

Liberty

July 2002

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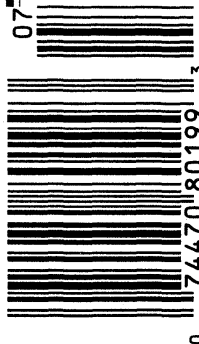
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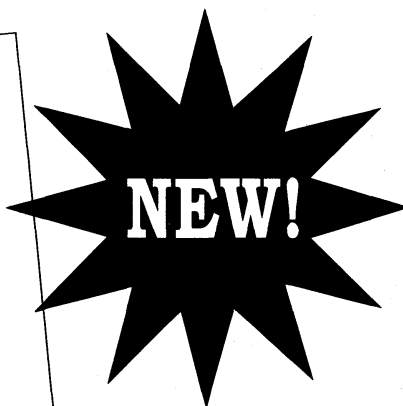
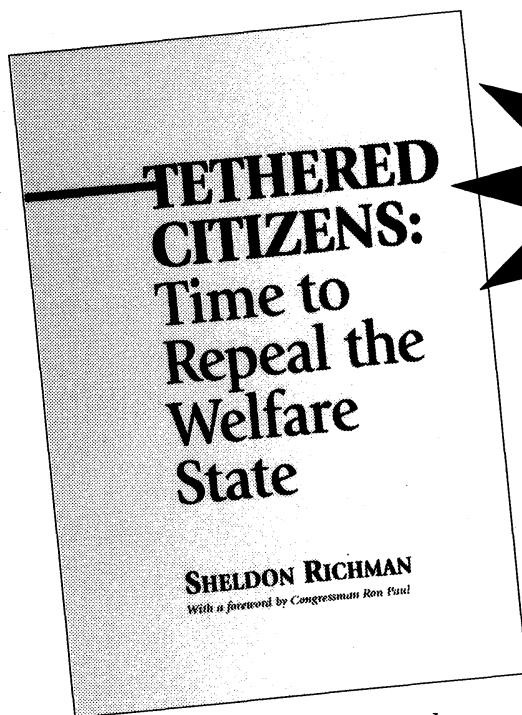
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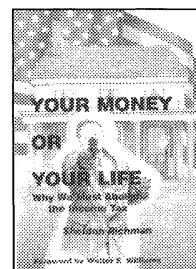
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Letters

Appreciating Angoff's *Portrait of Mencken*

In "The Lives of H.L. Mencken" (June) R.W. Bradford rates Charles Angoff's *Portrait From Memory* of H.L. Mencken at zero stogies. I think it is far and away the best book on Mencken.

Angoff was Mencken's assistant at *The American Mercury*. I suspect that Mencken's gabble, as extensively recalled by Angoff, is quite authentic, though tinted. Bradford says that Mencken mentored Angoff, but this claim is refuted by remarks in Mencken's *Diary*. I think Mencken carried on to Angoff as a form of amusement, half to give expression to his prejudices and half to shock the conventional young Harvard-left man. The *Portrait From Memory* is as close to hearing Mencken's personal conversation as we will ever get. Angoff did not see the extent to which Mencken was joshing him, but he partly perceived that Mencken never took him seriously. Bradford describes the book as "very bitter," but there's an undercurrent of enormous can't-help-myself admiration and even tenderness. Angoff can't bring himself to be really bitter. Ultimately, the book is an account by a minor man who avidly absorbed every syllable. (Bradford mentions that it was the first Mencken book he had ever read; that explains his lack of appreciation.)

Dan Klein

Santa Clara, Calif.

Bradford responds: I rated the books on the basis of how well they inform the reader about Mencken's life. I did not know Mencken personally, so the only way to judge his biographies and memoirs is by comparing them to other information about Mencken, either from his own testimony or the testimony of those who knew him. So far as I am able to determine, the character presented by Angoff bears only

trivial resemblance to the character that emerges from other sources. While a great many people who knew Mencken have remarked that Angoff's portrait bears scant resemblance to Mencken and not a single person aside from Angoff saw the bitter, nasty individual that Angoff portrayed in his bitter, nasty book.

As to Angoff's portrait being "as close to hearing Mencken's personal conversation as we will ever get," I'd like to remind Klein that the extensive dialogue in the book appeared approximately three decades after the actual conversations occurred.

The Devil in Ms. McCarthy

Sarah McCarthy's article "The Devil in Ms. Yates" (May) provided no insight into Andrea Yates' character, but only into McCarthy's biases.

First, McCarthy indicates that Yates had her five children through unmedicated childbirth. She purports that natural childbirth is abuse and takes this to be evidence that her family's religious beliefs damaged Andrea Yates. I would disagree with this assertion, as my wife chose unmedicated childbirth when our second child was due and found the experience to be wholly positive. We don't have evidence that Ms. Yates felt her birth experiences to be abusive. All we really have is McCarthy's opinion.

Next, McCarthy chases after the Yates' "unconventional" views of doctors, public schools, and organized religion as evidence of the unhealthy sway that religion held over their lives. I am surprised that a writer for *Liberty* would feel estranged by negative opinions of the most powerful labor union (the American Medical Association), an invasive government program (public schools), and wealth redistribution plans (mainstream religion).

I suspect McCarthy's aspersions

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are products of her hostility to the religious origins of the Yates' opinions, rather than the opinions themselves. Was Andrea Yates an active proponent of these, or were they simply thrust upon her by her husband? McCarthy doesn't shed any light on this crucial question.

McCarthy makes the point that emancipating herself from her religion gave her freedom to think and decide for herself. This may have been a critical point in McCarthy's life, but it doesn't have much to do with Yates. Was it her religious beliefs that drove her to murder? Rebellion against those beliefs? Or was it a lack of control over her own life? We may never know.

Darrell Simon
Garland, Tex.

Thinking Primitive

In regards to Miles N. Fowler's article on the work of Vardis Fisher ("The Forgotten Individualist," May), Fisher's prehistoric characters don't act childlike because he was a racist lacking anthropological knowledge. Prehistoric people could not have been sophisticated exemplars of mental refinement. They had to invent their cultures and their behavior. This is the reason for the childlike behavior of Fisher's primitives: he understood that culture, refinement, and sophistication are inventions that could have taken forms other than those they have. He also understood that however intelligent people may be, they can also be limited by their culture and their circumstances, which is why he depicted some Native Americans as he did. And, yes, a culture that prescribes the worship of bears and imagines that a supernatural coyote built mountains and plains is not as reality-oriented as one that studies physics and geology as a function of physics.

David C. Morrow
Corpus Christi, Tex.

Safety in the Air

I found William Merritt's piece on airline security ("How Safe Is Too Safe?" June) puerile to the point of being offensive. The issue is not whether we are willing to accept one terrorist-related airliner crash a month. As one who is compelled to travel on business a great deal (and

has done so without interruption since Sept. 11), I abhor what is going on at our airports. The question is what we can and should do to avoid the horrendous casualty toll a single successful terrorist onslaught can create.

The answer to this question is there for all to see — by the cooperative action by the individual citizens who are any airliner's passengers. Even on Sept. 11, the hijackers on the one seized aircraft that did not destroy its intended target were thwarted not by any governmental action but by alerted passengers who overcame their training in sheeplike behavior. Similarly, the would-be shoe bomber was stopped not by any governmental intervention but by an alert group of citizen passengers. In both cases our countrymen behaved as militiamen — acting as the founders envisioned Americans would if and when it was necessary or appropriate for them to do so.

Our government, naturally, is endeavoring to subvert such behavior, trying to convince us that its security steps and sky marshals will deal with any problems. But we already have sufficient experience to know that airport security never will work. Nor can it, unless we compel airline passengers to strip and fly naked. Even this may not work. Magazines, ballpoint pens, newspapers, the wires inside the gathered tops of the seatback pockets that hold airsickness bags, safety information cards, and airline magazines can all be deadly weapons in the hands of a terrorist with even rudimentary training.

Since attackers have the advantage of being able to pick their target or targets, they can put enough manpower on any given flight or flights to identify and overwhelm the limited number of sky marshals that the government can put on the specific target flights. The sky marshal program is just another costly government boondoggle.

There is no real alternative to allowing passengers to assume the responsibilities our country's Founders assumed its people would shoulder.

A logical and laudatory step would be to encourage, or at least per-

mit those of our citizens who have undergone the background checks and taken the training and other steps necessary to obtain state permits to carry concealed weapons to keep their arms, loaded with frangible or other appropriate ammunition, with them when they travel. This, unfortunately, probably would be difficult in the prevailing political climate but, as G. Washington observed "[f]rom the hour the Pilgrims landed, to the present day, events, occurrences and tendencies prove that to ensure peace, security and happiness, the rifle and the pistol are equally indispensable. . . . The very atmosphere of firearms anywhere and everywhere restrains evil interference — they deserve a place of honor with all that's good. . . ." Sadly, we no longer enjoy what James Madison described as "the advantage of being armed which Americans possess over the people of almost every other nation . . . [where] the governments are afraid to trust the people with arms."

K. R. Mudgeon
San Francisco, Calif.

Two Big Governments

Contra R.D. Fuerle's letter (May), there's no reason to think slavery would've been abolished anyway without war; *Dred Scott v. Sanford* had virtually established it nationwide. Only war forced the U.S. to act against slavery, to repress the rebellion, and the C.S.A. didn't offer freedom for service until near its end.

There's no reason to think two nations rather than one would have meant small government either. The C.S.A.'s government was highly centralized and coercive, with conscription of manpower, state management of industries, internal taxation, etc.

We invite readers to comment on articles that have appeared in the pages of *Liberty*. We reserve the right to edit for length and clarity. All letters are assumed to be intended for publication unless otherwise stated. Succinct letters are preferred. *Please include your address and phone number so that we can verify your identity.*

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Had the war been avoided, there would have been two big governments instead of one.

Andrew O. Lutes
Mansfield, Ohio

Fight the Family Court

Thank you so much for running the article on "The Myth of Deadbeat Dads" (June). I have one such story and to have a voice as strong on this subject as Stephen Baskerville's moves me beyond words of gratitude for the perfect picture he paints of what is going on in the Family Courts in this country. I have lost my three children to the "system" and it is about time that America speaks up on these issues.

G. Keith Jackson
Washington, D.C.

Child Support and Suicides

While reading Stephen Baskerville's article, "The Myth of Deadbeat Dads," I had many tears of pain run down my face.

What Baskerville writes about is commonplace in New Jersey. I personally have attended the funerals of seven fathers in the last ten years who have committed suicide over losing their children, their homes, their pensions, their savings, their businesses, and their careers. When you work all of your life and do nothing wrong other than being a man and a father, and are then turned into a criminal and battered for many years, what purpose is there in your life?

Andy Kay
Bellmawr, N.J.

You Americans!

You over there in the U.S. are really backward! We here in France have adopted a policy of "shared residency for the best interest of the child." This means kids continue at the same school while they live every other week with each of their parents.

Concerning the draconian laws in the U.S., you should try and change them.

Nathalie Bugeaud, M.D.
Nantes, France

The Passion of Gordon Tullock

I had the good fortune of meeting Gordon Tullock a couple of times at the Center for Public Choice lectures

held at the George Mason University back in the early '80s. His unassuming and attentive demeanor left a lasting impression on me. I'm pleased even more by his lucid, thought-provoking response (Letters, June) to criticism of his article on evolution ("The Trouble With Darwin," May). His questioning of the explanations for evolution comes not a moment too soon, considering recent publications excoriating the veracity of past research and scholarship in the field.

If the motive of one's passion for a body of knowledge is to obtain truth, then skeptics' challenges ought to be welcomed. As Tullock asserts, the discussion process is "the ultimate scientific method." Contrariwise, intellectual pursuit devoid of open discourse will always lead down a fruitless path of hubris, self-deception, and fallacious conclusions.

Tom Gilligan
Framingham, Mass.

Defining Evil Down

At the end of his bizarre review of Deborah Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (May), Barry Loberfeld asks, "As we weigh the Irvings against the Lipstadts, can there be any doubt whose is the greater guilt?" The answer of course, is clear, though far different from the perverse conclusion drawn by Mr. Loberfeld. David Irving's repeated craven lies, distortions, misinterpretations, fraudulent handling of historical documents, and myriad other crimes against historical science (see Richard Evan's *Lying About Hitler* among many others) disqualifies him from participation in any scholarly discussion of the issues.

But more to the point for libertarians, this gross mishandling of historical evidence was done in the service of whitewashing Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime, that perfect example of the state incarnate.

How anyone in his right mind (and therein may lie the problem) can find a moral equivalency between the disgraceful antics of Mr. Irving, on the one hand, and the work of Ms. Lipstadt, a respected scholar with whom Loberfeld happens to disagree,

on the other, is difficult to imagine. Apparently Mr. Loberfeld feels that itemizing horrors of the state throughout history, which he personally feels qualify as equal to or even worse than those perpetrated by the Nazis, and which Lipstadt in fact acknowledges but does not rank the same, somehow makes Lipstadt evil. More wicked in fact than an apologist for Hitler, a supposed scholar who intentionally distorted the historical record in an attempt to deny the very existence of the cruel oppression and mass murder of millions of people whose only crime was being born Jewish.

It takes a particularly twisted moral view to suggest that because this evil fascist state, in perpetrating its countless crimes against humanity also, not surprisingly, murdered many non-Jews, anyone who fails to accord these other victims the Loberfeld-approved equal status treatment are themselves far more guilty! Now that Loberfeld has passed judgment, I guess we can just dispense with specialization in the study of history. After all, someone may just focus a bit too much on the Jewish question, when there were also Poles or Gypsies who were victims. That apparently would be unacceptable under the Loberfeld scale of justice.

What he fails to understand, though the most elementary student of history should, is that there are legitimate differences between scholars regarding the relative morality of different historical events. Lipstadt, and certainly many other competent historians, feels that the Nazi pogrom against the Jews was in fact unique and deserving of unique treatment. This does not make her evil.

Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, in their book *Denying History*, which Loberfeld apparently read, though failed to comprehend, employed a specific usable definition of the Nazi Holocaust: the systematic, bureaucratically administered destruction by the Nazis and their collaborators during the Second World War of an estimated 6 million Jews based primarily on racial ideology. That definition helps to identify the uniqueness of this particular historical event, and the reason why Lipstadt,

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among others, singles it out for special treatment.

Loberfeld's review is a classic example of missing the forest for all those darned trees. Lipstadt does not deny the reality of other murderous ventures by governments throughout history. But in her opinion, buttressed by substantial documented research, she feels it represents a stunning low in human history. In her opinion it should therefore be accorded a special status as the Holocaust.

You may agree or not. But to suggest that her conclusion (shared by many other responsible historians, Jewish and non-Jewish alike) is in any way equivalent to the sickness of David Irving and his ilk is noxious nonsense that I would expect to see in idiotic rubbish like *The Journal of Historical Review*. Its appearance in the pages of *Liberty* is disgraceful. You should be ashamed for being party to the publication of such drivel.

Jerrold D. Dickson
Los Angeles, Calif.

Loberfeld responds: To judge by Jerrold Dickson's letter, you'd think I condemned Deborah Lipstadt as a monster for giving Stalin a 5.9 in comparison to the perfect 6.0 she gave Hitler!

Yes, of course it is possible to make intelligent distinctions between historical events. But Lipstadt's basic contention — that any reasoning that there are atrocities that are "morally equivalent" to the Holocaust can be only a dishonest (and bigoted) attempt to deny the *existence* of the Holocaust — doesn't even begin to qualify. I maintain that it is manifestly indefensible.

The most convenient proof is the fact that Mr. Dickson himself provides no defense. Instead, he lumps Lipstadt with "many other competent historians," tosses out a commonplace *definition* of the Holocaust (the killing of "6 million Jews based primarily on racial ideology") and then, in a non sequitur, presents this as "the reason why Lipstadt, among [unnamed] others, singles it out for special treatment." In no way does this explain why it is a denial of the Holocaust to suggest, for example, that a state

atrocious based primarily on *class* ideology can be as atrocious as one "based primarily on racial ideology." Nor does this in any way refer to either what Lipstadt actually said about particular atrocities other than the Holocaust (i.e., *her* historical distortions and misinterpretations, which form an "opinion" that is decidedly *unbuttressed* by "substantial documented research," which he fails to identify) or what I said in response, which together go a long way toward demonstrating "[h]ow anyone in his right mind . . ." It's almost as if Mr. Dickson read (and thus could go on about) nothing in my essay except the one sentence he quotes.

No, it is not my worry that "someone may just focus a bit too much on the Jewish question," but that our society has focused entirely on Hitler's Jewish victims — and on one state atrocity — to the exclusion of others. It is positively Orwellian to describe this as "specialization in the study of history" — and "particularly twisted" to deride concern with "these other victims" as "the Loberfeld-approved equal status treatment."

David Irving is a widely recognized filbert whose influence extends to only a handful of other nuts — a spectacle that's more banality than evil. In contrast, Deborah Lipstadt is (as she strives to be) a palpable force for the preservation of the culture's historical blackout of genocides other than the Holocaust. But there is something to consider beyond this: how can Lipstadt argue that the opinion that the Holocaust should *not* "be accorded a special status" is "in any way equivalent to the sickness of David Irving and his ilk"?

Two BigHow Quickly You Forget!

"Terra Incognita" in your April 2002 issue offers "Proof that even atheistic Reds read the Good Book." It was only September 2000 when *Liberty* printed Bart Kosko's enlightening article: "Jesus Christ: Family-Hating Communist."

Charlotte Poe
Somis, Calif.

Reflections

Smoke 'em out — I just heard on the radio that some government agency is investigating American tobacco companies that were surreptitiously selling cigarettes to Iraq, in violation of the trade embargo.

Sooner let them kill themselves with cancers, I say, than bomb them. Also, consider exporting automobiles that failed safety inspections here, if not exporting everything that do-gooding environmentalists think unhealthy. The stuff has gotta go somewhere for its producers to make the profit they deserve.

— Richard Kostelanetz

Officer, spank that man! — Mailbox bomber Luke John Helder was apprehended near Reno, Nev., and was treated by federal authorities to all the hospitality awaiting Osama bin Laden himself. I don't defend what this boy did, but I would like to see the reporting kept in proportion to the crime. Yes the kid took the juvenile pastime of making drugstore bombs to an extreme, and if the reports of nails and BBs placed in the devices are true, he certainly had some malice in mind. However, he planned his explosions geographically so the push-pins in the map at FBI Headquarters would form a big smiley face across the USA. I find it hard to believe that a kid who would plan that kind of prank had evil intentions. We have not apprehended a dangerous terrorist, but a deprived boy who probably never got enough spankings. If ever our penal system was lacking in sentences like public caning, now is the time.

— Tim Slagle

The septet of evil — In February, about the same time President Bush designated Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as the "axis of evil," a report prepared by his administration was leaked to the Los Angeles Times. The report discussed contingency plans to use nuclear weapons against at least seven countries: China, Russia, Iraq, North Korea, Iran, Libya, and Syria. There are supposedly three contingencies for their use: "targets able to withstand non-nuclear attack; in retaliation for nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons; or in the event of surprising military developments."

This is dynamite. Not counting China and Russia, which I presume are on the hit list because they have substantial nuclear arsenals, the so-called "axis of evil" must now include five countries, with the addition of Syria and Libya. Even more disturbing are the reasons for a nuclear first strike, which basically boil down to anything that seems like a good idea at the time. This is really terrifying stuff. Not only does the United States spend more on "defense" (an Orwellian misnomer if there ever was one) than the rest of the world combined, but now it's apparently national policy to use nuclear weapons at will.

It's impossible to predict what the consequences of this will be, or when they'll occur. Will everyone else in the world simply knuckle under to the Pax Americana? It's possible; after all, it worked with Rome for centuries. But, unlike

Rome, the United States constitutes only four percent of the world's population. And in Rome's day, nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons were not available to almost anyone who would like to use them, as they are today.

I'm of the opinion that anything that can be done almost certainly will be done eventually. When a strike is launched on the United States, chances are its source will never be determined. Meanwhile, new "terrorists" are being coined daily. U.S. actions are creating them much faster than the same U.S. actions are killing them.

All this actually makes me nostalgic for Clinton.

— Doug Casey

Back to the Libertarian Party — When I heard that Harry Browne, David Bergland and Michael Cloud had been invited to speak at the LP's convention this summer in Indianapolis, I could scarcely believe it.

You recall the case: as reported in the after the LP discovered that national director Perry Willis was working for Browne and his campaign for the party's presidential nomination in clear violation of the party's long established, obviously necessary rules, it decided to keep him on, provided he agree to do no more work for Browne. Willis agreed. Then he, Browne, and others conspired to keep him working for Browne, while secretly paying him by laundering funds through the bank account of another Browne staffer. When this was found out, Willis confessed and argued that the success of the libertarian movement required that he continue to work for both Browne and the party, which justified his violating his contract and lying to keep the violation secret, and Browne promised a full explanation. But when it became clear that party activists were not buying Willis' ends-

The Libertarian Party is having Browne and his cohorts speak at its convention, without having answered any questions about their subversion of the party or expressing even the slightest remorse.

justifies-the-means argument, Browne decided simply to refuse to say anything about the subject, refusing even to answer questions posed by the LP's national committee. The committee responded by condemning Willis, Browne and the others involved in the conspiracy, including Bergland and Cloud, and announcing a policy of refraining from doing any business with them until and unless they offered a satisfactory explanation of what had happened.

So you can see why I was surprised to hear that Browne, Bergland and Cloud have now turned up again, as invited

and presumably honored speakers at the party's convention. I called LP national director Steve Dasbach to verify the story, and he immediately did so. I asked him whether Browne had finally agreed to answer the questions that party chair Jim Lark had been trying to ask for the past year and whether the party had changed its policy against doing business with Browne and his cohorts. Dasbach responded that neither event had happened. Instead, the party's staff had concluded that having Browne et. al. speak at the convention "does not constitute doing business with them because we are not paying them."

Who decided all this? Dasbach told me that the decision to invite them had been made by an "ad hoc" committee of party employees, consisting of himself, political director Ron Crickenberger, Marti Balcom, Nick Dunbar, and Diane Pilcher. The committee had "wrestled" with the decision, he

I have long been surprised by the number of the party's leading figures who have told me privately that what Browne and his campaign did was horribly wrong, but who have never publicly criticized Browne or his staff.

said, because of concern that it might violate the party's policy of not doing business with Browne, and passed it on for approval from party chair Lark.

There was "no good option," he said, but the committee decided to let Browne speak at a luncheon open only to those who buy the most expensive convention package, and even those delegates "choose or not choose to attend," so party members unhappy with the whole nasty business would have an option not to hear Browne. He added that the party had "a tradition" of inviting its past presidential nominees to the convention following their campaigns, though he noted that it hadn't invited Andre Marrou, the nominee prior to Browne to the convention after his loss. (And hadn't invited Ron Paul, its nominee in the previous campaign, either, although Dasbach did not mention this.) And Dasbach said that Willis would "absolutely not" speak at the convention.

When Browne's new enterprise had attempted to rent the party's mailing list for fund-raising purposes, the party had invoked its no-business-with-you policy. Now it was having Browne and his cohorts speak at its convention, where they would surely attempt to raise funds, without having answered any questions about their subversion of the party or expressing even the slightest remorse. I wondered whether the party would have simply given its mailing list to Browne had he asked, on the theory that this was not "doing business" because no money would change hands. Apparently, the party is willing to give Browne opportunities that it will not sell to him.

One longtime party observer I spoke with said, "Well, the party's talent is pretty thin," and I think he was onto something. Browne and his coterie raised a lot more money than any other campaign team and money is what pays the salaries of the party's staffers. And Browne was a glib spokesman for the party. Apparently, LP officials value these talents

enough to overcome any qualms about Browne's past deceit and involvement in defrauding the party. I have long been surprised by the number of the party's leading figures who have told me privately that what Browne and his campaign did was horribly wrong, but who have never publicly criticized Browne or his staff. I don't know their motives, but I have to wonder whether they too liked the money that Browne raised and the glib public face he provided the party. But possibility that rank-and-file members of the party will vigorously protest the presence of Browne & Co. on the speaking platform at their party's convention could make the upcoming convention an interesting one.

This decision had one consequence for me. I had to kill two reflections I'd written for this issue of *Liberty*. One praised the chairmanship of Jim Lark, who had generally shown good judgment in dealing with the Browne matter, and had seen the party through some difficult times. The other suggested that all candidates for national chair pledge to keep Dasbach as national director. — R. W. Bradford

Cured by the Stones — They're coming 'round again and so I'll be going on tour soon with the Rolling Stones. By next September, Mick will be 59, and I'll be 60, and, despite his penchant for gorgeous young models, I'm still trying to get him. I've been trying since 1978 when "Some Girls" first came out, when I was 36 and Mick was 35.

In 1999 on the "No Security" tour in Pittsburgh, I was miraculously cured by the Stones! After the concert, I wrote an article about it, about how I was shooting up prescribed medicine in the ladies room stall six weeks after colon surgery, carrying a bag of canned juices and wearing a disgusting ileostomy bag that seemed to be draining my strength away.

"There's no way you can go to this concert, Mom. It's irresponsible in your condition," lectured my newly risk-averse son. Making him nervous about what I was up to was a neat turnabout, itself almost reason enough to go. "They won't allow you in the arena carrying those cans," he said.

"You would know," I thought.

