society in which the dominant vision is cosmic justice will eventually

In almost every society, around the world and through most of history, the most pervasive envy and hostility is directed at those who started off poor or disadvantaged and managed to achieve modest affluence through hard work and sacrifice.

undermine the workings of traditional justice. Ultimately, as he titles his final chapter, it will lead to "the quiet repeal of the American revolution." That last chapter is a brief but magisterial summation of much of what Sowell has learned over the years. It is also a terrific introduction to the importance of a free society for any newcomer or fence-sitter.

For various reasons Tom Sowell has developed a reputation for reclusive-

ness, working mostly at home rather than his office at the Hoover Institution at Stanford (where he has been a Fellow since 1980) and seeing few people besides his family and close friends. This is not particularly surprising; he would almost have to be something of a recluse to write as much work of as high an intellectual quality as he has achieved. You simply don't get that much writing done when you have an active social life.

So I was quick to take advantage of a rare opportunity to meet with Sowell, when he was a guest at a recent editorial meeting at the *Orange County Register*. I naturally wondered whether he would be like some writers — eloquent on the page but almost tongue-tied in person.

I quickly discovered he's a terrific conversationalist, bubbling with ideas and enthusiasm, able to pull examples from around the world from his well-stocked mind. He cracks jokes, laughs often, listens carefully and respectfully, and responds promptly and with relevant (though sometimes surprising) examples and illustrations. Life, as he would be the first to point out, is a matter of trade-offs. I would love to see him on television and radio constantly, becoming a fixture in popular culture, sowing seeds of liberty far and wide. But if he did that, would he be able to write as copiously and as well as he has?

I hoped to get an idea of what made him such a stubborn, principled intellectual maverick. I'm not sure we got to much more than innate cantankerousness and confident individualism. By the age of three or so, he said, he decided that he wouldn't spend much of his life worrying about what other people thought of him, and he hasn't. That independent streak expressed itself in his Marxist beliefs held through the late 1950s, by which time he had an AB in economics from Harvard and a Masters from Columbia.

What changed his thinking, he told us, was not so much a book or a mentor, but the experience of working in a government agency. He worked for a subsection of the Department of Labor which had the job of setting the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. He was aware that some scholars viewed the occurrence of hurricanes as a good indicator of economic conditions in Puerto

Rico, and suggested some empirical studies to determine if there was validity to the theory. This suggestion was greeted with a degree of horror and active bureaucratic resistance that went beyond the simple disinclination to make waves. If hurricanes were an important economic indicator, his superiors dimly understood, their work would be exposed as utterly useless.

"I gradually came to understand," he told us, "that the work done in most government agencies is simply independent of whether it harms the peo-

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ple, helps the people or has no impact on the purported beneficiaries of the work. Furthermore, most people in government are not just incurious about the impact of their work in the real world; they are actively hostile to anybody finding out. Because the maintenance and growth of the department is the real purpose. Anything that might even indirectly threaten that purpose is like a cross in front of a vampire."

As he discussed his worldwide odyssey to study ethnically-based preference programs and their results — which led to his three gigantic books on race, culture and migrations — he offered another initially surprising but ultimately obvious insight. In almost every society, around the world and through most of history, the most pervasive envy and hostility is not directed at those born with wealth, influence and

Traditional and cosmic justice are not different degrees of a common vision of justice, but fundamentally different and ultimately incompatible understandings of what justice means.

other advantages. Instead, its target is those who started off poor or disadvantaged and managed to achieve modest affluence through hard work and sacrifice, e.g., ethnic Chinese in Malaysia (most of whom come from one very poor province) or Korean or Vietnamese shopkeepers in American inner cities. Such people are a living rebuke to those who haven't been willing to sacrifice as much or work so hard, or who have accepted poverty as their lot in life. So they are hated intensely wherever they appear, and the political system is brought to bear to punish them.

The Quest for Cosmic Justice is a distillation of Sowell's insights in a form that is delightful to read. It would be ideal for people teetering on the edge of really understanding freedom. Read his longer books for their thoroughness and depth, and for their responsible, genuinely original and independent scholarship. Read this one for pleasure and make it a gift to help others along the path to enlightenment. □

Orwell's Politics, by John Newsinger. St. Martin's Press, 1999, 224 pages.