"She's going," said my husband, pulling me up from the couch where I was struggling to rise like a Phoenix of limp spaghetti. "Her favorite people in the world are just two miles down the street, and she's going."

I really didn't think I could go, which scared my husband. He knew I'd have to be almost dead if I wouldn't go to a Stones concert. "You're going," he said. "Just drink your juice." Years before, my husband was impressed by a story my mother told us, that my grandmother had fixed her daughter Marion's "lazy eye" before the days of corrective surgery by yelling "Put your eye down!" whenever Marion's eyes went off track. I don't know if the story's true, but as long as I knew Aunt Marion her eyes never crossed.

"Look at them," a young girl laughed to her boyfriend, pointing at us as we hobbled in baby steps through the throngs at Mellon Arena, gingerly trying to make it despite my foot-long incision. "That'll be us someday," said the young blonde.

"In your dreams, you mindless twit," I thought as I shuffled on by.

We made it to our seats just as the Stones were coming on stage. Usually I remember each opening chord and drum-

beat by Charlie, but this time I'm not so sure. I think it was "Jumpin' Jack Flash."

Everything was a blur, but I soon felt this irresistible life force surge through me as the music took off. Mick headed over to our section with his arms raised, his index finger pointing emphatically to the beat of the song, I threw down my juice cans and began to dance like a Holy Roller throwing down her crutches in a revival tent! I twirled like a dancing queen for eight songs and never looked back! And it was a cure that's lasted!

Later, in a cheap transparent ploy to meet Mick, I sent him a letter with the article about my miracle cure. I knew, of course, that he'd never respond. Responding to non-supermodels is not Mick's thing. The only sympathy he ever demonstrated over the span of his 40-year career was sympathy for the devil. But Mick's sympathy is not what I wanted. I wanted to spend some time with him, bask in his magical presence, hang out with Charlie and Keith, and be a tambourine girl for the Rolling Stones. I wanted to be like their exotic black singers dressed in skimpy spangled outfits with drop-dead gorgeous figures, backing up the Stones on tour. I wanted to be an amazing dancer like the Tina Turner who first taught Mick to dance.

In my letter and article, I wrote about the joy he had brought to the world with his music. All that stuff about the Brazilian model didn't matter considering the gifts he'd given us all. And since that big scandal and ensuing divorce, he's demonstrated his family values by moving back in with Jerry Hall. "He bought the townhouse next door when I was away," she laughed. "He knocked a hole through the dining room wall. I can't get rid of him."

When people are in trouble, some pray, and some listen to rock 'n' roll. During one of my medical procedures, I listened to Tom Petty sing, "My old man was born to rock, he's still trying to beat the clock," and to the Rolling Stones singing "Gimme Shelter." Since the days of Bill Haley and the Comets, rock 'n' roll has been about beating the clock in one way or another. Someone recently wrote that Mick Jagger is a "Peter Pan archetype," the forever young bad boy saying, "C'mon, Wendy, we can fly."

Three years went by since my letter, and I'd given up hearing from Mick until his new CD, "Goddess in the Doorway," was released with a disguised message for me. There's a song called "Joy" — joy at the love you bring, joy that makes me sing. That's what I wrote in my letter, almost word for word. And another new song, "God gave me everything I want, now come on, I'll give it all to you." Now, if I could just find a contractor and buy the townhouse next door, maybe I could be the next goddess in his doorway.

— Sarah McCarthy

False representation — In her book *Whose Trade Organization*, Lori Wallach argues that corporate interests have for too long dominated the World Trade Organization and that it is time for the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to receive a seat at the table. She may soon get her way. Increasingly, the U.N. and other international meetings grant the representatives of "civil society" — a.k.a., left-liberal NGOs — rights equal to (or in some cases superior to) nation-states. This trend reflects most NGOs' favoring shift-

ing power to these international bodies from national governments. The deliberations have become a stylized dance in which NGOs shout that more power should be granted the international agency and the agency spokesman reluctantly acquiesces.

Already NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund, Consumers International, and the Naderites have gained prominent roles in determining international policy in areas from food safety to agricultural policy to world trade. No one has elected these groups to speak for them, yet they claim to be the only legitimate representatives of civil society.

As long as the United States participates in these international bargaining sessions, it is at risk. The best path would be for the U.S. to remove itself from such games. In a world dominated by the United States, America's non-participation means that nothing significant is likely to occur.

— Fred L. Smith

Stepped up airport security finally pays off

— Singer Dionne Warwick was trying to fly to Los Angeles when baggage screeners noticed the lipstick container in her carry-on bag. I thought they were just searching bags for weapons; I don't know how joints in a lipstick container could pose a security risk. But they opened it, found eleven marijuana cigarettes inside, and hauled her off to the hoosegow. I guess the heightened security at U.S. airports isn't just to protect us from terrorists — unless the government feels threatened by the psychic hotlines she advertises or the risk that Warwick will belt out another rendition of "I Say a Little Prayer for You."

And what kind of joints did she have in the lipstick? Lipsticks aren't very big. I'm not even sure you could cram eleven sheets of cigarette paper into one, let alone any significant quantity of marijuana.

— Tim Slagle

Crusades and Jihads — There has been much discussion recently about the impact of the Crusades on the Islamic psyche, and with it, a lot of nonsense. The general view among the chattering classes is that medieval Islam was advanced, wise, and peaceful, whereas Christian Europe was violent and initiated the war on Islam. This view is not

THE MORTGAGE CEREMONY



SHCHAMBERS

new. More than a century ago, in *Nathan the Wise*, German playwright G.E. Lessing portrayed both Jews and Muslims as fair and peace-loving, and only the Christians as devious and violent.

In one scene, Saladin's sister, opposing a liberal edict of the Muslim rule, asks why "Christians are here, when Muslims are not there." That, of course, is historical nonsense. Prior to the launch of the first Crusade, to *regain* the Holy Land, Muslims invaders had already conquered Spain and were in southern France, had conquered Sicily, and were attacking Christian Europe from the east as well.

Of course, Christian Europe was violent; it was a violent age. But the violence was not limited to Christians on Muslims. In fact, during the Crusades, there are numerous examples of European violence against other Europeans, while Muslims were no slouches in that sphere either. In the fall of Acre, for example, after promising safe passage to conclude a truce, Muslims broke their words and slaughtered every Christian man and child, saving only some of the women to use as sex slaves. If Christians need to apologize for the excesses of the 12th and 13th centuries, there are reciprocal apologies due.

— Adrian Day

Fun with Bob Dole — Former Republican Senate leader, vice presidential candidate, presidential candidate and, more recently, Viagra pitchman and Britney Spears admirer extraordinaire, Bob Dole is now making the rounds of the talk show circuit plugging the senatorial candidacy of his wife, Elizabeth, and his new book, *Great Presidential Wit*. Visiting *Late Night with Conan O'Brien*, Dole regaled the insomniac audience with tales of chief executive humor. (It appears that Abe Lincoln was funny; Lyndon Johnson less so, Millard Fillmore not at all.) Lest we come to believe that Oval Office quips demean the august office of the presidency, Dole solemnly reminded his audience that America is the one country in the world affording its citizens a constitutionally guaranteed right to the pursuit of happiness.

Only, of course, it doesn't. My freshmen aren't very adept at distinguishing the Declaration of Independence from the Constitution, but one would have thought that venerable statesmen would do better. Evidently Mr. Dole's drugs and beverages of choice do less well by his brain than they do his various other organs.

— Loren Lomasky

Gun rights in Mexico — The *Mexico & NAFTA Report* writes that the reform-minded Mexican government is proposing changes in the nation's firearms laws. The 1917 Mexican Constitution (Article 10) states:

"The inhabitants of the United Mexican States have the right to possess arms in their homes for their security and legitimate defense with the exception of those prohibited by federal law and of those reserved for the exclusive use of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and National Guard. Federal law shall determine the cases, conditions and place in which the inhabitants may be authorized to bear arms."

Despite this constitutional guarantee, a 1971 statute abolished independent firearms stores, and allowed firearms sales (to civilians) only by the Defense Ministry. The government's proposed constitutional amendment would liberalize the current severe rules on firearms sales, and specifically authorize urban households to possess up to five guns, and

rural households to possess up to 15, provided that the guns are registered. The current restrictive laws are widely ignored. According to research by the *Comision de Proteccion Civil de la Asamblea Legislativa*, one third of the residents of Mexico City currently own firearms. Public Security Minister Alejandro Hertz Manero supports the constitutional amendment, because he says that people need to be able to protect themselves.

— Dave Kopel

The power to regulate is the power to destroy — South Carolina law requires that all abortion clinics maintain a constant internal temperature between 72 and 76 degrees. This is but one example of what the National Abortion Rights Action League calls "TRAP" laws — or

"Targeted Regulations of Abortion Providers" — cleverly designed regulations intended not to actually protect consumers but to run abortion clinics out of business. NARAL and other abortion rights groups are justly outraged about such regulations. But many leftists fail to see how these laws lay bare the connection between economic liberties and personal freedoms. Such sneaky uses of government's power to regulate have been used for centuries to reward political favorites and keep their competitors out of the market. Law professor Lawrence Friedman writes in his *History of American Law*, that "occupational licensing absolutely burgeoned during [the post-Civil War] period . . . Trade groups were anxious to control competition. . . . The justification was the same for all of these [professions]: safeguarding public health. The argument was quite obvious in the case of doctors and therefore had much more general appeal. For barbers, the argument was a trifle strained; and for horseshoers, fairly desperate." Although courts tried to protect businesses by striking down these laws, the New Deal courts abandoned these protections, at the behest of precisely these leftists who complain about TRAP laws.

— Timothy Sandefur

Information overload — The institutional failure of the government to "connect the dots" prior to Sept. 11 did not happen because the intelligence and enforcement agencies lack resources, but because they are so large and unfocused. An FBI agent in Phoenix warned last June that an increasing number of Middle-Eastern men, some connected with Osama bin Laden, were taking aviation courses, but no one made a more comprehensive investigation. A later FBI warning from Minnesota led to the arrest of Zacarias Moussaoui but not to a more wide-ranging investigation either, who knows for what reason.

According to every federal operative I've talked to recently, warnings of this sort are often missed simply because the sheer mass of paperwork that overflows from the FBI and every other federal agency makes it extremely difficult for agents to see patterns and to set priorities in following up on reports.

Curiously, the government's response to the terrorist attacks has largely been to beef up its bureaucratic systems, making them even more ponderous and lumbering. There are more than 40 federal agencies with some kind of intelligence function, and most of them, like most government bureaucracies, are insular, protective of their own turf, and reluctant to share information, which in bureaucratic worlds is power. It certainly makes more sense to streamline these

departments, fire a few people to let everybody else know this was serious, and demand a tighter focus on real problems. Instead, the War on Terror has put resources into arresting Dionne Warwick for having a few joints of marijuana. When focused, even government agencies can be reasonably effective, at least until the usual bureaucratic institutional imperatives reassert themselves. Instead, of course, our wise government has done the opposite of the sensible thing.

— Alan W. Bock

Global Warming Strikes Back! —

According to *Variety*, "Twentieth Century Fox has won an auction for [the rights to produce] *The Day After Tomorrow*, a Roland Emmerich-directed disaster extravaganza about global warming that creates hurricanes, earthquakes, tornadoes and the onset of the next ice age, penned by Emmerich and Jeffrey Nachmanoff."

Now why is it that global warming is always connected with tragic consequences? Isn't it just as possible that global warming would cause milder winters, rain in deserts, and longer growing seasons in famine-stricken areas?

The apocalyptic tones used by environmental "scientists" remind me of the warnings of witch doctors in Tarzan movies while demanding that the white heroine be offered to the volcano god. When Pat Robertson claimed that a hurricane headed toward Disneyland was God's way of punishing the Mouse for his tolerance of homosexuals, people laughed. But when Al Gore claimed the same hurricanes were nature's way of punishing greedy people for their reliance on the internal combustion engine, he was heralded as a genius.

And anyway, how can global warming cause earthquakes? Maybe the movie will explain.

— Tim Slagle

Poverty, crime and welfare — An article in the *Seattle Times* of May 9 declares that crime "has worsened in much of Europe, despite generous welfare states designed to prevent U.S.-style inequality and social conflict."

We can turn this into an intelligent statement by changing "despite" to "because of." Most of us Americans realized long ago that the welfare state is a breeding ground for sloth and evil. The more a government relieves people of responsibility for their own lives, the less reason they see to learn in school, qualify for a job, be honest and polite with one another, stay sober, or obey the law. Why bother, when your food, housing, and health care are provided free of charge anyway?

Criminality is much more the product of idleness than of poverty. People who make an honorable living do not waste time resenting the superior achievements of others. A society's real problem is the idle classes in academia, the bureaucracies, and the slums who have guaranteed incomes and time on their hands to brood over "inequality" wherever they can find or imagine it.

This is just an obvious truth. But as economist Thomas Sowell has said, nothing is more complex than avoiding the obvious.

— John Clark

Congress binges — The neo-prohibition folks in Congress and in federally funded research institutions are hard at work trying to incite a moral panic over so-called

"binge drinking" by college students. Yet whatever the merits of the hysterical claims about student drinking — when in fact today's students drink much less and much less often than students of a couple decades ago — Congress has no legitimate constitutional authority over the subject.

Defenders of federal obsession with college student alcohol consumption point first to the 21st Amendment (repealing federal Prohibition), which states, "The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited." Yet this clause, carefully read, simply gives Congress power over "transportation or importation" of alcohol in violation of local laws. "Binge drinking" isn't "transportation or

Defenders of federal obsession with college student alcohol consumption point first to the 21st Amendment. But it simply gives Congress the power over "transportation and importation" of alcohol — not "binge drinking."

importation." Congress has no power to control mere consumption of alcohol. Indeed, as Southern Illinois University law professor Brannon Denning points out in a forthcoming article (papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=265122) the U.S. Senate deleted a section of the proposed 21st Amendment which would have given Congress power to regulate saloons.

And even that clause wouldn't have given Congress power over consumption outside of saloons. As ratified, the 21st Amendment gives Congress power to, for example, punish people who cross state lines to illegally import alcohol into a dry county. The only "binge drinkers" covered by the 21st Amendment are those imbibers who consume alcohol which is illegally imported across state lines.

A second asserted basis of congressional power regarding college drinking is Article I, section 8, which authorizes spending money to "provide for the . . . general Welfare of the United States." This is the asserted basis of power for federal subsidies for college anti-alcohol "counselors" and other neo-prohibitionist busybodies.

Ever since the 1930s when the Supreme Court abandoned its duty to enforce constitutional limits on congressional power, this clause has been interpreted to allow congressional spending for any purpose. Thus, it is certain that the Supreme Court won't interfere with federal anti-drinking nanny subsidies. Still, congresspeople and other citizens who claim to support limited constitutional government would do better to follow the position of James Madison, who explained that the spending clause gave Congress power only to spend for purposes otherwise enumerated in the Constitution, not for any purpose at all.

— Dave Kopel

I see a large campaign contribution in your future — Oracle, the company that wants to force you to carry an Oracle-brand national ID card, has gotten California Gov. Gray Davis in huge trouble after it was

discovered that Davis and his minions forced the state government to choose Oracle for a \$95 million state software contract, in violation of normal contracting procedures. The software contract has turned into a disaster, and Davis has announced that he is returning a \$25,000 contribution from Oracle.

Oracle's sleazy relationship with incumbents is typical of company president Larry Ellison's tactics. Oracle was one of the leading companies which stirred up the Department of Justice lawsuit against Microsoft, and which stole documents from pro-Microsoft think tanks as part of a strategy for keeping Microsoft from competing against Oracle. — Dave Kopel

For love or money — Late in December a 24-year-old Internet entrepreneur named Kay Hammond from Birmingham, England, auctioned herself on eBay as a wife, and was shocked when bids reached £10 million, even though the reserve price was only £250,000.

Regrettably, eBay withdrew her advert less than 24 hours after it appeared, saying: "It's a grey area, but there are certain things that aren't considered appropriate, like people selling their virginity or their soul." That impresses me as a pretty humorless response, in addition to being inaccurate. People sell those things, and more, all the time, and for vastly less money. Ms. Hammond says: "I'm not selling my body and I'm not selling sex — I'm selling the whole thing."

Why not? Marriage, which is basically a Neolithic institution, has always been first and foremost about economics, not love. Love has always been merely a bonus or a come-on. Even relatively recent institutions like the dowry and the arranged marriage suggest this, as do older practices like polygamy and polyandry.

Part of the problematic status of marriage lies in the fact that life expectancies in pre-industrial times were something like 30 years, children had to become economically productive at about seven, and everyone was mated and reproducing by 15. Technology has skewed that timetable. It's already extended a person's active life by decades, and will eventually extend it by centuries. Tech makes the relationship between the sexes, like all areas of life, more fluid and ore

interesting. The creation of church and state has skewed it in other ways, mainly trying to solidify and artificially extend an institution that originally only had something like a seven year half-life. This is, incidentally, the origin of the phrase "the seven year itch." After seven years, once the offspring have reached economic viability, there seems to be an urge to go onto something new in life.

It would be interesting to follow the career path of Ms. Hammond. I suspect she's not only smart and fun, but likely riding the wave of the future. — Doug Casey

Boob tube — I happened to catch just a little of the Sam and Cokie show on ABC. The topic at that moment was the question of arming commercial airline pilots. Cokie was dead against the idea: she was "terrified" at the thought of guns on the airplane. She would be afraid of a "nutty pilot with a gun"!

Even before George Will could speak, George Stephanopoulos reminded her that the pilots controlled the airplane and she had already trusted them with her life when she boarded the plane. A "nutty pilot" didn't need a gun to kill her and everyone else on board, which was, of course, the whole point. George Will then pointed out that the objective would be to defend the cockpit in order to land the airplane in the event of a terrorist takeover of the passenger compartments.

Cokie then said something like "What good is it to land a plane full of dead people?" Sam came to her rescue to change the subject before it could be said that a plane full of dead passengers is better than a plane full of dead passengers *and* the destruction of the U.S. Capitol building or White House, for instance.

It goes to show, among other things, that if you are the beautiful, Wellesley-educated daughter of a U.S. Congressman you can get paid millions of dollars to be a fool on American network television! — Jim Ross

Cry the beloved Rhodesia — I am not one to advocate interfering in other countries' affairs, but if ever there was a case for doing so, surely it is in today's Zimbabwe, run by megalomaniac Robert Mugabe. His latest lunacy is an edict saying the government can throw farmers off their land even before any judicial appeals can be heard. He has expelled all foreign journalists and prohibited independent election observers. Britain and other countries have offered massive aid if only Mugabe would back off a little. The only aid Britain should give to Zimbabwe should be to send a team of SAS sharpshooters to Harare, with a bullet inscribed "R.M." That would be a great gift to the people.

— Adrian Day

Conversation with an ex-priest — I phoned a friend, a former priest, now an architect, the day after Monsignor Eugene Clark delivered his arch-conservative homily at St. Patrick's Cathedral in Manhattan.

Monsignor Clark, Edward Cardinal Egan's stand-in when Egan was called to Rome to see the Pope, pontificated from the pulpit at St. Patrick's: "We know — we won't mention it outside the cathedral — we are probably the most immoral country, certainly in the Western hemisphere, and maybe the larger circle."

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P.O. Box 1181, Port Townsend, WA 98368

email: rwb@cablespeed.com

Those words were spoken from the most prominent Roman Catholic pulpit in New York City, a pulpit not far from what used to be the World Trade Center, before other clerics half a world away decided, too, that America was at the bottom of the international morality pile.

"What's his standard?" asked the former priest. "We're worse than countries that chop off a woman's head for adultery, worse than countries that are chopping off hands for stealing? We're more immoral than nations that target parts of their own populations for starvation? Worse than China, with people in prison for political beliefs? What's his standard for morality?"

On top of blaming America, Monsignor Clark pontificated at St. Patrick's that gay men shouldn't be allowed to be priests, and that the idea that people are born gay is simply "not true."

"How does he know?" asked the ex-priest. "How does he know that people aren't born gay? Those urges are natural, for them, as natural as a heterosexual man's urges for a woman."

"There is no evidence whatsoever that men who are homosexual are any more a threat to boys than men who are heterosexual are a threat to girls," says Fred Berlin, MD, a member of a top-level commission appointed by Bernard Cardinal Law to set guidelines for the church response to abuse allegations. If Berlin, an associate professor of psychiatry at Johns Hopkins University, is right, will Monsignor Clark recommend that straight men also not be allowed to be priests?

Why, then, the reported 4-to-1 ratio of involvement with boys over girls in the current priest scandal? "It's mainly a matter of access," explains the former priest, "sexism in the church. You didn't have girls' choirs 20 years ago, when most of these cases we're hearing about happened. There were no altar girls. Only boys helped in the sacristy. It was a male environment, like prison. The homosexual activity in the jails doesn't mean that most of them are gay."

The issue we're dealing with, he says, more than anything, gay or straight, is male sexuality. "For a lot of men, whether it's due to conditioning or animal instinct, to be a true male means to be dominant, to have the power. Women are talked about as 'castrating,' for instance, when they want equality. For some men, if they don't feel that superiority, that power, they go lower, to a 30-year-old, or to 20 or 15. It's the 25-year-old husband hitting on the babysitter, or Hugh Hefner with his mansion full of bunnies."

It's the male ego that drives it, he says. "They want someone submissive and adoring. For women, it's the opposite. They seek equality, or someone stronger. There aren't millions of women who see a mansion full of dummies as the ultimate turn-on."

In 1970, a study commissioned by the American bishops said that two-thirds of priests were immature psychosexually. Many go into the seminary right out of high school. Add the prohibitions on them getting any experience, plus the fear, guilt, and raging hormones, and the access to children — and, if my friend's right, the domination dynamics of male sexuality — and we shouldn't be surprised at what's happening. What other outcome, given this mix, would be more likely?

"In my six years in the seminary, there was nothing taught about sex, except the prohibitions. Celibacy for nuns and priests, no birth control, no masturbation, no premarital sex, no gay sex, the Virgin birth — all of it saying that the pinnacle of living is not to have sex. You don't learn how to express yourself sexually with another person. And when the urges come, when they become too strong, where's there to go? To where you feel safe? To where, in fact, it's the most dangerous?"

And the church won't change, he says. "When the Church began, it was about caring, solace, community and unity. Now it's divisive. Now there is panic because they are losing their kingdom."

He explains how he began to rebel after hearing his first confession. "A woman with five kids whose husband had three jobs came crying, saying she was going to use birth control. I was supposed to say her husband could get a fourth

When the Church began, it was about caring, solace, community, and unity. Now it's divisive. Now there is panic because they are losing their kingdom.

job, that God would provide. Instead, I told her birth control was okay. A young couple came crying, broken-hearted at the death of their baby who had not been baptized. They cried that their baby would never see God. I couldn't tell them to believe the church. The line around my confessional went around the block, but I was creating my own church. I knew I would have to leave them, that I would be leaving them with someone else, so I told them they didn't need the church to tell them right from wrong, that they could think for themselves."

— Ralph R. Reiland

Wall St Journal: evil or stupid? — *The Wall Street Journal* has never met a war it didn't like the U.S. government to fight. During the Cold War, it was all for nuking the Russkies. Now that the United States has no powerful state enemies, it is all for nuking Baghdad and for blowing up still more dirt in Afghanistan and other target-scarce places in any and all God-forsaken deserts and jungles around the planet.

Those who have had the stomach to read the WSJ editorials over a period of many years must find themselves mulling over the question: are these guys just evil, or are they stupid, too? I personally incline toward the more-evil-than-stupid hypothesis, because when they adjust their moral compass to a tolerable setting — when they discuss, say, farm subsidies — they manage to reason well enough and to bring appropriate evidence to bear. On war and peace, however, no rhetorical trick is too despicable for them to use.

In the lead editorial for May 17, they plumbed new depths of disingenuousness, even though they did so in a good cause: criticism of runaway federal spending.

In introducing their argument, the editors concede that some of the increased spending is "very necessary." That part is, of course, the increased defense spending, which

itself merits the adjective "runaway," although they chose not to apply the term. The defense-spending increase of "40.8% over five years" they declare to be necessary because defense spending "had fallen during the 1990s to a pre-Pearl Harbor level of just 3% of GDP."

In that short phrase lurks more than one poisonous rhetorical snake. First, the editorialists imply that the decline in defense spending during the 1990s was ill-advised. If such decline was ill-advised even in the wake of U.S. victory in the Cold War, however, one wonders what sort of event might justify a decline — the second coming of Jesus Christ, perhaps? (Careful now, it might be an Islamist trick, or Saddam Hussein in drag.)

Next consider the "pre-Pearl Harbor" benchmark, expressed as the percentage of GDP consumed by defense spending. Here's some free advice: whenever anybody

In preparing for engagement in the greatest war in history, the U.S. government made do with much less than half of what it is spending in 2002, when it has no powerful enemies whatever.

insists on using this measure, hold on to your wallet. For more than 50 years, war-hawks have used the defense percentage of GDP as a device to tie their favorite form of government waste to the productive power of the entire economy. Why, one might reasonably ask, should the proper amount of defense spending ever bear a constant (or any other) relation to GDP? A sensible answer to the classic question about defense spending — how much is enough? — never has had and never will have anything to do with the magnitude of GDP.

In 1941, as the United States was rushing to gear up for war against the greatest military power in Asia and the greatest military power in Europe, defense spending amounted to \$13.8 billion, or approximately eleven percent of GDP (it had been two percent the previous year). Sure enough, that eleven percent is more than today's three percent. Far more important than the percentage of GDP, however, is the absolute amount of the spending. In terms of purchasing power, present defense spending — \$343 billion for fiscal year 2002, not counting the supplemental appropriation now being approved — comes to more than twice the calendar-year 1941 spending.

So, in preparing for engagement in the greatest war in history, the U.S. government made do with much less than half of what it is spending in 2002, when it has no powerful enemies whatever and has to scour the earth to identify bare-foot bandits who might or might not be in sympathy with a handful of maniacs goaded by U.S. actions in their holy lands to hijack and crash some American airliners into American buildings. Oh, well, any old excuse in a pinch. Moreover, this one is working like a proverbial charm, justifying a bigger run-up in defense spending than the Pentagon has seen since the Cold War bonanza of the early 1980s.

Amid all this success in looting the taxpayer for the benefit of the military-industrial-congressional complex, how-

ever, the WSJ editors complain that Congress has seen fit to approve jillions of new dollars for a panoply of reelection purchases. In putting up with this congressional business as usual, the president is said to be "showing Congress he can be rolled on any domestic issue." At this point, one leans toward the WSJ-editors-are-stupid hypothesis.

Anyone who has been paying the slightest attention over the years should know that a national emergency, real or (like the present one) purported, serves as a powerful lever with which the government pries loose from the public huge chunks of treasure and freedom, because such a crisis causes the public to submit more readily to government schemes, whatever they may be. Lately, in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, the polls showed that the public's longstanding distrust of government had suddenly been transformed into trust. It works every time, and the current "war on terrorism" is such a time.

Yet the WSJ editors pretend not to get it. They rail that the president ought to veto some of the congressional add-ons to teach the swines a lesson, and they fret that "the more domestic spending now, the less money for the military now and later." By this supposition, they reveal either rhetorical deviousness or historical ignorance. All the great military buildups of the postwar years have occurred at the expense of the private sector, not the government nonmilitary sector (see my article in *Explorations in Economic History*, July 1994, for a rigorous analysis).

The president's advisers, however, understand full well what is going on: it's called quid pro quo. It's also the way in which the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government jointly parlay a crisis into a looting frenzy. Here we go again.

— Robert Higgs

What if? — Certain political and military historians, as well as science fiction writers, have popularized a genre commonly known as alternate history. They propose "counter-factual" scenarios — that is, to imagine how events might have turned out if circumstances had been different. What if World War I had not happened? What if Nazi Germany had defeated the Allies? What if John F. Kennedy had not been assassinated?

And, hey, what if Yugoslavia's Slobodan Milosevic had still been in power when the terrorists attacked New York and Washington on Sept. 11?

If we operate under the assumption that the past, like the future, is a set of possibilities, not a certainty, and try to draw up a "What if?" scenario, we can indeed speculate that Milosevic could have succeeded in holding onto power and securing his government's control over the rebellious province of Kosovo despite opposition at home and abroad to his Greater Serbia agenda. Now, let's imagine he had still been in power just when the Bush administration launched its war on global terrorism.

Under such a "counter-factual" scenario, could Milosevic have won the hearts and minds of lawmakers and journalists in Washington by framing his violent confrontation with the Albanian Muslims in Kosovo as part of the U.S.-led counter-terrorism offensive? In that context, could Milosevic have portrayed the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) as an "Islamic terrorist" group and have gotten away with it? Or, more important, could he have got a "green light" for a military

operation aimed at suppressing the anti-Serb uprising by the Kosovars and at maintaining Serb control over the territory?

Sounds far-fetched? I don't think so. In fact, one could argue that the alternate history I have just described is quite familiar. Change "Milosevic" to "Sharon" and it becomes obvious that the Israeli prime minister has been successful in using America's war on terrorism to advance his government's interests by identifying its violent confrontation with the Palestinians with the U.S. campaign against al Qaeda and company, linking Arafat to the "Axis of Evil," getting the diplomatic green light from the Bush administration to launch a military operation in the West Bank, and arriving in Washington as a "man of peace."

Poor Milosevic has probably been watching all of this on CNN, from his jail cell, waiting for another session of his "war crimes" trial and asking himself: "What if?"

Sorry, Sloba, but in politics, like in life in general, timing is everything.

— Leon Hadar

Fairness for the Church — Like the anti-smoking vehemence of reformed smokers, few exhibit such anger towards the Church as lapsed Catholics

Sarah McCarthy ("Behind the Vestry Door," June) is not alone in using the current scandal as an opportunity to express her own, irrelevant agenda. Calls for the abolition of abstinence in priests and for married and women priests have a ready audience, but such would not have prevented sexual abuse.

Counterintuitively perhaps, incidence of sexual abuse among celibate Roman Catholic priests is no greater than that among other clergy of other denominations, married and female included, or indeed among the population at large.

The *Los Angeles Times* (March 25) reported that "national studies show no differences in the frequency of sexual misconduct by denomination, region, theology . . ." *Time* magazine, in its infamous "Can the Church Save Itself?" issue, reported the conclusions of a psychologist saying that sexual abuse among Catholic clergy was "consistent with other male clergy and the general population." In fact, said Dr. Thomas Plante, "the rate is probably higher in the general population."

If one wants to prevent sexual abuse, the evidence suggests one might as well call for Episcopalians and others to prohibit married clergy.

True cases of pedophilia by Catholic clergy are few (and each a grave sin). Moving known pedophiles to another parish, without evidence of recovery, is a serious misjudgment. But the incidence of true pedophilia among Catholic priests is very low. No doubt many of the cases are unfounded copycat accusations, such as we see with any publicized case of abuse. Others, no doubt, were actions not untypical of friendly uncles with no sexual motive, but deemed "inappropriate" behavior in this politically correct time.

And many cases of so-called pedophilia were clearly something different, if also wrong. By definition, pedophilia involves sexual activity with prepubescent children. Many of the reported allegations involve teenagers (ephebophilia) and may have more of a homosexual character than pedophilic one. Now a priest in a position of trust making aggressive homosexual advances on a vulnerable teenager is also committing a grave sin, but one suspects that the media generally

would not whip itself into such a frenzy over homosexual priests coming on to teenagers. After all, there is little frenzy against the idea that gays should be allowed to be Boy Scout masters.

Beyond calling for married and women priests, there was little of substance in McCarthy's article. Highlighter in hand, I was ready to tackle the piece for a rebuttal, but it was difficult to come to grips with her arguments. Rage flaying to the right and left, fury and frustration abundant, but how does one refute this?

— Adrian Day

Fly the defenseless skies — The decision, announced by former Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms honcho John Magaw, now a "transportation security" undersecretary, that airline pilots can't have guns in the cockpits of commercial airliners reflects a culture of demonization more than a rational policy. Most pilots have military training, weapons training is not complicated, there are non-piercing bullets available. But guns are avatars of evil and cause tremors of fear among the ignorant.

Allowing pilots to arm themselves would likely have kept the Sept. 11 attacks from succeeding. Indeed, if the terrorists had known that airline cockpits are filled with people who are liable to be armed, they probably wouldn't even have attempted to hijack the planes.

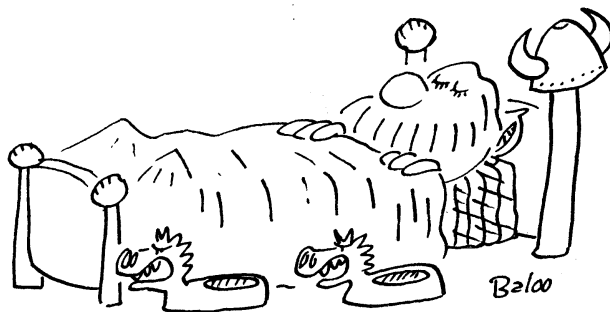
As stupid as this decision was, it probably won't make much difference in the current War on Terror. If any prediction is relatively safe, it is that the next big terrorist attack won't involve hijacking airliners.

It does, however, subject the airlines and their passengers to one more absurdity — which our masters may think is a good thing in that it provides a highly visible signal that the government is doing something. The inconveniences and absurdities hoisted on the air traveler so far haven't seemed to have provoked much criticism from the general populace. Until that happens, expect further indignities, and the continuance of the government's policy of encouraging passengers to be passive sheep during a hijacking, rather than self-reliant and willing to act, as the passengers on Flight 93 were.

— Alan W. Bock

Politicking in the federal court — A federal appeals court has held that the University of Michigan Law School may use race as a factor in admissions decisions. The decision occurred under strange circumstances, resulting in one of the most heated exchanges of legal opinions in memory.

In *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the trial court held that the law school was not allowed to discriminate against whites in



Baloo

order to ensure racial "diversity" among the student body. This "diversity" rationale finds its origin in Justice Lewis Powell's opinion in the famous *Bakke* case of 1978. In that opinion, only Justice Powell endorsed the "diversity" rationale, and no subsequent Supreme Court opinion ever has — although the Court has permitted consideration of race for a (very) few other purposes. The diversity rationale has been rejected by the Fifth Circuit and the Eleventh Circuit. But in May, the Sixth Circuit reversed the trial court and held that the University of Michigan can constitutionally discriminate for "diversity" purposes. This conflict between the circuits makes it likely that the Supreme Court will take the case.

The opinions run for more than a 100 pages, and are remarkably frank. In one passage, for instance, concurring Judge Clay wrote that a black applicant having the same qualifications as a white student would "be a different person," because "this black applicant may very well bring to the student body life experiences rich in the African-American traditions emulating the struggle the black race has endured in order for the black applicant even to have the opportunities and privileges to learn." In other words, the race of an applicant determines his or her quality as a student — race determines the content of character. According to my dictionary, racism is "the belief that race accounts for differences in human character or ability and that a particular race is superior to others." As Judge David Boggs wrote in dissent, the assertion that a black applicant, even one from an upper-class American family, will of necessity contribute more to the class than a white or Asian applicant with more unusual life experiences is "starkly the policy of discrimination practiced throughout the ages."

What's unusual about the Circuit's *Grutter* opinion, however, is its intense bitterness, and particularly its focus on the unorthodox procedures the case was subjected to. In his dissenting opinion, Judge Boggs suggested that other judges sat on the case for several months while waiting for two conservative judges — Judges Norris and Suhrheinrich, both Reagan appointees — to retire, so that the case could be heard by nine judges (coincidentally enough for a 5-4 liberal majority) instead of eleven (which would have been a 6-5 conservative majority).

Judge Boggs' dissent outraged some of the other judges so much that they attacked him in their concurring opinions, calling his opinion "shameful," "inaccurate and misleading," "desperate and unfounded," "ludicrous," "baseless," full of "flagrant disregard for the Court's procedural measures," and "a new low point in the history of the Sixth Circuit [which] will irreparably damage the already strained working relationships among the judges of this court." Yet, as Boggs himself notes, "I would have been most pleased if my statement of apparent facts had been proven wrong. Unfortunately, that has not occurred." — Timothy Sandefur

Cigarette taxes fund terrorism — Federal prosecutors in North Carolina who arrested a couple of brothers in a cigarette-smuggling operation — buying in low-tax North Carolina and selling in high-tax Michigan — are now alleging something bigger and more sinister. The two Lebanese brothers are accused of using their ill-gotten gains to finance international terrorism by sending the prof-

its to various shady Middle-Eastern groups. The incident should alert us to the danger of artificially high taxes which create high-profit smuggling opportunities.

The lesson applies to the larger War on Drugs, too. Interpol not long ago estimated that 20–50% of international terrorism is financed by the drug trade. Drug traffickers and terrorists both need to secure staging places and routes for moving illicit goods, people, weapons, and large stashes of cash that are difficult to trace, so it's not surprising that some have teamed up.

The huge profits from drugs are caused by prohibition. The government's dishonest TV propaganda campaign — having users "admit" that they finance terrorism — has it precisely backwards. Even setting aside the fact that the most commonly used illicit drug is marijuana, much of which is produced domestically and which is too bulky to be of much use to would-be terrorists, it is drug warriors, far more than drug consumers, who are responsible for drug trafficking's contribution to terrorism.

— Alan W. Bock

Cashing in on scandal — Since the Catholic Church's priest scandal has become public, there have been two suicides and the attempted murder of a priest by a man who alleged the priest abused him. The Boston diocese has dug in and decided not to settle with accusers because they are running out of money. Instead, they are opting for a strategy of legal hardball to investigate the sex lives of accusers.

The latest suicide is accused priest the Rev. Alfred Bietighofer of Bridgeport, Conn., who hung himself in his room at St. Luke's Institute, a psychiatric hospital where he was ordered after he was accused of fondling twelve boys 20 years ago at Blessed Sacrament Church.

The Rev. Maurice Blackwell of Baltimore was recently shot and seriously wounded by a man who accused him of "inappropriate touching," a fourth-degree misdemeanor, nine years ago. Hidden from public scrutiny, the problem was festering and simmering, now people are freaking out and cashing in. More murders and suicides should be expected.

The *Los Angeles Times* says that the victim and the suspect in the Baltimore shooting were both respected people in West Baltimore, despite the cloud of pedophilia. People are taking sides, dividing the neighborhood between those who rallied around their popular clergyman, who won kudos for trying to rescue drug peddlers from a life of crime, and Stokes, a quiet barber with no criminal record. "For some," said the *Times*, "it was hard to figure why Stokes would have sought revenge so long after the alleged crime was committed."

"There is so much pent-up pain that now is finally beginning to surface," said David Clohessy, director of Survivor's Network of Those Abused by Priests, a Chicago-based support group. Excuse me for being cynical about what some in the media have referred to as "the most horrific crime imaginable," but since Sept. 11, such hyperbole appears laughable.

If we are serious about trying to alleviate problems, we need to take a look at whether or not this process really helps anyone. Ever since the Thomas-Hill hearings, it has been evi-

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An Unexpected Discovery

by David Ramsay Steele

The world is filled with opportunities, all just crying out to be missed.

On Friday evening, March 1, 2002, wanting to check a couple of points about Henri Bergson, I did a google search on him. I then had the thought: Why not do a google search on myself and find out what's out there? So I typed in the words David Ramsay Steele and got hundreds of results, many of which were about me and many of which were not.

The way these searches seem to work is that they look for any place where all the words entered occur close enough together. So, for instance, any document containing the names Bill Ramsay, Joe Steele, and David Jones in close proximity would have turned up on my search.

Very soon I noticed a result: "David Christopher 'Kit' Steele b. 1944 Edinburgh." Now, I was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 23 June, 1944, and I was christened David Christopher Ramsay Steele, but I have no recollection of being called "Kit," though Kit is a diminutive of Christopher (as in Kit Carson). I have never liked the name Christopher and stopped using it quite early. My first, slightly annoyed reaction was: There is another writer named Steele who was born in Edinburgh in 1944!

I therefore clicked on this search result, to find out who this upstart punk might be, and within a fifth of a second realized that I am Kit Steele. How is this possible? Here I have to fill in a bit of background.

A Murky Origin

As far back as I can remember, I disliked the woman I knew as my mother, and at some point began to suspect she was not my real mother. I didn't get on very well with my father either. One day at school, when I was eight, I

found that all the other children in the class had brought copies of their birth certificates. I had been told nothing of this, but my father showed up later in the day and personally handed my birth certificate over to the teacher.

At the age of about ten, I went through some of my parents' documents which I wasn't strictly supposed to be looking at, and came across a letter implying that my "mother" was not my real mother, and possibly that I had an older brother somewhere. I accepted this thereafter but mentioned it to no one.

I grew up an only child in Birmingham, England. I clearly recall living in London before moving to Birmingham. My picture of my early life was that I had been born in Edinburgh, moved to London at the age of one, then to Birmingham at the age of four.

From an early age I loved the mother I could not remember, and dreamed of finding her again. I do not look much like my father, and I assumed I would look like my mother. I believed she would be very much like me in personal character, that if we ever met we would understand each other instantly, and that she would have been a remarkable beauty. I came to believe, and I do believe to

this day, that while she was, of course, a normal human being who would therefore have made a lot of mistakes in her life, she must have had an excellent reason for anything she decided to do, and that she owed me nothing. But I did always miss her, and I do miss her now.

When I was eleven, my father became a born-again Christian, and this changed the family lifestyle for the worse. My father and stepmother became less happy (though committed, of course, to the public protestation that they were a lot more happy), and my life became more acutely miserable. I soon became a skeptic with regard to theistic religion, a position I have maintained ever since.

I left school at 17 and went to work as a local newspaper reporter. I left home shortly afterwards, and then had little to do with my father and stepmother, though I did visit them occasionally, on amicable terms, and I ceased to dislike either of them, which is comparatively easy with persons one rarely meets. I became a great admirer of Bertrand Russell and an active member of CND (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). Then I joined the SPGB (Socialist Party of Great Britain), a small Marxist group founded in 1904. After some years I went to the University of Hull and got a degree in sociology. I then (beginning in 1970) went through a profound crisis of ideology, which led me from Marxism to libertarianism. The story of that crisis and the ensuing transformation can be found in my book *From Marx to Mises* (1992), which doesn't seem anything like an autobiography, but really is.

I communicated rarely with my father and stepmother, though I did see them occasionally, and I visited my stepmother in hospital when she was seriously ill with cancer. After her death, I visited my father in (I think it must have been) early 1973, when I was 28, and he broached to me for the first time what I already half knew, with a few added

sion that if I were going to find my mother and brother, it would be a matter of locating "Marjorie (difficult Polish name)" and her son "Bruce (difficult Polish name)." I decided this would be a time-consuming task, with very little likelihood of success, and that therefore it wasn't worth pursuing. I also subscribed to an ideological outlook which told me that blood is no thicker than water and that ancestry says little about who you are.

In recent years I have more often toyed with the idea of at least taking what I assumed would have to be the first step: having a search done at Somerset House in London,

For the first time since 1945, I saw what my mum looked like. She was lovely beyond my imagining, and facially she looked as much like me as a beautiful woman could.

which holds records of all British births, marriages, and deaths, for anything they might have on Elsie Marjorie Allkins after her marriage to my father, or for anything on Bruce Ramsay Steele after his birth around 1942. But I never did get round to it. In addition to the other reasons there was the increasing possibility that she might already be dead.

In 1980 I got married and emigrated to the United States. In 1989 I divorced and remarried, and have since had four children: the second, Allan, was named after my father. The fourth, Duncan Bruce, was given the name "Bruce" after my absent brother. It hardly needs to be said that my views on kinship have undergone some subtle and not-so-subtle changes over the years.

And then on March 1, 2002 I stumbled on the fact that I am Kit and someone was looking for me.

Better Late Than None

Google took me to genealogy.com, the place on the Web you go to find out about your family history and your lost relatives. I had never heard of it before. The post had been placed there by my brother's daughter, Jennifer Ramsay, who mentioned that she lived in Canada. I replied immediately, identifying myself. But then I realized that she had posted the message in November 2001, and she might well have given up looking at genealogy.com. It didn't occur to me at the time that I could have found her email address from genealogy.com, or at least what her email address had been back in November, and sent a message more directly.

I went home and told my wife, Lisa, the news. Later that night, she was messing around on the computer and when I asked her what she was doing, she said, "Never you mind. Go to bed." Next morning Lisa told me she had looked at a number of Jennifer Ramsays in Canada (Ramsay is a common Canadian name), and located the likely one: a researcher into salmon lice at the University of Prince Edward Island. Prince Edward Island is a province north of Nova Scotia. This Jennifer Ramsay seemed to be possibly the daughter of one William Bruce Ramsay, a professor of

As far back as I can remember, I disliked the woman I knew as my mother, and at some point began to suspect she was not my real mother.

details: that my late "mother" was not my real mother, and that I had an older brother somewhere, name of Bruce.

I asked my father about the possibility of tracing my mother and brother, and he said that my mother had been involved with a Pole, with a difficult-to-remember surname. He couldn't recall this Polish name and he had no idea what had become of my mother or my brother. I got the impression, though he may not have said this explicitly, that my mother had run off with her Polish boyfriend, taking her older son with her, and leaving behind her younger son, who was presumably more trouble. I inferred, for some reason, that this had happened when I was a few weeks old. My father told me that I had been raised for quite a while by his parents, in the attic flat above Charlotte Chapel, a big Baptist church in West Rose Street, Edinburgh, where they were the caretakers.

At this time and subsequently, I leaped to the conclu-

veterinary science at Nova Scotia Agricultural College. We were able to look at a picture of him on a faculty directory, and he did bear some resemblance to my father. Lisa downloaded the white pages for various towns in Nova Scotia. There were a number of William Ramsays and Bruce Ramsays. The most likely candidate was an entry for Bruce and Susan Ramsay in Truro.

Lisa also discovered that my mother, Marjorie Ramsay, had published a book of poetry, and Lisa even found some fragments of her poems on the Web. To judge from these, her poems are not very good. Her titles seem to be better than the poems themselves. The collection, published when she was approaching 50 is called *Half a Centennial Is Better than None*, and one of the poems is called *An Immigrant Remembers the Sea*. If I'd been around, I could have told her it's a good idea to strive for that kind of economy in every line of a poem, but I suspect she would have gone her own way regardless.

I called the number for Bruce and Susan. A woman answered and told me they were in Cuba on vacation (the Canadian government, unlike the U.S. government, permits its subjects to visit Cuba). After a few of my questions about Bruce, the woman became increasingly suspicious. I said: "I'm his brother." She was stunned and then overjoyed. She confirmed what I had deduced from Jennifer's post, that my mother had died — but only about two years ago.

The woman, who turned out to be Jennifer's younger sister, Robin, said: "I've got two surprises for them when they get back. I'm going to Japan, and his brother has called." In actuality she was holding out on her newfound uncle: She had three surprises for her parents. The third was: I've totalled the car and narrowly escaped with my life.

On March 3rd, I heard my brother's voice for the first time in 55 years. I also spoke with Susan and Jennifer. I was told of Christine, my first cousin in London, who is almost exactly the same age as I, and who played together with me when we were babies, when I was called "Kit," of course! I was able to talk to Christine, a big fan of my mother's, next day. It turned out that Christine, Jennifer, and Christine's sister and mother, had actually gone to some pains to find me in the U.K., without success.

Susan and Robin scanned some family pictures and emailed them to me: For the first time since 1945, I saw what my mum looked like. She was lovely beyond my imagining, and facially she looked as much like me as a beautiful woman could. She was, by all accounts, opinionated, argumentative, articulate, and occasionally dogmatic in

manner, though sometimes likely to change her opinions alarmingly. She was known as "Bobbo" and possessed a special kind of charisma — my cousin still speaks quite naturally of herself as "following Bobbo's banner."

Bobbo's Story

Bobbo was born during a Zeppelin raid on London in 1918, or so she later claimed — Bruce says there don't appear to have been any Zeppelin raids that late. Bobbo joined the British Union of Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley's blackshirts, at the age of 18, and rose rapidly to become, by some accounts, "Mosley's right-hand woman." As well as being Mosley's secretary, she was the BUF's chief female public speaker, and was regularly to be heard in Hyde Park.

Bobbo met Jock Steele (my father, Allan Ramsay Steele) through "the movement." Soon after they began living together, they were burned out of their London flat by the Communists. At the beginning of the war in 1939, the leading black-



Marjorie and Allan Ramsay Steele

shirts were jailed without trial — presumably on the theory that they might assist and collaborate with a German invasion. Bobbo was sent to Holloway (the women's prison in England) along with Lady Diana Mosley (one of the Mitford sisters) and was let out after two years. It seems likely that when Bobbo got out of the clink, doubtless some time between the commencement of Operation Barbarossa and the attack on Pearl Harbor, her joyful reunion with Jock produced my brother Bruce. A couple of years later, their

She was known as "Bobbo" and possessed a special kind of charisma — my cousin still speaks quite naturally of herself as "following Bobbo's banner."

mutual affections were evidently still intact, and they produced me.

For some reason, Jock and Bobbo later agreed to separate, and to split the kids between them. It may seem odd that she would take the older of the two, but for a woman who had to work, a child she could put into nursery school would have been less of a problem. So she didn't exactly run off with a man, and the separation happened when I was well over a year old. My later reconstruction of my early childhood was mistaken in some respects: I went to London later than I thought, and spent less time there

before moving to Birmingham.

All witnesses seem to agree now that Bobbo was not involved with a man at the time of the separation. However, I believe that, just as no scientific theory is abandoned until a more attractive candidate theory comes along, so no romantic relationship is abandoned until a more attractive candidate partner comes along. Only a few days ago I learned that Jock and Bobbo and my stepmother and her first husband were two couples who knew each other well over a long period. So an alternative hypothesis naturally presents itself.

I used to think I might be the legendary Pole's natural son. For one thing, I have a very wide and short skull, a

Bobbo joined the British Union of Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley's blackshirts, at the age of 18, and rose rapidly to become "Mosley's right-hand woman."

shape rare among the Anglo-Saxons and quite different from my father's, but common in Central and Eastern Europe. I can never get glasses that are wide enough. But, as I now know, my mother had the wide skull too. Only DNA would settle it, but all the evidence I have suggests that I am indeed the offspring of Jock as well as of Bobbo.

My mother took the child who looked like my father; my father took the child who looked like my mother. This kind of difference in the appearance of offspring is so striking that I find it remarkable that the true mechanism of inheritance was not discovered until 1865, and then was overlooked until 1900 because no one read Mendel's paper with any serious attention.