The Two Faces of Orwell

Martin Tyrrell

"It is probably a good thing for Lenin's reputation," George Orwell once commented, "that he died so early." The same, I think, could be said for Orwell. He died as a socialist best known for two of the most accessible critiques of socialism in literature, his politics usefully ambiguous. Conservatives love him. If Orwell were alive today, they argue, he would be working for *The American Spectator* or *National Review*.

But many socialists like him too. In *Orwell's Politics*, John Newsinger is keen to assert Orwell's left wing — indeed, far left — credentials. Orwell, he argues, wanted British society revolutionized in the manner of the (nominally) anarchic socialism described in *Homage to Catalonia*. If, late in the day, he supported the mainstream British Labour Party, then it was a grudging endorsement, entirely conditional upon nothing more radical being available. In no sense did it indicate a preference for the compromise of piecemeal reform over more fundamental change. Had Orwell lived to see the party in its current, "New Labour" incarnation, Newsinger speculates, his only comfort would be that he had had the foresight to change his name from Blair.

By far the biggest problem facing any writer wishing to comment on Orwell's politics is that there is no actual "Orwellism." Rather, Orwell's politics tend to be expressed incidentally, through his novels, essays and reviews. And what is expressed is neither original nor particularly well thought through. In *The Road to Wigan*

Pier, for instance, Orwell confidently asserts that there are already (in the mid-1930s) enough goods and services for everyone. Yet the same book finds him equally certain that everything is still so scarce that only the relentless exploitation of Africa and Asia maintains current British living standards. Ten years on and the same contradictory assertions are more or less repeated in a column written for the Labour Party paper *Tribune*. On the one hand, all commodities can "easily" be made as plentiful as air and water; on the other, Indian independence will result in plunging British incomes.

But Newsinger does not dwell on Orwell's inconsistencies. Were he to do so, I reckon that his view of the author as the radical conscience of British Labour would crumble. There is little mention of Orwell's reactionary side, for example. His frequently vicious comments on homosexuality are quickly passed over while *The Orwell Mystique*, Daphne Patai's feminist critique, is unfairly trivialized. You would not guess from Newsinger's account that Orwell opposed not just abortion, but contraception too. Or that he was capable of the crassest anti-semitism. ("What is bad about Jews," he once wrote, "is that they are not only conspicuous but go out of their way to make themselves so.") Having noted Orwell's claim that India was no more capable of independence than a domestic pet, Newsinger bizarrely goes on to describe him as "a committed supporter of the cause of Indian independence" (10) and finds some limp but leftish sounding reasons why he so disliked the Indian National Congress. In fact, Orwell's support for Indian inde-

pendence was thoroughly qualified. India would be as independent as London could tolerate. Or it would not be independent at all. Gandhi — whom he compared to Rasputin — would have spat.

Orwell's attitude towards India suggests something closer to nationalism than socialism. And Orwell is certainly a more consistently nationalist than socialist writer. England and the English are frequently eulogized, whether in banal pieces like "In Praise of English Cooking" or in highly political essays like "The Lion and the Unicorn." Certainly, it is a far from socialist Orwell who comments: "If the English took the trouble to make their own democracy work they would become the political leaders of western Europe, and probably some other parts of the world as well."

Far more supportive of Newsinger's thesis is Orwell's time with the fringe left; when he joined the Marxist Independent Labour Party, fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War and made revolutionary socialist arguments for pacifism. But all this covered just two or three years in the late 1930s. With the coming of war in 1939, Orwell immediately broke with the left and became a passionate and, in time, salaried supporter of the Churchill coalition.

With the coming of war in 1939, Orwell immediately broke with the left and became a passionate and, in time, salaried supporter of the Churchill coalition.

tion ("For the first time in decades we have a Government with imagination.") He was frank as to why he had changed, and changed so suddenly. It was, quite simply, the nationalist ideology in which he had been drilled at school making a comeback. Though there is socialism in wartime writings like the aforementioned "The Lion and the Unicorn" and "The English People," it is a nationalist socialism. Under it, people will patriotically defer to state directives regarding what and

where they eat, the work they do, the clothes they wear and the number of children they have. The ideal is a regimented society based on a uniform and simplistic populism. "I don't believe that the ordinary man cares a damn about the totalitarianism of our economy as such," Orwell told the readers of *Partisan Review*, "I don't believe economic liberty has much appeal any longer." Elsewhere, he commends fascists for having addressed the "spiritual need for patriotism and the military virtues" and writes that there is "a very strong case for the Nazis, though not many people have the courage to utter it."