A few years after separating from Jock and me (and getting a divorce) my mother married a Czech Jew named Hajek, who legally adopted Bruce. Some years after that, the three moved to Canada. From then on my mother was generally known as Marje. Later, by some accounts, Hajek became increasingly violent, and my mother took Bruce and did a moonlight flit. Hajek disappears from the story, and is no doubt deceased. Marjorie and Bruce had changed "Ramsay Steele" to "Ramsay Hajek," then they dropped the Hajek and became just Ramsay, so my mother had four surnames in succession and my brother has had three. The most likely hypothesis to account for my father's story of a "Pole" is that he heard about Hajek and got his Eastern European nationalities mixed up. My father confirms that this is possible, and that the Pole he was thinking of was indeed Jewish.

My mother and brother moved several times within Canada. My mother's obituary says, "She lived in five provinces and worked at a variety of occupations from furniture salesman to antique store owner and hotel maid to medical librarian." In her final residence, Truro, Nova Scotia, "she was active in such organizations as the Multicultural Society and Toastmasters."

I am now continually finding out new things about my mum, and there is a lot to learn. In Canada, she passion-

ately advocated various leftist causes. Marje Ramsay invariably drew attention to herself by her vociferous promotion of her radical opinions and her British accent. She was an anti-war demonstrator who declared that she had "always been a hippie at heart." While a hospital employee in British Columbia she blew the whistle on some newsworthy scandal. She had received little schooling early in life and regretted her lack of academic knowledge; she took courses in social anthropology at the University of Winnipeg. She favored nuclear disarmament and later came to see the "First World" as the earth's greatest threat. She admired Canadian environmental lobbyist David Suzuki. In the 1990s she was an environmental activist who pestered fellow-residents in her apartment building to consume less and recycle more. Even in her final days suffering severe complications of Parkinson's Disease, she initiated some kind of protest which became the occasion for a nursing home review. My brother Bruce, who turns out to be an excellent writer, is sending me his life story and my mother's in installments.

Into the Age of Lifestreams

This unexpected discovery has affected me in a number of ways and I will just mention a few of them.

I have become an Internet sap. When I heard people say "It changes everything; it's a miracle," I used to adopt a somewhat snooty and untrendier-than-thou posture. But now I have run out of superlatives. Yes, it's a miracle — but

In Canada, she passionately advocated various leftist causes. She was an anti-war demonstrator who declared that she had "always been a hippie at heart." In the 1990s she was an environmental activist who pestered fellow-residents in her apartment building to consume less and recycle more.

why confine oneself to understatement? It doesn't just change everything: it *changes everything!*

(A technical note: I know now that if you do a google search and enclose the words you enter in quotation marks, you will get only results which include those words in that order: this will exclude a lot of mainly irrelevant material. It was lucky that I did not know this on 1 March, however, for then I certainly would have missed the post looking for "Kit.")

In speaking to various people in recent weeks, I have been struck by the frequency of such incidents. Seeking long-lost relatives or friends seems to be a rapidly growing pastime — it must already be comparable, in the sheer number of people participating, to psychotherapy, church attendance, social work, or weight-loss programs. There is also a very widespread fascination in tracing back family trees without looking for any specific individual. The genealogical interest is exploding as the Internet makes it so

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Report

Bush's Splendid Little War

by Clark Stooksbury

When the bugler blows reveille, who will stand up for liberty?

Along with most Americans, I favored a military response to the Sept. 11 attacks. If the president had decided to engage in a limited war to destroy Osama bin Laden and his organization while reducing and then eliminating U.S. involvement in the Middle East, I would have been on board. I had no illusions that such a campaign would have produced an easy victory. It is difficult to effectively fight against an enemy that is eager to die for a cause and has few attractive targets for all of our high-tech military hardware to hit. But it's important not to allow great crimes to go unpunished.

But Bush didn't decide to wage a limited war with concrete objectives. Instead, he went to war against abstractions such as "evil" and "terror." In his State of the Union address, he execrated three countries — Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, his "Axis of Evil" — that were not involved in the Sept. 11 attacks.

This war will leave America less secure. I cannot support it. But I can understand why most people continue to support the president and the war. They have a desire to do *something*, for revenge if nothing else. What leaves me confused is that so many libertarians support a war with such dubious, open-ended aims.

Brink Lindsey of the Cato Institute, for example, takes anti-war libertarians to task on his website, mentioning Antiwar.com, LewRockwell.com, and Againstthebombing.com without bothering to address any specific arguments.

Lindsey criticizes the Independent Institute for inviting Gore Vidal, whom he describes as a "monster" and the "king of all America Haters," to speak at an April forum titled, "Understanding America's Terrorist Crisis: What Should Be Done?"

Vidal is a harsh and sometimes wrongheaded critic of American society and foreign policy, but he does not hate

America. In 1986, he criticized Midge Decter and Norman Podhoretz for placing the needs of their country (Israel) above those of his (the United States). He told *The Spectator* during the controversy, "I hate the American Empire, and I love the old republic," which sounds like the words of an American patriot. (For this, the respectable opinion arbiters at *The New Republic* and *National Review* denounced Vidal as an anti-Semite.)

Lindsey argues that "anti-state libertarians" are under "great pressure to conclude that there's no need for big militaries that can project force overseas." He continues, "it's very easy to drift from anti-state libertarianism into outright anti-Americanism. After all, if all states are bad, and the American state is the biggest, most powerful state in the history of the world, then it must be pretty rotten — right?" Well, yes it is. But there is a difference between America and the "American state." Criticizing the American state — or even hating it — does not amount to hating America.

Lindsey continues, "anti-state libertarians are becoming increasingly comfortable with the idea that all of our enemies are our own fault — the 'blowback' of our illegitimate pursuit of 'empire.'" Well, I am one libertarian who is extremely critical of the American state who questions the justice and wisdom of U.S. foreign policy without justifying or excusing criminal attacks against my country and fellow citizens. Just as I can counsel a woman to avoid walking in a bad neigh-

borhood alone at night without in any way justifying or excusing an attack on her, so I can counsel my fellow citizens to oppose a foreign policy that endangers all Americans without justifying or excusing the attacks that Americans suffer.

This is not a perfect analogy. The hypothetical woman I refer to is put in danger by doing nothing more than being in a public place where she has every right to be and minding her own business. The United States has not simply been whistling in the dark while walking innocently through the bad neighborhood of the Middle East. The "American state" that Lindsey wants to place above criticism has had its hand in everybody else's business for decades. We serve as Israel's sponsor while posing as an honest broker between that country and its enemies. We have allied ourselves with regime after despicable regime, from the Shah of Iran to the medieval despots in Saudi Arabia. When it suited our purposes, the U.S. tilted toward Saddam Hussein in Iraq and fanned the flames

The United States has not simply been whistling in the dark while walking innocently through the bad neighborhood of the Middle East.

of Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan. Our government even helped finance the Taliban in its efforts to stamp out the drug trade in Afghanistan. At best, Americans have been officious intermeddlers, trying solve other people's problems as if we have all the answers. Yet Lindsey acts as if blowback is simply a fantasy of anti-state libertarians and "America Haters" like Gore Vidal.

Fools, Rush Out!

He implores libertarians to "face the present as it actually is." Lindsey points out that even if one concludes that Sept. 11 is the result of past U.S. policy, it is too late to change that fact. He also states that if we simply leave the Middle East, it will "encourage the discovery of new grievances." I sympathize with both sentiments. We can't undo recent history, but only a fool would refuse to learn from it. What we needed was simultaneous attack against the terrorists and withdrawal of our support for various Middle-Eastern governments. It is impossible for us to do enough damage to guarantee our safety. Even if we kill 90% of the Muslims in the world, there would still be enough to devastate our country through suicidal terrorist attacks. If we simply retreat, the terrorists will be emboldened and would soon be demanding that we turn the White House into a mosque.

The Not So Super, Superpower

Lindsey argues that perhaps the attack occurred because the U.S. has failed to be belligerent enough. "There's a good argument that Sept. 11 could have been avoided if only we had intervened *more aggressively* in the past. Specifically, if we had taken Baghdad in 1991, we wouldn't have needed to keep troops in Saudi Arabia — and consequently the terrorists would have been deprived of that grievance" (emphasis in original). Curiously, by acknowledging that our occupation of Saudi Arabia may have been a cause of the attacks, he

lends credence to the blowback theory that he has just denounced.

But this theory also raises another question. Since it is so easy for Web-log commandos like Brink Lindsey to "take" Baghdad in 2002, why didn't we do so in 1991? The official answer is that our war aimed only to liberate Kuwait. But it's difficult to avoid hypothesizing that the first Bush administration was afraid of paying the cost of toppling Hussein and "taking" Baghdad. Iraqi soldiers would have put up more of a fight if the U.S. and its allies were actually trying to conquer their country. Doing so would have almost certainly been a lot more difficult and expensive in terms of treasure and lives than was the liberation of Kuwait. By stopping short of invasion, Bush I got what appeared to be an easy victory.

This victory also had the unfortunate effect of fueling American military conceit. The late Robert Nisbet wrote in *The Present Age* of what he called the "Great American Myth," which emerged after the Great War. "Such was American prowess in war, derived from clean living and good hearts, that it did in a matter of months what the British and French had been at unsuccessfully for more than two years: that is lick the Hun." Lindsey buys into this myth when he rhetorically asks whether the world is better off because "American might crushed fascism" in the Second World War, a statement that ignores the contributions of Britain and the Soviet Union, among other countries.

When I see glib references to America's "crushing fascism" or "taking" Baghdad, I get nervous. Other countries don't simply cave to America's greatness. President Carter found that out in Iran. Of course, he was a sniveling wimp.

Brink Lindsey of the Cato Institute argues that "anti-state libertarians" are under "great pressure to conclude that there's no need for big militaries that can project force overseas."

But after 241 Marines were killed by a suicide bomber in Lebanon, even Ronald Reagan, who talked about "standing tall," decided that bugging out was the best idea. Bill Clinton bailed out of Somalia faster than you can say "warlord." In the Gulf War, George Bush quit while we were ahead.

In the April 22 *National Review*, Mark Helperin has a modest view of our recent victory in Afghanistan, "With the support of virtually every nation in the world, the United States went in on the side of one of two exhausted combatants locked in stalemate in open country devastated by years of war and starvation. The enemy fought without allies, supply, modern weapons, communications, intelligence, cover, or control of the air." He criticizes the president for failing to call for the sacrifice or the tools to fight a war that Helperin believes we need to fight and calls for a massive increase in military spending so that the United States can take on the Arab world single-handedly if need be and still have the resources for a war with China.

At least he is aware of how costly our role in the world is and he doesn't claim his views are libertarian. □

The Significance of Pim Fortuyn

by Stephen Cox

The media told us that Pim Fortuyn, the politician assassinated just prior to the Dutch election, was a “right-winger.” None mentioned that he was an openly gay man who supported social tolerance and equal rights. Just what is going on in the Netherlands, anyway?

Tell me, what do the following people have in common: Maggie Thatcher, Clarence Thomas, Ayn Rand, Pim Fortuyn.

The answer is not (see below) that *all* these people are “right-wingers.”

The answer is, these people all give the lie to the ruling (and often the only) political idea of the modern-liberal intelligentsia, the idea that they themselves are moral idealists tirelessly concerned with the welfare of such oppressed groups as poor people, women, “people of color,” and gays.

If that’s what really mattered most to them, then Clarence Thomas’ rise from poverty to the nation’s highest judicial bench would be a cause of pride and rejoicing, Margaret Thatcher’s role as the most powerful woman of the twentieth century would evoke deep and respectful interest, and Ayn Rand’s achievement as the most popular woman author of the century would merit devoted academic and critical study. Well, what a laugh, eh? To put it mildly, none of that ever happened. Thomas was smeared as a sexual harasser and porno hound, Thatcher was ridiculed as “Attila the Hen,” Rand was ignored when possible and derided when necessary.

Why? You know why. Their politics weren’t right. So there is something that’s much, much, much more important than race, class, and gender to the race-class-gender merchants of the academic world and to the kind of media masters who decree that every issue of their newspapers has to run at least one “positive” story about blacks, gays, and

women. Did you know that newspapers have policies like that? Did you know how common those policies are? But only leftwingers need apply.

Now we have the case of Pim Fortuyn, the leader of Holland’s second-largest and currently most influential political grouping. Fortuyn was assassinated on May 6. Fortuyn was openly gay. He was also a “far right-winger,” according to the liberal media that bothered to report his death. It wasn’t until two weeks afterward that I heard my first mention of it on national TV, and then it came from Fox News, “the right-wing outfit.”

But Fortuyn wasn’t right-wing. He just wasn’t consistently left-wing. (If you want the scoop on this, go to www.indogayforum.org, and check out Paul Varnell’s terrific reporting on the subject.) And that is enough to doom him to oblivion in the minds (and TV stations) of all those people who believe that the shooting of Harvey Milk, a left-wing gay who was a second-string San Francisco politician, is worthy of three pages.

No, I’m not running down Harvey Milk. And I’m certainly not running down gays. Quite the opposite. It’s clear that the professional political friends of gays don’t give a shit about them as gays, that is, as people defined by a sexual

identity, but only about them as they can be redefined by an imposed political identity. And that identity had better be the correct one.

It's worth asking, how did Pim Fortuyn get to be called "right-wing"? He did it by questioning *one* article of the modern-liberal political creed. He suggested that immigration of Muslims to Holland be diminished, because (imagine anyone saying this!) the Muslim political culture is an intolerant one.

This is not the place to determine to what degree, if any, a person's political culture ought to be held against him when he wants to migrate to another country. I can't resist saying,

How did Pim Fortuyn get to be called "right-wing"? He did it by questioning one article of the modern-liberal political creed. He suggested that immigration of Muslims to Holland be diminished, because the Muslim political culture is an intolerant one.

however, that libertarians who are pious on this point might ask themselves what they would recommend if a hostile foreign state decided to take advantage of America's tolerance for immigration by giving the patients in its mental institutions a one-way ticket to Miami. (By the way, this has actually happened.) Or do you think it would be worse to admit a million schizophrenics than to admit a million communists or theocrats? Of course, people have a right to be communists or theocrats, or even both. People also have a right to be schizophrenic. But what's your immigration policy? Hmmm? It may not be the best policy simply to hope that if you admit enough immigrants who want to nationalize private property, put women in their place, stone adulterers, and castrate homosexuals, they will finally become so acculturated to a liberal society that they will give up on all their grossly illiberal ideas. Maybe they will, and maybe they won't. I'll put it bluntly: will you risk your balls on it?

Before you write your letter of protest, please note the following. I am not promulgating a doctrine. I'm not even expressing an opinion. I am asking a question.

Obviously, the pressure-point in arguments about Fortuyn's views on immigration is the point at which people

simultaneously realize, if they are capable of realizing anything, that Muslim political culture is, by and large, outrageously intolerant, and that many individual Muslims are much more tolerant than either you or I. All right, more tolerant than I. Have it your own way. But that's where the intellectual and moral issue lies. To address that issue in the way that Fortuyn addressed it should not be sufficient to get you shot, or to subject you to an automatic and near-unanimous smear campaign in the American press, starting within minutes of your death and ending only when the papers decide to let the whole thing drop as unimportant. After all, it's not just Muslim theocrats who are outrageously intolerant.

A note on Fortuyn's alleged assassin. Many people assume that you can have open immigration, so long as you're not maintaining a welfare state that, in effect, pays immigrants *not* to become acculturated. They may be right. I believe that that's what the welfare state has been doing in Holland, and I would be interested to know if Fortuyn ever considered dewelfareizing the nation, instead of forbidding immigration, as a way of dealing with some of the uglier phenomena of cultural isolation. But not all the bad cultural artifacts of the welfare state can be associated with religious or national issues. Far from it!

The man accused of killing Fortuyn is usually described as an "animal-rights activist." That's true; he is. He is also a man who, according to one well-researched report, "lived on

Clarence Thomas was smeared as a sexual harasser and porno hound, Maggie Thatcher was ridiculed as "Attila the Hen," Ayn Rand was ignored when possible and derided when necessary.

welfare" so he could work "full-time as an activist." The group he founded, a group appropriately entitled "Environment Offensive," was subsidized by the state to the tune of \$250,000 between 1992 and 1998. The availability of political food stamps left the assassin with enough time on his hands to file "more than 2,000 lawsuits against farmers."

Is there a better illustration of how the modern-liberal state can go from bad to worse? □

Reflections, from page 18

dent that we need fundamental change in the way the United States manages sexual disputes. Other countries simply don't do it this way, with show trials and media shames that humiliate and abuse both victim and accused for psychiatric or interpersonal problems that could be simply resolved by counseling. The United States legal system has concocted a cure that is worse than the disease.

If you think the church has done a bad job of managing its priest scandal, wait till the legal system gets hold of it. —

Sarah McCarthy

Stephen Jay Gould, R.I.P. — Stephen Jay Gould, the famous Harvard biologist and prolific science writer, died on May 20. Gould had just published his immense book *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* before dying at 60 of lung cancer.

Gould's background included a strong liberal education which allowed him to write volumes of essays on a variety of fascinating subjects, making all sorts of connections between history, the humanities, and science. But although he was

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Vigilance

The First Amendment, Barney Fife, and Me

by Kenneth Prazak

You'd think that after 213 years, the meaning of "the right of the people to petition the government for a redress of grievances" would be pretty plain.

On May 3, I decided to go to the McHenry County Judicial Center in Woodstock to try my luck. (McHenry County is a Northwest collar county of Chicago, Woodstock the quintessential American town where *Groundhog Day* was filmed.) I began getting signatures on the sidewalk, in front of the building, not blocking any entrances or stopping any vehicular traffic. About 45 minutes later, a sheriff's deputy, Barney Fife in personality, Chief Wiggum in appearance, informed me that I couldn't proceed with what I was doing without a permit.

"Do you have a permit?"

"Yes. It's the First Amendment to the Constitution."

"No, you need a permit in order to solicit in front of the courthouse."

"I have all the permit I need. It's called the Constitution."

"If you don't cease right now, I'll have to arrest you for trespassing on government property."

Could he actually believe this shit? I mused.

"This is public property, sir — taxpayer-funded property. We pay your salary . . . in fact, you're a public servant — go get me a glass of water!" Well, no, I didn't really say that last line, but I thought it — a tip of the hat to George Carlin.

"You are on government property," he responded, "and you are trespassing. Leave, get a permit, or you'll be arrested."

"Well, if you arrest me, you'll be part of my lawsuit."

"All right, I'm talking to someone higher up."

Five minutes later he returned. "I talked to my supervisor and he says you need a permit. You have to go in fill out a form, and then they schedule you a day you can solicit."

"I'm not asking permission for a constitutional right. Don't you understand, if I ask permission, then it is privilege, not a right."

"You either go in and get your permit, or I'll have you arrested."

"Fine. Have me arrested then, because I'm standing up for my constitutional rights. Write my ticket. I could use the money. You will be a part of my lawsuit."

I continued to get signatures. In about 20 minutes, the Woodstock Police drove up. The officer got out of his car, and I said,

"Hi, how are you doing, sir?"

"Fine. How are you?"

We kept all niceties at a professional level and he finally said, "Look, I don't want to arrest you. Why don't you just get that permit?" I explained to him one more time that I have a constitutional right and I wouldn't be vigilant of that right if I asked for a permit. I cautioned him that he was the first line of defense for both law and justice. He agreed with that. I added, in as nonthreatening a manner as possible, that I would sue whoever was involved with the arrest. He asked me for identification. I told him my wallet was in my truck. He seemed perplexed and astounded that I had no identification on me personally. So he started asking all sorts of personal identification questions, apparently to match up a driver's license and I complied, figuring I may as well be cooperative. By the time he asked what color were my eyes, "Hazel?" I asked him whether I was under arrest. He said

no, he didn't want to "go that far."

He then asked me just to go in, get the permit, and "you can get back to petitioning." I relented, and said, well, if the permit process is a mere formality, and I can come right back out and petition, then I would do it.

Chief Wiggum brought me into the Judicial Center Supervisor after first going through that now very American activity, the metal detection search. The supervisor brought out the petition. I said, "If I fill this out, will I be able to go right out again and petition?"

He said, "No, that it would have to be set up for a future day." I explained that that was unacceptable and requoted the First Amendment emphasizing the fact that Congress can't even "abridge" First Amendment activities. He said they have rules and procedures and that I must abide by them. I explained that his rules and procedures are null and void if they run contrary to the Constitution.

"Whatever the McHenry County Board sets as policy," he said, "I must follow." "So that means, if the board told you to go out and kill Jews, then you'd kill Jews?" This seems to have gotten him angry. He threatened me with arrest for trespassing. Astounded, I reminded him that he invited me in there. "Well you're raising your voice . . ." "Is it now against the law to raise one's voice?" I inquired. So he said he was going to arrest me for "disturbing the peace." I turned around and left the office, after commenting to the supervisor that I wasn't calling him a Nazi, but asking him whether he would follow the rules if doing so violated his conscience. He restated that he must follow the rules.

Having exhausted my attempt to reach a human being instead of an automaton, I went back outside in front of the judicial center and explained to the police officer what had happened. I explained that I was fearful that our country was moving toward a police state. He agreed with me. I added that I felt that someone needed to be vigilant for the freedoms for which our Founding Fathers pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor. And that I needed to draw the line somewhere and this was a good place to draw the line. He was starting to understand that I wasn't going to budge.

By then another police officer had arrived, just as professional as the first. He said that he didn't want to arrest me, and that they were going to work this out.

I continued getting signatures. Barney Fife said, for the umpteenth time, that I was going to be arrested. The first police officer asked the deputy whether he would be willing

to actually go to court on this and ride the whole case out. The Deputy hesitated and then said he would go inside and find someone who would. Five minutes later four more officials came out. I went through the same routine, "First Amendment . . . right, not privilege . . . abridging free speech." I also mused, "Do you really think Thomas Jefferson would have asked permission for any of this sort of thing?"

They went into a huddle. Then the first police officer came up with an idea. Well, if I were going to be arrested, then he better make sure that the State's Attorney's office would be willing to prosecute the case. So those who huddled

"Look, I don't want to arrest you. Do you have a permit?"

"Yes. It's the First Amendment to the Constitution."

dled went back inside, and the police officer went to talk to someone in the State's Attorney's office.

I continued to chat with the other police officer. We waited 15 more minutes. The first police officer came back out with the other four officials. They huddled for a bit, then the officer walked back to me with his thumb up. The State's Attorney had decided that as long as I didn't pass out any handbills I was within my rights and could stay.

So the police officers finally left. An hour later a reporter from a local newspaper (the *Northwest Herald*) approached me. He said that he had seen my whole incident and was astounded that they wanted to arrest me for practicing my First Amendment rights. He took my name, asked me a few questions for the apparent reason of running an article on my experience.

An hour later, another sheriff's deputy came to me while walking back to the building from his car after lunch break and said he was interested in the Libertarian Party. Did I have any handbills he could look at? Well, I told him what the agreement had been and that he could be setting me up. He said that he didn't want to get me into any trouble. So I said, if you want to steal one from my back pocket, that's up to you.

He took one and walked back in the building. Towards the end of the day, another Woodstock police officer signed my petition. ┘

Unexpected Discovery, from page 22

much simpler and cheaper.

Another side to this is that there are quite a number of people who find such contacts unwelcome. A friend of mine was called, in her twenties, by her biological father, who had moved out of her life when she was an infant. She loves her adoptive father and was distinctly displeased that her biological father should presume that she wanted to be reminded of his existence. Biological relatedness does not give you the right to intrude into another person's life.

Finally, I'm impressed by the fact that some projects, which seem almost foredoomed, if analyzed methodically, turn out to be child's play. I now realize that I had all the

information I needed to look for my mother, with very little expenditure of time or money and with a high likelihood of success. I knew her maiden name was Allkins. I knew enough to figure out (though I didn't) that she must have had family in London. I assumed that because Allkins is a very ordinary-sounding English name, it must be fairly common, but actually it turns out to be a northern English name and quite rare in London. I could have simply called every Allkins in the London phone directories, and would quite likely, within a few minutes, have contacted someone who knew her. The world is filled with opportunities, all just crying out to be missed. ┘

The Chief and His Ethnic Buddies

by William R. Tonso

Chief Illiniwek and his braves are safe from the cavalry these days. But they are not safe from the warriors of political correctness.

Bright sunshine, blue skies, and autumn leaves. Parts of that picture-perfect football Saturday some 40 years ago are etched in my memory. The large and enthusiastic crowd in that Big Ten stadium. The gray-clad block of cadets from the United States Military Academy in the stands across the way, whose team provided the opposition. The cadets who performed spectacular trick-riding stunts on their mules during the half. And the half-time performance by the host school's marching band. As the band approached midfield it launched into a stylized Indian rhythm long associated with its university, and a figure attired in a Plains Indian costume, gorgeous feathered headdress and all, exploded from its ranks performing a stylized Indian dance. The crowd roared and the school spirit was palpable. I was impressed. It was my introduction to Chief Illiniwek, then just the mascot of the University of Illinois' athletic teams called the "Fighting Illini."