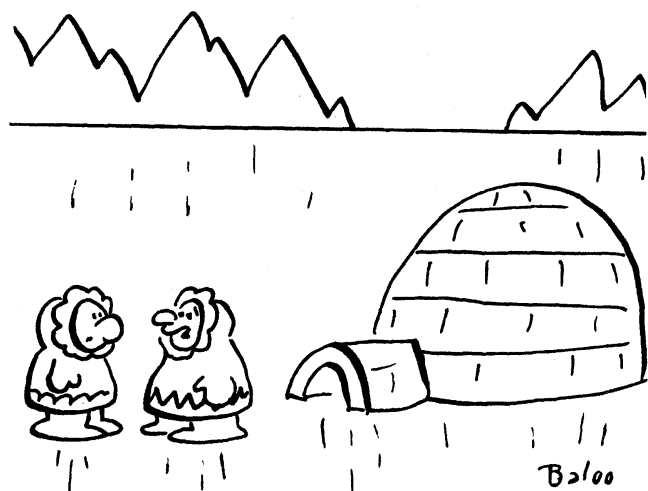
Orwell later drew back from all of this. Its illiberalism seems to have got to him especially during the immediate post-war period. This was when Britain acquired its first majority Labour Government and there was serious talk of keeping some of the more coercive aspects of the wartime state in place. In other words, Orwell cooled towards his own plan-of-action just when it looked possible that it might be put into practice. And if he did not quite go on to denounce socialism, then he did at least reject much for which he himself had previously argued. 1984 is, I think, his "Lion and the Unicorn" program followed where he imagines it might lead. And in the essay "Literature and Totalitarianism," he suddenly sees value in economic liberalism mere weeks after he had viewed it with complete indifference, even drawing the distinctly Hayekian conclusion that intellectual freedom and economic freedom are causally related.

That there is something — perhaps a great deal — of Hayek in 1984 is almost certain. Sometime in the mid-1940s I think that Orwell took a look at Hayek, and at his own politics, and at the wartime state under which he lived and

worked, and took fright. This was when 1984 was written. Fittingly, it has gone on to join *The Road to Serfdom* as a pat rejoinder to the socialists of all parties. The two books are almost complementary. Both Orwell and Hayek imagine the same kind of totalitarian potential in democratic socialism. Each envisages a dystopia in which the worst get on top, the pursuit of power has become an end in itself and the mass of the population conform to a cult of leader worship, cowed by a bland nationalist ideology.

John Newsinger does not consider the possibility that Friedrich Hayek might have influenced Orwell's post-war writings. But he is keen indeed to talk up a Trotskyist influence. Orwell seems to have been wise to Trotskyism, however, seeing it as a kind of dynastic challenge within Bolshevism. In *Animal Farm*, a thinly disguised Trotsky offers no alternative to the corrupted revolution and, on the contrary, shares in its corruption for as long as he is able. And in 1984, the Trotsky character is a fiction of the state used to drum up collective antipathy and draw out the disaffected.

Orwell's *Politics* is least satisfactory in its handling of Orwell's post-war, 1984 period. Eccentric and unsubstantiated assertions do not help. "Far from advancing along the road to socialism," Newsinger writes, "the Labour Government was actually engaged in restoring the fortunes of British capitalism. Far from nationalisation undermining or supplanting capitalism, it



"Food, clothing and shelter are pretty reasonable — what kills me every month are the long-distance charges!"

was intended to make it stronger, more efficient, more competitive" (141). No evidence is presented in support of this sensational claim. Nor is any offered for the equally remarkable assertion that Britain, following Indian independence, ratcheted up its (unspecified) exploitation of Africa and the Caribbean.

It is with such shaky history that Newsinger hopes to discredit Labour in government and, thereby, show Orwell as commendably socialist for having opposed it. But it is not even clear that Orwell did oppose it. After all, he wrote in defense of its suppression of industrial action and volunteered some low level information to its intelligence services (all while 1984 was being written). These are hardly the actions of a grudging supporter from the far left. If Orwell is critical of the new government, his critique is not so much radical as shallow and unbalanced. The socialization of the medical service, the construction of social housing projects, the nationalization of key industries, subsidized university education — all are either overlooked or dismissed as incidental. What matters to Orwell is that the new government has not abolished the aristocracy or purged the old establishment from the national bureaucracy. And while he complained that elite private schools were not being closed, he could also take comfort. He wanted his own son to be educated privately.