For several years now, the Chief has ceased to be just an athletic mascot. He has become the focal point of a controversy between those who, as an Associated Press story put it, "say the mascot honors Native Americans and critics who call the mascot racist and demeaning." Of course, the "Native American" mascot issue goes far beyond Chief Illiniwek. The Washington Redskins football team has recently come under fire for its nickname, the fans of the Atlanta Braves have long been criticized for their tomahawk chop, and, according to Bill Press, the liberal co-host of CNN's *Crossfire*, some 600 schools across the country, up

through the university level, have replaced their "Native American" athletic nicknames with less controversial names. Recently, the members of a mostly "Native American" intramural basketball team at the University of Northern Colorado made national headlines by naming their team "The Fighting Whities" (sic) in reaction to the "American Indian caricature" appearing in the logo of a local high school team.

The "Native American" mascot issue is grounded in emotion and defies rational examination, but I'm going to try to examine it rationally anyway, after telling a little about myself and why I'm interested in the whole business. I'm a retired non-politically correct sociology professor, and for 28 years of my 29-year career I taught, among other subjects, minority and ethnic group relations. I see both race and ethnicity as social constructions, and I've long been fascinated by these phenomena, probably because of my own Italian-American roots, of which I'm very proud. My family and their neighbors were even harassed by the Ku Klux Klan back in the 1920s, a few years before I was born in 1933. To make things even more interesting, my family background is

not only not Catholic but not religious at all, and I well remember the automatic McCarthyite assumption that atheism and communism always go hand-in-hand. I didn't appreciate the widespread questioning of the loyalty of the non-religious in those days. And I have blue eyes, my hair was blond when I was young and had more of it, and I was a slender 6' 1" tall by the time I was a sophomore in high school, therefore, I don't fit the standard Italian stereotype, which isn't based on north Italians. So I've occasionally overheard unflattering comments about Italians from people unaware of my ethnicity.

I say all this for a reason. While as a sociologist I've always felt obligated to take a detached, analytical approach to ethnicity and race, as a private citizen who knows ethnicity from the inside and is very familiar with the histories of various ethnic and racial minorities, I can and do empathize and sympathize with them. *But I really get steamed when school and other teams give in to political correctness and change their "Native-American" related names to something else!* This little outburst has been brought to you courtesy of the private citizen me, not the detached sociologist me. Okay, now back to the rational examination.

I was born and raised in the far south of Illinois, and I'm as proud of my roots there as I am of my north-Italian heritage. I didn't attend the University of Illinois, but I did get up to Champaign-Urbana to see the game I've mentioned and another, against Indiana, in the early 1960s. I have a number of reservations about big-time college sports, but Chief Illiniwek's performance was very memorable for me. Yes, I know that no Illinois tribes wore eagle-feather bonnets, and that nothing about his costume is Illini authentic. But the Chief certainly wasn't mocking "Native Americans," and neither were the fans who roared their approval of his performance. What I saw in the fan reaction to his efforts was tremendous pride in this symbol of their team and the university it represents. And the very name of that university and its state is a French corruption of the Algonquin name (meaning superior men) of the "Native-American" confederation that once inhabited its region. States and communities from coast to coast carry "Native American" names — Peoria, Wichita, Miami, Delaware.

I received three degrees from Southern Illinois University in Carbondale between 1955 and 1976. When I entered SIU in 1951, our athletic teams were called the Maroons, after our school colors of maroon and white. Shortly thereafter that nickname was changed to the Salukis. A saluki is a very fast hunting dog that looks like a long-haired greyhound, and since it appears on the walls of Egyptian tombs dating back

to 3500 B.C., it can probably lay claim to being the oldest pure breed of canine. Those who selected this name surely thought it particularly appropriate not only because the swiftness symbolized by this animal would be a welcome attribute for most types of sports teams, but because the southern third of Illinois has long been known as Little Egypt. Story has it that some time during the first half of the 19th century, a crop failure in the northern part of the state combined with a bountiful harvest in the south of Illinois left the latter area the granary of the state and it came to be associated with the Egypt of biblical times. At any rate Little Egypt has a number of towns with old Egypt names — Cairo (pronounced Karo, like the syrup, locally), Thebes, Karnak, and Dongola — and numerous businesses that incorporate Egypt, Egyptian, or pyramid in their names. In selecting the

The Fighting Irish of Notre Dame is a proud if stereotypical ethnic nickname if there ever was one.

Saluki nickname, therefore, it should be obvious that no one was mocking salukis, Egypt, or Little Egypt.

Certainly, as was made clear at the time, Salukis was also selected because it's a very distinctive name, and SIU was a small but growing university trying to attract national attention in sports and otherwise. In 1967, when SIU, then still a "small college" basketball power, was invited to play in the still prestigious "major college" National Invitational Tournament, which it ended up winning, an Eastern sports-writer wrote:

Princeton has its Tiger; B.C. has its Eagle.
Rutgers has its Queensmen, a title truly regal
But from frigid New York City to Kentucky's old Paduchee
There's just one burning question — what the hell is a Saluki?

When schools have gone to animals for nicknames, they've generally been more conventional. Along with Princeton, countless other teams across the country from Little League to the pros, including my old Herrin Township High School teams, have long been called the Tigers. I'd be willing to bet that this name was selected because tigers are strong, fierce beasts capable of making short work of lesser creatures — and so it goes with panthers, cougars, wildcats, lions, bears, bruins, wolverines, lobos, wolves, huskies, bulldogs, razorbacks, longhorns, hawks, falcons, eagles, owls, and no telling how many others. Again these are attributes coveted by sports teams, as is the attribute associated with devils — troublesomeness. Duke has its Blue Devils, and our teams at Lincoln School, my grade school, were called the Red Devils. A few years back that name was protested, but not by people who felt that devils were being belittled. Some fundamentalists in town were apparently concerned that rooting for the Red Devils was a form of devil worship.

The teams of the University of Evansville, where I did my sociology professing, are called the Purple Aces, and their mascot is a riverboat gambler, Ace Purple. Evansville is located on the Ohio River in far southwestern Indiana, hence the appropriateness of the riverboat connection. And what



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athletic team wouldn't relish the reputation of being slick and tricky and, like Ace Purple, being able to take opponents to the cleaners? Most people nicknames and mascots symbolize toughness, strength, bravery, honor, ferocity, endurance, perseverance, or other admired, or at least, once-admired, traits — Vikings, Norsemen, Irish, Highlanders, Trojans, Spartans, Knights, Buccaneers, Pirates, Cowboys, 49ers, Rangers, Raiders, Leathernecks, and so on. Surely the Naval Academy isn't mocking Midshipmen, and schools such as Indiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Nebraska, and West Virginia aren't mocking the residents of their respective states when they use their nicknames — Hoosiers, Sooners, Volunteers, Cornhuskers, or Mountaineers — as their team nicknames. My point, of course, is that the nicknames and mascots of athletic teams, even based, as they generally are, on stereotypes, aren't selected to degrade in any way the animals or peoples chosen.

While those who claim that "Native American" names have been chosen for athletic teams to honor these earlier-arriving Americans (they originated elsewhere and came in ethnic waves like the rest of us — that's why I'm using quotation marks), I suspect that's a self-serving explanation aimed at disarming the charges of the politically correct. I doubt that anyone has ever popped up in a nickname-selecting committee meeting with "I've got it! Let's call 'em Indians in honor of Native Americans!" Yet the selection of "Native American" nicknames and mascots would certainly indicate that the selectors associated some admirable traits with the people chosen — Illini, Seminoles, Hurons, Chippewas, Warriors, Braves, or simply Indians or even Redskins. Why would the reasoning behind such selections be any different than that behind the selection of Eagles or Vikings?

The Irish, in this country and at home, have a well-deserved reputation for being pugnacious, and in the past many Irishmen served as mercenary soldiers around the world. Hence the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame, a proud if stereotypical ethnic nickname if there ever was one, even though Irish pugnaciousness hasn't always been appreciated in this country. But fighting for victory is what athletic teams are expected to do, and I suspect that's the main reason "Fighting" precedes "Irish" in this nickname. In this context, pugnaciousness is another *desired* attribute. Only the thinnest-skinned Irish would get upset by the Fighting Irish nickname, and I suspect that most are proud of it. In fact, according to David Nemec's *Great Baseball Feats, Facts & Firsts*, because it had so many Irish players, from 1912 to 1914 one American League baseball team was called the Molly McGuires. Though Nemec doesn't elaborate on the name, the Molly McGuires was a secret organization of Irish miners who used terrorist tactics against the coal companies in reaction to the oppressive living and working conditions in the Pennsylvania coal fields of the 1870s. That team later became the Cleveland Indians, a name some claim was selected to honor a "Native American" player for the Cleveland Spiders back in 1890.

While not all "Native Americans" were warlike, many were quite fierce — the Sioux, Comanche, Apache, Iroquois, etc. — and lived to fight, taking over each other's turf long before the mass arrival of Europeans. And far from fitting

the image of the Noble Savage portrayed in Hollywood's *Dances With Wolves* (1990) and much of our recent popular culture, many of these peoples could be fiendishly cruel to those they captured. See Hollywood's *Ulzana's Raid* (1972) as a popular-cultural balance to *Dances With Wolves*.

Incidentally, according to Nemec, the name of the National League baseball team now based in Atlanta but that originated in Boston, the Braves, was selected in 1912 "because owner Jim Gaffeny was a Tammany Hall chieftain." Say what?! Well, anyway, it had nothing to do with "Native Americans." The convoluted ways that many major league baseball teams got their names is intriguing. Detroit was once the Wolverines, Michigan's state animal, but a local sports writer started calling them the Tigers when he "noticed that the blue-and-orange-striped stockings worn by the 1901 club resembled Princeton's colors." Pittsburgh became the Pirates when the club "pirated" a star player from another team. Houston became the Astros in 1965 when the team started playing in the Astrodome. Nemec notes that they had previously been the Colt 45s. He doesn't mention that in today's world a team named after a gun would be less than politically correct.

Many people, me included, would become righteously indignant about teams named the Dumb Dagos (or Wops, or Polacks), the Sneaky Kikes, or the Lazy Nigras (not to mention the other n-word that can no longer even be quoted). The very fact that no serious school or professional team has chosen such a name, even in the politically incorrect past, tells us that those who select team names aren't trying to

Their ancestors put up a hell of a fight against our fighting whitey ancestors, and they have reason to be proud of them.

belittle their teams or the people or creatures chosen to symbolically represent them.

In these oh-so-sensitive times, the point will be lost on those who see racism and victims everywhere, and go ballistic over the use of insensitive words like "niggardly." *It means stingy or miserly, ignoramus!* (Oops! Another outburst.) I sympathize with racial and ethnic minorities that are being oppressed, but not with those ethnics under the influence of guilt-ridden white liberals who feel put upon because their people are being associated with admirable traits through sports mascots and nicknames, or at least with traits that were once considered admirable before the dawn of our wimp era. According to a poll of "Native Americans" cited on a recent *Crossfire*, some 80% of them approved of "Native American" team nicknames. Their ancestors put up a hell of a fight against our fighting whitey ancestors, and they have reason to be proud of them. Eastern Michigan's teams were once called the Hurons, and those of Marquette were called the Warriors. Now they are, respectively, the Eagles and the Golden Eagles. But Central Michigan's teams are still the Chippewas, Bradley's the Braves, Utah's the Utes, and Florida State's the Seminoles. Long may they and others live along with the *Fighting Illini* and *Chief Illiniwek*! Yeh, another outburst. *Live with it!* □

I Get Carjacked

by T. G. Burke

Where is your gun when you need it?

I checked my rearview mirror as I stopped at the red light. The two older model cars, racing side-by-side up behind me, tickled my inner alarm. Was this trouble or was I just overly sensitive in a town famous for its carjackings? Maybe the Chrysler Concorde I had rented at Miami International had proved too tempting for some of the local predators. It was just sundown on our first day in Florida and already we appeared to be in trouble.

My wife, Sharon, and I had flown in from Indiana to visit friends in Miami — then on to Key West for a week of hard-earned fun in the sun. Our flight landed at 3:05 p.m. We picked up the rental car and were on our way out of the parking lot by four. Thinking I might like to own one, I had reserved a Dodge Intrepid to make an extended test drive. None were available when we arrived, so to make up for the inconvenience the rental company offered me a sleek black Concorde LXI for the same price.

What the heck! The Concorde and the Intrepid have the same chassis and engines. The locals claim to have cleaned up their world-renowned carjacking problem. Rental cars have been cleansed of all advertising and big “sun” signs mark the tourist routes.

We went to our friend Mary Ann’s house in southwest Miami. After a nap and a couple of hours of catching up, Sharon, Mary Ann, her eldest son Abraham, and I all loaded up in the Chrysler. We headed for my favorite barbecue place on U.S. 41 at the edge of the Everglades. A couple of hours of good chicken and ribs later and we were headed back into Miami at sundown with a warm satisfied feeling.

I didn’t notice them until I turned left onto Coral Way headed towards S.W. 87th. Approaching the red light — this was probably the first light I had stopped at since leaving the restaurant — I checked the mirrors and saw the two cars. The light at which I had turned had not changed yet so they had to have been following me before I turned. As I watched,

the car in the left lane stopped beside the car behind me. There was no vehicle beside me. The car behind me eased forward to bump the rear of my car. I let off my brakes and he missed. He tried again. I let off the brakes again but I wasn’t quick enough this time — though it was just a light bump.

“He hit us,” Mary Ann yelled, “I don’t believe this!”

“That’s not all they’re going to do,” I answered.

A hand snaked out of the front passenger window of the car off my left, rear fender. It pointed to the other car then at us. Instructions I couldn’t understand were shouted. The car behind me tried to bump me a third time and I decided it was time to run. Luckily, as I gave the Chrysler its head, the light turned green. A quick right at the last minute left them still going east on Coral Way as I sped away south on a side-street. After a few seconds I slowed, turned around, and continued my original course on Coral Way in case they decided to circle. I never saw them again.

My heart was thumping pretty hard. My surgeon’s bypasses were still working. I should have been more calm. I usually carry a legally concealed firearm. I have invested time and money to get a permit in Indiana and a permit in Florida and I have been checked out by the Evansville Police, the Indiana State Police, the Florida State Police, and the FBI in both states. I practice regularly and I have used a firearm before to protect myself, though never having to fire it for that purpose. I should have been confident in my ability to protect my friends and family should the need arise. I should

have!

But all the practice, the police checks, the finger printings — and my constitutional rights — had been nullified by a ticket agent in Evansville who decided to make up his own rules. There had been at least four bad guys in those cars and all I had with me was a Florida concealed carry permit and a collapsible baton. My firearm was locked up in the security office at Evansville Regional Airport.

Several weeks before our vacation I had called the airline to get information on how to carry a firearm on the plane. I was told all firearms must go in checked baggage. When checking a firearm the customer must present the firearm unloaded and sign a "Firearms Unloaded" declaration and ensure that "small arms ammunition (eleven pounds or less) is packed in the manufacturers original packaging, or fiber, wood or metal boxes, or other packagings specifically designed to carry small amounts of ammunition. Firearms must be packed in a crush-proof type container manufac-

All the practice, the police checks, the finger printings — and my constitutional rights — had been nullified by a ticket agent in Evansville who decided to make up his own rules.

tured specifically for the firearm in question, or a hard-sided suitcase. The container and/or hard-sided suitcase must either have a key lock or a combination lock."

We were dropped off in front of the airport by a friend and arrived at the ticket counter Sunday morning 90 minutes before our flight. I presented the agent with my ticket and told her I had an unloaded firearm in my baggage. She brought a supervisor over to the counter and the first thing out of his mouth was, "The ammunition has to be in a full, sealed, factory container, and the firearm and ammunition have to be in separate suitcases."

How could I comply with a brand new set of rules, for which I was not prepared? The people I had talked to on the phone hadn't said anything about separate suitcases. I only had one suitcase and my carry-on.

I had unloaded my firearm and placed the ammunition back in the factory container. How could I reseal the container? Should I throw my ammunition away? If I bought new ammunition in Miami and loaded my firearm was I going to have to throw that ammunition away before I could return? I fell back on the standard curse of bureaucratic nonsense.

"Do you have anything in writing?"

While he spent the next 40 minutes looking for something in writing, I walked over to the security officer who had been watching all this with a puzzled look. He didn't know what the problem was either, but, yes I could keep my firearm, ammunition and equipment in the security office until we returned from Florida if we couldn't resolve this.

As our flight time crept closer the supervisor finally returned with a computer printout and read the same information I had been given on the phone.

Sharon said, "Wait a minute! That's not what you told us. May I see that?"

"No," he said, pulling the paper back, "You can't see this!"

Well, that did it for me. I handed him the container of ammunition and told him to dispose of it.

He said, "Just put the ammunition in your carry-on."

What little hair I have left on my head stood on end. "Say what?"

The security officer, who during the last few minutes of conversation had sidled over next to us said, "He can't carry ammunition onto the plane!"

Supervisor, "Yes he can!"

Me, "That's it!"

I handed all my gear, ammunition, and my firearm to the security officer and asked him to keep it for me until I got back in a week. There was no telling what the supervisor had planned for me just because I had asked him to double-check his regulations.

As I took my baggage claim and headed for the security checkpoint, the security officer told me something I already knew. "If you run a bag with ammunition through security you'll be standing over there waiting for the sheriff while your plane is on its way to Cincinnati."

After I returned from Miami, I called the local manager of the airline and politely stated my complaint. A month and several conversations later, he tells me the supervisor has been retrained and he has used my case as a training tool with his ticket agents to make sure this doesn't happen to anyone else.

Just recently, I called the same airline's 800 number in Cincinnati to ask what I needed to do to carry a firearm on a domestic flight. I got the same information I got from the original phone call. Then I ask if firearm and ammunition had to be in separate suitcases. I got 20 minutes on hold. Then I was told that "the person who knows that information is out to lunch," and offered a helpful suggestion that I email my request to customer relations on the Internet.

We had a nice vacation in Key West and since we lived through it we have an exciting story to tell about Miami. I

The car behind me eased forward to bump the rear of my car. I let off my brakes and he missed. He tried again. I let off the brakes again but I wasn't quick enough this time.

am not mad at the thugs in Miami. I know this danger and can prepare for it if the powers that be will let me. I am not even mad at the ticket agent — now. He was just some guy with a little power and a chip on his shoulder.

I am upset with the people in our state capitals and the people in Washington, D.C. who pass the laws that infringe, and allow others to infringe, on our rights. I am upset with politicians who pass conflicting laws, bureaucrats who make up regulations the average Joe cannot find or cannot understand, and the big corporations that do the dirty work by making up rules they do not have to post for everyone to see.

Most law-abiding citizens will do what I did in a situation like that. I "voluntarily" gave up my rights. That's the crime. □

“Liberty and Union, Now and Forever”

by Timothy Sandefur

From H. L. Mencken to Murray Rothbard, libertarians have sided with the Confederacy. This is a big mistake: it was Lincoln and the Union that were the true defenders of freedom.

It seems that libertarians will never stop fighting the Civil War. In “The Economic Roots of the Civil War” (*Liberty*, October 2001), Donald Miller advances some of the favorite arguments of today’s Southern partisans, making the case that the South had the right to secede, and that the North’s triumph was an instance of might conquering right. I know these arguments well; there was a time when I found them convincing myself. They bear some resemblance to libertarianism, and it is safe to say that a majority of libertarians agree with Walter Williams, Jeffrey Rogers Hummel, Murray Rothbard, and others who have taken up the banner of the South. Unfortunately, that resemblance cannot stand up to searching examination, at least, not while maintaining a consistent belief in liberty. To understand why, it’s necessary to review a little history and a little constitutionalism.

As with all wars, there were probably as many reasons for fighting the Civil War as there were men who fought in it, but a number of the more important reasons can be identified. One of them was the so-called “tariff of abominations”; another, more important cause was the Nullification Crisis, sparked by Southern reaction to that tariff. But the most important cause was the question of the Western territories. As new states were being carved out of the West, the dominant question in national politics was whether these new states should be free states or slave states. The Senate was comprised of exactly as many senators from slave states as from free states, which effectively blocked any attempt to interfere with slavery by law. But this balance was a delicate one, and the South knew it. If the territories were admitted as *free* states, that balance would eventually topple, and

Congress could then interfere with the “peculiar institution.”

This was the reason behind the various compromises over matters such as the admission of Missouri in 1820 or of California in 1850. These deals were carefully designed, not to abolish slavery or to perpetuate it, but to put off having to deal with it at all. The desire to avoid the uncomfortable topic reached such a fever that the House of Representatives even wrote a standing rule of procedure prohibiting congressmen from introducing into Congress any petition by citizens asking for the abolition of slavery or the slave trade.

But in all of this, the prime question was, Can Congress prohibit slavery in the territories? The Southerners insisted it could not; Northern compromisers like Stephen Douglas argued that the residents of those territories should decide for themselves. The Constitution, on the other hand, was clear: the Congress *could* prohibit slavery in the territories. It explicitly grants Congress power to “make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States.” Nevertheless, in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, the Supreme Court decided that no, Congress could not prohibit slavery in the Western territories, or indeed anywhere. Opponents of slavery saw immediately what that meant: a “one-way ratchet” permitting the spread,

but not the restriction, of slavery. Slavery and its component institutions — suppression of freedom of speech and personal association, for instance — would spread west, and gradually the slave power would dominate the nation. This is what Lincoln meant when he warned that America would inevitably become all one thing, or all the other.

This question of slavery in the West sparked the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. Douglas argued that the people in the West should decide for themselves whether to permit slavery or not: he called this “popular sovereignty.” But Lincoln insisted that the people in the territories had no right to make such a decision, and his reasoning was the same as that of John Locke, two centuries before: *all men are created equal*.

Equality occupies the fundamental place in Locke’s theory. In his *Second Treatise of Civil Government*, Locke argued that each individual was created by God, and entrusted by God with the guidance of his own life. Each person therefore owned himself (in life estate), and did not belong to any other individual. This was not original with Locke. A few decades before the *Second Treatise*, John Milton had put it this way:

[God] gave us only over beast, fish, fowl
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but man over men
He made not Lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.

Since each individual owns himself, and is not the natural ruler of any other, then each individual equally has the right to government by consent. After all, if the individual were

In Dred Scott, the Supreme Court decided that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the West, or indeed anywhere. Opponents of slavery saw what that meant: a “one-way ratchet” permitting the spread, but not the restriction, of slavery.

the natural property of another, he would have no right to have a say in how he is governed. It is only if all men are created free and equal that they have the right to have any voice in — let alone, a right to create — a government.

Because each individual has the right to defend himself in the state of nature, Locke argued, the individual who enters into society can cede that right to the state, and create a society in which the government’s responsibility is to protect those equal, individual rights. Man’s right to create government is therefore a form of the right to self-defense. But the state cannot therefore have any rights superior to those of the individuals who created it, because

The Reason why Men enter into Society, is the preservation of their Property [by which Locke means life, liberty, estate, opinions, and so forth]; and the end why they chuse and authorize a Legislat[ure] is, that there may be Laws made, and Rules set as Guards and Fences to the Properties of all the Members of the Society, to limit the Power, and moderate the Dominion of every Part and Member of the Society. For since it can never be supposed to be the Will of the Society that the

Legislat[ure] should have a Power to destroy that, which every one designs to secure, by entering into Society, and for which the People submitted themselves to the Legislators of their own making, whenever the Legislators endeavour to take away, and destroy the Property of the People, or to reduce them to Slavery under Arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a state of War with the People, who are thereupon absolved from any farther Obedience, and are left to the common Refuge, which God hath provided for all Men, against Force and Violence.

In other words, government is created as a form of collective self-defense. But if government turns and begins to vio-

Douglas was arguing for “popular sovereignty,” which held that the people of the western territories had the right to decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery. Lincoln denied that the people had such a right.

late the rights of the governed, the people have the right to defend themselves against the government — *i.e.*, to rebel. Thomas Jefferson shortened this down to a beautiful *précis*:

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government.

Notice the logical order: because all men are created equal — with no individual the natural ruler of another — and because they are created with *inalienable* rights, they consequently have the right to create a government to protect those rights. And that government will be legitimate only insofar as it is based on that equal consent. If government violates those rights, the people have the right to defend themselves, through an act of revolution.

Thus the Declaration explicitly limits the right of revolution. Only when a government “becomes destructive of these Ends,” can it be “the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it.”

Prudence indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer while Evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they have become accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government.

According to the Declaration of Independence, revolution is justified only as a form of self-defense against rulers who have engaged in a train of abuses and usurpations against those individual rights which just governments protect. This alone distinguishes an act of revolution from a mere criminal conspiracy. After all, what is the difference between a group

of men in Philadelphia in 1776 declaring themselves no longer subject to the laws of the English monarch, and a group of men in Chicago in 1920 declaring themselves no longer subject to the laws of the United States? Only this: that the laws which the Founders rebelled against violated the rights of the people who could defend themselves through revolution; while the laws against murder and robbery from which Al Capone might declare himself immune, were laws which *protected* those rights.

Thus we might sum up the error of the defenders of the South with a single statement from Jeffrey Rogers Hummel: “[A]s a revolutionary right,” he says, “the legitimacy of secession is universal and unconditional. That at least is how the Declaration of Independence reads.” The Declaration actually says exactly the opposite: only a *defense of individual rights* will justify an act of revolution.