Politically, the Orwell of the late 1940s is a spent force. He has none of the confidence of just a few years before when he could foresee red militias billeted in luxury hotels and much of the middle class emitting a collective squeal of pain. By 1945, his heart is no longer in it. He sees the dark side of his own propaganda. Had his own instructions been observed, "The Lion and the Unicorn" and "The English People" would have been allowed to go out of print. As it is, people continue to read those dated polemics only because they are by the chastened man who wrote *Animal Farm* and 1984. If they are of any interest beyond that, it is because they illustrate the extent to which the nationalism Orwell absorbed in his youth could so easily trump the socialism he took in as an adult and show, as well, the illiberal path he took on the

road to 1984.

There is an interesting book to be written about Orwell's politics. It would look at the inconsistencies and contradictions in his various positions;

at how anemic those positions usually were; and how enduring an influence his youthful dose of nationalism proved to be. John Newsinger has missed the chance to write that book. ┘

***Blind Man's Bluff: The Untold Story of American Submarine Espionage*, by Sherry Sontag and Christopher Drew, with Annette Lawrence Drew. Public Affairs, 1998, 352 pages.**

Inside the Silent Service

Clinton C. Owen

As we like to say about the presence of nuclear weapons on board naval vessels, I can neither confirm nor deny the accuracy of any secret information presented in *Blind Man's Bluff*. During my 20 years in the submarine service I have not been directly involved in any of the cloak-and-dagger excitement, as far as I know. If I actually knew anything important, I would not be able to write this review.

The authors of *Blind Man's Bluff* are not military insiders, but investigative reporters. After six years of research and thousands of interviews, they have done an admirable job of getting inside the heads of my fellow submariners. To illustrate the breadth of their research, I can confirm one anecdote they mention in passing. In Chapter 10 they tell how Robert S. Holbrook, as executive officer of the *Seawolf*, always wore a belt buckle from a diesel boat, the *Chopper*. He considered it a good luck charm, because he had been wearing it when that boat survived a potentially deadly 85-degree dive. Years later, when he was the commanding officer of the ship I was on, he was still wearing the belt buckle, and still telling the story of the *Chopper*.

The portrait of life on board a nuclear submarine is extremely accurate. Being a submariner means dealing

with long working hours, dense bureaucracies and hellish living conditions. Picture *Das Boot* rather than *Crimson Tide*. We used to joke that we would be treated better in prison, but we kept doing the job because we believed that we were making a difference. We really did go to sea with canned food stacked two cases deep on the deck between our bunks, with cases of eggs in the torpedo room and one of the heads (bathrooms) turned into a storage locker. The prologue story of a drunken sailor trying to call the president from a bar isn't just a cliché, it's the kind of tale that almost any one of us could tell about himself or about a buddy. One of the reasons to read this book is that it provides an insight into what these men were really going through, unknown to the general public or even to their surface navy counterparts.

Some of the most gripping material — and the most convincing evidence that the authors have done their homework — is in the chapter about the *Scorpion*. In 1968, it was returning from a routine deployment. Family members of the crew waited at the pier where she was supposed to dock. But the *Scorpion* never made it home. After several months of intense searching, the Navy confirmed that the *Scorpion* was the second of only two American nuclear submarines ever to be lost, when it found the wreck. All hands —

99 men — were lost.

For 31 years the *Scorpion* has been an open wound to the submarine force. There has never been a satisfactory explanation of how the ship was lost. One theory was that the ship's battery exploded. Another was that the ship collided with a foreign submarine, or even that it was torpedoed by a Soviet sub.

The *Scorpion* went down 11 years before I joined the service, and I am not privy to any classified information

Submariners were warned: "Don't answer questions about this book, and don't confirm or deny any of the events mentioned." Could any publisher ask for a better endorsement?

about its loss. However, the theory proposed by *Blind Man's Bluff* — that one of the ship's electric torpedoes had a battery fire which detonated the torpedo's warhead and sank the ship — is the most believable explanation I've heard. The Navy has always denied that there was any credible way for a torpedo to explode inside the ship, but it has never offered an alternative explanation. The sheer tenacity of the investigators, their unbelievable luck in tracking down the tiniest clues, and the painstaking reconstruction of the incident are worthy of Tom Clancy or Clive Cussler.

When *Blind Man's Bluff* was published, an official message went out to every navy command and was posted on every available bulletin board. To paraphrase the message, we were warned: "Don't answer questions about this book, and don't confirm or deny any of the events mentioned." Could any publisher ask for a better endorsement? The text of this message was also posted to Amazon.com as a reader comment. I went to sea shortly after the book was first published, but several copies made it on board, including one in the commanding officer's stateroom.

One year later, as the paperback edition is released, things are a little different. Coauthor Sherry Sontag was allowed to speak and sign books on a

military installation. The event was held at the Naval Undersea Museum, Keyport, Washington, just a few miles from the shops where electric torpedoes like those used on the *Scorpion* were built and tested. She kept the crowd of about 200, including many submariners and their wives, in rapt attention for over an hour. After her talk, I asked her if she and Christopher Drew were "taking any heat" from government sources regarding the *Scorpion* or any other material in the book. "They have been very receptive to it," she said. "They started an investigation into what we talked about. Unofficially, we heard that there is an official investigation." While still keeping all documents pertaining to submarine espionage since 1957 classified, the

Navy has figured out that a little publicity is good for recruiting, and probably doesn't hurt when asking Congress for more money.

Blind Man's Bluff provides a compelling look at the unknown heroes who routinely risked their lives, and sometimes lost them in the underwater dungeons of the Cold War. It's a tale of patriots laboring in secret, unable to explain to their families or friends what they did for a living. It's also the story of the CIA's waste of hundreds of millions of dollars in a bungled attempt to raise an obsolete Russian submarine, including videotaping a funeral ceremony for six of its sailors whose bodies were recovered with the wreckage.

No fiction author would dare make this stuff up. ┘

Booknotes

Decision to Kill — This is the unusual "true crime book" that is intelligent and well-written. *A Sniper in the Tower* (Bantam, 1998, 398 pages) is the complete story of Charles Whitman, who on August 1, 1966, ascended a tower at the University of Texas and began shooting people. Whitman, a shiftless loser, had decided to punish the world for its refusal to gratify his various ambitions without requiring any work from him. Gary Laverne has researched this story thoroughly, and to him the salient word is "decided." He acknowledges that Whitman's actions were not the results of a well-balanced mind operating in optimal social conditions; and he recognizes that Whitman did, in fact, use a gun to commit his crimes. But he refuses to transfer the blame for Whitman's actions onto society, insanity, or guns. Whitman did what he did, Laverne believes, because Whitman decided to do it. This persuasive study should be widely read.

—Stephen Cox

The Other Side of Common Law — You might need nose plugs to get through Roscoe Pound's frequent attacks on "excessive" liberty and individualism, but *The Spirit of the Common Law* (Transaction Press, 1999, lxii + 224 pages) is nonetheless well worth reading, if only for its dispelling the notion

that common law is more libertarian than statute law.

Writing in 1921, Pound saw the pro-liberty impact of common law as a recent development, and an iniquitous one. Until the 1700s, its emphasis was on "social interests" rather than individual interests. It had "a tendency to affix duties and liabilities independently of the will of those bound, to look to relations rather than to legal transactions as the basis of legal consequences, and to impose both liabilities and disabilities upon those standing in certain relations as members of a class rather than upon individuals."

Pound thinks that a reinvigorated common law responsive to "social interests," along with statutes, could implement the "progressive" program, with few if any administrative agencies needed. He approvingly cites examples of common law rewriting of insurance contracts and imposition of obligations on public service companies.

Antifreedom rules abounded in the common law. At the apogee of the common law in the 1800s, contracts were often invalidated for violating "public policy," wives were not allowed to make contracts, divorce was virtually impossible, and sovereign immunity reigned supreme in matters of tort and contract.

The "social interests" that courts

should serve, says Pound, are the interests in general security, security of social institutions, conservation of social resources, general morals, general progress and the individual human life. In the 78 years since *The Spirit of the Common Law* was published, statist decisions in contract, tort and property, based in part on such vague considerations, have been legion.

The common law, Pound argues, was the conscious (though often surreptitious) product of judges. And he wanted them to do so explicitly, using

the abovementioned social interests as criteria. (Curiously, this is the same method of imposed order held by some libertarians, who think that a new legal regime of freedom can simply replace the current mixed system.)