This is why — contrary to today’s defenders of the South — the leaders of the Southern cause in the 1860s did not base their arguments on the Declaration of Independence, and in fact explicitly denounced it. “There is not a word of truth in

The Constitution of 1787 was not a treaty among the states, but an expression of the sovereignty by the American people; the people in states, but not as states.

it,” said John C. Calhoun. The principle that all men are created equal, he said, was “inserted into our Declaration of Independence without any necessity. It made no necessary part of our justification for separating from the parent country, and declaring ourselves independent.” Others went further. Sen. Pettit of Indiana declared it a “self-evident lie.” Gov. Hammond of South Carolina — who had once said “Slavery is the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has ever bestowed upon our glorious region” — denounced the “much-lauded by nowhere accredited dogma of Mr. Jefferson that all men are created equal.” Contrary, then, to the oft-repeated claim that the Civil War was not about slavery, the question of slavery answers the *essential question* which determines whether secession in 1860 was an act of revolution or a criminal conspiracy. The Confederates themselves saw this clearly. That is why Alexander Stephens, vice president of the Confederacy, said that “Our new government is founded . . . upon the great truth that the Negro is not the equal to the white man. That slavery . . . the subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition.”

The view that government was justified only insofar as it protected individual rights was anathema to the South and to its defenders. The distinction came down to the fundamental distinction which to this day differentiates libertarianism from all other political theories. These other theories believe in a fundamental right to govern other individuals, regardless of their consent. Philosophers of this sort, for instance Robert Bork, believe that they have a fundamental right to tell others how to live their lives, and when one suggests that they do not, they are furious and indignant; they

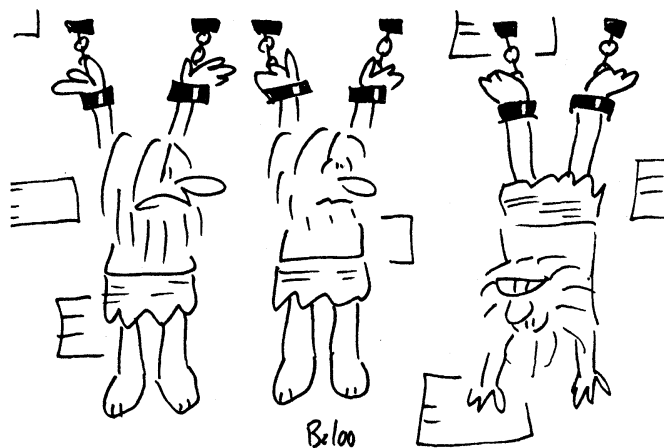
feel that *their* rights have been violated. On the other hand, Locke and his modern descendants, libertarians, hold that the individual has the right to live free, without outside interference from kings or from majorities, so long as he does not interfere with the equal right of others to do the same. As Lincoln summed it up:

We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men’s labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name — liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names — liberty and tyranny. The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep’s throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as a liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty.

In the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, Douglas took the wolf’s position, and Lincoln took the sheep’s.

Douglas was arguing for what he called “popular sovereignty,” which held that the people of the western territories had the right to decide for themselves whether they wanted to create state constitutions with slavery, or without it. Lincoln denied that the people had such a right, particularly because it ignored the views of one large portion of “the people” — i.e., the prospective slaves. He based his position explicitly on the Declaration of Independence. Douglas insisted that the Declaration’s phrase, “all men are created equal” referred only to whites: “[Lincoln] believes that the Almighty made the Negro equal to the white man,” Douglas said. “He thinks that the Negro is his brother. I do not think that the Negro is any kin of mine at all.”

And here is the difference between us. I believe that the Declaration of Independence, in the words “all men are created equal” was intended to allude only to the people of the United States, to men of European birth or descent, being white men, that they were created equal, and hence that Great Britain had no right to deprive them of their political and religious privileges; but the signers of that paper did not



“See? — there’s always somebody worse off than you are.”

intend to include the Indian or the Negro in that declaration, for if they had, would they not have been bound to abolish slavery in every state and colony from that day?

Douglas made no apologies. "The Constitution of the U.S.," he said, "was framed by the white people, it ought to be administered by them, leaving each state to make such regulations concerning the Negro as it chooses, allowing him political rights or not as it chooses, and allowing him civil rights or not as it may determine for itself." Note the contrast between Douglas' view and Locke's: to Douglas, society is the source of rights; to him, "the people" have an inherent right to govern, and may determine how far they will allow individuals to have rights, so long as it is convenient to society to do so.

Lincoln disagreed. He believed that in a territory where slavery did not yet exist, the people had no justifiable right to create a slave society. "Douglas," said Lincoln, "with bitter irony and sarcasm, paraphrases our argument by saying: 'The white people of Nebraska are good enough to govern themselves, but they are not good enough to govern a few miserable Negroes!!' Well, I doubt not that the people of Nebraska are, and will continue to be, so good as the average

Why do libertarians defend the cause of an awful tyranny like the Confederacy?

of people elsewhere. I do not say the contrary. What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man, *without that other's consent.*"

[T]here is no reason in the world why the Negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence, the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the white man. I agree with Judge Douglas he is not my equal in many respects — certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, *he is my equal, and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every other man.*

Lincoln's view, like Jefferson's, descended directly from John Locke: because the black man and the white man were fundamentally equal, they both had the right to government by consent, and no individual had the right to vote another individual into slavery. To Lincoln, therefore, a society with slavery was inherently illegitimate. It was a society not of right, but of force, and contrary to the principles of equality which were the foundation of the right to create a society in the first place. Without that equal consent, government was instead a criminal conspiracy to destroy or enslave the individual — which Locke specifically said was unjust.

This divide between the wolf and the sheep is important to understanding the division that today still remains over the question of the Civil War. Did the Southern states have the fundamental right to govern themselves, or did that right to self-government necessarily rest on a more fundamental right, which, when violated, also vitiated the alleged right to self-government — namely, the right of each person to self-ownership? Could one create a government based not on

equality, but on slavery? Was there a right to create a government in which well over half of the population had no say, no right to life, liberty, or property — in which they indeed *were* property? Put more simply, the question of the Civil War is, *was the Declaration of Independence true or false?*

This is why the Southerners felt called upon to dodge or denounce the Declaration. It held that an act of revolution, to be justified, must be an act of self-defense: a defense of the individual rights of the people who were rebelling. But the Southerners, of course, could point to no such violation of their rights. The tariff so denounced by Calhoun and Miller was harsh and unwise — although no harsher than the Jefferson embargo had been on the North a half-century earlier — but it was not unconstitutional. The election of Abraham Lincoln as president was consistent with the constitutional mechanisms for presidential elections. And Lincoln had made clear that he was not going to interfere with slavery in states where it already existed (which the federal government had no constitutional authority to do). He *did* mean to prohibit slavery in the territories (which the federal government *did* have the constitutional right to do). The reinforcement of Fort Sumter — which was federal property — was not a violation of any right on the part of the South. In fact, it was the South which fired first, and the North was therefore justified in acting in self-defense against that initiation of force — by putting down an act which, despite its claim to be an act of revolution, was in fact a large criminal conspiracy.

In short, without being able to point to a long train of abuses pursuing the design of reducing them to despotism, the Southern states could not legitimately claim a right to revolt in defense of slavery, because, as Ayn Rand once put it, "Whether a slave society was conquered or chose to be enslaved, it can claim no national rights, and no recognition of such 'rights' by civilized countries — just as a mob of gangsters cannot demand a recognition of its 'rights' and a legal equality with an industrial concern or a university, on the ground that the gangsters chose by unanimous vote to engage in that particular kind of group activity."

Miller notes that the Confederate Constitution "forbade protectionist tariffs, outlawed government subsidies to private businesses, and made congressional appropriations subject to approval by a two-thirds majority vote." By reading his catalogue, one might think the Confederacy a veritable libertarian utopia. He does not mention the censorship of the mail, the ban on abolition petitions, the laws against interracial marriage, or even of teaching a slave to read, or even of *associating with slaves*, all of which were also illegal in the antebellum South. Nor does Miller mention that the Confederate Constitution included a provision that "No bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or *law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves* shall be passed." If the Declaration of Independence is right, that the only just government is one based on the consent of the governed, then any attempt to create a government founded on the protection of "the right of property in negro slaves" is a violation of the principle upon which the very right to found governments is based. You cannot have your right of self-government and eat it too.

How did the Southerners get around this little problem?

As mentioned before, some were unashamed to call the Declaration of Independence an outright lie. But others, like Calhoun, held that the Declaration had simply been misunderstood all these years. The revolution had not actually been fought over the inalienable rights of individuals, he argued, but over the rights of *societies*. As one political scientist has put it, Calhoun had to claim that “[w]hen the fathers spoke of equality, what they really had reference to, was the equality of the American states among other states of the world, or at the most the equality prevailing among white men. . . . [T]he doctrine of natural rights — that every individual possesses certain rights which are not derived from government, and of which he cannot be justly deprived by government — was either abandoned entirely or interpreted in such a way as to lose all application to the institution of slavery.” According to this view, it is not individuals who are “created equal,” but states, and it is in those states — in those collectives — where the decision may be made: which individuals shall be granted rights? This view turned the Declaration of Independence on its head. Now, all *states* were created equal, and whenever it is determined to be in the best interests of the state, the individual would be granted rights. This view — which today goes by the name “legal positivism” — was of course utterly contrary to the views of Thomas Jefferson, who argued in *Notes on Virginia* that “an *elective despotism* was not the government we fought for.” That sentence would have no meaning in a Calhounian world. Thomas Jefferson’s view — that the individual’s liberty was the foundation of society, and the protections accorded to liberty were a barometer of that society’s health — is the libertarian view. Contrary to Miller’s assertion, the South hardly fought for “the same reason that the American colonies fought the Revolutionary War.” They fought to maintain “the right to property in negro slaves” without interference from the North, which they called the right to self-determination.

But if the Confederacy laid waste to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, why do today’s libertarians support its cause? I suspect it is because they believe, wrongly, that the Declaration stands for the proposition that a people has the right to create whatever government it wishes — that is, that the Declaration announces a fundamental right to the “self-determination of peoples.” Yet this is precisely the opposite of the Declaration’s actual meaning. That document insists that the *equal right of all individuals to be free* is the indispensable ingredient in creating any government, and that whenever any government violates this fundamental right, it is illegitimate and may be thrown off.

Others are more sophisticated. They argue that the right to secede is a *constitutional* right. This is a more complex question, and it requires an understanding of the nature of the Constitution’s mechanism of divided sovereignty. The short answer is found in *Federalist* 15, in which Alexander Hamilton explains that the fundamental problem with the Articles of Confederation was “the principle of LEGISLATION for STATES or GOVERNMENTS, in their CORPORATE or COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES, and as contradistinguished from the INDIVIDUALS of which they consist.” In other words, the Articles of Confederation failed (as Madison explained) because the authority of the Articles had

been “derived from the dependent derivative authority of the legislatures of the states; whereas this [Constitution of 1787] is derived from the superior power of the people.”

The Constitution of 1787 was therefore not to be a treaty among the states, but an expression of the sovereignty by the *American* people; the people *in* states, but not *as* states. While the states would have separate authority and sovereignty for the great mass of governmental powers, the people would form one whole nation for certain specified purposes. The Constitution therefore began not with “We the States,” but with “We the People.” Compare this to the preamble to the Articles of Confederation (“Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union *between the states* . . .”) or the preamble of the Confederate Constitution (“We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution”).

When an opponent of the Constitution argued at the Pennsylvania Ratification Convention that “In the Preamble, it is said, *We the People*, and not *We the States*, which is there-

Libertarians want to pin the blame for the vast expansion of federal bureaucracy on someone, and Lincoln is a handy target.

fore a compact between individuals entering into society, and not between separate States enjoying independent power,” James Wilson replied in the affirmative:

[M]y position is, that the sovereignty resides in the people, they have not parted with it; they have only dispensed such portions of power as were conceived necessary for the public welfare. . . . In order to recognize this leading principle, the proposed system sets out with a declaration, that its existence depends upon the supreme authority of the people alone. . . . When the principle is once settled, that the people are the source of authority, the consequence is, that they may take from the subordinate governments with which they have hitherto trusted them, and place those powers in the general government, if it is thought that they will be productive of more good. . . . I have no idea, that a safe system of power, in the government, sufficient to manage the general interest of the United States, could be drawn from any other source, or rested in any other authority than that of the people at large, and I consider this authority as the rock on which this structure will stand.

In other words, the people are bound to their states and to the federal government separately, much as one owes separate bills to the electric company and the phone company. And just as the phone company has no authority to permit you to escape paying your electric bill, so the state government has no authority to break the constitutional compact. States are not parties to the Constitution.

This question — are the *states* parties to the Constitution? — came to a head during the Nullification Crisis of the 1830s. This crisis, which was sparked by the tariff Miller describes, broke upon the nation when the legislature of South Carolina claimed that the state government had the right to nullify federal laws which, in the state’s view, were unconstitutional. Calhoun “asserted that the states were orig-

inally sovereign, and that they had never yielded up their sovereignty. They could not surrender a part and retain another part. . . . Given the original sovereignty of the states, and the indivisibility of sovereignty, either the states must be sovereign communities and the United States a mere agent, or the United States must be sovereign and the states wholly subordinate." In other words, the Constitution was a sort of treaty between the states, and the states were therefore free to abrogate it at will. They could "nullify" laws promulgated under it, or could nullify it completely — i.e., secede. He drew much support for this argument on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, which were written by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, respectively.

But one of Calhoun's most vehement critics was James Madison himself. Jefferson was dead by this time, and Madison now saw that Jefferson had made something of a mess in those resolutions. Jefferson had made exactly the same argument that Calhoun now, 40 years later, had taken up. But back in 1798, Madison had attempted to caution

It is distressing to see libertarians — advocates of individual liberty above all else — defend a society based on crushing liberty under the so-called "right to self-determination."

Jefferson to avoid saying that states were parties to the Constitution, or that they had the right to nullify federal acts. While Jefferson was writing his resolutions, Madison had sent him a note, asking, "Have you ever considered thoroughly the distinction between the power of the *State*, & that of the *Legislature*, on questions relating to the federal pact[?]" On the supposition that the former is clearly the ultimate Judge of infractions, it does not follow that the latter is the legitimate organ especially as a convention was the organ by which the Compact was made." But by the time that note arrived, it was too late: the resolutions had already been mailed. Madison, who had argued since before the *Federalist Papers* that the states were not parties to the Constitution, had been a little embarrassed then, but he was humiliated

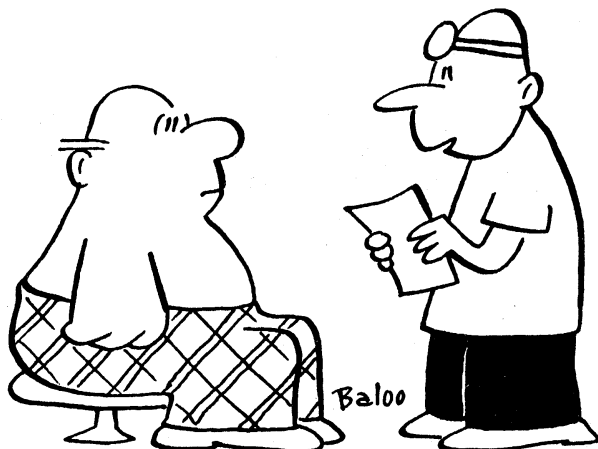
now, and he tried to make clear that Jefferson had mis-spoken: "Allowances also ought to be made for a habit in Mr. Jefferson as in others of great genius of expressing in strong and round terms, impressions of the moment." The Constitution was binding on the whole people, not on the states, and the states had no right to nullify the laws.

[T]he characteristic peculiarities of the Constitution are 1. The mode of its formation, 2. The division of the supreme powers of Govt between the States in their united capacity and the States in their individual capacities. 1. It was formed, not by the Governments of the component States, as the Federal Govt. for which it was substituted [i.e., the Articles of Confederation] was formed; nor was it formed by a majority of the people of the U.S. as a single community in the manner of a consolidated Government. It was formed by the States — that is by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capacity; and formed, consequently, by the same authority which formed the State Constitutions. Being thus derived from the same source as the Constitutions of the States, it has within each State, the same authority as the Constitution of the State, and is as much a Constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the Constitutions of the States are within their respective spheres, but with this obvious & essential difference, that being a compact among the States in their highest sovereign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the States individually, as the Constitution of a State may be at its individual will.

Is a state therefore *never* permitted to leave the union? No, there is a constitutional mechanism provided for allowing states to leave: a bill may pass through the Congress to allow the representatives of the *people* to vote on it.

Since the states are not parties to the Constitution, but We the People of the United States are, only the people, through their representatives in Congress, have the right to permit a state to leave the union, just as only they have the right to allow a state to join the union. (In fact, Madison had been so perspicacious on the matter that he had insisted the Constitution must be ratified by special conventions, not state legislatures, because the latter mechanism would give the wrong impression, that the states were parties to the compact.) America's recent divestiture of the Philippines is an example of the constitutional mechanism provided for a territory or a state that wishes to leave the union.

The structural limitations on a state's "right to secede" are echoed elsewhere in the Constitution. As Lincoln pointed out in his July 4, 1861 speech to the Congress, the Constitution guarantees to every state a republican form of government. Such a guarantee would be meaningless were a State able to secede from the union: a criminal conspiracy might gather together, declare themselves the rightful government of, say, South Carolina, pass a resolution purporting to absolve the citizens of further allegiance to the federal government, and — were secession possible without congressional approval — proceed to create a state constitution which violated the principles of republicanism. In fact, this is precisely what happened in South Carolina in 1861. It was therefore proper for the president, who is entrusted with the



"Let's try a different tack — is there any political issue you feel strongly enough about to go on a hunger strike for?"

continued on page 54

P. T. Bauer: Defender of Freedom

by Robert H. Nelson

P.T. Bauer's moral courage simply to state "the obvious," when so many other people — including many so-called experts — preferred to indulge their own fantasies, stands as a wonderful example for us all.

Economist P.T. Bauer died on May 2 at the age 86. He was the 20th century's leading thinker about economic development, arguing that newly developing nations must free their markets to experience economic success.

Bauer had a rare ability confront the world as it was. Most people have elaborate ideological filters. Their perceptions are shaped by their expectations of the society that surrounds them. The art of genius often has less to do with sheer brilliance than with the ability to shed these powerful social filters. The failures of so much of our public life are attributable to a shortage of people who possess this gift, which Bauer possessed in such abundance.

When Bauer began his career in the field of economic development in 1947, the emerging intellectual consensus was that rich nations must give generously to poor nations to raise their economic status. Reflecting the dominance of democratic socialist ideas at the time, this was regarded as a matter of skillful national economic planning and sufficient outside sources of funding to put the plans into effect. It was a mechanical vision of economic growth, which saw social scientists — and especially economists — manipulating the levers of "the economic system" to generate sustained development. The role of ordinary flesh-and-blood people was not much of a factor. They were merely passive objects who responded to appropriate incentives, as designed by the planners and other "experts."

Foreign aid was integral to this vision as the source of the money to build the necessary roads, airports, dams, and other infrastructure. Further outside assistance took the form of legions of social scientists sent by rich nations to guide and participate in national economic planning. In the United States

and Europe, the ideas of social scientists faced many legal, business, political, and other obstacles. In newly developing countries, by comparison, social and economic planners had a much freer reign to put their pet theories into effect.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Bauer early on saw that these theories — how well intentioned they might be — were likely to do more harm than good. For one thing, they encouraged the creation of powerful new instruments of state control over the economy. However, the native elites in poor countries who controlled these state instruments were — with rare exceptions — not motivated primarily by the economic welfare of their fellow citizens. In many cases they had barely escaped village life themselves and were concerned above all with maintaining their newfound power.

For them, the control over a newly powerful state apparatus — and the large amounts of foreign aid now flowing into its coffers — amounted to a marvelous economic opportunity in itself. Capturing this aid for their benefit required talent and imagination, and many were up to the entrepreneurial task. It required learning how to parrot the lingo of Western social sciences, how to fit in at the endless conferences to "discuss" the keys to economic development, and how to curry favor with the top bureaucrats of Western aid agencies. As Bauer observed, these "official transfers" of foreign aid "enhance the hold of governments over their subjects, and promote the politicization of life" in poor nations.

In many countries, foreign aid represented "a significant part of government revenues and of foreign exchange earnings." It should not be surprising that both the Western experts who delivered this aid and the local government authorities who received it developed a powerful stake in its continuation. The "aid business" — as it had become — encouraged "governments to spend lavishly on obvious prestige projects, and to governments pursuing other policies which retard economic advance and harm the interest of their poorest subjects."

Zambia is one of the nations on which the largest amounts of foreign aid has been bestowed. In 1964, when Zambia became independent, the income per capita was around \$600. Almost 40 years later, it is about the same. If all the foreign aid given to Zambia had simply been invested at a normal rate of business return in the marketplace, as recent calculations by

The art of genius often has less to do with sheer brilliance than with the ability to shed powerful social filters.

the World Bank show, the income per capita of Zambia would today be about \$20,000.

Dysfunctional governments in southern Africa — following Western models, led by people educated in Western universities, and propped up by Western money — failed to make even modest efforts in the 1990s to combat the spread of AIDS. In Zimbabwe, unless heroic measures are rapidly adopted, life expectancy will soon drop below 40 years. As recently as 1990, it was nearly 60.

It is not only that the participants in the economic development game have been corrupted by private motives. There has in fact been a complex blend of idealism and self-interest at work. Some Westerners have in fact been willing to make large personal sacrifices for the benefit of the economic welfare of the poor countries of the world. Unfortunately, their actions all too often led to opposite results. Western elites offered sentimental romanticism when tough-minded thinking was required.

When the economic planners look at a poor nation, they see the people and the land through the lens of their own economic theories and their own experiences in Europe and America. Their economic plans and prescriptions are mostly projections of their own dreams and fantasies. The people of the poor nations thus become the playthings for the lively imaginations of the Western intellectual elite. Although there are a few local accomplices in this real-world Disneyland drama — and these people benefit handsomely — the actual results are disastrous for most people in the poor nations of the world. All of this is of special interest and concern today in the wake of the events of Sept. 11, as the United States is apparently about to make a major new commitment to larger amounts of foreign aid around the world and especially to the "rebuilding" of Afghanistan with outside assistance.

As a student of economic development, Bauer was more aware than most of the role of culture and institutions in achieving "material progress" — as he saw the basic goal. He also wrote of the bankruptcy of the current economics profession that seeks to analyze an economy in ignorance of such

factors — as though it is a physical system of Newtonian (or Einsteinian) laws of nature. The sociology of economics is more important to understanding the profession's theories than are the actual economic objects of inquiry. As Bauer thus observed, "external forces also shaped the subject" of economics "in an indirect but highly significant manner."

Indeed, the members of the economics profession function as high priests of contemporary society, called upon to develop ritualistic blessings on appropriate occasions. Their dedication to their priestly roles helps to explain the long "persistence and survival of evident errors of fact and logic," as Bauer had found time and again during his many years in studying developing economies. Economists claim to be true empiricists but Bauer concluded that they were engaged in a much different form of endeavor. Otherwise, it would be impossible to explain their "extensive preoccupation with refinements, at times indistinguishable from trivia, on the so-called frontiers of knowledge" that are in fact "apt to obstruct progress towards an improved understanding of reality."

At this point, the desperate need was merely for the "statement of the obvious [that] has become the first duty of thoughtful people." For Bauer, no fair-minded observer of the record of material progress around the world in the 20th century — and despite the "scientific" teachings to the contrary of much formal economic theory — could fail to see that "the widening of economic choice" for ordinary people in a free market is "the basic criterion of economic development." Providing the conditions for such a market represented "the essential tasks of government," and included "the successful conduct of external affairs, notably the defence of the country; and also the preservation and encouragement of external commercial contacts; the maintenance of public security; the effective administration of the monetary and fiscal system; the promotion of a suitable framework for the activities of indi-

If all the foreign aid given to Zambia had simply been invested at a normal rate of business return in the marketplace, the income per capita of Zambia would today be about \$20,000, instead of \$600.

viduals; and the provision of basic health and education services and of basic communications."

In standing against the tide of conventional opinion, the Bauers of the world are often harshly criticized — or, equally damaging, ignored — by their contemporaries. By now, owing significantly to his efforts, much of what Bauer said has become widely accepted by the World Bank and other international development organizations. His moral courage simply to state "the obvious," when so many other people — including many so-called experts — preferred to indulge their own fantasies, stands as a wonderful example for us all.

His death came a week before he was to travel to Washington to receive the first Milton Friedman Prize for Advancing Liberty, and the cash grant of \$500,000 that accompanies it. It is nice to know that Bauer had learned of this great honor before he died. □

Reviews

Salvos Against the New Deal, by Garett Garrett, edited by Bruce Ramsey. Caxton Press, 2002, 282 pages.

Chronicler of the New Deal

Stephen Cox

The book was sitting on the mail-sorting table in my office. Other mail obscured the title; all that was visible was the illustration on the cover — a bright blue eagle, its wings stretched wide for flight, its left claw grasping three lightning bolts, its right claw grasping a beautiful blue . . . gear. The gear was a distinctive touch.

"What is that?" one of my colleagues asked, admiringly.

I was astonished by the question.

"It's the Blue Eagle!" I said. "One of the most famous symbols in American history." Judging by his expression, I wasn't sure whether that last statement was true. "At least," I said, "it used to be famous."

"A symbol of what?" he inquired.

"The NRA." No response. No shock of recognition. "The National Recovery Administration!" Still no reaction.

OK, I thought. Here goes.