From a libertarian perspective, common law has a checkered past and dubious present. The common law occupies a role similar to that of federalism or the separation of powers. It can be useful but it is not sufficient to protect (or regain) freedom.

—Martin Solomon

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Literature

The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult by Murray N. Rothbard. Published in 1987, this essay is one of the most important scholarly works on Ayn Rand's inner circle. Rothbard was there, and what he offers is an unflinching, critical look at a cult that "promoted slavish dependence on the guru in the name of independence." Send \$4 to Liberty Publishing, 1018 Water St. #201, Port Townsend, WA 98368.

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Turkey Reconsidered — Ever since there has been a Turkey, it has been despised in the West as a land of savagery and tyranny. Perhaps no country has been the object of more unfavorable — and more ignorant — opinions. Nicole and Hugh Popes' perceptive and judicious account of Turkish history (which focuses on the twentieth century but deftly sketches in the larger historical background) does much to correct common impressions. Turkey has often suffered under tyranny, but it has never been uncivilized. The various forms of civilization that it has evolved, and their accompanying political forms and problems, are among the most fascinating in the world.

The authors of *Turkey Unveiled: A History of Modern Turkey* (The Overlook Press, 1998, 389 pages) are judicious and unbiased people. They're not pushing an ideology, and they keep the nonsense to a minimum. Their writing has clarity and color; it memorably captures the complexity, and often the charm, of Turkish life, while illuminating a history that very few Westerners know. —Stephen Cox

Strange Interview with a Strange Author — In 1973, 20-year-old J. Neil Schulman, through a series of improbable circumstances, ended up interviewing Robert A. Heinlein for 4 1/2 hours. Schulman's interview, first published in *New Libertarian Notes* in 1973, has been available for some years on the Web, but it's now available in book form as *The Robert Heinlein Interview and Other Heinleiniana* (Pulpless.com, 1999, 200 pages).

Schulman's interview, at over 25,000 words, is the longest Heinlein interview ever published. Because of this, anyone interested in Heinlein and his ideas will find Schulman's book of interest.

In a preface, Schulman freely admits that his 20-year-old self, in hindsight, was more than a little geekish. "It's going to be a little obvious, reading this interview," he writes, "that the interviewer was a young ideologue with an agenda of his own, who wasn't quite sure which he wanted to do — interview Heinlein or argue politics with him."

Schulman's impressions are accu-

Notes on Contributors

rate. Much of the time, Schulman's interview consists of a debate with Heinlein over arcane points of libertarian philosophy. Schulman comes across as someone who finds it shocking that Heinlein has never heard of Andrew J. Galambos, Harry Browne, or Morris and Linda Tannehill; Heinlein, by contrast, finds it shocking that Schulman has never heard of general semanticist Alfred J. Korzybski.

But once the interview gets past the political sparring, Heinlein expounds on all sorts of subjects: space travel, NASA, immortality, the meaning of life, UFOs, travel, Heinlein's hobbies. Heinlein also discusses his novels; in particular, fans of either *Stranger in a Strange Land* or *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* will find extensive analysis of both books.

Heinlein also gives the most extensive explanation of his politics I've seen. "I would say that my position is not too far from Ayn Rand's," Heinlein says, "that I would like to see government reduced to no more than internal police and courts, external armed forces — with the other matters handled otherwise. I'm sick and tired of the way government sticks its nose into everything, now."

Schulman's interview is only half of the book, but the second half, collecting Schulman's writings on Heinlein, isn't very interesting. It's clear that Schulman reveres Heinlein; he thinks Heinlein began his career as a giant and kept on growing. Such pious prose makes for dull reading. Moreover, the book includes letters to Heinlein, but doesn't include Heinlein's responses, probably because of the severe restrictions Virginia Heinlein (Heinlein's widow) has placed on Heinlein's unpublished letters.

A better book would have combined Schulman's interview with other Heinlein interviews. For example, Harry Harrison conducted a Heinlein interview in the early 1970s that was commissioned — and killed — by *Playboy*. (A truncated version appeared in *Playboy's* sister publication *Oui*.) Unearthing and publishing this interview would be an important addition to Heinlein literature. There are also some Heinlein interviews conducted by libertarians that ought to be preserved, such as one done by Patrick Cox that appeared in *The Wall Street Journal* in 1985.

Still, despite its flaws, *The Robert Heinlein Interview* is an important book that fans of Heinlein ought to buy.

—Martin Morse Wooster

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For information, write: R.W. Bradford, Editor, *Liberty*

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Italy

Winning investment strategy from a well-known religious organization, reported in *Famiglia Cristiana*, Italy's leading religious magazine:

Giuseppe Mattai, one of Catholicism's premiere theologians, acknowledged that it is okay for Catholics to invest in the stock market as long as they act honestly and for "the common good." However, Mattai criticized those who "raise prices through speculation on the ignorance or need of their neighbor. In the current climate of neoliberalism, such games and speculation have become ordinary and routine, driven by greed."

South Africa

Innovation in insurance coverage from progressive South Africa, reported by Reuters:

Calling it "a sad indictment of our country," an executive for CGU Ltd Insurance announced the company will begin offering a "Rape Survivor" policy. Thousands of rape victims have been unable to get the care they need from the country's faltering socialist health care system. More than 50,000 women reported a rape last year in a country with one of the world's highest crime rates. The policies will cost 25 rand (\$4.12) a month and will also be available for men and children.

Canada

Advance in battle against gender stereotyping, as reported by the *Boston Globe*:

Genevieve Ste-Marie, director of the National Museum of Science and Technology, issued an order to the Central Experiment Farm to stop the practice of giving cows human-female names like Elsie and Bessie. "Some people are . . . sensitive to finding their name on an animal. I am, for example," said Ste-Marie. "Let's say you came in and found your name on a cow, and you thought the cow was old and ugly." Names such as Clover, Rhubarb and Buttercup are still okay. Borderline cases such as Daisy will be decided on a "cow-by-cow basis."

U.S.A.

Interesting development in Biblical scholarship, as seen in an advertisement for Radio Shack:

"The Franklin Bible — The fastest, surest way I've found for reference and concordance work. And it's fun."

— (signed) Johnny Cash

Cambodia

Setback in the international effort to bring civilization to the wilds of Southeast Asia, reported by Reuters:

A former Khmer Rouge guerrilla recently inducted into the government army shot and killed a witch doctor and ate his liver after blaming him for the death of his two children. The soldier had been enrolled in a human rights course, but his commanding officer lamented that "he still didn't understand the concept."

Kenya

Footnote on the progress of women's rights in Africa, reported by the Kenya Federation of Women Lawyers:

A woman who sold her husband's cow to pay debts and buy food for her children has been sentenced to seven years in jail after her husband testified that she broke laws against cattle rustling.

U.S.A.

A sign that the Baby Boom generation marches ever closer to the age of Medicare benefits, as seen in a press release from Investors Real Estate Development:

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Pittsburgh

Higher Learning at the University of Pittsburgh, from an Associated Press report:

Campus police have begun using 450-watt speakers to flood the streets around campus with classical music. The police are hoping that classical music calms students and convinces them to stay sober rather than head to area bars. The effort is part of a \$1 million grant from the Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board to reduce college drinking.

Muscogee County, Georgia

Advance in primary education in the New South, reported by the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*:

Two school districts using the fifth-grade social studies book *United States in Modern Times* are taking steps to alter Emanuel Leutze's famous painting, "Washington Crossing the Delaware" which appears on page 38 of the book. School officials fear that children may mistake the watch fob lying across Washington's right thigh for the general's private parts. Teacher aides in Muscogee County Schools spent about two weeks painting over the area in 2,300 books.

England

Progressive approach to the problem of rock music shortages, reported by the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*:

A new government-financed program called the Programme enables struggling rock musicians to keep their welfare benefits while they perform in a studio and learn about the music business. Julia Craik, director of the program, said "Before this, there was a danger that young musicians could be pushed into unsuitable jobs."