"It was a scheme to nationalize the economy," I explained. "The federal government would control all major industries by fixing prices, wages, marketing policies, and working conditions. The main goal was to keep prices high. Businesses would be punished if they tried to cater to their customers with cheaper goods than those offered by the competition."

"Why would the government want to do *that*?" he asked.

"Good question. A lot of well-known experts thought it would rescue the economy. If prices were high, businesses would take in a lot of money and employ a lot of labor. That's what they thought."

"What about the people who had to pay the higher prices? What about the workers?"

"Well, the government would make sure that wages rose faster than prices."

My colleague was now regarding me as if I'd lost my mind.

"Really!" he said. "And who proposed these policies?"

"Franklin D. Roosevelt," I replied. "He not only proposed them; he implemented them. The NRA was the centerpiece of the New Deal economic program. It started in 1933 and continued until the Supreme Court struck it down in 1935."

"Are you *sure* it was Roosevelt?" he said.

"Yes, of course! Haven't you ever read anything about the New Deal? Here, this is a book about it. [Brandishing the book.] Garett Garrett was a journalist who wrote these essays pointing out the problems in the New Deal's economic programs. A lot of this history has been completely forgotten, but the more you know about it,

the more interesting it is. You see . . ."

But I was losing my audience. "Salvos Against the New Deal, eh? Well, Stephen," my colleague continued, in a tone of kind indulgence to my not-so-secret vice. "You libertarians certainly have a unique perspective!" Then he walked away.

So much for my re-education campaign. In my office, as virtually everywhere else, Franklin D. Roosevelt remains the most admired American statesman of the 20th century. And Roosevelt's New Deal remains one of the least understood of all great American historical movements. Even the basic facts seem to have slipped out of the collective memory.

There is an obvious reason for the seemingly contradictory phenomena of reverence and ignorance. The actions of the Roosevelt administration, and the assumptions behind them, created the political and economic regime in which virtually all contemporary Americans were reared. Roosevelt was the grandfather of modern America, and his intellectual descendants exhibit a corresponding degree of piety for his memory. You don't want to know too much about your grandfather — not if you want to retain your childhood faith in him.

If you ever *should* want to know any more, however, Garett Garrett (1878–1954) is an excellent place to start.

He was born Edward Peter Garrett, then renamed himself — choosing, for some mysterious reason, to repeat his last name without repeating its spelling. There were a number of strange things about Garrett, including the fact that on Jan. 18, 1930, he was shot (three times) in a New York speakeasy. But don't draw the wrong conclusion. Garrett was an eminently respectable citizen of his age. He was a reporter, novelist, and financial journalist, the author of a number of popular books, and at the height of his career chief editorial writer for the

greatest of all mainstream magazines, *The Saturday Evening Post*. *Salvos* is a selection of the writing he did for the *Post* from 1933 to 1940.

There was one major respect in which Garrett was not mainstream — his political views, which increasingly allied him with a beleaguered minority in American intellectual life. It wasn't that his ideas went through some kind of revolution. Garrett stayed where he was, while the mainstream swept in new courses, far away from him. By conviction, Garrett was of the old regime, the regime before the New Deal.

One way of stating the difference is this: in the old America, it was assumed that not all human problems were capable of being solved, and if a problem did have a solution, it would probably be found in the realm of individual effort and responsibility, not in the realm of political action. In the new America, the America sitting hopefully at the table when the New Deal got dealt, it was assumed that all problems can of course be solved, so long as government exerts itself strongly.

Do you remember the Four Freedoms that Roosevelt declared the government must guarantee? No?

Roosevelt was the grandfather of modern America, and his intellectual descendants exhibit a corresponding degree of piety for his memory. You don't want to know too much about your grandfather — not if you want to retain your childhood faith in him.

Then I will list them for you. The Four were freedom of speech, freedom of worship, *freedom from want*, and *freedom from fear*. Now, how can a government guarantee that anyone, much less everyone, will be free from want and fear? It can't. But the idea that it can, and must, was the underlying assumption of the Roosevelt administration and its various accompanying economic schemes and dreams. To one degree or another, and usually to a pretty large degree, this has been the working assumption of all successive national

administrations. It is the motivating assumption of the American voter, too. The modern social-welfare state is not a regime that politicians have simply imposed on the citizens; it is a regime that many, if not most, people, have ardently desired and insisted on maintaining. Nice people, too — but fully complicit with the state.

Garrett makes this point again and again. Consider what happens when miners (or the members of almost any other constituency) are invited to testify before Congress about whether the federal government should provide relief to distressed communities:

The miners all said, of course, that the time had come; they described their distress. One complained that in his community, where there had been no work for two years, there was only bread and soup to eat. The soup had rice and barley in it, but wanted potatoes. But why no potatoes? Two years of idleness, land all around them, and no potatoes. Nobody asked them that question. (31)

Garrett was no anti-labor "reactionary." Workers were not the only ones responsible for the regime in which it goes without saying that the state is responsible for giving you potatoes, and you are responsible only for eating them. There was enough blame to go around, and a lot of it would have to fall on the mentality of the American businessman, who lived by the capitalist system and who might be expected to bear some small responsibility for defending it against massive incursions of state power.

Garrett describes an argument he had with an auto dealer in New Castle, Penn. Garrett maintained that there was an essential soundness in the attitude of the American people. Even in the depths of depression, they weren't consciously calling for socialist revolution and the destruction of the rich. Why? Because, despite their social-welfarist earnings and expectations, they still wanted to be rich themselves, or at least well-off, and they believed that America's economic system still made it possible for that to happen. Garrett observed that the popular mood was much more anti-capitalist during the depression of the 1890s than it was during the depression of the 1930s:

"You had then millions of people who never expected to own carriages of their own. They couldn't imagine it. Your customers who are afraid to be seen with fine cars are living in the 90s. Tell them so."

"I'll hire you to tell them, if you want a job. They wouldn't believe me."

"That's because you don't believe it yourself." (25)

You don't believe it yourself. That's the verdict passed on American businessmen by all those people whom,

Roosevelt called for freedom from want and freedom from fear. Now, how can a government guarantee that anyone, much less everyone, will be free from want and fear?

looking back, we regard as progenitors of the American libertarian movement — Isabel Paterson, Rose Wilder Lane, Ayn Rand (especially in *Atlas Shrugged*, whose economic episodes are clearly derived from the New Deal era), Garrett himself. These people believed that the triumph of big government resulted in very large part from a failure of intellectual leadership by the natural opponents of big government, America's businessmen. While FDR and his ideological allies flayed the "economic royalists," "tories," and "malefactors of great wealth," most of the aforesaid malefactors were doing little or nothing to contest his charges. Often they showed that they deserved to be called those names, because they conspired with the state so as to be enriched for their own incompetence.

If you're a bad businessmen, you have to love a regime in which government sets itself the task of saving *everybody*, even and especially businessmen who make bad investments. Under the New Deal, the colossal mistakes of business were rewarded with colossal salvation by Washington. Rather than allow foreclosure or liquidation of the incompetent farmer, banker, or industrialist, the federal government saved them — by giving them the wealth of the farmers, bankers, and industrialists who happened to be competent. It

didn't stop there. The Roosevelt administration funded its projects by, among other things, reducing the dollar to half its former value, thus destroying half the value of the savings that frugal people had entrusted to their bank accounts. Effects on future investments can easily be surmised. In fact, the 1930s saw *negative* investment in the American economy. As Garrett says:

The New Deal saved intact that great mass of obsolete, inflated and imaginary capital that was about to be wiped out and ought to have been wiped out. . . . This alone would have been enough to limit recovery. (224)

And it did limit recovery. The depression of the 1930s lasted roughly twice as long as the comparably severe depression of the 1890s — thanks to the government's kind ministrations.

I have mentioned some of the origins of the modern libertarian movement. Garrett wasn't a pure libertarian.

It wasn't that his ideas went through some kind of revolution. Garrett stayed where he was, while the mainstream swept in new courses, far away from him.

He seems to have had little interest in the personal-rights side of the freedom philosophy. He doesn't seem to have worried very actively about victimless-crime laws and other "noneconomic" invasions by government of the private sphere (although his presence in that speakeasy shows you what he thought about Prohibition, at least). In his career, also, there is a recurrent, and embarrassing, interest in certain kinds of fallacious political-economic ideas, chiefly the idea that war can be prevented if states can manage to make themselves economically self-sufficient. He was in favor of *laissez faire*, with a few curious reservations. And certainly he had no idea that he was contributing to the foundation of a political movement that, from the 1960s on, would win almost all of its intellectual, and a few of its political, disputes with the regime of big government.

Garrett was not a theorist like

Paterson, Lane, or Rand. He was a reporter — a reporter with unrivaled knowledge of his subject, the American political economy. Even more important, he was a reporter endowed with true rhetorical power. Garrett can give you facts and figures; he can give you case studies by the mile; but he can also refute a counterargument by merely reminding you that "everybody knows better" than that (169).

He is a master of both the baroque and the aphoristic style. Indeed, the

power of his writing stems very largely from the dynamic tension between the two extremes. Now, a good aphorism is not a simple thing; it's the news of victory after a complex fight. An example: Garrett's little chain of aphorisms about the mystery of the 20th century, the aggressive state:

No government can in any way extend its powers over people but to limit freedom. . . .

If government cannot be limited freedom is lost. . . .

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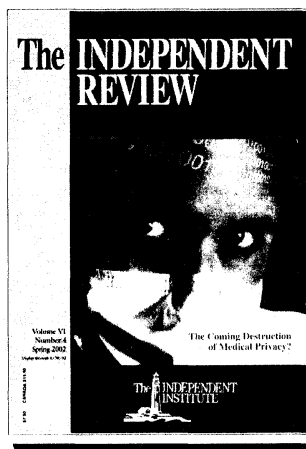
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Let the Government's intent be good. That may be assumed. But the better the intent the worse it is, for the goodness of the intent disarms resistance. (212-14)

Proposition and deduction. The coolness of logic. But when Garrett wants you to see something, he will make you see it; and if this can best be done with a stroke of theatre, that's what he'll use. The building industry is a prosaic topic, isn't it? Well, maybe not:

We have learned how to make towers stand in the sky. (51)

When there is a need for drama, drama will be provided — even, or

Garrett knew the world, and basically, he loved it. What he hated was the new class of cynically destructive intellectuals.

especially, when the subject itself seems quite without drama. Here is Garrett on the politics of agricultural relief:

The farm problem has come to have a kind of specious oratorical reality that removes it entirely from the realm of economic reason. It is covered with imaginary political sores. It is like a lost province or a submerged race. Those who talk rationally about it are cast out. (160)

Note that Garrett chooses a highly oratorical approach to the problem of other people's specious oratory. He has a sense of humor, and you would not want to get in the way of it. It takes a

while to unlimber, but once it gets going, it crushes all opposition.

And there is tension here as well, because Garrett's humor is balanced by his noble hatred. He doesn't hate the businessmen, or the politicians, or the labor unions, or the voters. For these people he displays the sympathy, anger, and longing of the disappointed lover. Garrett knew the world, and basically, he loved it. What he hated was the new class of cynically destructive intellectuals. He hated them because they have no sympathies, and thus no disappointments:

They have no heroes. They know nothing worshipful, past or present, and scoff at worship. If they are radicals, they plausibly deny it. As reckless idol breakers, they might be respected. But neither for anything they believe against idols nor for robust love of melee would they risk it. They want to be comfortable, and to live with small, sharp teeth inside the institutions they despise and bespatter. (138)

"Small, sharp teeth." No one has said it better. Those teeth are dangerous, but they are *small*.

One can read Garrett for the style; one can also read him for the content. If someone asked me to suggest the book that most clearly tells the story of the New Deal, I would immediately recommend this book. Out of the vast corpus of Garrett's work, Bruce Ramsey has selected the essays and reports that most effectively illumine the New Deal's many aspects, political, social, and economic; and he has arranged these writings so as to provide, not just a series of diverse works, but a connected history that can be read with enjoyment even by people who know nothing about the subject.

The history of the New Deal is notoriously difficult both to write and to read, because so much of it is focused on complex acts of legislation and intricate relationships between economics and politics. Garrett has the true reporter's gift for clarifying history without falsifying it or robbing it of its richness. And Ramsey has the true gift for editor-

ship — in two ways: he selects the right material, and he knows how to annotate it.

I am under obligation to admit the possibility of bias: I appear in Ramsey's acknowledgments as an early reader of his introduction. But the introduction is what it is — a succinct, yet richly informative guide to Garrett's complex career and historical setting. As to annotations, Ramsey has a remarkable sense for what the general reader needs to be told. His notes are both erudite and exactly to the point; and they provide information not only about the names and terms that Garrett mentions but also about the long-range results of the controversies that were important to him. One leaves this book with the conviction that one truly knows the subject.

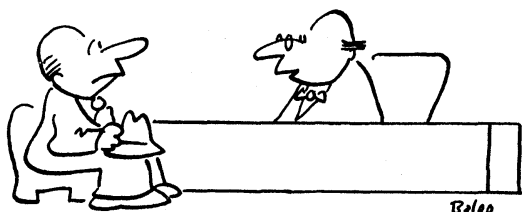
But it would be a mistake to read the book merely as a history of the New Deal, or even as a document in the history of libertarian thought. It should also be read as an introduction to the strangeness of history.

Here is what I mean. What horrified Garrett most about the New Deal was the weird assumption on the part of many of its managers (e.g.,

If someone asked me to suggest the book that most clearly tells the story of the New Deal, I would immediately recommend this book.

President Roosevelt) that industrial progress had gone too far, that America had suffered, as Roosevelt put it in his message to Congress on Jan. 3, 1934, an "*unnecessary* expansion of industrial plant" (emphasis added). Speaking to the National Democratic Club, Roosevelt decried efforts to make industry more efficient: "Reduction of costs in manufacture does not mean more purchasing power and more goods consumed. It means the opposite." Huh? Roosevelt, as Garrett points out, went on to contradict this message; but it's a fair sample of the New Deal's economic quackery. Suppose, Garrett argued, it wasn't true that increased efficiency and improved technology created prosperity for the

"Ask about our easy payment plan."



"Well, it's always been very easy for us."

American consumer. Then why did the American standard of living rise with the rise in efficiency? If the president's ideas were correct, "then the 25,000,000 motor cars you see in the highways are not there; it is all an illusion" (229–31).

You see what I mean about the strangeness of history. Who could imagine that an American president, instructed by his economic experts, would ever question improvements in efficiency and technology? Who could imagine that such a president would be revered, ever after, for his nearly supernatural insight into every factor that might contribute to the nation's happiness and well-being?

Now let us consider the ironies of history. Garrett richly communicates his horror of the New Deal, but the final effect of reading this book is something just the opposite of horror. It is relief. As one studies Garrett's analyses of New Deal folly, one keeps thinking: "but America survived."

True: since the 1930s America has gone on to other phases of quackery, propelled in many instances by the vast engines of government constructed during the Roosevelt era. Not since the 1970s, however, has the national pulpit rung with denunciations of technology and material progress. There has been real intellectual motion in America, and much of it has been motion in the direction that Garrett wished to see.

We cannot plot this motion, or predict it. As Garrett said, in his unique way of saying things:

Public opinion has as many movements as the wind, sudden, unreasonable, cyclonic, erratic, going to and fro...

Seen in this way, the motions of public opinion are inexplicable and irrational. "Opinion" cares nothing about the distinction between quackery and truth — at least until truth appears (as it never has in America) in the form of abject starvation and defeat. But Garrett also mentioned:

the great trade winds of thought and conviction, rising slowly, moving deliberately, knowing their way and how to go. (127)

Those are the intellectual winds that traffic with reality. And it was those winds that propelled Garrett's own intellectual voyage — though few were they who knew it at the time. □

The Joy of Freedom: An Economist's Odyssey, by David R. Henderson. Prentice Hall, 2002, 361 + xx pages.

The Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Economics

Donald J. Boudreaux

I wasn't chomping at the bit to read this book. It's aimed principally at non-economists and non-libertarians, explaining to them the merits and morals of free markets as well as the demerits and depravity of the state. I expected to agree with nearly all of Henderson's arguments, but I read the book only because I'm always on the lookout for good books to recommend to people who are unfamiliar with the freedom philosophy. I didn't expect it to be a page-turner. I was wrong. Very wrong. This is one heck of a good book!

The range of government interventions that Henderson tackles is familiar. It includes, among others, Medicare, Social Security, minimum-wage legislation, government schools, affirmative action, occupational-licensing statutes, and taxation. And he weaves his case against these interventions into a text that persuasively explains the logic of how private property rights and freedom of contract either solve or altogether avoid nearly all of the problems allegedly requiring government regulation. Nothing new here.

But Henderson's wit, his passion, his skillful use of anecdotes and personal experiences, and his success at teaching rather than preaching make this book a genuine joy to read, even for those of us long steeped in the principles of free markets.

Readers of this magazine under-

stand that freedom isn't important because of its abstract beauty, its theoretical consistency, or its effects on whatever aggregate you choose to call "society." It's important because it is indispensable to the flourishing of each individual. To be free is for *you* to be as fully as possible in charge of *your* potential.

David Henderson understands this. His case for freedom comes from his heart, but it is informed by his excellent mind that is a master of economics. This is one feature of the book that sets it apart from almost all others in its genre. Here we have an economist, using economics, making a passionate and persuasive case for personal freedom — a case that does not begin with cold abstractions ("consumers," "workers," "retirees"), but, instead, with the writer's soul. Even an incorrigible statist who reads the book and disagrees with all of its points would nevertheless have to conclude that Henderson's passion for freedom is rooted in Henderson's humanity — in his affecting insistence that his personal experiences and the reflections that these trigger properly inform his economics and his policy analysis.

Of course, Henderson is not the only economist who taps real-life experience as a source of economic lessons and policy proposals. But he is one of the very few *good* economists who do so. To pull this off requires the rare ability to discern the general truths that mingle always with a jumble of particular, fleeting details — to navigate deftly between the general and

the particular — and to display these truths in all of their timeless glory in ways that every reader understands is relevant to the actual events of his life.

To witness the achievement of this difficult task page after page is inspir-

ing. And that's what I witnessed in Henderson's book.

Having said this, I have a confession. Try as I might, I can't describe satisfactorily just what it is about this book that appeals to me so powerfully.

I love good economics — this book has plenty of that. I love passion — Henderson offers plenty of that, too, for both freedom and for economics. I love creative and clear communication — it sparkles on each page. I love stories — interesting ones abound here. I love the unexpected — lots of that. (One of the nicest features of this book is the freshness of the anecdotes and data that Henderson uses to make his points. He obviously worked hard, and succeeded, at avoiding stale stories and routine lines of argument.) I love intellectual courage — Henderson

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Personals

SWM, 28, libertarian atheist ISO free-market F in D.C. www.ben5.com.

Otis Elevator Company lobbied in the 1960s for increasing the minimum wage as a means of speeding up the obsolescence of human-operated elevators and, thereby, raising the demand for Otis's own automatic elevators.

shows his by taking his arguments seriously and not flinching from drawing sometimes very radical conclusions. While at one level this is an introductory book, it is at another level a book for the ages. Henderson wants to make a solid case for free markets and liberty and obviously isn't much concerned with appearing "reasonable" to the crowd whose principal concern is political practicality. He knows (and shows) that the free market is almost always superior to state intervention, even for those areas that much polite, market-oriented company regard as "obviously" needing government oversight.

Still, there's something more about this book that I can't quite put my finger on, but that appeals to me deeply. I wish I could pin it down; I can't, but it's there. In lieu of identifying it, I offer some specimens of how Henderson looks at government intervention.

On drug prohibition, Henderson says that government treats us as ignorant "pets" — but "with this difference: When your pet misbehaves, you don't lock him up with convicted

murderers and pretend that you're doing it for his own good."

On the politics inevitably swarming about the Federal Communications Commission, Henderson has the most succinct explanation I've read about why Congress refuses to privatize the electromagnetic spectrum. Maintaining government ownership of the spectrum ensures that politicians keep the privilege of determining which users get to enjoy its benefit: "Without that power, people wouldn't invite him [a congressman] to dinners and hunting parties as frequently, would contribute less to his campaign fund, and would return his calls less quickly, if at all. In short, he would be a less important man in Washington, and probably a less wealthy one." Henderson goes on to tell the story of how Lyndon Johnson used his political influence while in Congress to buy a Texas radio station, and how he then made a fortune by securing greater wartime rations of materials for those firms that bought advertising time on his station.

On government efforts to impose racial and other quotas on various

Henderson is not the only economist who taps real-life experience as a source of economic lessons and policy proposals. But he is one of the very few good economists who do so.

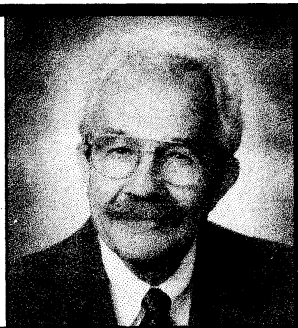
venues of our lives: Henderson exposes these efforts as nothing less than violations of our freedom of association. His summary of the historical research on racial segregation — particularly that done by Jennifer Roback Morse on how Jim Crow-era state governments had to force Southern street-car companies to segregate blacks from whites — is a treasure.

On the exclusionary and racist history of labor unions, Henderson points out that the famous line from what we now understand to be one of Al Gore's favorite boyhood songs — "Look for the Union Label" — was created in the 1880s "as a way to tell customers that a product was made by white laborers rather than by Chinese."

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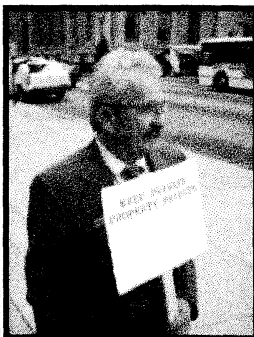
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On the minimum wage, we learn that the Otis Elevator Company lobbied in the 1960s for increasing the minimum wage as a means of speeding up the obsolescence of human-operated elevators and, thereby, raising the demand for Otis's own automatic elevators.

And on the Internal Revenue Service, Henderson has what is perhaps my favorite line in the book:

"Calling taxpayers customers of the IRS is like calling chickens customers of the egg farmer."

This book is both passionate and reasoned. Henderson shows that good economics and devotion to liberty and human dignity complement each other perfectly. Buy this book, read it, read it again, recommend it to friends, and refer to it repeatedly for a telling statistic or a brilliant insight. It's a real joy. □

the audience cheered; when investigating congressmen appeared the audience booed.

Missing from this portrait has been Trumbo's membership in the American Communist Party — a fact Hanson does not omit. For him, it is merely one more facet of Trumbo's rebelliousness, one more addition to his résumé as a free thinker. But an examination of Trumbo's foreign policy stances shows this "free thinker" defending every zig and zag of the Moscow-inspired Party line. In 1940, during the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, he argued against American involvement in the European conflict. That same year he supported the Soviet invasion of Finland, even parroting Stalin's justifications for it by absurdly claiming that Finland was fascist and therefore a threat to Russia. During the Grand Alliance period, after Russia was attacked by Germany, Trumbo became pro-war, attacking those he previously supported, such as America First, as pro-fascist.

Neither was Trumbo, as Hanson calls him, an "upholder of a free screen." During his investigation by the House Committee on Un-American

In a wartime letter to a Communist Party newspaper, Trumbo bragged that he was able to keep from making it to the screen such "untrue" and "reactionary" works as Trotsky's "so-called biography" of Stalin and Arthur Koestler's Yogi and the Commissar.

Activities in 1947, Trumbo wrote a polemic arguing that HCUA was trying to subvert the freedom of the screen, to create, in effect, a "slave screen." But Trumbo's "free screen" was a qualified one — with anti-Stalinist works not eligible. In a wartime letter to a party newspaper, he bragged that he was able to keep from making it to the screen such "untrue" and "reactionary" works as Trotsky's "so-called biography" of Stalin and Arthur Koestler's *Yogi and the*

***Dalton Trumbo: Hollywood Rebel*, by Peter Hanson. McFarland & Company, 2002, 255 pages.**

Blacklisted, for Good Reason

Ron Capshaw

For many scholars, the post-Cold War era has been a liberating time, not only because the Soviet Union has toppled, but liberating in the sense of freeing writers from the confines of Cold War orthodoxies both left and right. Writers can now, for example, accept Alger Hiss' guilt and explore fresh areas such as why he did it rather than rehashing tired old debates about Woodstock typewriters.

But it has not been liberating for Peter Hanson. His work on Dalton Trumbo, the blacklisted screenwriter, is mired in the myths of a left still in denial about its causes célèbres. By presenting Trumbo as a civil libertarian, Hanson is merely perpetuating the image begun over 50 years ago.

The peculiar historiography began with Trumbo himself, gained new momentum by the counterculture and is regularly celebrated by the new Hollywood. In his 1949 pamphlet, *The Time of the Toad*, Trumbo adopted the guise of an anti-Cold War libertarian, using Anglo-Saxon concepts of individual liberty to decry the blacklist and Cold War as ushering in a police state.