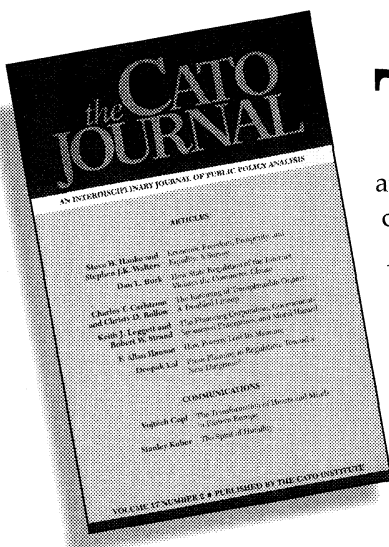
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JARS is edited by R. W. Bradford, libertarian writer and publisher of *Liberty*; Stephen Cox, author of many books and articles on Ayn Rand, Isabel Paterson, and libertarianism; and Chris Matthew Sciabarra, characterized by *The Chronicle of Higher Education* as "Rand's most vocal champion in academe."

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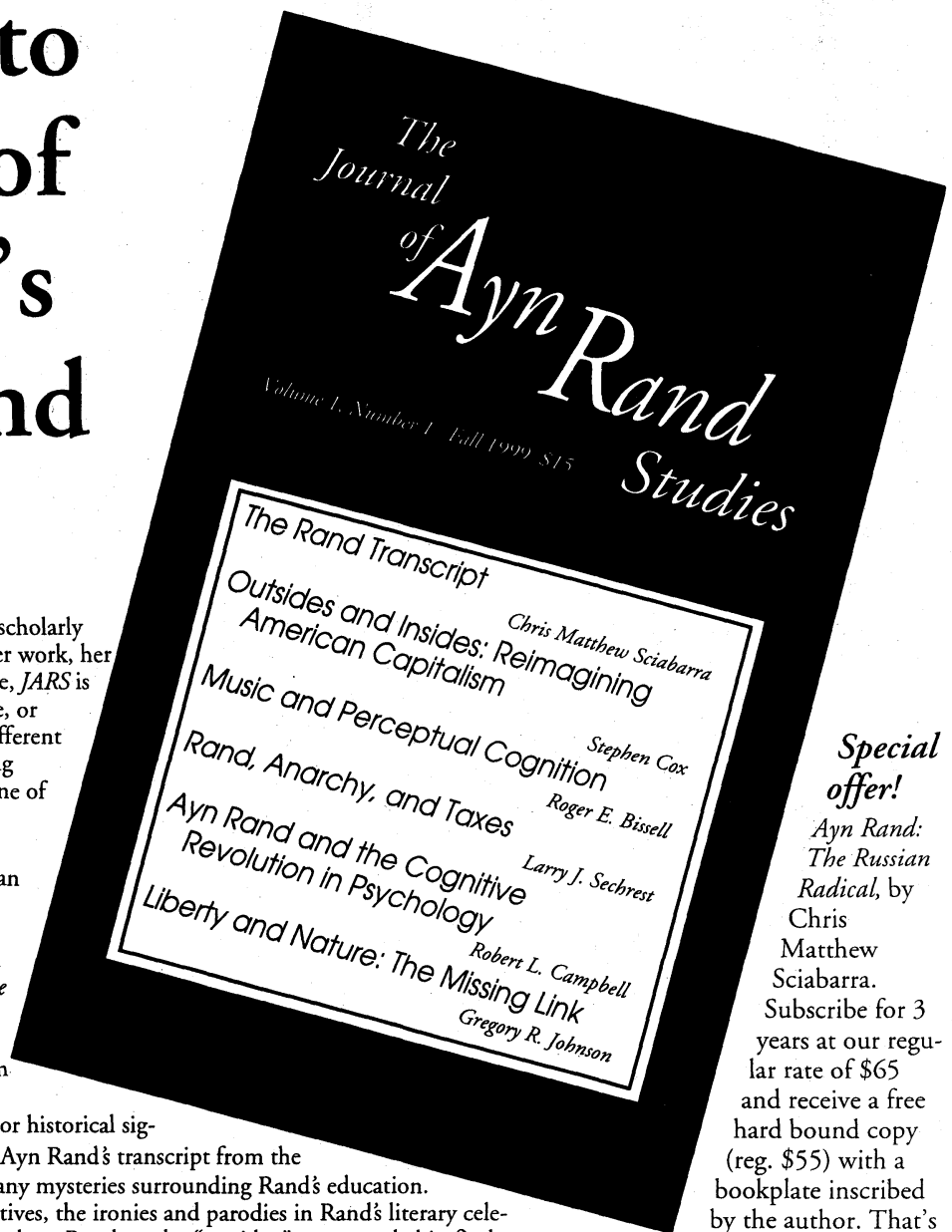
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