The countercultural Left, always searching for cultural heroes and the Cold War's first "victims," found both in Trumbo, a figure denied work for his political beliefs and a writer who stood up to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. According to a biographical blurb for the 1972 edition of Trumbo's anti-war novel, *Johnny Got His Gun*, he was "a fighter against censorship." Literary critic Robert Kirsch, writing in the early 1970s, called him "a principled actor against repression and thought control." In recent times, Trumbo has been celebrated with various tributes. Trumbo's alma mater, the University of Colorado, built the Free Speech Fountain in honor of him. During the recent controversy over the Academy Award given to Elia Kazan, Hollywood dissenters such as Alec Baldwin and Oliver Stone contrasted Kazan's support of "thought control" with Trumbo's promotion of "free expression." A Hollywood organization, The Fund for the First Amendment, gave witness to Trumbo's heroic image at a film retrospective recalling the blacklist period. When Trumbo came on screen (during his 1947 testimony before Congress)

Commissar.

Hanson's Trumbo, a "lifelong supporter of free speech," bears little resemblance to the editor who rejected an anti-communist writer's submission on the following grounds:

It is difficult to support your belief in "the inalienable right of man's mind to be exposed to any thought whatever, however intolerable that thought might be to anyone else." Frequently such a right encroaches upon the right of others to their lives. It was this "inalienable right" in Fascist countries which directly resulted in the slaughter of five million Jews.

Even though he left the party in 1948 and personally experienced government repression soon afterwards, Trumbo still retained a qualified view of civil liberties. In 1956, he regarded the Smith Act, which gave the government the power to prosecute political dissent deemed harmful to national security, as necessary in 1940 and bemoaned that it had not been applied to the right. In 1959, he argued that it would have been permissible for the government during World War II to have banned *Johnny Got His Gun* in the interests of the "public good."

Hanson could have written an important work examining the peculiar world of Hollywood Stalinism during wartime. But he didn't. Instead, he lets the war years breeze by, noting them only as the setting for Trumbo's patriotic films. But consider what it meant to be a Stalinist in wartime. Film critic Pauline Kael offered the best assessment of the atmosphere of that period for Hollywood Communists when she charged them with excessive patriotism and martial fervor. Claudia Jones, the editor of the *Young Communist Weekly*, advised readers in 1943 that "to hate the enemy is to love one's country." Marc Blitzstein, a party member and composer, expressed his enthusiasm for strategic bombing and the Grand Alliance all in one stanza: "Open up that second front! Open up that Second front! We will bomb a tyrant's smile, and from his throat his insane Heil, We will bomb him, bomb him from the earth." Woody Guthrie had stenciled on his guitar, "this machine kills fascists."

This atmosphere of righteous combat influenced Trumbo; he even joined

the party in this period for reasons of strategy: to aid his friends in the "coming battle with American fascism in the postwar period." And the state was an employable weapon in this endeavor. All of the government repressions Trumbo complained about during the Cold War — investigations by the FBI, government bills limiting dissent —

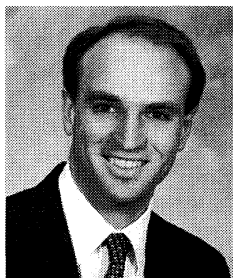
Hanson could have written an important work examining the peculiar world of Hollywood Stalinism during wartime. Instead, he lets the war years breeze by, noting them only as the setting for Trumbo's patriotic films.

were activities he himself celebrated or tried to direct during wartime. In 1941, he supported the government's Smith Act prosecution of American Trotskyites. In 1943, he urged the gov-

ernment to ban the Hollywood conservative group, the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals. In 1944, he asked the FBI to investigate and interrogate correspondents critical of the U.S. war effort (even supplying the agency with a list of questions to ask them — quite a contradiction from his view of the FBI during the Cold War as "a hateful shadow preying upon the citizenry.")

The real Trumbo then, the one not celebrated by Hollywood or Hanson, was a selective libertarian, which is a contradiction in terms. He never denounced government repression directed at his enemies during World War II. It was only when the government turned on his political faction in the Cold War that the libertarian Trumbo appeared. But even then his libertarianism was limited. Trapped in the mental universe of wartime Stalinism, he still disqualified his enemies, the Trotskyites, from free speech protections, still supported the Smith Act if directed against the right, and still favored banning books.

Hanson suffers from a similar mal-



The Essence of Objectivism

An Introduction to Ayn Rand's
"Philosophy for Living on Earth"

By William Thomas, M.A.

Its title taken from Ayn Rand's famous summary in the appendix to *Atlas Shrugged*, "My philosophy, in essence, is the concept of man as a heroic being, with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute," *The Essence of Objectivism* provides a structured introduction to the key ideas of Objectivism. The result is a thought-provoking 6-lecture CD course that is intended for those who are new to Rand's work or have enjoyed her novels but are not deeply familiar with her philosophy. Here you will see how Rand's ideas fit together, how her philosophy is illustrated both in her fiction and in real life, and how Objectivism contrasts with philosophic and religious views that pervade our culture today.

This course is accompanied by a 48-page study guide, which outlines each lecture in detail with numerous visual aids and suggests topics for discussion and materials for further study.

Lectures include:

- "Objectivism: Who Needs It?"
- "Reason: Man's Only Absolute"
- "Living on Earth"
- "Happiness: The Moral Purpose of Life"
- "Productive Achievement: The Noblest Activity"
- "Capitalism as a Moral Ideal"

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ady. Trapped in the embattled Cold War universe of *The Nation* magazine and Hollywood leftists, Hanson cannot move beyond the Trumbo image and present the complicated truth: that Trumbo was both a victim of a govern-

ment repression and a supporter of it. His work is a reversion; it could have been written in 1948 as a pamphlet for the Hollywood Ten or in 1969 for *Ramparts*, but not in the liberating era of the post Cold War. □

Booknotes

Junk Science Junk

by William E. Merritt

Don't buy this book. It's not even clear this is a book in the sense that a book develops a set of ideas to communicate a central theme.

What *Junk Science Judo* by Steven J. Milloy (Cato Institute, 2001, 216 pages) appears to be is the final resting place for scores of anecdotes and observations that are too narrow, or too trivial, to turn into magazine pieces. So, rather than let them go to waste, Milloy has lumped them into twelve "lessons" that are supposed to teach readers to deconstruct scary health claims.

The first "lesson" is that some among us — he mentions the media, trial lawyers, politicians, activists, drug

companies, and government bureaucrats — have an interest in promoting health scares. He backs up this claim with anecdotes about high-fiber diets, purple grape juice, chocolate, second-hand smoke, and fluoridated water — as if the very idea of people trying to use science for their own purposes is so startling that he has to illustrate the whole, unlikely concept with concrete examples before the reader can understand what he is driving at.

The second "lesson" is that, sometimes, the science behind scary health claims isn't very good. He follows this with a set of rules to test whether science is really scientific. Here are some of the rules: doubt everything, the burden of proof is on the person making the claim, it's not science if you know the answer before you run the experiment, speculation isn't science, some "experts" are biased, assumptions are guesses, anecdotes aren't data, and on and on through all the points of the scientific method my 14-year-old son would know if only he hadn't spent the eighth grade wandering through a fog of pheromones.

The temptation to use anecdotes instead of data must be particularly seductive because, if Lesson 2 is nothing else, it's a great place for Milloy to unload his next shoebox of anecdotes — the ones about how sometimes science isn't very good.

If you suspect — as I do

— that plenty of wool has been pulled over lots of eyes by people phonying up science for political ends, then it's easy to buy into the notion that Milloy's anecdotes reveal something important about the individual studies they attack. But, to get there, you have to swallow Milloy's conclusions unexamined, because he never provides enough information about the studies he attacks to let you make up your own mind. Which, of course, makes *Junk Science Judo* indistinguishable from junk science.

If you come at Milloy from the point of view of someone who doesn't already agree with his conclusions, his examples are easy enough to attack. He gives an admiring statement, for example, about a judge who refused to go along with anti-second-hand-smoke hyperbole and insisted on hard evidence at trial. Good for the judge, you think. Good for the judicial system for finally holding the anti-smokers' feet to the fire. Wonder who this judge was. So you look him up in the back. He turns out to be from North Carolina.

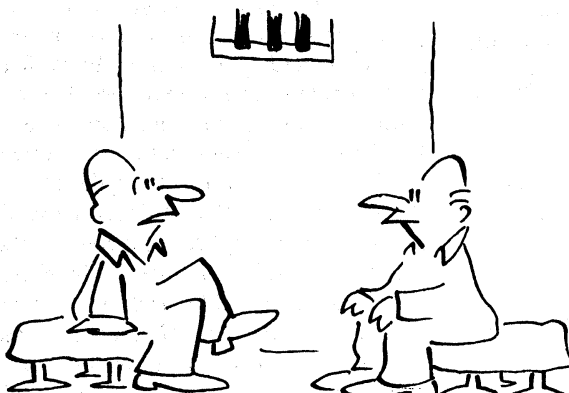
I yield to no one in my admiration for the integrity of the good people of North Carolina. But discovering in 8-point type in the back of the book that the single ruling Milloy can find to debunk the hyperbole about second-hand smoke comes from North Carolina . . . well, if I wanted to challenge his conclusions, this might give me a place to start.

There are more "lessons" but most are of the same cloth — platitudes backed by logically unconnected anecdotes. But you get the point. □

The Unselfish Gene

by Richard D. Fuerle

Libertarians believe that the individual is supreme, not the group. Why? Because by nature man is like a bird, flying free, not a bee, a dispensable member of a hive. It follows that societies based on the collectivist belief that man is only a cell in a larger social body are against man's nature and are therefore doomed to failure.



"I decided to get a life, and before I knew it, I got life."

petes with other superorganisms governed by other memes. For example, religions are memes that promise those at the bottom of the pecking order that they will move up to the top, in this world or the next, if they let the meme control them. Memes with the most convincing promises and the best motivators to make people form super-organisms that kill off compet-

ing superorganisms (usually by killing the people in them) move their superorganisms up the superorganism pecking order. It is not a pretty picture.

Bloom does not argue that man is naturally the kind of social animal that bees are, nor does he argue that socialism is consonant with man's nature. But he does say several times that we are "cells in a social superorganism"

and this may require our elimination for the benefit of the superorganism, language that strikes fear into the hearts of a libertarians. Sometimes, though, it is hard to know whether Bloom despises these superorganisms or glories in them.

Like Freud, he believes that biology is destiny, so we cannot not be what we are. For him, amelioration is the best we can hope for.

It is a wise man who questions his own wisdom. Libertarians who accept the challenge of *The Lucifer Principle* will be wiser for doing so. □

Notes on Contributors

Baloo is a nom de plume of Rex F. May.

Alan Bock is a senior columnist for the *Orange County Register* and the author of *Waiting to Inhale: The Politics of Medical Marijuana*.

Donald Boudreaux is chairman of the Department of Economics at George Mason University. He is a personal and professional acquaintance of David Henderson.

R.W. Bradford is the editor of *Liberty*.

T.G. Burke worked at Alcoa in Evansville, Ind. before he passed away on July 29, 2001.

Ron Capshaw is a freelance writer and rebellious academic living in Richmond, Va.

Doug Casey is a contributing editor of *Liberty*.

Scott Chambers is a cartoonist living in Arizona.

John Clark is a title insurance specialist living in Seattle.

Stephen Cox is a professor of literature at the University of California San Diego and the author of *The Titanic Story*.

Adrian Day is the editor of *Global Analyst* and is also president of a money management firm.

Richard Fuerle is a semi-retired patent attorney and amateur composer whose latest work is *Rebellion!*, an opera about the Whiskey Rebellion.

Leon Hadar is a Research Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Cato Institute.

Robert Higgs is an economist and editor of *Independent Review*.

David Kopel is research director at the Independence Institute and author of *Antitrust After Microsoft*.

Richard Kostelanetz has published books of poetry, fiction, criticism, and cultural history.

Loren E. Lomasky is a professor of philosophy at Bowling Green State University and author of *Persons, Rights, and the Moral Community*.

Sarah McCarthy owns Amel's Restaurant in Pittsburgh and says her article is a cheap ploy to get the Rolling Stones there.

William E. Merritt is a senior fellow at the Burr Institute and lives in Portland, Ore.

Robert H. Nelson is author of *Reaching for Heaven on Earth*.

Kenneth Prazak hosts "Freedom Rings" a call-in talk show on WRMN 1410 AM out of Elgin, Ill., on Mondays at 9:00 A.M. Central time. It is live-streamed on WRMN1410.com.

Ralph R. Reiland is the B. Kenneth Simon professor of free enterprise at Robert Morris University and a Pittsburgh restaurateur.

Jim Ross is a real estate developer in Texas.

Timothy Sandefur is a law student at Chapman University in Orange, Calif.

Tim Slagle is a stand-up comedian living in Chicago whose website is www.timslagle.com.

Fred L. Smith Jr. is president of the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

David Ramsay Steele is the author of *From Marx to Mises*.

Clark Stooksbury is a freelance writer living in Knoxville, Tenn.

William R. Tonso is a professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Evansville, Ind.

Reflections, from page 26

probably the most famous evolutionary scientist in America, Gould was a controversial figure, and regarded by many as more of a liability than an asset to science in general. Gould's critics were probably correct.

A number of Gould's allegedly radical critiques of Darwinism are of highly questionable value. In his book *Wonderful Life*, for instance, Gould insisted that the Burgess Shale — a geological feature which reveals a large number of fossils — reveals an important feature in evolutionary history: that during the Cambrian era, there was an "explosion" of the number and variety of body forms, rather than a gradual increase in the number of such forms. This, according to Gould, destroyed the Darwinian view that evolution proceeds gradually, but instead demonstrates that evolution proceeds in fits and starts, through some mechanism (the specifics of which Gould was never very clear about) other than natural selection.

In fact, the Burgess shale reveals nothing of the sort. First, it just demonstrates that during the Cambrian era, evolution had given rise to body features which were prone to fossilization, which earlier eras had not done — earlier eras were dominated by animals whose bodies were like jellyfish — things which don't fossilize very well. But second, and more importantly, the "Cambrian explosion" was really a logical fallacy on Gould's part. As Richard Dawkins wrote in *Unweaving the Rainbow*, Gould's misinterpretation comes down to arguing that in previous eras, evolutionary change had pro-

continued on page 54

duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed, to enforce the supreme law of the land.

Why do libertarians defend the cause of an awful tyranny like the Confederacy? I think there are three reasons. First, because they misunderstand the principles of the Declaration, and believe that any people have the right to create any government they wish, without outside interference. But this principle, as Lincoln explained, reduces to no more than this: "that 'if one man would enslave another, no third man should object.'" The right to form a government can only be based on the equal right of all to self-ownership.

Second, I think libertarians want to pin the blame for the vast expansion of federal bureaucracy on someone, and Lincoln is a handy target. He instituted a military draft, issued paper currency, and created our first income tax. Of course, these things were done as war measures, and Lincoln openly acknowledged that they were legitimate only under the president's war powers, which are far more sweeping than his powers in peace time. Even the Emancipation Proclamation was justified purely as a war measure, because he acknowledged that it was permitted only under the more general power of the president as commander in chief (a theory that constitutional scholars had been advocating since at least John Quincy Adams). But attacking specific policies of Lincoln's execution of the war is a very different matter than claiming the South had the constitutional right to secede, or that it could base its act on the right to revolution. A number of the policies undertaken by Lincoln (and more often, his generals in the field) are indefensible, except perhaps by the president's affirmative duty to enforce the Constitution. But just as police brutality during an arrest cannot absolve a murderer of his crimes, so Lincoln's wrongful acts cannot justify the Southern rebellion.

The third reason so many of us libertarians defend the Confederacy is that we like rebellion, and we wish we could

see more of it. The federal government has grown so far beyond its original constitutional limitations that it would be very refreshing to see states show a little resistance today. Certainly I can sympathize with this. In fact, by the principles of the Declaration of Independence, a state would have far more justification seceding from the union *now* than in 1860! And this was a large part of the reason that I was a modern-day secessionist myself for a long while. But the cause of the South simply cannot be justified by the principles of the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence — the guiding principles of libertarianism. The right of the people to govern themselves is not fundamental. The right to freedom is. If the former contradicts the latter, the former must be exposed for the tyrannical monstrosity that it is. Those who claim the right to enslave with impunity must be treated as criminals, be they Nazis, Communists, or Calhounites.

It is indeed distressing to see libertarians — advocates of individual liberty above all else — defend a society based on crushing that liberty under the so-called "right to self-determination." It is even more distressing to see them misunderstand and misapply the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. Just before the Civil War, William Lloyd Garrison, the radical abolitionist leader, shocked his audience by publicly burning a copy of the Constitution. It was an evil document, he said, because it had included provisions protecting slavery. One of Garrison's colleagues strongly disagreed, and eventually broke off his friendship with Garrison over this act. This was Frederick Douglass, a former slave, who had escaped to become a great orator and author. Before the war, Douglass gave a speech called, "What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?" And in that speech, in response to Garrison as well as the Southerner, Douglass said a sentence which should be the watchword for all libertarians today. "Interpreted as it ought to be interpreted," Douglass said, "the Constitution is a GLORIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT." □

Reflections, from page 53

duced a variety of new phyla, while during the Cambrian era, evolutionary change was making new species — as if Gould were saying "Isn't it strange that no major new boughs have appeared on this tree for many years. These days, all the new growth appears to be at the twig level!" Yet, of course, it is those twigs — those new species — which will later grow into new boughs — new phyla.

This might seem minor except for all this talk of a different evolutionary mechanism — or, in Gould's term, a "facility for making evolutionary leaps" or the "mainspring of evolution." As Daniel Dennett explained at length in his book *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, Gould attempted throughout his career to find some mechanism other than minor inherited variation (called natural selection). He found a few — things like giant meteors striking the earth which wiped out the dinosaurs — but these had already been discovered long ago by Darwinians, and in fact, were perfectly consistent with Darwinian evolutionary theory.

His assertion that Darwinian gradualism was untrue because it made no allowance for such catastrophic change was simply untrue. But his claim that some internal mecha-

nism other than selection among inherited variations was responsible for evolution was worse. Gould's search for some new *élan vital* bolstered the creationists despite Gould's constant attempts to brush them off, and may even have been motivated by Gould's Marxist beliefs, which in the past were responsible for such unscientific "revolutionaries" as Trofim Lysenko, who claimed to have discovered a new, dialectically materialistic mechanism for evolution whereby summer wheat could be turned into winter wheat by simply keeping the seeds cold. The result of that was starvation in Russia.

The result of Gould's fudging will be less horrifying, but more pervasive, as generations of Americans, already undereducated in scientific matters, latch on to Gould's evasive "explanations" to claim that Darwinism is discredited, or fly to Gould's talk of revolution, only to find there the ancient miracle-working that Darwin demolished — one might have hoped, forever.

To paraphrase Twain, Gould's theory was both good and original, but what was good wasn't original, and what was original wasn't good. — Timothy Sandefur

Washington, D.C.

Growing appreciation of the beaux arts in the world's greatest deliberative body. From the *Seattle Times*:

Elmo, the cuddly cutie from "Sesame Street" made a splash, appearing before a House Appropriations subcommittee to request \$2 million for children's music programs.

"Please, Congress, help Elmo's friends find the music inside them," said Elmo, dressed in a business suit.

Pensacola, Fla.

Another attempt to create a heaven on the earth goes awry. Reported in *USA Today*:

The Rev. Thomas Crandall, a Roman Catholic priest, has been sentenced to four years and three months in prison for dealing drugs from his rectory.

E. Grand Rapids, Mich.

The arms war is getting serious in western Michigan, as reported by *The Grand Rapids Press*:

The public safety department has imposed a \$500 fine for possessing a homemade potato launcher in a public park. "Just because it shoots a potato doesn't mean it's not a gun," said liaison officer Brian Davis.

McNeil Island, Wash.

The Evergreen State spares no expense in protecting its children, from a dispatch in the *Seattle Times*:

The state of Washington is spending \$1 million a year to house, council, and protect the public from child molester David John Wrathall, the only resident of the state's new sex-offender halfway house.

Frederick County, Md.

Intellectual recreation in the Old Line State. Reported in *The Frederick News-Post*:

"For the past 30 years, local residents Jack and Betty Linton clipped every obituary out of *The Frederick News-Post* and added them to a collection started in 1930. The set of obituaries, which now takes up 264 drawers, is alphabetically catalogued. It will be set up in the local library's Maryland Room, which has extra security."

Germany

Curious European political note, from a dispatch in the *Frankfurter Rundschau*:

Germany's ruling Social Democrats have removed a promise from their election manifesto that Germany will win the 2006 World Cup.

Washington, D.C.

Interesting nomenclatural development, reported by the esteemed *Time Magazine*:

President Bush has given Russian president Vladimir Putin the nickname "Pootie-Poot."

St. Paul, Minn.

Minnesota's governor on his qualifications, and the respect he is accorded, from the Associated Press:

"I'm highly trained in demolition," said Ventura, a former Navy SEAL. "I can take C4 and put it in a shape charge and do it underwater, and blow up everything imaginable. But yet somehow the state of Minnesota doesn't think I'm qualified to shoot off a skyrocket. I take great offense at that."

Vladivostok, Russia

The perils of privatization, reported in the *Vladivostok Daily News*:

Power has been cut off from two of the Pacific Fleet's construction plants because the Russian navy is \$3 million behind in payments.

Vietnam

Further evidence of the lasting damage that man's untamed consumption inflicts on Mother Earth, reported by the BBC:

Vietnamese peasants in the Mekong Delta have found a way to profit from the rats that are overrunning their paddy fields — harvesting the rodents for the dinner table.

But environmentalists have pointed out that the reason the farmers are battling with so many rodents in the first place is because adventurous diners have already munched their way through much of the snake population which used to keep the rats at bay.

Singapore

A new frontier in social welfare among the Straits Chinese, reported in the *Straits Times*:

The Social Development Unit of the Singaporean government has printed 20,000 leaflets called, *When Boy Meets Girl* — The Chemistry Guide to distribute to young singles. The guide offers practical tips such as who should pay on a first date and suggests dates such as a beach picnic and dog-walking.

New Bedford, Ma.

A dedicated educator learns too much about his subject. Reported in the *Boston Globe*:

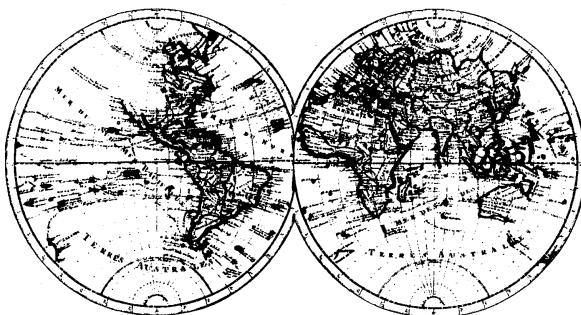
Michael J. Currin resigned from his job helping parents combat drug use in city schools two days after he was arrested for accepting delivery of 44 pounds of marijuana shipped from California.

New Delhi, India

Political advance in the world's largest democracy, reported in *Dainik Ujala*:

Leaders of the Congress Party are consulting astrologers and religious leaders to determine the significance of the recent uprooting in a duststorm of a banyan tree that had stood outside its headquarters building for 125 years.

Terra Incognita

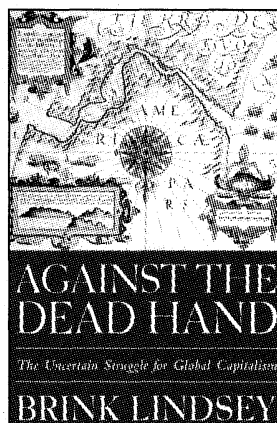
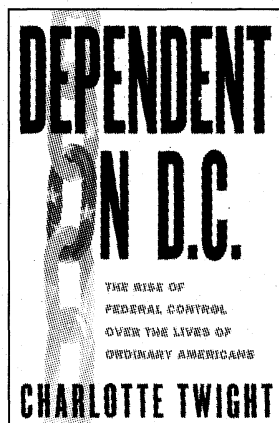


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(Readers are invited to forward news clippings or other items for publication in *Terra Incognita*, or email to terraincognita@libertysoft.com.)

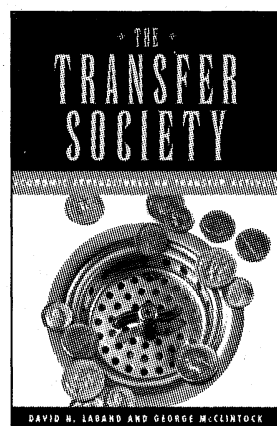
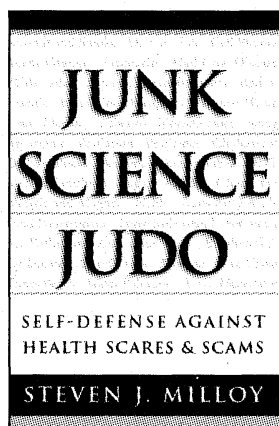
Important Reading from the Cato Institute

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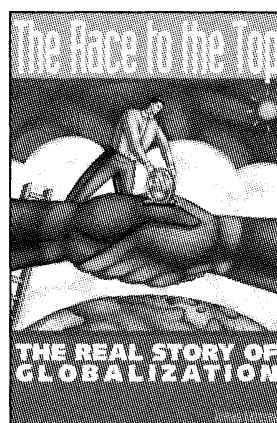
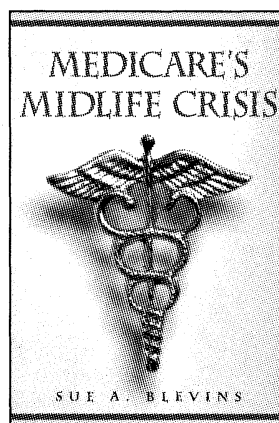
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